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WORD ORDER TYPOLOGY IN
MODERN SOUTH ARABIAN LANGUAGES:
A STUDY BASED ON A CORPUS OF ANALYZED TEXTS

by

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Bachelor of Arts, Northwestern College, 1994

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

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2010

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This thesis, submitted by David A. Cross, Jr. in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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helpful. Specifically, I appreciate the examples of sounds in colloquial Arabic in order to compare similar sounds cited in his Saqatari text.

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I present a typological analysis of the Modern South Arabian Languages. Typological research is often based on a six-way typology of dominant word order based on clauses containing nominal subjects, objects and verbs. However, this clause type is extremely rare in this language group, making typological analysis based on a six-way typology problematic.

Dryer's Four-way typology of dominant word order is applied to the Modern South Arabian Languages and they are shown to be VS&VO. Greenberg's universals which refer to dominant word order are then reformulated in terms of the Four-way typology. These reformulated universals are shown to make correct predictions in most cases for the Modern South Arabian Languages.

This analysis shows that using Dryer's Four-way typology of dominant word order makes it possible to readily apply the implicational universals to languages in which three-element clauses are extremely rare. In sum, this approach harnesses the implicational universals often used with the six-way typology to Dryer's Four-way

typology to allow us to analyze languages with relatively few clauses with nominal subjects and objects.

Dedication

To Ismail whose love of learning and love of people is simply invigorating.

To Ghaleb and our “chance” meeting.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Modern South Arabian languages have received little attention in the linguistic community. In this thesis I examine the typological characteristics of this language group. To begin this introductory chapter, I present background information on the languages (section 1.1), a general description of typology (section 1.2), a summary of previous research (section 1.3), problems with the current text corpus (section 1.4), and the goals of this thesis (section 1.5). In chapter 2, I present the means by which I addressed the problems of the textual corpus and the preparation of the texts. Then, in chapters 3 and 4, I outline the word-order typologies of Greenberg (1963) and Dryer (1997). In chapter 5, I apply Dryer's approach to the Modern South Arabian languages while in chapter 6, I propose a means of harnessing the benefits of Greenberg's implicational universals to Dryer's word-order typology. Finally, in chapter 7, I summarize the overall benefits of using this approach for typological studies of languages such as the Modern South Arabian Languages.

1.1 Background on the Languages and Their Speakers

Since so little has been written about the Modern South Arabian languages, more time will be taken to discuss the names of the languages (section 1.1.1), the language family as a whole (section 1.1.2), the people (section 1.1.3), the phonology (1.1.4) and language contact patterns (1.1.5).

The speakers of the languages are couched in a rural, mountainous region of the southern Arabian Peninsula in the countries of Oman (Figure 1) and Yemen (Figure 2).¹

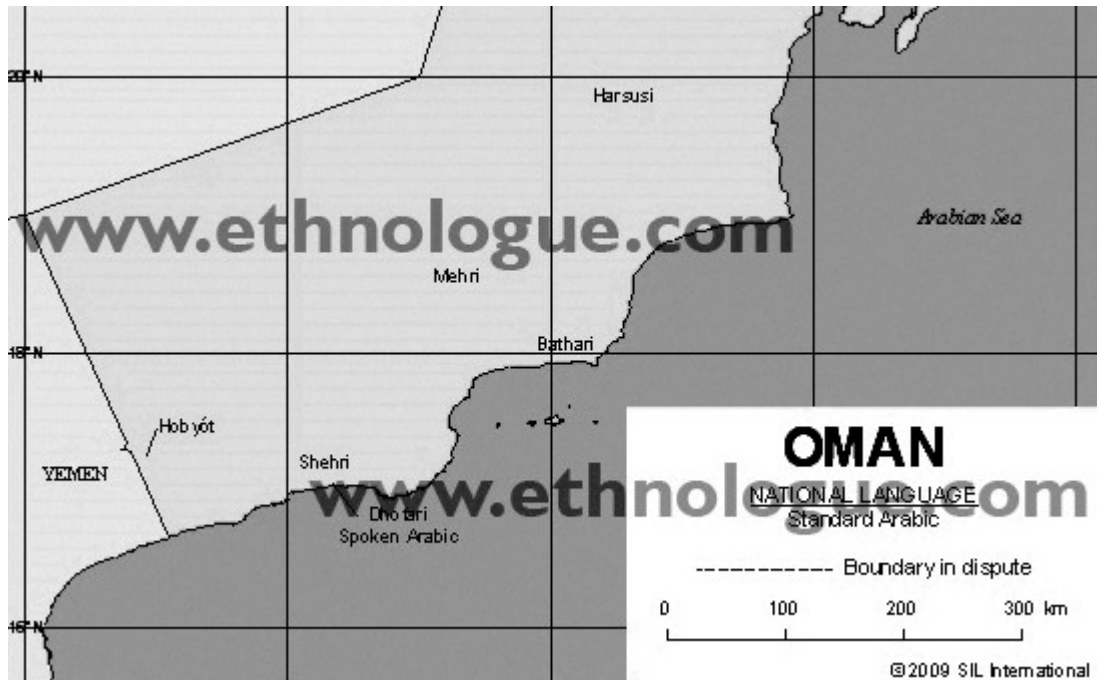


Figure 1. Language Map of Oman.

¹ These figures are included here within the terms of use from Lewis (2009).

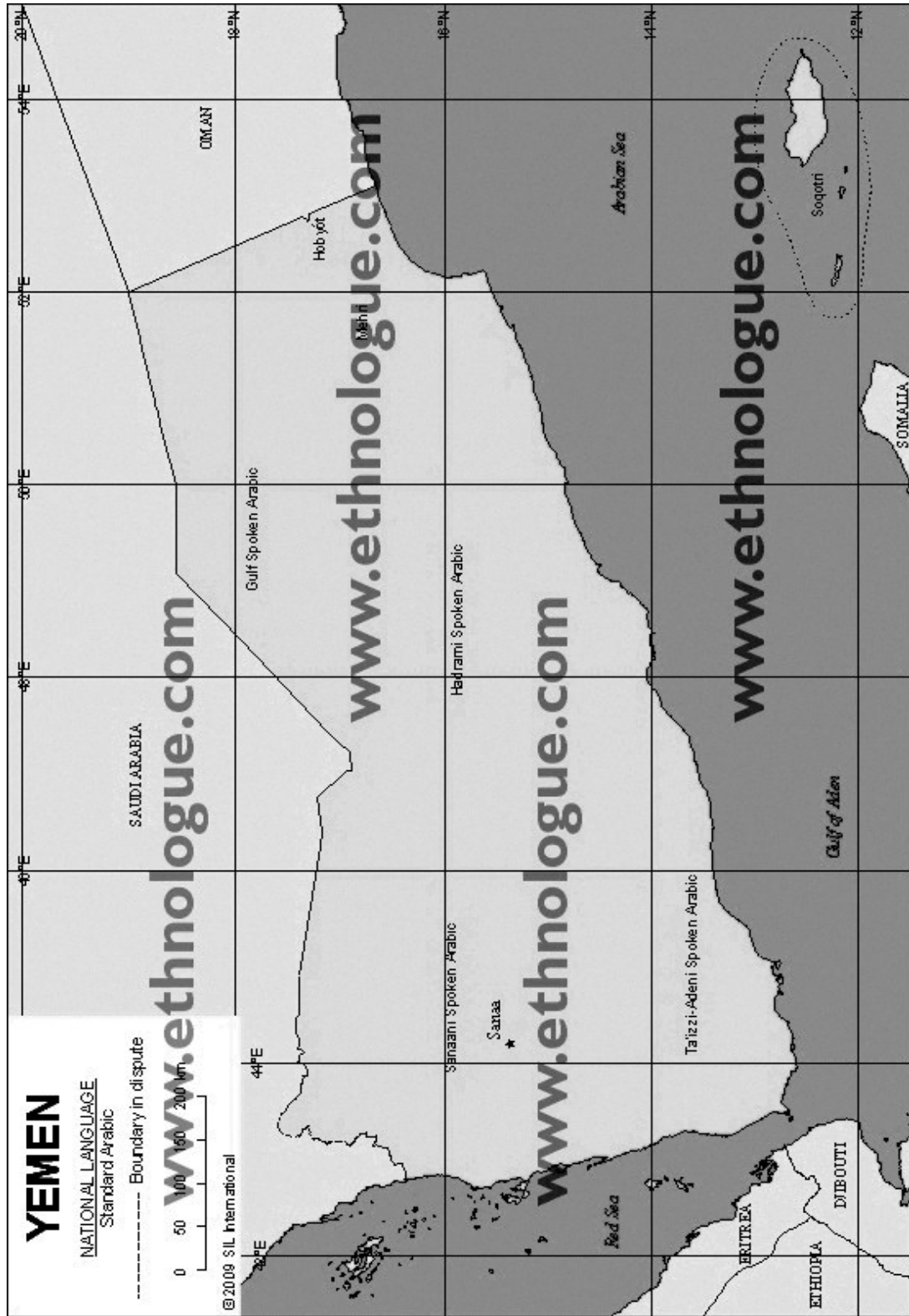


Figure 2. Language Map of Yemen.

According to Lewis (2009), the Modern South Arabian family consists of six language varieties: Bathari [bhm], Harsusi [hss], Hobyót [hoh], Mehri [gdq], Shehri [shv], and Soqotri [sqt]. While these varieties are not mutually intelligible with either the surrounding Arabic varieties or each other, it is believed that this group of languages holds some distant relation to other Semitic languages of the region such as Hebrew, Arabic and the Semitic languages of Ethiopia (Morris 2002).

1.1.1 The Languages and Their Names

These language varieties have been given various names in the literature. Given the potential for confusion, the following table lists the most common language names used in the academic literature, followed by alternate names for the various languages (Lewis 2009), followed by the language names as referred to by the people themselves (Morris 2002, 2007):

Table 1. Language Names

Common Academic Name	Alternate Names	Language Name Used by the Speakers
Jibbali	Geblet, Sheret, Shehri, Shahari, Jibali, Ehkili, Qarawi	Sheret (phonetically, <i>theret</i>), Geblet
Soqotri	Saqatri, Sokotri, Suqutri, Socotri	Saqatari
Mehri	Mahri	Mehreyyet
Harsusi	Hersyret, Harsi	Harsiyyet
Bathari	Bautahari, Bat-Hari, Bothari	Betahreyt
Hobyót	Hewbyót, Hobi, Kalam Rifi	Weyheybyot

In deference to the speakers of the languages, this thesis will use the names that they use for their own language when possible. In the case of Jibbali, however, this raises problems. Hofstede (1998:15) notes that native speakers refer to their language as *Geblet*. The names *Jibbali*, *Gibbali* and *Geblet* are not native to the language, but are all derivations of the Arabic words ‘mountain language’ or ‘mountain people.’ Given this fact, the preference would be to use the native term *theret* as the language name. However, both Johnstone (1975) and Morris (2007) explain that *theret* was used at one time to refer pejoratively to at least one segment of the ‘mountain people’ as serfs. That being the case, it is probably safer to use *Jibbali/Gibbali/Geblet*. While *Jibbali* is a

foreign pronunciation of ‘mountain (man)’ and *Gibbali* is the regional pronunciation, *Geblet* is the form of *Gibbali* as borrowed into the language itself, so it will be used through the remainder of this thesis.

A related problem is that incorrect use of names has resulted in confusion. As an example, one of the early studies of one of the Modern South Arabian languages identifies Mehri with Ehhkili (Carter 1847:365); Ehhkili is, in fact, a name for Jibbali (Lewis 2009:483).

One final problem is that it is difficult to determine whether all six varieties are distinct languages. For example, Lewis (2009) notes that Bathari is “similar to Mehri” and Hobyót “is related to Mehri.” The late T.M. Johnstone (1975), the preeminent researcher in these languages, adds that Harsusi may be a dialect of Mehri. In the end, Johnstone reduces the group to three chief languages: Mehri, Soqotri, and Jibbali. In light of this, I will focus on these three in this thesis without addressing the larger question of whether the other Modern South Arabian languages are dialectal varieties or distinct languages themselves. Additionally, since my intent is not to make claims of whether even Mehri, Soqotri, and Jibbali are distinct languages, I will refer to them as languages as is commonly done throughout the academic literature.

There is a natural ambiguity in abbreviating the Modern South Arabian languages since MSA is the accepted abbreviation for Modern Standard Arabic, the written variety of Arabic predominant across the region. In order to avoid this ambiguity, the Modern South Arabian languages will be referred to as the Modern South Arabian Languages (with a capital L) and abbreviated consistently with MSAL rather than MSA when abbreviations are helpful.

1.1.2 Language Family

All of the languages in the MSAL group are classified as Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, South, South Arabian. Languages which are believed to be related such as Hebrew, and Arabic share the Afro-Asiatic, Semitic classification, but diverge at this point into the Central branch (Lewis 2009). It is tempting to speculate on the question of whether these languages are similarly related to extinct languages such as Epigraphic South Arabian, Ancient Arabic and Ethiopic. Given the robust phonological inventory of Modern South Arabian Languages, which include alveolar and lateral fricatives, it seems that these languages might be closest to reconstructed Proto-Semitic (Simeone-Senelle 1997:382), but given the lack of written records for any of these languages, this question certainly lies outside the scope of the current study.

1.1.3 The People

There are roughly 225,000 speakers of the Modern South Arabian Languages with varying degrees of multilingualism in the different languages and with the neighboring Dhofari Arabic variety (Lewis 2009). The occupations, histories and geographies of the peoples have influenced each language uniquely.

Most of the MSAL groups are involved in fishing or some sort of pastoral occupation such as sheep, goat, or camel herding. There is some urbanization among the groups, but even to the present day they mostly remain semi-nomadic, pastoral groups.

The south Arabian Peninsula which is home to this group of languages is bordered on the north by the inhospitable Empty Quarter of the Arabian Desert. The southern border of the mainland consists of a mountain range bordering the coastal waters of the Arabian Sea. The Soqatra archipelago is a mountainous group of islands influenced by two annual monsoon seasons and associated rough seas for five months of the year.

Saqatari is perhaps the most isolated for a number of reasons. Limited to the Soqatra archipelago of Yemen, it is naturally insulated from the influence of mainland Arabic. Additionally, prohibition on women leaving the islands and even the limitation

on their travel within the islands has led to certain isolated gender-specific, sociolinguistic features extant in the language (Simeone-Senelle 2003). The people of Soqatra have experienced much less contact with other language groups than the mainland language groups. Simeone-Senelle cites how this lack of outside contact through the centuries has even resulted in less societal aggression compared with the mainland groups. This, subsequently, has resulted in the Saqatari placing a higher value on linguistic ability, particularly on storytelling, than the mainland groups do. It may also be a contributing cause for the success the Saqatari people have had in maintaining their language's distinctiveness in the face of pressure from neighboring Arabic-speaking people (Morris 2007).

The other Modern South Arabian Languages share similar barriers to contact with other languages, though not to the extent of Saqatari. Deserts and mountains have isolated these language groups to some extent, while pastoral occupations and fishing may have isolated the speakers sociologically and economically from Dhofari Arabic, which is seen as a more prestigious language.

The Mahra tribe (Mehreyyet speakers) of the mainland group intermittently dominated the region, including controlling Soqatra at one point. Thomas (1937)

suggests that the Geblet speakers were dominant in the region until the Mahra made them subservient, but nonetheless, the Mahra are now the dominant tribe politically and numerically. This has certainly contributed to the linguistic dominance of Mehreyet over its neighboring varieties including Harsiyyet, Betahreyt, Weyheybyot, and possibly Geblet.

1.1.4 Phonology

The Modern South Arabian Languages are comparable to other Semitic languages in their use of pharyngeals and ejectives, but a distinctive of the Modern South Arabian Languages is their extensive use of lateral fricatives, both voiced and unvoiced. These occur in each of the six language varieties and are said to be key reflexes of Proto-Semitic (Simeone-Senelle 1997:382).

1.1.5 Language Contact

The Modern South Arabian Languages have shown themselves to be particularly resistant to language shift through the centuries when compared to other languages of the Semitic subgroup of Afro-Asiatic. As noted above, the phonological inventory still boasts a robust repertoire of pharyngeals, ejectives, and lateral fricatives, many of which

find their reflexes in Proto-Semitic, which makes the Modern South Arabian Languages perhaps the closest living examples of Proto-Semitic (Simeone-Senelle 1997:380).

Of all the Modern South Arabian Languages, Saqatari has been most isolated from outside influence on account of its geographical and climatological isolation. Outside invading forces have been rare and success in dominating the islands has been even rarer. Thus, there has been little long-term outside influence on the language (Simeone-Senelle 2003). Only in the past few hundred years has Arabic successfully made a beachhead in the major city of Hadibo, while the remote mountainous regions have remained inaccessible and untouched by outside influences until the very recent advent of television, particularly satellite television. The ensuing encroachment of Arabic has created a rapidly changing situation for Saqatari, so that a strong case can be made that even it, along with the other Modern South Arabian Languages, is endangered (Simeone-Senelle 2003). This rapid language shift has happened to such an extent that during field work in 2001 Simeone-Senelle (2003) had difficulty obtaining the Saqatari numbers from one to ten from any of the younger generation.

Another major threat to these languages is universal Arabic education. This compulsory exposure to Arabic, particularly in Oman, has resulted in much greater

contact of MSAL speakers with Arabic. The subsequent sociolinguistic result is that Arabic is the more preferred media, being the *lingua franca* for communication across the region (Morris 2007).

Yet another major threat to the languages cited by Morris (2007) is that all of the Modern South Arabian Languages are pre-literate. This fact, combined with the sociolinguistic preference for more dominant language varieties is reducing the number of speakers who are learning the languages from their elders. The death of the elder speakers, then, leads directly to the death of the languages. This has been particularly evident in the cases of Betahreyt and Weyheybyot where the overall number of speakers continues to decline. Speakers of Betahreyt number a mere 300, and speakers of Weyheybyot number fewer than 100.

One of the cultural institutions that seems to have helped preserve the Saqatari language is that of poetry recitations and story-telling competitions each evening. This had been done in mixed-gender settings, but with the advent of gender separation accompanying the widespread introduction of Islam across the Soqotran archipelago, these mixed-gender competitions ceased. This sociolinguistic gender separation is marked. Men, who are more apt to engage in commerce in the cities, are adopting

Arabized syntax and vocabulary, whereas older Saqatari women exhibit relics of Saqatari forms that make them almost unintelligible to younger men (Simeone-Senelle 2003, Johnstone 1975:95).

Of the other Modern South Arabian Languages, Mehreyyet was spoken by the tribe that has controlled the area of each of the other Modern South Arabian Languages at one point or another, including Saqatari. Thomas (1937:234) notes that at one time the Shero (plural of Sheret, speakers of Geblet) were the predominant tribe over the whole region, including the Mahra tribe and the Botohara (Betahreyt). Eventually, the Mahra overcame and virtually enslaved the Shero and almost completely subsumed the Betahreyt.

In spite of the heavy contact these languages have had with one another and with the neighboring Dhofari Arabic, these languages are not mutually intelligible (Simeone-Senelle 1997). That being said, there is growing multilingualism both within the Modern South Arabian Languages and between Modern South Arabian Languages and Arabic. The extent of bilingualism or multilingualism is not wholly known. Since Arabic is used in all official contexts such as government, schools, army and police, it is the language that speakers of Modern South Arabian Languages resort to most often

when speaking to speakers of other Modern South Arabian Languages (Simeone-Senelle 1997:380).

1.2 A General Description of Typology

In this thesis, I present a typological analysis of the Modern South Arabian Languages. Typology is defined as “the classification of languages or components of languages based on shared formal characteristics” (Whaley 1997). Using those shared formal characteristics, typology attempts to predict tendencies of languages with certain features based on observations of languages with other shared features. One of the great advantages of typological study is that these cross-linguistic observations and predictions can be made without exhaustive knowledge of the languages at hand.

1.3 Previous Research

Typological analysis has not been a focus of previous research in these languages, but it might help to review what research has been done at this point.

The first mention of the Modern South Arabian Languages in the literature is J.R. Wellsted (1835) as part of his “Memoir on the Island of Socotra”.

Leslau (1946:608) lists works from the discovery of the languages to his time in his annotated bibliography of the literature on these languages. The bibliography

categorizes works by genre covering grammars, morphology, phonology, vocabularies, word studies and etymologies, and linguistic position of MSAL. Key authors from this bibliography are Carter, Fresnel and Thomas, each of which is discussed below.

Thomas (1937) discusses Harsiyyet, Mehreyyet, Betahreyt, Geblet including a detailed phonological description, grammar sketch, and a large polyglot word list for the four languages.

Carter (1847) gives cultural notes on the Mahrah tribe with phonological descriptions and a sizable word list.

Fulgence Fresnel was a French consul who acquired some knowledge of Geblet while living in Jeddah in 1838 (Leslau 1946:608). His translation of Genesis 37.2 from Arabic into Geblet was referred to and discussed by a number of other authors over the course of the next 90 years (Leslau 1946:626).

Since the time of Leslau's bibliography, T.M. Johnstone has produced a number of key articles and reference works: a survey of Mehreyyet, Harsiyyet, Geblet, Saqatari which includes a detailed description of the phonology and morphology of the languages with brief notes on syntax (Johnstone 1975); a Harsiyyet lexicon with helpful introductory notes to MSAL (Johnstone 1977); a Geblet lexicon (Johnstone 1981); a

Mehreyyet lexicon (Johnstone 1987); a posthumous publication of 104 Mehreyyet texts (Stroomer 1999); and a posthumous publication of 14 Harsiyyet texts (Stroomer 2004).

Simeone-Senelle (1997) discusses the sociolinguistic situation of all six language varieties, along with a discussion of the phonology, phonetics, morphology, and syntax.

A later paper discusses the dialects of Saqatari and the outlook for the language's survival (Simeone-Senelle 2003).

Morris (2002) wrote a brief introduction to the MSAL and gave a lecture (Morris 2007) on the MSAL which covers a number of sociolinguistic aspects of the languages including a collection of graffiti on cave walls and the oral art of Saqatari.

In his bibliography on Modern South Arabian Languages, Leslau (1946:623-626) lists no studies that deal with dominant word order in Modern South Arabian Languages or their typology.

1.4 Problems with the Text Corpus

A major complication in research of Modern South Arabian Languages is the great disparity in notations used to represent the unwritten sounds of the languages.

Many of these notations include accents (e.g. <ráywi>, <qhobś>), apostrophes (e.g. <iz'em>), macrons above and below the letters (e.g. <tēt̄>), dots above and below (e.g.

⟨fōḵa⟩, ⟨ḡayg⟩), a breve below (e.g. ⟨tṣabaḥ⟩), carons (e.g. ⟨šeh⟩), intermingling of International Phonetic Alphabet symbols (e.g. ⟨ḏáyma⟩, ⟨welēken⟩), and individual italicized characters contrasting with non-italicized characters (e.g. ⟨ž⟩ and ⟨ẓ⟩ (Johnstone 1987:xii)). The accumulation of so many different symbols over a period of more than 100 years has resulted in texts which are confusing and which often use conflicting symbols. V. Agafonov (personal communication) notes the difficulty in working with Saqatari texts which were originally transcribed by Wellsted, and then modified to notation systems used by Mueller, Wagner, Johnstone, Naumkin-Porkhomovskij, Miranda Morris or by simply using Arabic orthography.

In this thesis I begin to build a corpus of prepared texts in consistent IPA notation for future study of the Modern South Arabian Languages.

1.5 Goals of a Typological Study of the Modern South Arabian Languages

In this thesis I present a formal analysis of the word-order typology of the Modern South Arabian Languages. I present the typological proposals of Greenberg (1963) and Dryer (1997). While Greenberg's proposal is difficult to apply to the Modern South Arabian Languages due to the small size of the text corpus and the scarcity of relevant clause types, Dryer's proposal can be applied, resulting in a reliable

description of their typologies. Finally, I show that Greenberg's proposed typological universals can be reformulated in terms of Dryer's proposal to show that most of their predictions do, indeed, hold true for Modern South Arabian Languages.

CHAPTER 2

PREPARING THE TEXT CORPUS

Choosing and preparing texts is an important step of linguistic analysis and if it is done well, the prepared texts can continue to play an important role for the linguistic community. This chapter will detail the general considerations that influenced my choice of texts (section 2.1), specific considerations and sound correspondences for each language variety (sections 2.2), and the manner in which the texts were prepared (section 2.3).

2.1 General Considerations Affecting the Choice of Texts

Some general considerations regarding texts make certain texts more desirable than others. These considerations will be introduced here with specific explanations of how they relate to the texts chosen for this study.

2.1.1 Text Genre

The broad genres of texts include narrative, procedural, behavioral and expository (Longacre 1996). These four types can be grouped using two primary features, namely, contingent temporal succession and agent orientation.

Contingent temporal succession refers to the dependence of each action on the previous action. For instance, narrative texts and procedural texts generally progress in a linear fashion relating events that are dependent in time on the previous events. Behavioral and expository texts are not dependent in time on any previous events.

The second feature, agent orientation, refers to the active participation of an agent who performs actions. Behavioral texts, in which the hearer is an agent, and narratives are both oriented to the agent involved whereas procedural and expository texts are not oriented to a particular agent.

Narrative texts are the only type of texts that have both contingent temporal succession and agent orientation making them the best choice for typological analysis. Other types of texts can exhibit many of the typological features found in narrative texts, but an unnatural frequency of a particular feature or mood in such texts might skew the analysis. For instance, behavioral texts necessarily have a high frequency of

imperative mood that is peculiar to the genre, but not necessarily the language as a whole. Since narrative texts have both contingent temporal succession and agent orientation, they are the most resistant to tendencies like these and the best examples for typological analysis.

2.1.2 Number of Texts

I use one text from each of the three languages as the basis for analysis in this thesis. In regard to the small number of texts that are used for this thesis, it should be noted that there are very few published texts to choose from in two of these languages. The vast majority of studies of these languages have been done on word lists or unpublished texts.

T.M. Johnstone's corpus is the largest body of texts available in Mehreyet. In total, there are 104 texts in the 300 pages included in *Mehri Texts from Oman* (Stroemer 1999). These include a wide range of text types and sizes: a four-line description of community, a description of marriage, moral assessments of witch doctors, and sizable narratives such as the one chosen for this study. Many of the texts are too small to base this study given that larger texts were available. Also, many texts include a great deal of reported speech which limits the value for typological study.

For Saqatari, only two texts were available, and the one chosen for analysis is the only narrative. A smaller collection of poetry was recently made available as well (Agafonov 2007b).

For Geblet, only three texts were available, all of which are in appendices in Hofstede's (1998) dissertation. Two of these texts are narratives, while the third is a narrative conversation consisting primarily of reported speech. I chose to analyze the longer of the two narratives.

In each language, then, the largest, best text available was chosen for more thorough analysis.

2.1.3 Elicitation vs. Naturally Occurring Texts

Elicitation was not used as a means of generating data because I had no access to native speakers of the language. Had access to native speakers been available, it might have proven useful to verify some of the conclusions with elicitation. However, as Levinsohn (2010) discusses at length, there are a number of dangers inherent in using elicitation for discourse analysis. These same dangers apply to typological analysis. Some of the most problematic dangers in elicitation with regard to this study are that “sentences elicited by translation from one language to another tend to reflect the first

language in a number of ways, especially the order of constituents and the way they are arranged in clauses” (Levinsohn 2010:9-10) and that elicitation may produce non-existent forms (Levinsohn 2010:9-10). Thus, even if elicitation had been possible, it would not have been used as a primary source for this study.

2.2 The Texts

A brief description of the texts and the correspondences used in preparing them is given here.

2.2.1 The Mehreyyet Text

The primary Mehreyyet text chosen for analysis is text 20 from the work of T.M. Johnstone, titled “Abū Nuwās and the sandals” (Stroemer 1999:40-47). This particular text was chosen primarily for its narrative genre and its substantial length which affords greater opportunity to observe the frequency of salient features. There is a fair amount of reported speech in the text and this can lead to different typological behaviors when compared with behaviors outside of reported speech. None of those differences were observed in these texts.

The original text was transcribed using a notation that was used by T.M. Johnstone throughout his many writings on the various Modern South Arabian

Languages. Stroomer (2004:xv) explains that his aim in the Mehreyyet volume was to follow Johnstone’s personal notations used in his field work as closely as possible.

Considering that Johnstone produced numerous reference works for the Modern South Arabian Languages (1977, 1981, 1987, Stroomer 1999, Stroomer 2004), his notation has generally established itself as somewhat of a standard.

The following table shows the relationship between Johnstone’s transcription utilized in the Mehreyyet text and that used in this thesis. For each pair, Johnstone’s notation is given on the left, and the IPA equivalent is given on the right.

Table 2. Mehreyyet / IPA Transcription

Source Text	IPA	Source Text	IPA	Source Text	IPA	Source Text	IPA
’	ʔ	ā	a:	ḏ	ð	ḏ̣	ð ^ʕ
ē	e:	ē	ɛ:	ḡ	ɣ	ḥ	ħ
ī	i:	j	ɟ	ḵ	χ	ō	o:
ś	ʃ	š	ʃ	š	s ^ʕ	ṭ	θ
ū	u:	y	j	ž	ʒ	CC	C:

2.2.2 The Geblet Text

The Geblet text used was from Hofstede’s (1998) dissertation. The text, titled “The Bedouin and ice,” is an excellent narrative story with only short portions of

reported speech. The transcription is particularly detailed, which is notable since Hofstede's (1998:16) materials were again based on the field materials of T.M. Johnstone. The phonetic transcription, however, seems to be more detailed than Johnstone's texts of either Mehri Texts from Oman (Stroomer 1999) or Ḥarsūsi Texts from Oman (Stroomer 2004). Stroomer (2004:xiii) notes that Hofstede published a thorough catalog of Johnstone's materials in 1997, and it is likely that by having direct access to the audio recordings she was able to make more careful transcriptions of the materials herself.

The following table shows the relationship between Hofstede's transcription and that used in this thesis. For each pair, Hofstede's notation is given on the left, and the IPA equivalent is given on the right.

Table 3. Geblet / IPA Transcription

Source Text	IPA	Source Text	IPA	Source Text	IPA	Source Text	IPA
c	ʕ	ḍ	d ^ʕ	ḡ	ɣ	ḵ	k'
š	ʃ	ś	ʃ	ṭ	t ^ʕ	ṭ	t'
y	j	ž	ʒ	ḍ	d ^ʕ	ḡ	ɣ
ḥ	ħ	š	s'	š	ʃ	š	s ^w
š	s ^ʕ	ṭ	t ^ʕ	ž	ʒ	ž	ʒ
ž	z ^w						

2.2.3 The Saqatari Text

The Saqatari tale *Bismillah* was told by Sa’ad al-Keshri, a student from Qalansiya, the second largest city of Soqatra. It was recorded and transcribed by Vladimir Agafonov (2007). The recording was made in 1979-1980 and transcribed with the assistance of the narrator. The notation used contained a few non-standard characters, for which the author was kind enough to describe the particular sounds so that the corresponding IPA symbols could be determined.

The following table shows the relationship between Agafonov’s transcription and that used in this thesis. For each pair, Agafonov’s notation is given on the left, and the IPA equivalent is given on the right.

Table 4. Saqatari / IPA Transcription

Source Text	IPA	Source Text	IPA	Source Text	IPA	Source Text	IPA
‘	ʕ	’	ʔ	ǧ	ð ^ʕ	ḥ	ħ
ḥ	χ	š	s ^ʕ	š	ʃ	ś	ç
ṭ	t ^ʕ	y	j	CC	C:	VV	V:

V. Agafonov (personal communication) personally reviewed the Saqatari text after the transliteration to IPA was complete and confirmed that the process was “fully

successful” noting that the IPA correspondences used in this thesis can be used for “any texts or vocabulary made in the same transcription.”

2.3 Preparation of the Texts

For the purposes of this thesis, I have transliterated the three texts being analyzed into the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to provide for consistent, standardized notation specifically for phonological and phonetic work. In addition, I have provided word glosses (and, in places, morpheme glosses). It is my hope that these labors and this contribution to the linguistic community will lead to the conversion of many MSAL texts. It is for this reason that the whole of the transcribed texts are included as appendices to the present work.

The procedures used to prepare the texts are discussed in the following subsections.

2.3.1 Entering Texts and Transcriptions

Before manipulating the texts to convert them to IPA, they had to be entered electronically character by character with meticulous attention being paid to the various

accents and diacritical marks. A sample text is included below of what the first paragraph of the Mehreyyet narrative looked like before any manipulation began.

Text 20

Abū Nuwās and the sandals

(folktale)

- 1 xeṭerāt ba newās yesūken b-arḥebēt u d-ixáwdem hāl ḥökem d-arḥebēt.
- 2 tē nehōr ṭáyt, 'āmōr heh ḥökem: "nekē'i b-an'ālyε men hāl ḥeynīt."
- 3 'āmōr: yéyε. aḳōfi.
- 4 tē wīsel ḥeynīt, 'āmōr: "āmōr hīkem ḥökem: āzēmen tay el-sīr šīkem."
- 5 'āmōr: "hibō ađerōy dōmeh? d-eḥtewēk aw hibō?"
- 6 'āmōr: "lā', el hō d-eḥtewēk lā, welāken ḥökem yeḥōm deráyyet, welāken hām el šesdéḳken tay lā, šāḳōna ḥökem u mšáxber teh."
- 7 'āmōr heh ḥeynīt: "šāḳeh:" tōli šáḳ, 'āmōr: "ṭáyt aw keláyt?"
- 8 'āmōr ḥökem: "keláyt!" 'āmōr: "hamáken?"
- 9 tōli wzemih, w-aḳōfi ba newās.

Only a free translation of the text was included as follows:

1 Once Abu Nuwas was living in a place and in employment with the ruler of the place.

2 Then one day the ruler said to him, “Bring me my sandals from the women.”

3 He said, “Very well.” He went away.

4 Then when he reached the women he said, “The ruler says to you, 'Let me go with you!'.”

5 They said, “What kind of talk is this? Are you mad or what?”

6 He said, “I am not mad. The ruler desires offspring and if you don't believe me I shall call the ruler and ask him.”

7 The women said, “Call him.” Then he called (him). He said, “One or two?”

8 The ruler said, “Both.” He said, “Did you hear?”

9 Then they gave him (themselves) and Ab Nuwas went off.

2.3.2 Converting Correspondences

After the texts were entered in their entirety, corresponding IPA symbols were substituted for the original symbols in the text. The specific correspondences are noted for each language in sections 2.2.

2.3.3 Interlinearization

The texts were then merged with the free translation with the goal of three lines; the first being the source, the second being a to-be-constructed word for word gloss, and the third being the free translation.

The first and third lines were preserved as they were in the originals except for removal of punctuation or footnote markers. The second line, the word for word gloss, was newly constructed on the basis of the free translation and the source text.

Dictionaries were not used for this process, but, as noted in the finished texts, aid was given in a few instances by V. Agafonov (personal communication). Also, this process was much easier for the Geblet text since it was tagged with grammatical notes and word correspondences. Corrections to the free translation on the basis of observations from the source text were made next. Detailed discussion of the construction of this word for word gloss and those corrections are given in section 2.3.5.

2.3.4 Clause Breaks, Tabs and Morpheme Cuts

Next, the sentences were broken into clauses with the aim being one clause per line. The numbering was slightly restructured to denote sentence breaks with one number per sentence and sub-letters per clause as the following example shows:

Example 1. Geblet Line 7.

7a zũ-ʃ lhin dħa jsi^lnud-s

they gave him that which enough her

They gave him what would suffice

7b bə ʃε əl j^lgərəb t^falg əlo

and he ?? he was knowing ice ??

but he did not know ice.

Tabs were then added to make the word distinctions evident, and when the source line included a dash between morphemes, the glosses of the morphemes were represented in the gloss line separated with a corresponding dash. Where it was determined that a word in the source line was represented by a gloss containing multiple morphemes, they were separated with a dot. The example above is now represented again with the changes described to show the progression of the text preparation.

Example 2. Geblet Line 7.

7a	zũ-ʃ	lhin	dħa	jsi'nud-s
	they.gave-him	that.which		to.be.enough-her

They gave him what would suffice

7b	bə	ʃε	ɔl	j'gərəb	tʰalg	əlo
	and	he		he.was.knowing	ice	

but he did not know ice.

2.5.5 Gloss Corrections and Additions

In the word-for-word interlinearization, negation was glossed in all capital letters where it could be clearly identified. Other grammatical glosses were also added in all capital letters where they could be clearly identified. Where the source text was missing a corresponding free translation, one was added, but marked by square brackets. The completed preparation of the same example is now included to illustrate these and the aforementioned changes.

Example 3. Geblet Line 7.

7a zũ-ʃ lhin dħa jsi'nud-s
 they.gave-him that.which FUT to.be.enough-her

They gave him what would suffice

7b bə ʃε ɔl j'gərəb tʰalg əlo
 and he NEG he.was.knowing ice NEG

but he did not know ice.

At certain points where the free translation translated the same word or phrase differently, the word-for-word gloss was adjusted to be consistent with the text.

Additionally, typological observations confirmed the meaning of one gloss. In this instance, the phrase *qhobç ħahir* is 'black sheep' in the free translation. Not knowing the meaning of the individual words, the position of the adjective elsewhere in the text was used to help gloss these words. This was done by observing the phrase *digdege ʃafiro* later in the same text which is 'red plain' in the free translation. Again, not knowing each individual gloss, it is possible that these words could be translated literally as 'plain red' or 'red plain.' Observation of the word *digdege* elsewhere in the text, though, shows that this word is 'plain' so that the gloss is clearly 'plain red.'

Applying the same adjective order to the phrase *qhobç ħahir* leads to a gloss of *qhobç ħahir* as ‘sheep black’ in the original phrase in question. This glossing was confirmed by V. Agafonov (personal correspondence).

Corrections were made throughout the texts where conclusive evidence found elsewhere in the text would lead to a definitive answer. Where a definitive answer was not found, the best guess gloss was placed in square brackets with question marks to clearly note the assumption made.

The resulting text is a consistent, glossed word-for-word text that is usable for broader linguistic analysis than just the current study.

CHAPTER 3

CHALLENGES TO GREENBERG'S SIX-WAY TYPOLOGY

Greenberg (1963) in his important *Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements* lays out 45 language universals arising from corpora of thirty languages with broad areal and genetic distribution. In this crucial work he set the stage for decades of typological research in the linguistic community. The central concept introduced in this work is *implicational universals*. These universals underlie the analysis in this thesis.

Section 3.1 will introduce those implicational universals in more detail along with their relation to dominant word order. Section 3.2 deals with how the dominant word order of a language is determined. Finally, section 3.3 concludes the chapter by outlining problems that arise in applying Greenberg's universals to languages where no default word order can be established.

3.1 Implicational Universals and Dominant Word Order

Implicational universals define comparisons between languages that take the form “given x in a particular language, we always find y” (Greenberg 1963:73). For example,

Universal 3. Languages with dominant VSO order are always prepositional.

Restated a different way, given the condition of VSO dominant word order in a given language, we always find that the language is prepositional.

Significantly, many of Greenberg’s implicational universals depend on the notion of what Greenberg (1963:76) calls the dominant word order: “the relative order of subject, verb, and object in declarative sentences with nominal subject and object.” The following is a chart of the logically possible dominant word orders as enumerated by Greenberg with no particular emphasis on frequency of the typological occurrence in natural languages:

Table 5. Greenberg’s Six-way Typology

Verb-Subject-Object	Subject-Verb-Object	Object-Verb-Subject
Verb-Object-Subject	Subject-Object-Verb	Object-Subject-Verb

An isolated sentence may or may not exhibit the dominant word order: there simply is not enough data to compare in order to establish the dominant word order. However, a large enough sample of natural, unrehearsed texts can reasonably be expected to exhibit the language's dominant word order.

3.2 Determining Dominant Word Order

A problem arises when we try to establish the dominant word order in Modern South Arabian Languages, since they make efficient use of argument agreement. For instance, the verb can show agreement in gender, number or person with the subject and in number with the object.

The difficulty this presents when considering Greenberg's six-way dominant word order is that the subject and/or object are frequently represented only as prefixes or suffixes on the verb. As a result, entire narratives can be nearly devoid of clauses containing the three elements of nominal subject, verb and nominal object. As will be seen, complete narratives may have perhaps only one or two clauses with all three elements and the ordering of those elements might show no pattern on which to base conclusions about a dominant word order. The only way to establish a dominant word

order from the texts, then, is to use a corpus of many narratives in order to establish a large enough sample of clauses with all three constituents.

The problem with this approach, however, is that clauses that include all three constituents are the obvious exceptions to normal usage. Dryer (1997:79-80) summarizes this problem as follows:

“If one accepts the assumption that a characteristic of a language is in one sense fundamental if and only if it is the kind of characteristic that one can determine from examination of a few pages of text, then the ... classification of a language [in these cases] by the traditional six-way typology is not [a fundamental characteristic].

By forcing those clauses that contain nominal subjects and objects to define the dominant word order, those exceptional clauses are being used to establish what is normative in usage. Instead of using these exceptions to determine the norm, these exceptions need to be identified as such and an attempt should be made to determine what salient discourse feature is being communicated by these exceptional clauses. Greenberg’s dominant word-order typology, however, does not move the study in this direction, but rather attempts to utilize the exceptions to establish a rule.

The Mehreyyet text in Appendix A demonstrates how the Modern South Arabian Languages are examples of such languages where determining the dominant word order in terms of Greenberg's six-way typology is problematic. The entire text of 195 clauses contains only two clauses with both a nominal subject and object. The first is VOS word order:

Example 4. Mehreyyet Line 41b.

we-ʔel:em teh ʔa:gero:n
and-took him slaves

and away the slaves took him.

The second is VSO:

Example 5. Mehreyyet Line 91a.

ʔe'fawr ʔa:gero:n bajr
they.dug the.slaves well

The slaves dug a well.

Since there is only one instance of each word order, neither VOS nor VSO can be said to be the dominant word order since they have equal representation in the text.

As will be shown in chapter 5, similar problems arise in Geblet (where only one of 43 clauses has a nominal subject and object) and Saqatari (where only one of 211 clauses

has a nominal subject and object). In languages such as these, then, it is questionable whether the concept of dominant word order is meaningful using Greenberg's six-way word order typology.

3.3 Greenberg's Universals and Languages with No Clear Dominant Word Order

Without a clear determination of dominant word order in a given language, eleven of Greenberg's forty-five "universals" simply cannot be applied since they are tied to dominant word order. Given the insights that Greenberg's universals have to offer in so many languages, however, we would like to maintain the benefits of the implicational universals despite the problems in applying the six-way word order typology. That is what this thesis aims to do. Before doing that, however, in the next two subsections, I examine some universals that are independent of dominant word order and then the universals that are dependent on word order.

3.3.1 Universals That Are Independent of Dominant Word Order

The majority of Greenberg's universals (34 out of 45) are not dependent on determining dominant word order. Here are some examples of these universals.

Universal 8: "When a yes-no question is differentiated from the corresponding assertion by an intonational pattern, the distinctive intonational features of

each of these patterns are reckoned from the end of the sentence rather than from the beginning.”

The place of question intonation is correlated with whether that intonation differentiates statements and questions.

Universal 20: “When any or all of the items (demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjective) precede the noun, they are always found in that order.

If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite.”

The order of demonstratives, numerals and descriptive adjectives is correlated with whether they precede or follow the noun. A number of universals deal with the order of nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, and numerals.

Universal 22: “If in comparisons of superiority the only order, or one of the alternative orders, is standard-marker-adjective, then the language is postpositional. With overwhelmingly more than chance frequency if the only order is adjective-marker-standard, the language is prepositional.”

The place of adpositions is correlated with word order in comparisons of superiority.

These universals can stand on their own since they are not dependent on the claims of dominant word order. This thesis will not address typological claims like these since they are not affected by the claims regarding dominant word order.

3.3.2 Universals Based on Dominant Word Order

Of the forty-five typological claims made by Greenberg, eleven relate directly to dominant word order:

Universal 1 - In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object.

Universal 3 - Languages with dominant VSO order are always prepositional.

Universal 4. With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional.

Universal 5. If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun.

Universal 6 - All languages with dominant VSO order have SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic order.

Universal 7. If in a language with dominant SOV order, there is no alternative basic order, or only OSV as the alternative, then all adverbial modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb.

Universal 10. Question particles or affixes, when specified in position by reference to a particular word in the sentence, almost always follow that word. Such particles do not occur in languages with dominant order VSO.

Universal 12 - If a language has dominant order VSO in declarative sentences, it always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word questions; if it has dominant order SOV in declarative sentences, there is never such an invariant rule.

Universal 16. In languages with dominant order VSO, an inflected auxiliary always precedes the main verb. In languages with dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb.

Universal 17. With overwhelmingly more than chance frequency, languages with dominant order VSO have the adjective after the noun.

Universal 41. If in a language the verb follows both the nominal subject and nominal object as the dominant order, the language almost always has a case system.

3.4 Summary

To summarize this chapter, then, dominant word order cannot be determined for the Modern South Arabian Languages following Greenberg's six-way typology.

Subsequently, it is impossible to apply these universals to the Modern South Arabian Languages. In chapter 5, I will outline another word-order typology system that does allow the dominant word order of such languages to be determined. Then, in chapter 6, I will show how Greenberg's universal implications can be formulated within this system so they can be applied to the Modern South Arabian Languages.

CHAPTER 4

DRYER'S FOUR-WAY TYPOLOGY

As shown in chapter 3, many of Greenberg's implicational universals center around the six-way word-order typology shown in Table 5 and repeated here:

Table 6. Greenberg's Six-way Typology

Verb-Subject-Object	Subject-Verb-Object	Object-Verb-Subject
Verb-Object-Subject	Subject-Object-Verb	Object-Subject-Verb

As shown in section 3.2, however, this approach is problematic in languages where clauses with both nominal subjects and nominal objects are extremely rare or where they indicate no dominant word order.

In section 4.1 of this chapter, I present Dryer's (1997) approach to word-order typology. I show that the separate analysis of nominal subjects and objects offers many advantages in classifying languages. I conclude this chapter in section 4.2 outlining the eight arguments Dryer presents supporting his typology.

4.1 Dryer's Four-Way Typology

Dryer (1997) proposes a different approach to characterizing word order in clauses, namely, two sets of binary distinctions. These binary distinctions are the order of the nominal subject and the verb, and the order of the verb and the nominal object. Using these binary distinctions allows us to use clauses which contain just two of the three components. For instance, clauses with only verb and nominal subject can be used to determine order of subject and verb, and clauses with only verb and nominal object can be used to determine the order of verb and object. Coupling the two binary distinctions allows classification of a language.

Use of this approach results in four types: VS&VO, SV&VO, SV&OV and VS&OV. Dryer essentially collapses Greenberg's six types into four types as shown in the following table:

Table 7. Correspondences between Dryer's and Greenberg's Classifications

Dryer's Classification	Greenberg's Classification
VS&VO	VSO and VOS
SV&VO	SVO
SV&OV	SOV and OSV
VS&OV	OVS

While Dryer does not apply the four-way typology to Greenberg's implicational universals, establishing correspondences in this manner allows substitutionary application of the classification into Greenberg's universals. This could then yield falsifiable predictions from Greenberg's implicational universals.

4.2 Dryer's Eight Arguments

In presenting this four-way typology of dominant word order, Dryer (1997) presents eight arguments favoring his approach over Greenberg's. These arguments are as follows:

Argument 1: This approach allows easy classification of languages which are indeterminately VSO/VOS; they are simply VS&VO.

Argument 2: There is no evidence that the difference between VSO and VOS languages is predictive of anything. The properties that are typical of VSO languages are apparently also typical of VOS languages, and hence VSO and VOS are best treated as belonging to the same type. In this system, they are both VS&VO.

Argument 3: The difference between VSO and VOS order is a relatively unstable one, both orders being commonly found as dominant orders within the same

language family and within the same linguistic area. In this system there is no difference between the two orders.

Argument 4: In some languages, the traditional six-way typology is based on a clause type that occurs relatively infrequently, while the proposed typology is based on clause types that occur much more frequently. This is because in Dryer's system, clauses having only nominal S or only nominal O are relevant to the typology.

Argument 5: There are many languages which have word order sufficiently flexible that they are impossible to classify by the traditional typology but which are still classifiable by the proposed typology. This is because clauses with only nominal subject or nominal object might be less variable in their order than three-element clauses, and because a larger number of clauses can be used to determine the dominant word order.

Argument 6: There are other languages with word order even more flexible but which are still classifiable either for the order of subject and verb or for the order of object and verb. Greenberg's typology cannot look at just the subject

or just the object, so it cannot be sensitive to situations in which the order of one of the two is variable, but the other is not.

Argument 7: The proposed typology is superior because it isolates the order of the object and verb, the more fundamental typological parameter in terms of word order correlations.

Argument 8: The traditional typology suffers because it overlooks the order of subject and verb in intransitive clauses, even though the order in such clauses is occasionally different from the order of subject and verb in transitive clauses, and even though intransitive clauses containing a nominal subject are much more common than transitive clauses containing a nominal subject. The ability to use intransitive clauses in determining the typology arises from the fact that all clauses containing a nominal subject are used to determine the order of subject and verb, regardless of whether the clause has a nominal object.

In chapter 3 I showed that the Modern South Arabian Languages are model languages for Argument 4 where three-element clause types are so rare as to make classification according to Greenberg's typology difficult.

CHAPTER 5

THE FOUR-WAY TYPOLOGY APPLIED

Dryer's four-way typology of dominant word order makes it possible to categorize languages that would be difficult to categorize within Greenberg's six-way framework. In this chapter I show that the Modern South Arabian Languages are languages that benefit from Dryer's typology. Each language will be dealt with individually, in each case demonstrating the problems of Greenberg's approach and the classification made possible by Dryer's approach.

5.1 Applying the Four-way Typology to Mehreyyet

The first step in determining the dominant word order in the text is to categorize the word order in each of the 195 clauses.

As noted in chapter 3, a complexity of Mehreyyet's inflectional morphology is that the language binds number, gender and person into highly efficient affixes. This results in many clauses that only contain the verb or clauses with the verb and affixes denoting subject or object as the following example shows.

Example 8. Mehreyyet Line 28d.

u **weze'mej**
and **they.allowed.him**

and they did.

In this example, the subject and object are contained within the verb so that the entire clause consists of only a conjunction and a verb. The frequent occurrence of these types of clauses reduces the number of two-element and three-element clauses available to work with.

As further shown in chapter 3, there are only two clauses with all three elements, verb, subject and object, in the whole text. Of these, two different orders are represented, namely, VOS and VSO. These instances were mentioned in chapter three, but since there are only two instances, they are included here:

Example 6. Mehreyyet Line 41b.

VOS

we- ^l el:em	teh	ħa:gero:n
and-took	him	slaves

and the slaves took him.

Example 7. Mehreyyet Line 91a.

VSO

ħe ^l fawr	ħa:gero:n	bajr
they.dug	the.slaves	well

The slaves dug a well.

Using Greenberg's typology, it is impossible to determine the dominant word order from this corpus. Conversely, Dryer's typology does allow the dominant word order to be established even on this text of only 195 clauses.

The following chart shows the distribution of subject/verb order in two and three-element clauses and of object/verb order in two and three-element clauses in both transitive and intransitive clauses:

Table 8. Mehreyyet Clauses with Nominal Subject and/or Object

VO	20	100%
OV	0	0%
SV	6	17%
VS	29	83.00%

The most common ordering of subject and verb, VS, is represented by the following example:

Example 9. Mehreyyet Line 2a.

tɛ: neho:r 'tʰajt **ʔa:mo:r** heh **ho:kem**
 then day one **said** to.him **ruler**

Then one day the ruler said to him,

An example of the less common SV word ordering is as follows:

Example 10. Mehreyyet Line 1a.

xetʰera:t **ba newa:s** **jesu:ken** b-arʰebet
 once **Abu.Nuwas was.living** in-land

Once Abu Nuwas was living in a place

The following example shows VO ordering, the only possible ordering of verb and object:

Example 11. Mehreyyet Line 8d.

s^ʔa:χo:na ħo:kem
we.call ruler

I shall call the ruler

Only two of the 195 clauses are three-element clauses, but two-element and three-element clauses together represent a total of 53 clauses. Given the figures in Table 8, determining the dominant word order is straightforward using Dryer's typology.

VS clauses comprise 83% (29) of clauses with a subject (35) in two and three-element clauses. On the other hand, SV clauses represent only 17% (6) of clauses with a nominal subject. This shows that Mehreyyet is clearly VS in its dominant word order.

Regarding sentences with a nominal object, VO sentences comprise 100% (20) in two and three-element clauses. There are no examples of OV clauses in the text. This shows that Mehreyyet is clearly VO in dominant word ordering.

Together, these comparisons show clearly that Mehreyyet has a dominant word order of VS&VO.

While it was not possible to establish a dominant word order using Greenberg's typology, using Dryer's typology it is evident that the dominant word order is VS&VO.

5.2 Applying the Four-way Typology to Geblet

While the Geblet text is much shorter than the Mehreyyet text with only 43 clauses, Dryer's typology is still able to establish a dominant word order. There is only one clause with all three elements, which has an SVO in order. On the other hand, there are eleven clauses with two or three elements. This is a limited number and the conclusions from these clauses cannot be assumed to be as strong as those based on the larger texts of Mehreyyet and Saqatari. That being said, a dominant word ordering is still evident using Dryer's typology.

The following table illustrates the distribution of subject/verb and object/verb in both transitive and intransitive clauses in the text:

Table 9. Geblet Clauses with Nominal Subject and/or Object

VO	5	83%
OV	1	17%
VS	4	67%
SV	2	33%

For sentences with a subject (6), 67% (4) have VS ordering and 33% (2) have SV ordering. Though the conclusion is not as strong in Geblet as in Mehreyyet or Saqatari, Geblet appears to have VS as its dominant order in clauses with a subject.

For sentences with an object (6), 83% (5) have VO word ordering. There is one example of OV word ordering which comprises 17% of the clauses. For sentences with an object, Geblet exhibits a dominant word order of VO.

Together, these two comparisons show that Geblet has VS&VO as its dominant word order.

5.3 Applying the Four-way Typology to Saqatari

Finally, an almost identical situation presents itself with Saqatari. Of the 211 clauses total in the text, only one has three elements and it happens to be SVO word order. However, thirty-six transitive and intransitive clauses have two elements. The following table summarizes distribution of subject/verb and object/verb in two and three-elements clauses:

Table 10. Saqatari Clauses with Nominal Subject and/or Object

VO	16	100%
OV	0	0%
VS	18	82%
SV	4	18%

For clauses with a subject (22), 82% (18) have VS ordering. The number with SV ordering comprises 18% (4) of two and three-element clauses. Saqatari clearly appears to have VS as its dominant word order in clauses with a subject.

For sentences with an object (16), 100% have VO word ordering. There are no examples of OV word ordering in two or three-element clauses. For sentences with an object, Saqatari certainly exhibits a dominant word order of VO.

It is clear, then, that the dominant word order using the four-way typology is VS&VO in Saqatari.

5.4 Summary

In all three languages, VS&VO is the dominant word order typology. This contrasts with the situation as determined using the six-way typology. In the six-way typology, in Mehreyyet both three-element clauses are verb-initial which reflects the

conclusions here. However, the one clause in Geblet and the one clause in Soqotri with three elements are SVO. So, Dryer's typology not only allows us to determine dominant word order on a more common construction, it also allows us to show the unity of these three languages.

CHAPTER 6

REFORMULATING GREENBERG'S UNIVERSALS

In chapter 3 I showed that it was impossible to apply eleven of Greenberg's implicational universals to MSAL due to problems in determining dominant word. Then, in chapter 4 and 5 I showed that it was possible to determine dominant word order using Dryer's six-way word order typology. Dryer did not, however, attempt to apply this word order typology to Greenberg's implicational universals. In this chapter I discuss Greenberg's universals that address dominant word order and show how they might be reformulated using Dryer's typology. Each universal is then assessed as to whether these predictions of the reformulated universals hold true in Modern South Arabian Languages.

6.1 The Process of Reformulating Universals

In section 4.1.1 I showed that Dryer collapsed Greenberg's six-way classification of dominant word order into a four-way classification. Since this is relevant to the remainder of this chapter, I repeat table 7 here:

Table 11. Correspondences between Dryer's and Greenberg's Classifications

Dryer's Classification	Greenberg's Classification
VS&VO	VSO and VOS
SV&VO	SVO
SV&OV	SOV and OSV
VS&OV	OVS

In the rest of this chapter I will reformulate all the universals that refer to dominant word order in terms of Dryer's classifications. For each reformulated universal, I will determine whether it applies to the Modern South Arabian languages and, when appropriate, the reformulated implicational universals will be tested against the Modern South Arabian Languages.

6.2 Reformulating Greenberg's *Universal 1*

Universal 1. In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object.

Dryer (1997) focuses his typology on the subject/verb order and the object/verb order which he sees to be the more fundamental typological parameters regarding word order correlations. As such, his typology says nothing about the order of the subject and object. It is impossible, then, to restate or assess *Universal 1* in Dryer's typology. Since

this universal can only be applied in three-element clauses, it is irrelevant using the Four-way typology. The key elements in the Four-way typology are the relationship between verb and subject and the relationship between verb and object. Dryer (1997) argues that the order of subject and object in verb-initial, three-element clauses are not predictive of anything, so the fact that *Universal 1* cannot be applied is not seen as a problem for Dryer.

6.3 Reformulating Greenberg's *Universal 3*

Universal 3 links the dominant word order with the placement of adpositions, specifically, prepositions:

Universal 3. Languages with dominant VSO order are always prepositional.

In the reformulated universal the classification VS&VO is used in place of the three-element order VSO:

Reformulated Universal 3. Languages with dominant VS&VO order are always prepositional.

Before discussing the universal itself, it will be helpful to address some important morphosyntactic issues that relate to adpositions and proclitics in Modern South Arabian Languages.

6.3.1 Adpositions in Modern South Arabian Languages

When an adposition is explicitly used as a separate word in Mehreyyet, Geblet and Saqatari, it is a preposition. The following is an example from Mehreyyet:

Example 12. Mehreyyet Line 20.

a:mo:r	ħo:kem	«ħe:lən	ðo:meh	men	ye:ro:j	ʃu:k»
said	ruler	what	this	from	what	you.said

The ruler said, “What are you talking about?”

A second Mehreyyet example shows the identical use of a preposition outside reported speech:

Example 13. Mehreyyet Line 40b.

u	ħe'lawbeh	berk	ʃet ^s fe:t
and	they.overturned.him	in	basket

and overturned him into a basket

Likewise, Geblet is completely consistent in using only prepositions. For example:

Example 14. Geblet Line 19b.

b-'her	k'elʕak	t-ɔʃ	ʕak'	s'ħa'lət	jəm'tesaʔ
and-if	you.allow	to-it	in	bowl	it.melts

and if you leave it in a bowl, it will melt.

Similarly, Saqatari uses prepositions in every instance in the narrative as the following

example shows:

Example 15. Saqatari Line 107.

ʕomar	(h)-ihin	?ini	bile	(l)-ħa	(di)-ten
he.said	(to)-them	is.there	any	(to)-place	(of)-you

bi	bilad
in	country

“Hai,” he said, “is there any thing [that] happened here in your country?”

6.3.2 Proclitics

One complexity in all three languages is that Mehreyyet, Geblet and Saqatari make heavy use of affixes on the noun. These affixes function syntactically like adpositions though it seems from the transcriptions that they are phonologically bound. The place of the affix, that is, preceding the noun, is of note because they exhibit the same syntactic position as prepositions that are separate words. The following Saqatari

example, which is typical of all three languages, contains seven of these proclitics with pronouns as well as nouns:

Example 16. Saqatari Lines 17a-c.

ʕomor	«wa	ho	ʔerim:o	dije	⟨bismil:a⟩
he.said	and	I	if	good	bismilla

“And I too, if bismilla is good,

ʔendark	ha-k	min-e	b-ʕejni
stake	to-you	from-me	with-my.eyes

will give you my eyes,

wa	min-e	b-jidi	wa	min-e	b-çirʕon»
and	from-me	with-my.arms	and	from-me	with-my.legs

and my arms, and my legs to do the same,” the other friend said.

Since the intent of Greenberg’s universals is to compare only uses of separate words, this discussion, too, will be limited to use of adpositions as separate words. Whether these affixes are separate words (in which case the transcription is incorrect) or bound words in the same relative position as prepositions, however, the claims regarding *Universal 3* are the same.

6.3.3 Evaluating the Reformulated *Universal 3*

This reformulated universal claimed that languages with dominant VS&VO order are always prepositional which holds true in the Modern South Arabian Languages. Simply reformulating a universal that was not applicable to Modern South Arabian Languages using Greenberg's typology results in a universal that is not only relevant, but is correct in its implicational predictions in every instance in the texts.

6.4 Reformulating *Universal 4*

The following universal addresses the link between one three-element word order and postpositional languages:

Universal 4. With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional.

The reformulated universal was constructed by using Dryer's corresponding classification in place of the the three-element classification in the universal:

Reformulated Universal 4. With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SV&OV order are postpositional.

Since none of the Modern South Arabian Languages has a dominant SV&OV order, this universal is not pertinent to this discussion.

6.5 Reformulating *Universal 5*

This universal addresses the correlation between the Modifier-Head word order of possessors, and the order of adjectives and nouns, within a particular word order:

Universal 5. If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun.

The reformulated universal was created by replacing Greenberg's three-element classification with Dryer's corresponding classification:

Reformulated Universal 5. If a language has dominant SV&OV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun.

Again, since none of the Modern South Arabian Languages has a dominant SV&OV word order, this universal is not relevant to this thesis.

6.6 Reformulating Greenberg's *Universal 6*

The following universal links two different three-element word orders as alternatives:

Universal 6 - All languages with dominant VSO order have SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic order.

The reformulated universal was constructed by substituting the four-way classifications, VS&VO and SV&VO, in place of the respective three-element orders VSO and SVO.

Reformulated Universal 6. All languages with dominant VS&VO order have

SV&VO as an alternative or the only alternative basic word order.

Within Dryer's four-way word order typology, I demonstrated in chapter 5 that all three languages are VS&VO languages. Given that, this reformulated universal satisfies the Modern South Arabian Languages as they are represented in these texts, since they all have SV&VO as an alternative word order. Geblet also has a solitary instance of OV as an alternative word order, but this is permitted by the universal.

6.7 Reformulating Greenberg's *Universal 7*

This universal discusses the relationship between dominant word order and the relation between adverbial modifiers to the verb:

Universal 7. If in a language with dominant SOV order, there is no alternative basic order, or only OSV as the alternative, then all adverbial modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb.

The reformulated universal is created by substituting Dryer's classifications for Greenberg's corresponding three-element classifications. It will be noted that the exclusion clause "or only OSV as the alternative" is made redundant in the reformulated universal. Dryer's classifications do away with the possible alternative word order OSV since Dryer's classification for SOV and OSV is identical, namely, SV&OV. This gives the following reformulated universal:

Reformulated Universal 7. If in a language with dominant SV&OV order, there is no alternative basic order, then all adverbial modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb.

Since none of these languages have a dominant SV&OV word ordering, this universal is not relevant to them.

6.8 Reformulating Greenberg's *Universal 10*

Universal 10 correlates dominant word order with the order of question particle in yes/no questions:

Universal 10. Question particles or affixes, when specified in position by reference to a particular word in the sentence, almost always follow that word. Such particles do not occur in languages with dominant order VSO.

The reformulated universal was constructed by substituting the classification VS&VO for the three-element classification VSO.

Reformulated Universal 10. Question particles or affixes, when specified in position by reference to a particular word in the sentence, almost always follow that word. Such particles do not occur in languages with dominant order VS&VO.

The only part of this universal relevant to the Modern South Arabian Languages pertains is the second half, namely, that yes/no question particles whose position is specified with reference in position to another word do not exist in these languages.

Since I demonstrated in chapter 5 that the Modern South Arabian Languages have a dominant word order of VS&VO, it would be expected that such yes/no question particles or affixes particles do not exist in these languages. This is the case as the following Mehreyyet example shows:

Example 17. Mehreyyet Line 32.

ʔa:mo:r	«u	het	s ^ʕ ero:meh	ber	sejérk	k-ħejni:θ»
said	and	you	now	PERF.TENSE	going	with-women

He said, “And have you just now been lying with the women?”

This example shows that there is no particle that is part of this yes/no question.

There are no examples of yes/no questions in the Geblet text, but the Saqatari questions likewise have no yes/no particles or affixes associated with them as this example shows:

Example 18. Saqatari Line 52.

ʕomar	«qaqa	het	naʕa»
he.said	brother	you	now

“Brother, it is you now?!” he asked.

These examples confirm that the implicational prediction of the reformulated universal holds true in the Modern South Arabian Languages. These languages have been shown to have a dominant word order of VS&VO, and they do not exhibit yes/no question particles or affixes. This is the expectation of the reformulated implicational universal.

6.9 Reformulating Greenberg’s *Universal 12*

This universal deals with the relationship between wh- question words and dominant word order:

Universal 12 - If a language has dominant order VSO in declarative sentences, it always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word

questions; if it has dominant order SOV in declarative sentences, there is never such an invariant rule.

In the reformulated universal, the classifications VS&VO and SV&OV were substituted for the two three-element classifications VSO and SOV.

Reformulated Universal 12. If a language has dominant order VS&VO in declarative sentences, it always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word questions; if it has dominant order SV&OV in declarative sentences, there is never such an invariant rule.

All of the Modern South Arabian Languages are VS&VO languages. The apodosis of this reformulated universal holds true for most interrogative word questions observed in these texts. Following is an example from each of the three languages of a typical question with question words.

Mehreyyet

Example 19. Mehreyyet Line 20.

a:mo:r ho:kem «**hɛ:ɫɛn** ðo:meh men yero:j ʃu:k»
said ruler **what** this from what you.said

The ruler said, “What are you talking about?”

The position of the question word is first in the question itself, as predicted by the recast universal.

Geblet

Example 20. Geblet Line 12.

ʃõr 'h-eʃ 'jo? «**ko** 'het»
he.said to-him people **why** you

people said to him: What’s up with you?

The position of the question word in this question is again first in the question itself, as predicted by the recast universal.

Saqatari

Example 21. Saqatari Line 53a.

ƣomar	«qaqa	ʔifol	ta	qhon
he.said	brother	how	it	was

“How could it be?”

A more literal free translation likely expresses something closer to, “Brother, how is that?” I am not analyzing the word *qaqa* as part of the clause because as a vocative it is an extra-clausal element.

6.9.1 Counter-examples

While every wh- question in the Geblet and Saqatari texts, and most wh- questions in Mehreyyet place the interrogative word first in the question clause, there are two examples in the Mehreyyet text that appear to contradict this universal. The most direct of these is:

Example 22. Mehreyyet Line 100c.

te:	wi:s ^ʕ el	ħo:kem	ʔa:mo:r	«he:t mo:n »
when	he.reached	ruler	said	you who

When he came to the ruler he (the ruler) said, “Who are you?”

The second example shows a parallel construction for this particular interrogative word:

Example 23. Mehreyyet Line 64.

ʔa:mo:r «he:t ber **mo:n**»
said you son **who**

He said, “Whose son are you?”

These two instances directly counter the prediction of the universal. Without an explanation for these counter-examples, the universal would be falsified because the universal claims that a VS&VO language “always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word questions.”

This is a question that further analysis in the discourse of the language might answer, but a possible explanation is proffered here. Example 23 above could be translated ‘you [are] son of.whom?’ In this case, the question, ‘Who are you?’ may simply be an alternative genitive construction expressed as N N (Noun Noun) rather than having an explicit possessor. An example of this is found in the very next line of the text:

Example 24. Mehreyyet Line 65.

ʔa:mo:r «ho: **ber** **fela:n** **ber** **fela:n**»
said I **son** **N** **son** **N**

He said, “I am the son of N son of N”

This example shows how the genitive can simply be expressed as N N in Mehreyyet.

Another example in the text is:

Example 24. Mehreyyet Line 80a.

te: **men** **ðʕa:r** **'warx** li:bes b-a:men'dawχ w-adʒen'bej:et
then **from top** **month** he.put.on with-the.rifle and-dagger

 we-ksewe:t gi:det
 and-clothes fine

Then after a month he put on the rifle and dagger and fine clothes.

This example shows again the genitive construction N N in the prepositional phrase

‘from the.top [of] the.month.’ This construction illustrates how the original phrase ‘you [are] son of.whom?’ can indicate a genitive construction. From this, it is understood that

het mo:n in example 22 can reasonably be understood as ‘you [are] of.whom?’

Agafonov (personal correspondence) affirms that this is the case in both Arabic and in Saqatari by explaining the question *het ber mo:n* asks “about the tribe of the

person who is naturally ‘a son’ of his [tribe].” He adds, “The answer is the name of the tribe.”

Cowan (1994:1084) supports Agafonov in that the identical word is used for ‘who’ and ‘whom’ in Arabic, namely, *min*. This substantiates the likelihood that this construction expresses a N N genitive construction. In this particular case in Mehreyyet, *he:t mo:n* can be seen as a shortened form of *he:t ber mo:n* which asks which person or tribe the man is from.

Another possibility to explain these counter-examples is that perhaps this particular question word, *mo:n*, cannot come first in the clause. Though there are not examples of this word in the Mehreyyet text, the corresponding word in Saqatari is used initially in clauses as the following example shows:

Example 25. Saqatari Line 53b.

mon	d-ʔirqaḥ	ha-k	d-et	ʔejni
who	which-corrected	to-you	of-you	eyes

Who returned you your eyes,

Considering that the words are nearly identical and share the same meaning, this usage in Saqatari indicates it is likely that *mo:n* is used clause initially in Mehreyyet as well.

In this case, the explanation given above based on the genitive construction is perhaps a better explanation than that the word is specially used clause-finally.

There may be other explanations as well or it may be that these exceptions in Mehreyyet falsify the reformulated universal. Even with the explanations for the exceptions, it seems that the universal is falsified in its absolute claim that such languages “always [put] interrogative words or phrases first.” As such, the absolute claim likely needs to be weakened. This would be an area for future research.

6.9.2 A Summary of *Universal 12*

Most examples of interrogative words hold true to the reformulation of *Universal 12*. The two exceptions to this in the Mehreyyet examples have an alternative genitive construction as a possible explanation rather than the interrogative particle word order expected from typological conclusions.

Even with that explanation, however, Mehreyyet seems to show that *Universal 12* is too restrictive in the scope of its absolute claims.

While the second part of the universal cannot be tested since none of these languages have the dominant word order of SV&OV, the first part of the reformulated

universal can be tested. Applying it to these languages potentially brings into question the extent to which the claims in the reformulated implication are universal.

6.10 Reformulation of *Universal 16*

This universal deals with dominant word order and inflected auxiliaries:

Universal 16. In languages with dominant order VSO, an inflected auxiliary always precedes the main verb. In languages with dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb.

The reformulated universal is created by substituting Dryer's corresponding classifications for Greenberg's three-element classifications:

Reformulated Universal 16. In languages with dominant order VS&VO, an inflected auxiliary always precedes the main verb. In languages with dominant order SV&OV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb.

Though the languages are VS&VO, there are no examples of inflected auxiliaries in the texts. Therefore, this universal is not relevant to the discussion in this thesis.

6.11 *Universal 17* - Adjective and Noun Order

Greenberg's *Universal 17* addresses the relation between dominant word order and the order of adjectives and nouns:

Universal 17. With overwhelmingly more than chance frequency, languages with dominant order VSO have the adjective after the noun.

This universal was reformulated by substituting the classification VS&VO for the three-element classification VSO.

Reformulated Universal 17. With overwhelmingly more than chance frequency, languages with dominant order VS&VO have the adjective after the noun.

Unfortunately, use of adjectives in these narratives is rare; in fact, there are no examples of adjectives in the Geblet text to analyze. In Mehreyyet and Saqatari, however, the position of adjectives conforms to the reformulated universal.

The first of three instances of adjectives in Mehreyyet is:

Example 26. Mehreyyet Line 80a.

te: men ð^sa:r 'warx li:bes b-a:men'dawχ
then from top month he.put.on with-the.rifle

w-aɕen'bej:et we-**ksewe:t** **gi:det**
and-dagger and-**clothes** **fine**

Then after a month he put on the rifle and dagger and fine clothes.

The adjective *gi:det* modifies the preceding noun *ksewe:t* in the order N-Adj. Another example that demonstrates this consistent N-Adj order is:

Example 27. Mehreyyet Line 100a.

to:li li:bes be-**ksewe:t** **gi:det**
then he.dressed with-**clothes** **fine**

Then he put on fine clothes

All three Mehreyyet examples show the same N-Adj order.

Likewise, Saqatari illustrates the same N-Adj ordering as is seen in this example:

Example 28. Saqatari Line 90.

w-ol	tʃiraqaḥ (tʃaqaḥ)	ʔaf	l-igdaḥ	tʃotʃ	qhobç
and-not	it.will.emerge	until	MOOD-bring one		sheep

ḥahir	sʃuleb	d-ol	ther (tʃoy l-ther)
black	slaughtered	at-the	door (at one door)

It will not emerge until they bring a black sheep and slaughter it at the door.

The second Saqatari example is very similar, again with the N-Adj ordering:

Example 29. Saqatari Line 131.

ʔomar	gidaḥin	ʔinhi	tʃotʃ	qhobç	ḥahir
he.said	give.(pl.)	me	one	sheep	black

the man said, “now, give me a black sheep!”

The final example of N-Adj in Saqatari is:

Example 30. Saqatari Line 153.

zika?	li-la	kol	digdege	ʃafiro	dʃi-na
nothing	at-place	except	plain	red	this-of.it
	faħro				
	valley				

Now there is nothing at this place, only a red desert valley.

These examples show consistent N-Adj word ordering as predicted by the reformulated universal.

Once again, the predictions of the reformulated implicational universal are seen to be true in the narratives.

6.12 Reformulation of *Universal 41*

This universal relates the dominant word order to the presence of case systems:

Universal 41. If in a language the verb follows both the nominal subject and

nominal object as the dominant order, the language almost always has a case system.

Recasting the universal entails limiting the universal to the specific classification that is described, namely, SV&OV:

Reformulated Universal 41. In SV&OV languages, the language almost always has a case system.

None of the Modern South Arabian Languages has SV&OV as the dominant word ordering, so this universal is not relevant to the Modern South Arabian Languages.

6.13 Chapter Conclusion

As noted above, the difficulties in classifying this group of languages in terms of Greenberg's six-way typology made it impossible to apply Greenberg's universals to those languages.

Using Dryer's Four-way typology, however, we were able to classify these languages as VS&VO. In this chapter, Greenberg's implicational universals have been reformulated in terms of Dryer's Four-way typology making them applicable to these languages. The resulting reformulated universals, then, have been applied to the Modern South Arabian Languages as appropriate. While it was not possible to reformulate *Universal 1*, I have shown that it is possible to reformulate the other universals which make reference to dominant word order. The result of this approach is that all but one of the reformulated universals hold true in the Modern South Arabian Languages.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF THE FOUR-WAY TYPOLOGY

7.1 Formal Analysis of the Typology of Modern South Arabian Languages

In this thesis I have presented a typological analysis of the Modern South Arabian Languages. Whereas researchers to date have focused on other linguistic disciplines such as phonology, semantics or syntax, I have taken the application of typology to these languages beyond the cursory one or two sentences. By applying Dryer's Four-way typology to the Modern South Arabian Languages, this thesis opens the door to further analysis based on these conclusions.

7.2 Preparation of Texts for Analysis

Further, this thesis has provided a consistent representation of transcriptions of audio recordings. This notation allows for consistent comparison across the three languages at hand by unifying numerous complex and often conflicting systems of notation used over the last 180 years.

Additionally, this thesis provides texts in these languages that are interlinearized with newly aligned word-for-word glosses. Consistent notations show distinctions between morphemes represented in the source text.

7.3 The Challenges That the Modern South Arabian Languages Represent

As Dryer (1997) points out in his arguments for his Four-way typology, certain languages do not contain enough examples in ordinary usage to identify a “dominant” word order pattern. Consequently, these languages cannot be accurately categorized using Greenberg’s six-way typology. Following Dryer’s analysis, I have shown that problems arise in trying to apply Greenberg’s six-way typology to the Modern South Arabic Languages to determine a dominant word order. Because of these problems, many of the basic implicational universals proposed by Greenberg cannot be applied in the Modern South Arabian Languages.

In contrast to the problems encountered applying Greenberg’s typology, I have demonstrated that Dryer’s four-way approach to determining dominant word order yields reliable predictions for all three languages, thus allowing typological analysis of languages that were otherwise indeterminate as to their dominant word order.

7.5 Reformulating Greenberg’s Language Universals in the Four-way Typology

Using Dryer's four-way approach to dominant word order results in an ability to classify previously problematic languages. As I have shown, it is also possible to reformulate typological universals in terms of the four-way typology so that they can be applied to all of the world's languages. Harnessing the valuable implicational predictions merges the benefits of Greenberg's implicational universals and Dryer's approach to word-order typology.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MEHREYYET TEXT

The Mehreyyet text is text 20 from the work of T.M. Johnstone, titled “Abū Nuwās and the sandals” (Stroemer 1999:40-47). Stroemer (2004:xv) explains that his aim in the Mehreyyet volume was to follow Johnstone’s personal notations during his field work as closely as possible. The original consists of pages of numbered lines in the source language with facing pages of corresponding numbered lines with the free translation.

1a	xet ^ʕ erat	ba newa:s	jesu:ken	b-arhebet
	once	Abu.Nuwas	was.living	with-land

Once Abu Nuwas was living in a place

1b	u	ð-i ^l xawdem	ha:l	ho:kem	d-arhebet
	and	of-employment	PRESENCE	ruler	of-land

and in employment with the ruler of the place.

2a tɛ: nehɔ:r ʔa:mo:r heh ɦo:kem
then day one said to.him ruler

Then one day the ruler said to him,

2b <neke:ʔi b-anʔa:lje men ha:l ɦejni:θ>
Bring.me with-my.sandals from PRESENCE women

“Bring me my sandals from the women.”

3 ʔa:mo:r <ʔjeʔje>
said very.well

He said, “Very well.”

4 aχo:fi
went.away

He went away

5a tɛ: wi:sʕel ɦejni:θ ʔa:mo:r
then he.reached women said

Then when he reached the women he said,

5b <ʔa:mo:r hi:kem ɦo:kem
said to.you ruler

“The ruler says to you,

5c a:ze:men taj el-si:r ʃi:kem>
allow me to-go with.you

‘Let me go with you!’”

6a ʔa:mo:r
they.said

They said,

6b <hi:bo: ayero:j ðo:meh
what kind.of.talk this

“What kind of talk is this?”

7 ð-eh̄tewɛ:k aw hi:bo:»
of-madness or what

Are you mad or what?”

8a ʔa:mo:r <la:ʔ el ho: ð-eh̄tewɛ:k la:
said no NEG I of-madness not

He said, “I am not mad.

8b wela:ken ħo:kem jeħo:m ðe'raj:et
but ruler he.wants offspring

The ruler desires offspring

8c wela:ken ha:m el ʃes'dex̄ken taj la:
and if NEG believe me not

and if you don't believe me

8d s'ar:χo:na ħo:kem
we.call ruler

I shall call the ruler

8e u 'mʃaxber teh»
and ask him

and ask him.”

9a a:mo:r heh ħejni:θ
said to.him women

The women said,

- 9b <<'s'axeh>
 call.him

 “Call him.”
- 10a to:li 's'ax
 then he.called

 Then he called (him).
- 10b amo:r <<'t'ajt aw ke'lajt>
 said one or both

 He said, “One or two?”
- 11 amo:r ho:kem <ke'lajt>
 said ruler both

 The ruler said, “Both.”
- 12 amo:r <ha'maken>
 said you.did.hear

 He said, “Did you hear?”
- 13 to:li wzemi:h
 then they.allowed.him

 Then they gave him (themselves)
- 14 w-axo:fi ba newas
 and-went.away Abu Nuwas

 and Abu Nuwas went off.
- 15a te: nu:ka ha:l ho:kem
 then he.came PRESENCE ruler

 Then he came to the ruler

15b w-el ne'kajh b-anʔa:lhe la:
and-NEG bring.him with-his.sandals not

and did not bring him his sandals.

16 a:mo:r <ko: het el 'nakak b-anʔa:lje la:»
said how you NEG bring with-my.sandals not

He said, “Why didn't you bring my sandals?”

17 a:mo:r <l-a:d e'χawder be-zo:jed ela:
said NEG-FUT manage with-more not

He said, “I couldn't manage any more.

18 ho: ʔar tʰa:tʰ
I only one

I'm just one person

19 l-a:d e'χawder l-enke: zo:jed ʔela:»
NEG-FUT manage NEG-take more not

and I really couldn't do any more!”

20 a:mo:r ho:kem <he:ten ðo:meh men ɣero:j fu:k»
said ruler what this from what you.said

The ruler said, “What are you talking about?”

21 a:mo:r ba newa:s <het l-a:'merk 'hajni neke:ʔi
said Abu.Nuwas you NEG-said to.me bring.me

b-anʔa:lje la:»
with-my.sandals not

Abu Nuwas said, “Didn't you say to me, 'Bring me my sandals?'”

22 a:mo:r ĥo:kem <ja-ĥo:l>
said ruler yes-indeed

The ruler said, “Yes, indeed!”

23a a:mo:r <se'jerk
said I.went

He said, “I went

23b we-'nakak ti:sen ke'lajt>
and-got.to them both

and got to the two of them.”

24 a:mo:r <ĥō se:n>
said where they

He said, “Where are they?”

25a a:mo:r <berk a'betsen
said in their.apartment

He said, “In their apartment

25b u ber t^ʕejebk mense:m>
and PERF.TENSE enough of.them

and I have had my fill of them.”

26 a:mo:r <kele:θ 'laj he:ten 'ʔemelek>
said tell me what you.did

He said, “Tell me what you did!”

27 ʔa:mo:r <'ʔemelek le-hi:s ʔa:'merk 'hajni
said I.did as-when you.said to.me

He said, “I did as you told me.

28a sejerk tɛ: 'wes^selek həjni:θ
I.went till I.arrived women

I went till I came to the women

28b ʔa:'merk hi:sen ʔa:mo:r hi:ken hokem
I.said to.them says to.you ruler

and I said to them, 'The ruler says

28c a:ze:men taj el-neke:ken
allow me to-come.to.you

to let me come to you'

28d u weze'mej
and they.allowed.him

and they did.

29a u ber 's^saxek ti:k
and STATE I.called to.you

I called to you

29b w-a:'merk 'hajni ke'lajt?
and-you.said to.me both

and you told me, 'Both!'

29c we-s^sero:meh ber t^se'jebk»
and-now STATE enough

and now I have had enough.”

30 ʔa:mo:r «hɛ:ten 'nakak»
said what na:kak

He said, “What (do you mean by) *na:kak*?”

31 ʔa:mo:r ba newa:s «eñha: heni b-arʔebet:ten *nakak jesju:r*
 said Abu Nuwas means(?) for.us with-our.land *nakak going*

ke-ħejni:θ»
with.women

Abu Nuwas said, “For us in our country *nakak* (means) *going with women*.”

32 ʔa:mo:r «u he:t s^ʕero:meh ber sejérk k-ħejni:θ»
 said and you now PERF.TENSE going with-women

He said, “And have you just now been lying with the women?”

33 ʔa:mo:r «hi:bo: l-a:mo:l ha:m ha:merk laj»
 said how NEG-do if you.told to.me

He said, “How should I not when you ordered me to?”

34a to:li seju:r ħo:kem tewo:li ħejni:θ
 then he.went ruler to the.women

Then the ruler went to the women

34b we-ʃxebri:sen
 and-he.interrogated.them

and asked them what had happened.

35a ʔa:mo:r ħejni:θ «ne^ʕkajn ba newa:s
 said women came Abu Nuwas

The women said, “Abu Nuwas came to us

35b w-ʔa:mo:r hi:n «ħo:kem ʔa:mo:r 'hajni el-si:r ʃi:ken»
 and-said to.us ruler said to.me to-go with.you

and said to us, 'The ruler has told me to lie with you.'

35c we-n̄ha feb^ldejen teh
and-not we.believe him

We didn't believe him,

36a to:li s^ʰa'χawk
then he.called.you

(but) then he called you

36b w-ʔa:mo:r <t^ʰajt aw ke'lajt>
and-said one or both

and said, 'One or two?'

37a ʔa:'merk <ke'lethi>
you.said both.of.them

(and) you said, 'Both of them!'

37b we-ber seju:r fi:n>
and-STATE he.went with.us

So he lay with us.”

38a ʔa:mo:r ho:kem <ho: ʔa:merk heh <enke:i b-anʔa:lje>
said ruler I said to.him bring.me with-my.sandals

The ruler said, “I told him, 'Bring me my sandals'

38b u hi:s ʃxe'brej
and when he.asked.me

and when he asked me (that question)

38c ehu:ges
I.thought

I thought

38d ʃxe¹brej ʔa:r men anʔa:l
 he.asked.me only about sandals,

he was just asking me about the sandals,

38e w-ʔa:¹merk heh <ke¹lajt>
 and-I.said to.him both

so I told him 'both'.

39a wele:ken le:zem
 but must

But (now) I will have to

39b er¹dəh beh 'rawrem»
 I.throw him sea

fling him into the sea.”

40a to:li 'manam ba newa:s
 then they.got.hold.of Abu Nuwas

Then they got hold of Abu Nuwas

40b u ʒe¹lawbeh berk ʃet^ʕfet
 and they.overturned.him in basket

and overturned him into a basket

40c we-ʔe¹rawg 'leh berki:s
 and-sewed him in.it

and sewed him up in it.

41a w-ʔa:mo:r ɦa:gero:n <ʔele:lem teh a¹rawrem»
 and-said to.the.slaves take him to.sea

The ruler said to the slaves, “Take him away to the sea!”

41b we-^hel:em teh ħa:gero:m
and-took him slaves

and away the slaves took him.

42a tɛ: ^hwes^ʕelem ħajχ ku:sem a^hrawrem ʃeħa:χ
then they.arrived coast they.found sea low

Then when they reached the sea coast they found the sea was on the ebb.

42b u ^hχa^hlam teh be-ħajχ
and left him with-shore

So they left him on the shore

42c we-se^hjawr je^hfi:jem
and-went to.have.their.lunch

and went to have their lunch.

43a tɛ: a^hrawrem tekle:
then sea come.forth

Then when the tide came in,

43b we-je^hdi:jem teh men ð^ʕa:r dahχ
and-they.would.throw him from top cliff

they would throw him off a cliff.

44a we-to:li nu:ka yajg eð-je^hsjur be-ħajχ
and-then came man ??-going with-shore

Next, along came a man walking on the shore

44b u ʃeh xem^hsajn ^hrawn
and was fifty goats

with fifty goats.

44c we-feh e:f χe'rawf we-men'dawχ u ɕen'bej:et
 and-was thousand Maria.Theresa.dollars and-rifle and dagger

He had a thousand Maria Theresa dollars, a rifle and dagger.

45 te: ku:sa ʃet'fet
 then he.found basket

Then he found the basket.

46 to:li leħemi:s
 then he.touched.it

He touched it

47 to:li 'hatrek ba newa:s
 then moved Abu Nuwas

and Abu Nuwas moved.

48 to:li ʔa:mor heh a'ʔajg <ħe:ten he:t men menedem>
 then said to.him man what you from what.kind

Then the man said to him, "What kind of a person are you?"

49 ʔa:mor <ħo: 'ʔajg ð-ħo:m el-yeber 'həbjen ðe-ber
 said I man of-want to-meet our.parents of.STATE


 mo:tem>
 dead

He said, "I'm a man who wants to meet our parents who have already died."

50 ʔa:mor <we-ko: ʔəħa:d je'χawder jeɣber 'həbehe ðe-ber
 said and-how one possibly meet parents of.STATE

 mo:tem>
 died

He said, "How can anyone meet his parents who have died?"

51 ʔa:mo:r «θo:na hu:k ela:
 said I.explain to.you not

He said, “I won't tell you.

52 'jes^ʕ:ek ti:k m-a:d telo:mi eχlɛ:k berk
 I'm.afraid of.you TENSE/MOOD(?) then allow.you in

ʃet^ʕfe:ti»
 my.basket

I'm afraid you will expect me to let you into my basket.”

53 ʔa:mo:r «^ʕe¹lebk ti:k tekle:θ 'laj»
 said I.beg of.you come.forth to.me

He said, “I beg you to tell me.”

54 ʔa:mo:r «ha:m ʔɛħa:d seju:r berk ʃet^ʕfe:t ði:meh je'ɣawbe
 said if one goes in basket this meet

'hebbɛ
 his.parents

He said, “If anyone goes into this basket he will meet his parents.

55 we-ho: 'ħas^ʕelek ʃet^ʕfe:t ði:meh men 'hal mele:k»
 and-I received basket this from PRESENCE angels

I got this basket from the angels.”

56 ʔa:mo:r «'tew:ek taxo:fi»
 said you.ought allow.me

He said, “You should let me take your place.”

57 ʔa:mo:r «^labdan
said never

He said, “Never.

58 ho: ʔa:to:χek el-^hhebje
I miss to-my.parents

I miss my parents.

59 ʔa:di ʔi:nek ti:hem la: men 'warx
PERFECTIVE I.saw them not from month.

I haven't seen them for a month.

60a ʔi:nek ti:hem
I.saw them

I saw them

60b u 'red:ek berk ʃet^ʃfe:ti
and I.returned in my.basket

and came back in my basket.

61 u men hi:s 'hebje mo:tem ber ʔi:nek ti:hem xe^lm:oh
and from when parents death STATE I.saw them five

t^ʃewo:r»
times

Since my parents died I have seen them five times.”

62 ʔa:mo:r «^ltew:ek teχlei ho: l-esi:r
said you.ought allow me to-go

He said, “You ought to let me go.

63 adi el fi:nek 'hɛbje men hi:s mo:tem»
 PERFECTIVE NEG I.saw parents from when death

I have never seen my parents since they died.”

64 ʔa:mo:r «het ber mo:n»
 said you son who

He said, “Whose son are you?”

65 ʔa:mo:r «ho: ber fela:n ber fela:n»
 said I son N son N

He said, “I am the son of N. son of N”

66a ʔa:mo:r «'hɛjbek be-'xajr 'hah
 said your.father with-good he

He said, “Your father is fine

66b u berk agen:t
 and in Paradise

and in Paradise.

66c u ð-ʃxebur:r lu:k
 and of-asking about.you

He was asking about you,

66d wela:kən ho: e'yarbek ela: men feno:hen
 but I know.you not from before.now

but I didn't know you before.

67a u hi:s het ħebre: ðe-fela:n χalo:na ti:k tesir
 and when you son of-N I.allow to.you go

However, since you are the son of N. I will let you go,

67b wela:ken te'habtʕa la: ho: ʔa:to:χek el-ʕhebje»
 but tarry not I miss to-my.parents

but don't be long. I have been missing my parents.”

68 ʔa:mo:r «ʔabdan»
 said never

He said, “Not at all.”

69 to:li ʔa:mo:r heh «enθe:r ʔe'laj»
 then said to.him free me

Then he told him, “Untie (the basket) for me!”

70a u neθo:r leh
 and he.freed him

He untied (the basket) for him

70b w-ʔa:mo:r «ʔa:ke:b fi:sa:ʔ
 and-said enter quickly

and he said, “Get in right away

70c w-endo: amen'dawχ w-aɕen'bej:et we-ħa:'rawn w-aχera:wʃ»
 and-give rifle and-dagger and-goats and-dollars

and give the rifle, dagger, goats and dollars!”

71 ʔa:mo:r «'dawnek bi:hem»
 said take them

He said, “Take (them)!”

72a ʔa:morr ba newa:s <ha:m 'nakam ti:k ħa:bu: ð-je'ħajm
 said Abu Nuwas if come to.you people who-they.want

 jerde:jem bu:k
 they.throw you

Abu Nuwas said, “If people come to you wanting to throw you down,

72b ħeð:o:r men teye'tajr
 keep.them from knowing

look out that you don't speak

73a je'yarbem a'ħardek
 they.know your.voice

so that they could recognize your voice

73b we-je'naθrem lu:k
 and-free you

and untie (the basket) for you

73c we-jeke:θem ħo:kem
 and-tell ruler

and tell the ruler.

74 we-ħo:kem jeno:χed 'laj
 and-ruler rebuke me

Because the ruler would tell me off.

75a hah ber t'ew'bej l-εχle:h berk ſet'efeti
 He STATE asked.me to-allow in my.basket

He has already asked me to let him into the basket,

75b we-ho: xo:zek»
and-I refused.him

but I refused.”

76 ʔa:mo:r «'je'je»
said very.well

He said, “Very well.”

77a te: 'nakam ha:gero:n
then came slaves

Then the slaves came (back),

77b we-ʔel:em teh
and.took him

took him away

77c te: redi:w beh men ɖʕa:r dahɣ
then they.threw him from top cliff

and flung him off a cliff.


78 u ba newa:s seju:r
and Abu Nuwas went

Abu Nuwas went off.

79 te: wi:sʕel a'beteh ʔxewelu:l
then he.arrived to.his.home he.stayed.there

When he got home he stayed there.

80a te: men ð^sar 'warx li:bes b-a:men^ldawχ w-aɕen^lbej:et
 then from top month he.put.on with-the.rifle and-dagger

 we-ksewe:t gi:det
 and-clothes 

Then after a month he put on the rifle and dagger and fine clothes.

80b we-ɣa:t^s ɦa:'rawn he-'sawχ
 and-he.took the.goats to-market

He took the goats to the market

80c we-fo:m ɦa:'rawn
 and-sold goats

and sold the goats.

81a we-to:li ʔa:'mawr 'ɦabu: «ðo:meh ba newa:s
 and-then said people this Abu Nuwas

Then folk said, “That is Abu Nuwas.

81b ɭafeh s^seh!»
 it.happened he.lives

He has turned out to be alive.”

82a we-to:li ʃes^sfu: ɦo:kem
 and-then learns ruler

Eventually the ruler found out (about him)

82b we-xe^ls^sawb el-ba newa:s
 and-sent to-Abu Nuwas

and sent for Abu Nuwas

82c tɛ: ˈnkajh
 then he.came

to come to him.

83 ʔa:mo:r <hɛt sʰɛh>
 said you live

He said, “You are alive!?”

84 ʔa:mo:r <ja-ɦo:l>
 said yes-indeed

He said, “Yes, indeed.”

85 ʔa:mo:r <l-erdi:w bu:k ɦa:gero:n berk aˈrawrem la:»
 said to-throw of.you the.slaves in the.sea not

He said, “Didn't the slaves fling you in the sea?”

86a ʔa:mo:r <ja-ɦo:l
 said yes-indeed

He said, “Yes indeed!”

86b wɛla:kɛn ʔɛˈberk ɦɛbjɛ berk aɡɛn:ɛt
 but I.met my.parents in Paradise

But I met my parents in Paradise

86c wɛ-ˈred:ɛk
 and-I.returned

and came back.

87 wɛˈzawmi xɛmsi:n rawn wɛ-mɛnˈdawχ wɛ-ɕɛnˈbej:ɛt>
 they.gave.me fifty goats and-a.rifle and-a.dagger

They gave me fifty goats, a rifle and a dagger.”

88 ʔa:mo:r <het bo:dek>
said you liar

He said, “You are a liar!”

89a w-ʔa:mo:r ɦa:gero:n jehferem 'bajr
and-he.told the.slaves to.dig a.well

He (the ruler) told the slaves to dig a well

89b we-jeχe:em ba newa:s berki:h
and-leave Abu Nuwas in.it

and leave Abu Nuwas in it

89c we-jehenɦem beh fi:wo:t^ʕ
and-burn.him with fire

and burn him with fire.

90 ʔa:'mawr <'je'je>
they.said all.right

They said, “All right.”

91a ɦe'fawr ɦa:gero:n bajr
they.dug the.slaves well

The slaves dug a well

91b u ba newa:s ɦefu:r men a'beteh a'bajr
and Abu Nuwas dug from his.house to.the.well

and Abu Nuwas dug from his own house

91c tɛ: wi:s^ʕel abajr
then he.arrived at.well

till he reached the well.

92 to:li ʔa:'mawr he-ba newa:s «χefe:d berk a'bajr»
 then they.said to-Abu Nuwas get.down into well

Then they said to Abu Nuwas, “Get down into the well!”

93 ʔa:mor: «geze:kem be-'xajr
 said may.he.reward.you with-good

He said, “May He reward you.

94 ho: 'beri ʔa:to:χek el-'hebje»
 I STATE missing to-my.parents

I have been missing my parents.”

95a we-χefu:d ba newa:s
 and-went.down Abu Nuwas

Abu Nuwas went down.

95b we-feh 'lawχet
 and-there.was a.bottle

He had a bottle with him,

95c u χe'lajs berk a'bajr
 and he.left in well

he left it in the well,

95d we-hah weku:b berk adeħli:l
 and-he entered in the.tunnel

went into the tunnel

95e we-seju:r h-a'beteh
 and-he.went to-his.home

and got home.

96a we-ħa:bu: hewi:w be-ð^ʕero:b men a'ɣawf
 and-people threw with-wood from above

The people threw down wood from above.

96b tɛ: mi:leʔ a'baʒr s^ʕeb:em ɣa:z
 then full well they.poured.on petrol

Then when the well was full they poured on petrol

96c we-ħxa:t^ʕem bi:hem
 and-they.ignited them

and struck a match in (the firewood).

97a we-ħa:bu: s^ʕo:rem
 and-people stood

The people stood there.

97b to:li neɣebo:t a'lawɣet
 then cracked bottle

Then the bottle cracked.

98a ʔa:'mawr <ħeme: ħero: ð-ba newa:s fe:ɣeɭ>
 they.said hear head of-Abu.Nuwas explode

They said, "Listen to the head of Abu Nuwas explode."

98b w-a'ɣafjem
 and-they.left

They turned away.

99 u hah ɬxewelu:l warx
 and he stayed month

He stayed put for a month.

100a to:li li:bes be-ksewert gi:det
 then he.dressed with-clothes fine

Then he put on fine clothes

100b we-sejur
 and-went

and went (out).

100c te: wi:s^ʕel ho:kem ʔa:mo:r <het mo:n>
 when he.reached ruler said you who

When he came to the ruler he (the ruler) said, “Who are you?”

101 ʔa:mo:r <ho: ba newa:s>
 said I Abu Nuwas

He said, “I am Abu Nuwas.”

102 ʔa:mo:r <het el matk e^ʕla>
 said you to death not

He said, “You didn't die (then)?”

103a ʔa:mo:r <la: ho: ^ʕnakak men ha:l ^ʕhebje
 said no I come from PRESENCE my.parents

He said, “No. I have come from my parents

103b we-^ʕhebke berk agen:et
 and-your.parents in Paradise

and your parents are in Paradise

103c we-ð-jeχalbem (jeχa:bem) lu:k be-selo:m>
 and-who-they.send (they.send) to.you with-peace

and they send you greetings.”

104 ʔa:mo:r «ħo:m el-si:r te^lwelihem»
said I.want to-go to.them

He said, “I want to go to them.”

105 ʔa:mo:r ba newa:s «^lʔabdan
said Abu Nuwas never

Abu Nuwas said,

106 enɣala:k ela:
we.allow not

“Not at all.

107a ham se^ljerk l-a:d red:o:na lin ela:
if you.go to-FUT return to.us not

If you go you will never come back to us

107b met 'kesk 'hebke w-agen:e:t»
when you.find your.parents and-Paradise

when you find your parents and Paradise.”

108 ʔa:mo:r «ħo:m l-esi:r»
said I.want to-go

He said, “I want to go.”

109a we-to:li ħe^lfawr heh 'bajr
and-then dug for.him well

Eventually they dug a well for him

109b u ħeri:ɣ 'beh
and burnt him

and burnt him.

110a we-ʔxeweli:l 'warxi 'θroh
and-they.stayed months two

They stayed (so) for two months.

110b to:li 'nakam ʔebo:n ðe-ħo:kem tewo:li ba newa:s
then came sons of-ruler to Abu Nuwas

Then the sons of the ruler came to Abu Nuwas.

111 ʔa:'mawr «'ħajben el nu:ka la»
they.said our.father NEG come not

They said, “Our father hasn't come (back).”

112 ʔa:mo:r «'ħajbekem l-a:d hah neko:na la men ha:l
said your.father to-FUT he come not from PRESENCE

'ħebhe w-agen:e:t»
parents and.Paradise

He said, “Your father won't come (away) from his parents and from Paradise.”

113 ʔa:'mawr ʔebo:n ðe-ħo:kem «neħo:m nesir tewe:ħe»
said sons of-ruler we.want we.go unto.him

The ruler's sons said, “We want to go to him.”

114 ʔa:mo:r «'je'je»
said all.right

He said, “All right.”

115 ke-so:beħ hen'ħajw be-ʔebo:n ðe-ħo:kem u wezjárhem
with-morning they.burned with-sons of-ruler and their.minister

In the morning they burned the ruler's sons and their minister.

116a w-a:^lmawr he-ba newa:s <^ldawnek her:t b-eḥ^lkawmet
 they-said to-Abu Nuwas take.over you with-the.government

They said to Abu Nuwas, “Take over the government

116b tɛ: nenke:k»
 then we.return.to.you

till we come (back) to you.”

117 we-ḥku:m ba newa:s a^tʔawl ḏ-azbo:n
 and-ruled Abu Nuwas long of-time

Abu Nuwas ruled for a long time.

118 we-tem:u:t kewθe:t
 and-ended the.tale

The tale is ended (here).

APPENDIX B

GEBLET TEXT

The Geblet text, titled “The Bedouin and ice,” is a narrative story from Hofstede’s (1998) dissertation. The original consists of two interlinear lines, the first being the source text and the second being morphological tagging with some word-for-word correspondences. A free translation in paragraph form follows the interlinear portion of the text.

Text 3. The Bedouin and ice

1a xat'a'ret 'yeig 'ber ε ʕamk' ε-'ʕumr-iʃ k-'i'je
 once man was who in the-age-his with-the.camels(f)

 b'ʔerʕən
 in.the.land

Once a man in the middle of his age was with the camels in our land

1b b ɔl ʔe 'mi 'k'e'rib ə'lo
 and NEG thing water near NEG

and there was not any water nearby.

2 axa'ret 'ber d'ə 'xet
then was very thirsty

[Then he was very thirsty.]

3 d'əd lə'təku 'hɪni 'sjɛ're b 'ɣamk'-'ɛs 'kfor
he.was.still thus he.sees car and in.her infidel

He was still like that, when he saw a car and there were foreigners in it.

4a axa'ret 'wuk'əf s'jɛ're
then it.stopped car

Then he stopped the car

4b b'iljəhum mi
and.to.ask.for water

and asked them for water

4c 'wuʃər b-'jɪd-ɪʃ
he.points.out with-hand-his

and pointed with his hand

5a axa'ret zhɛd-ʃ d'ə ʃɛ 'ɣagəb b mi
then understands-he that he wants with water

Then they understood him that he wanted water

5b bə-ʃum əl 'ʃ-əhum 'mɪh ə'loʔ
and-theyNEG with-them water NEG

but they did not have water.

6 'ʃ-əhum t'alg
with-them ice

They had ice.

7a zũ-ʃ lhin dħa jsi'nud-s
 they.gave-him that.which FUT to.be.enough-her

They gave him what would suffice

7b bə ʃε əl j'gərəb t'alg əlo
 and he NEG he.was.knowing ice NEG

but he did not know ice.

8 j'kəl k'it
 food he.was.thinking

He thought it was food.

9a ħīliʃ ʃak' xar'k'et-ʃ
 he.had.taken.him in garment-his

He put it in his cloth

9b b-'a'ɣad
 with-he.had.gone

and went

9c εd n'xin 'hi'rum 'skəf
 until under tree he.had.sat

till under a tree, he sat down

10a bə ħōl m-'æʃ 'xerin
 and he.had.taken from.him a.little

and took a little from it

10b bə 'k'eɪʃ-'εʃ ʃak' xə-ʃ
 and had.let-him in mouth-him

and put it in his mouth.

11a axa'rət həs b-'ε-'l̥ɛl ʔak' 'ʃnun-'ɛʃ 'tʃil-'ɛʃ
 then he.had.felt with-the-coldness in teeth-him spit-him

Then he felt the cold in his teeth, he spat it out

11b b-ər'de bə t'alg
 and-he.threw with ice

he spat it out and threw the ice away

11c bə fə'lət ɛd zham 'tel 'sɛkin-iʃ 'd'-'iʃi
 and he.fled until he.came at community-his that-ran

and ran away. When he came at his community running,

12 ʔōr 'h-ɛʃ 'joʔ ko 'het
 he.said to-him people why you

people said to him: What's up with you?

13a ʔōr 'he kisk 'kfər
 he.said I found foreigner

He said: I have met foreigners

13b bə zū-t-o 'seh̃m 'mit' i'ne
 and gave-to-me poison some or.other

and they gave me some kind of poison

13c bə 'he 'tɔ'lək 't-ɔhum mi
 and I asked.you to-them water

while I asked them for water

14 bə ʃūm zūm t-o 'tɛ 'lun taʔ'mirən s'kɛr
 and they gave to-me thing kind you.call.it sugar

and they gave me something, it is like sugar,

15 bə ʒɛ:lʒɛ:l
and extreme.coldness

and its coldness

16 'aɪ'ad 'jɛxnʊt' 'ʃnu'n-i
he.went to.take.out teeth-me

almost took out my teeth.

17 axa'ret ɛ-'brɛ-ʃ 'ɣa'rɔb d^ɕ-ʃɛ t^ɕalg
then the-son-him he.knew that-it ice

Then his son understood that it was ice.

18 ʃɔr 'h-ɛʃ 'ɛ-'bɛ:
he.said to-him the-father

He said to him: Oh father!

19a 'd^ɕəkū t^ɕalg
that ice

That is ice

19b b-'hɛr k'ɛlʃak t-ɔʃ ʃak' s'ha'lət jəm'tesa?
and-if you.allow to-it in bowl it.melts

and if you leave it in a bowl, it will melt,

19c b-i'kin 'mi
and-it.will.be water

and it will be water.

20 'ɛd^ɕmər 't-o-b-iʃ
show to-me-with-it

Show it to me.

21 fōr: 'h-ine
 he.said to-what

He said: Why?

22 fōr ε-'bre-ʃ ʃak' l-əʃ'tik'
 he.said the-son-him you.want to-drink

His son said: I want to drink it.

23 'b-a'ʃad m'be're?
 and-he.went boy

And the boy went.

24 'go'zum 'ʃaxar 'her a'ʃadk jəl sɛ'hm 'd'ɔkūⁿ ar dħa-'l-ɔʃ-ək
 he.swore old.man if you.go towards poison that indeed FUT-to.kill-you

The old man swore: If you go to that poison, indeed I will kill you.

25 'her 'ber dħa-j'tɔʃ-ək ε'kfɔr ʃak 'he l-ɔʃ-ək
 if was FUT.kill-you foreigner want I to-kill-you

Before the foreigners will kill you, I will kill you.

26 axa'ret 'ʃel'b-əʃ ε-'bre-ʃ ɛd 'kɛlʃ-əʃ
 then talked.to-him the-son-him until he.allowed

Then his son talked him round till he let him go.

27a 'b-a'ʃad ʃad z'ħam 'kse 'xɛ:rin dʃɔd ɔl musi:
 and-he.went until he.came he.found a.little still NEG melted

lo?
 NEG

And he went. When he came, he found a little which has not yet melted

27b bə ʃʊʃi
 and he.drunk

and he drank it.

28 bə tə'm:ut
 and he.it.was.finished

And it is finished.

APPENDIX C

SAQATARI TEXT

The Saqatari tale *Bismillah* was recorded and transcribed by Vladimir Agafonov (2007). It was told by Sa'ad al-Keshri, a student from Qalansiya, the second largest city of Soqotra. The recording was made in 1979-1980 and transcribed with the assistance of the narrator.

The original text consists of numbered lines of the original with interlinear lines of free translation, but no word-for-word correspondences or morphological tagging.

Bismillah

1	kana	t ^ʕ ru	muts ^ʕ aḥibi
	there.were	two	friends

There were two friends.

2a	t ^ʕ aharo	t ^ʕ oj	jom	ʕomor	t ^ʕ ot
	they.went	one	day	he.said	one

One day one of them said

2b ʕomor <jo qaqa ʔal ʕa-k naʕa l-it^ʕohiro
 he.said O brother when to-you now MOOD-go

“Hey, brother! Do you want (us) to go

2c l-itmaʕ:ijo l-ħa
 MOOD-walk to-place

for a walk?!

2d l-it^ʕohiro l-ħa kar de ħadib d-ħa diʕ bi digdege»
 MOOD-go to-place up this place of-here this on plain?

To that place on this plain?!”

3 ʕomor <ʕik»
 he.said I.want

“Yes, I do”, this friend said.

4 t^ʕaharo
 they.two.went

They went.

5 min ʔal jiʕado ħa ʕomor t^ʕot^ʕ gedaħ raħ
 from when they.were.going here, he.said one has.come the.wind

When they went the strong wind came

6 ʕomor t^ʕot^ʕ ʕisraʔ ħadib
 he.said one disappeared place

and the whole place disappeared.

7 ʕomor <bismil:a»
 he.said bismilla

“Bismilla!” said the one.

8 ʕomor «tinqanaʕ mo-k nije
 he.said mind.went of-you mad

“What do you say?!” asked his friend, “Your mind went mad!

9 taʕamir «bismil:a»
 you.say bismilla

Bismilla is bad!

10 dijaʕ «bismil:a»
 bad bismilla

[Bismilla is bad!]

11 la-ʕeder mo-k ʔala ʕed»
 MOOD(?) -save(?) of-you Allah save(?)

Alla save your life!”

12 ʕomor «bismil:a» dije
 he.said bismilla good

“Bismilla is good!” the first friend said.

13 ʕomor laʔ dijaʕ «bismil:a»
 he.said no bad bismilla

“No. It’s bad!” the second said,

14a ʕomor «b-inhem ʔinhi ʔindark» keremo dije «bismil:a»
 he.said with-them(?) me I.stake when good bismilla

“what will you stake when bismilla is good ?”

15a ʕomor «ʔerim:o (ʔenim:o) dijaʕ «bismil:a»
 he.said if bad bismilla

“If bismilla is bad

15b ʔindark ha-k raqaḥ min-e ʕeni
 I.stake to-you take.out from-me my.eyes

you will take off my eyes,

15c wa tijeʃel min-e hidi
 and break from-me my.arms

and break my arms

15d wa tijeʃel min-e çirʕon»
 and break from-me my.legs

and my legs,”

16 ʕomor «wa het»
 he.said and you

the friend said. And you?”

17a ʕomor «wa ho ʔerim:o dije çbismila»
 he.said and I if good bismilla

“And I too, if bismilla is good,

17b ʔendark ha-k min-e b-ʕejni
 stake to-you from-me with-my.eyes

will give you my eyes,

17c wa min-e b-jidi wa min-e b-çirʕon»
 and from-me with-my.arms and from-me with-my.legs

and my arms, and my legs to do the same,” the other friend said.

18 t^ʕahejro ʕado min ʔal jiʕado
 they.went they.walked from when walking

They went walking

19 ksejo tʰotʰ di ginn
they.met one this Jinn

and met a man who really was a Ginn.

20 ginn jeʃamer «dijaʃ <bismil:a>»
Jinn says bad bismilla

[The Jinn said, “'Bismilla' is bad.”]

21 ʃamero «ʔe ginn»
they.said O Jinn

[Hey, Jinn! they said to him,]

22a ʃamero «ʔe ʃuħar
they.said O man

“Hey, man!” they said to him,

22b ʃi ħa le-ħa
there.is place to-place

“there is a dispute between us.

22c ʃinidirki ħa
we.bet something

[We bet something.]

22d d-jo qaqa jeʃomer dije <bismil:a>
of-me brother says good bismilla

One of us says: bismilla is good

22e wa ho ʔaʃamer djaħ <bismil:a>»
and I say bad bismilla

and the other said it is bad...”

23 ginn ʕomar ‹‹bismil:a›› diʕ
the.Jinn said bismilla bad

“The Ginn said: “Bismilla is bad!

24 dijaʕ ‹bismil:a››
bad bismilla

Bad!”

25 ʕomar ‹‹dijaʕ ‹bismil:a››
he.said bad bismilla

“Bad?” they asked one more time.

26 ʕomar ‹‹dijaʕ ‹bismil:a››
he.said bad bismilla

“Yes, bad!” the Ginn said again.

27a tʕahar ʕomar ‹naʕa qaqa ʕik (h)a-k
he.went he.said now brother I.want from-you

“Now,” the first friend said, “I want you

27b tzaʕa th-o l-ħa-na diʕ ʕegara d-buk diʕ ðʕot
take to(?)-me to-place-of.it this tree of-there this doom.one

d-buk
of-there

to take me to that doom-tree there

27c wa tigeʕel min-e ʕirʕon wa raqaħ min-e ʕejni»
and break from-me/legs and take.out from-me my.eyes

and take off my eyes, break my arms and legs!”

28 ʕomar <hej>
he.said hey

“Yes,” the second friend said.

29 zaʕe-ʃ l-ħa-ne ʃegara
he.took-him to-place-of.it tree

They went to that tree

30 wa fone dunja fone tinaffed d-si ʔindar
and one.time people one.time fulfilled of.them promise

That time the people kept their promises.

31 ʔal ʕad jis^sober jhi
when them they.stay waiting

[They stayed there waiting,]

32a ʔirqah̄n ma-j ʕejni
he.took.out of-him eyes

and there he took off his friend’s eyes,

32b wa giʃel ma-j hidi
and broke of-him arms

broke his friend’s arms

32c wa giʃel mo-j ʕirhon
and broke of-him legs

and legs,

33 ʕeqal (h)-ij buk naʕa
abandoned him there now

left him there and went away.

34 gedah ʔesfar bi-lilhe gedah me-san ʔesfar
 came birds with-night came some birds

In the night there came dove-birds.

35 me-san di ʔad ʃi kuketen
 some this them are doves

[Some of them are doves.]

36a ʔomero tʔoj ʔesfiro ʔomero «ʔaħ qaqa
 she.said one bird she.said O sister

The first of them said: “O, sisters!

36b l-ʔam ʔino naʔa tʔotʔ ʔuwher
 MOOD-be(?) there.is now one blind

If there was a blind man

36c wa zeʔe diʔr diʃ min ʃegara d-ħa»
 and he.took blood this from tree of-place

and take a little blood of this tree

36d ʔomar ta d-hi b-ʔejni
 did so of-him with-eyes

[and did this to his eyes,]

36e ʃitʔorif d-hi ʔejni
 will.be.cured of-him eyes

his eyes will recover.”

37a ʔomero tʔoj «ʔaħ qaqa l-ʔam ʔino tʔotʔ
 she.said one o sister MOOD-be(?) there.is one

The second said: “O, sisters! If there was one

37b giʃel mo-j hed
broken of-him arm

with broken arm

37c wa ʃomer d-je di hed
and made of-him this arm

[and made of it this arm,]

37d ʃomer (h)-is ʃa l-ʃa-ne di ʃojhi l-ʃa-na diʃ ʃegara
made to-her here to-place-of.it this earth to-place-of.it this tree

d-ʃa
of-place

and make the earth from around this tree

37e tʃiraqaʃ he-j d-i hed»
corrected to-him of-him arm

to his arm – his arm will recover.”

38a ʃomero tʃoj «qaqa l-ʃam ʔino tʃotʃ giʃel ʃirʃon
she.said one sister MOOD-be(?) there.is one broken legs

And the third said: “O, sisters! If there was one with broken leg

38b wa qoðʃof diʃ min ʃegara d-ʃa
and broke.off this from tree of-place

[and broke a piece from this tree here,]

38c wa ʔirqaʃ mo-s diʔr
and went.out of-it blood

and make a little blood of this tree

38d ʕomar d-i d ʕirʕon
 made of-him his legs

to his leg

39 tʕiraqaḥ (tʕaqaḥ) ha-j d-hi ʕirʕon»
 will.be.corrected to-him of-him legs

his leg will recover.”

40 ʔimaʕ ʕuḥar
 heard the.man

The man heard all this

41 lotʕ ʔimaʕ ʕuḥar ʕamor te-nʕa
 when heard the.man made so-now

and made as the birds said.

42a ʕamor d-hi ʕejni
 made of-him eyes

[he put it on his eyes]

42b ʕamor te d-ḥojhi
 made with earth

[he made it with earth]

42c ʕamor ʕam qadom
 made until saw

He broke the bark of the tree and made its blood to his eyes – and they returned to see.

43a ʕamor te d-hi di hidi
 made so of-him these arms

He put his arms

43b ʕamor hi l-ħa-ne ħojhi d-ʕegara
 he.made him to-place-of.it earth of-tree

to the earth at the foot of the tree and they returned as they had been.

44a wa ʕamor mo-s
 and he.made of-her

Then he made

44b wa ʕit^o mo-s t^ooj
 and felt of-her one

its blood

44c wa qoð^oof ʕegara
 and broke tree

[and broke the tree.]

44d ʕamor h-i ʕirʕon
 he.made to.him legs

to his broken legs –

45a wa ʕiqaħ te d-hi ʕirʕon
 and were.corrected so of-him legs

and his legs returned to walk in full health.

45b wa d-hi ʕejni
 and of-him eyes

[and his eyes]

46a w-os^obaħ jiʕaber d-i b ʕejni
 and-became seeing of-him by eyes

[and he could see with his eyes]

47b wa juʃud d-hi b çirʃon
and going of-him by legs

[and he could walk by his legs]

47c wa jiti d-hi b hidi
and eating of-him by arms

[and he could eat with his hands]

48 ʃam tsʰabaḥ ʃhalef
when it.become.morning he.left

In the morning he went away

49 çise (kise?) d-i qaqa d-i sʰaḥab di d-fona
he.found of-him brother of-him friend this of-time

but soon he met his friend which he called “brother”

50a kse-s (ʃ) tʰoj be ʃobher min ʔal jeʃamer
found-he one near a.well from when saying

sitting by the well.

50b «ʃigib riḣho
I.want water

I want (some) water,

50c tʰimik»
I.thirst

I have a thirst (am thirsty)."

51c tʰime
he.thirsted

He was thirsty

51b wa biçi miçijo d-ƴomar bi-s rijho
 and there.was no.pail which-make with-it water

but there was no leather pail to take some water from it.

52 ƴomar «qaqa het naƴa»
 he.said brother you now

“Brother, it is you now?!” he asked.

53a ƴomar «qaqa ƴifol ta qhon
 he.said brother how it was

“How could it be?”

53b mon d-ƴirqaḥ ha-k d-et ƴejni
 who which-corrected to-you of-you eyes

Who returned you your eyes,

53c mon d-kole ha-k d-et çirƴon wa d-et hidi»
 who which-cured to-you of-you legs and of-you arms

and your arms, and your legs?”

54 ƴomar ho «?ilḥamdulil:a»
 he.said I 'il-hamdu-lilla

[He said, “Il-hamdu-lilla.”]

55 ƴal taƴamer fona «bismil:a» dijaƴ
 when been.saying time bismilla bad

haven't you been saying that time *bismilla* (is) bad?!

56 dije «bismil:a»
 good bismilla

good (is) *bismilla*!

57 ʕomar qetnaħ ʔenhi di-ho hidi wa di-ho ʕirʔon
made return to.me of-me arms and of-me legs

returned to me my two arms and my legs

58 ʕomar «mon d-kole ha-k»
he.said who which-cured to-you

he said who cured (they) for you?

59 ʕomar «ʔal ʔoð^ʕolaʕ ha-k
he.said when I.refuse to-you

“I would not tell you,” the first friend said.

60 ʕomar ʔel ħas^ʕel dije «bismil:a»
he.said the result good bismilla

“The result is – bismilla is good!”

61 ʕomar «hej:a»
he.said let.it.be

he said let it be.

62 ʕomar «w-al ʕak taʕd (h)i-ki d-rijho
he.said and-the(?) want down to-us of-water

He said, “would you like to get down to take for us some water from the well

63 kor dije «bismil:a»
when good bismilla

when bismilla is good?!”

64 ʕomar «ʔaʕod (h)i-ki d-rijho»
he.said I.get to-us of-water

“Yes, I would,” the first friend said.

65 tʰahar «qufod b-qejd»
he.said I.come.down with-cord

he.said I (will) go upon water for us (du.)!

66 qufod bi qejd jiʕamer (h)i-hi riho
I.come.down with cord make to-them water

(he) came down by a cord to make for them (du.) (some) water.

67 qufod b-qejd
he.came.down with-cord

[He came down by a cord.]

68 ʕam jeʕarah d-geme ʕomar «bismil:a»
when he.came which-down he.said bismilla

and said: “Bismilla!”

69 ʕomar «haj:e taʕomer <bismil:a>»
he.said hey you.say bismilla

“Yes, do you say bismilla!?” his friend said.

70 tiqofod d-geme
you.came which-down

[He came down.]

71 ʔebhad he-j ʕaf jitʰoreb d-ʕebher
he.waited for-him until he.gets.down of-well

He saw his friend is at the bottom of the well –

72 jel:a qosʰ ʕe-j qejd
hey he.cut his cord

and cut the cord...

73 qos^ʕ qejd d-izʕem ʃuħar buk naʕa
 he.cut the.cord which-was.sitting.on the.man there now

[He cut the cord which the man was now sitting on.]

74 we ʕebher bi-s t^ʕot^ʕ dekf ʔizʕem ħa-ne ʃuħar
 and the.well with-it one ledge sat place-of.it the.man

But the well had a small ledge over its water and the man sat down on it.

75a ʔizʕem di ʃom di-jel:a
 he.sat this day of-Alla

He was sitting along the day of Alla until His night has come.

75b we di ħte ʕaf ts^ʕabaħ
 and this time became morning

[And then came morning.]

76 gidaħ ʔaxdem di jifemer d-jhen rijho d-jen d-irhon (d-irohon)
 came servants these do of-them water of-them of-goats

 d-jon d-irohon we d-jon gamohel
 of-them of-goats and of-them camels

When the night came on, two ginnns arrived to the well.

77 ʕomar ʕam jistit ʃuħar b-kane
 he.said when they.see man with-inside

One of them said "May be there are people here - let us throw a stone!"

78 ʕomar ʔaħ qaqa reqaħ t-(h)o
 he.said o brother take.out to-me

[He said, "O brother, take me out!"]

79 Leʔ bidik ho ʔol ta qhon
 No lying I not was so

(1. The informant says his story line here is not true - "it was not so".)

80 ʔizʕem m-ol ʕad ʔizʕem (ʔizʕom) ʕam jeʔaraħ
 he.sat of-not when sitting until it.come

[He sat there sitting all the while until it came,]

81 ʕam d-ħte gidaħo da ħa tru gini gijon (ʕ)
 until which-time has.come to here two jinns came

[until the time came that here two jinns came.]

82a ʕomor tʕotʕ ʕomor ʕam ʕero bi ʔini ʔefe ħa
 said one he.said if someone with is.there people here

[One said, "There might be someone here.]

82b qalaʕ bi hoben
 throw with stone

[Throw a stone.]

83 qalaʕ bi hoben
 throw with stone

[Throw a stone.]

84 ʕuħar ʔeqof ʔol dʕalaʕ ʔeqof
 man silent not kept silent

The man kept silent, he didn't say a word ...

84 ʕomar ʔaħ qaqa ʔinim het naʕa ʕigek ħa d-et bi ħaja
 he.said oh brother what you now did.do here of-you with life

The second ginn said "O, brother, what did you do bad in your life?"

85a ʕomar ho ʔigʕork firhim d-sʕotʕhon
 he.said I sickened daughter of-the.Sultan

“Well,” he said “I made the Sultan's daughter ill.

85b we ʔol tsorif ʕaf l-igo talat marat b-tadaʕ
 and not she.recover until MOOD-beat three times at-back

And she will not recover until they beat her three times at her back!

86 ʕomar wa ʕeʔr l-irhadʕ d-rahadʕ
 he.said and today MOOD-treat of-treated

Today (one) tried to treat her, who treated -

87 we-ol tirefe
 and-not she.recover

but she didn't recover."

88 ʕomar wa (ha)t
 he.said and you

“And you?” he said.

89 ʕomar wu ho ʔaʕjofk ʕazine d-sʕotʕhon
 he.said and I put.away a.treasury of-the.Sultan

“And I put a treasury of the Sultan away!

90 w-ol tʕiraqaḥ (tʕaqaḥ) ʕaf l-igdaḥ tʕotʕ qhobç ḥahir sʕuleb
 and-not it.will.emerge until MOOD-bring one sheep black slaughtered

d-ol ther (tʕoj l-ther)
 at-the door (one at-door)

It will not emerge until they bring a black sheep and slaughter it at the door.

91 tʃiraqaḥ ɣazine
emerge the.treasury!

[The treasury will emerge!]

92 tʃiqaʃe ɣazine
appear the.treasury

Only then the treasury will appear!"

93 ʃomar suwa?
he.said good

"Good, it'll be enough," the first ginn said

94 ʃomar bes suwa?
he.said enough good

[He said, "Good enough."]

95 tʃahejro
they.left

and they went away.

96 ʃam tsʃobaḥ gidaḥ ʔaɣdem d-sʃotʃhon jiʃamer riho
when morning came servants of-the.Sultan to.do water

[When morning came, the Sultan's servants came for water.]

97 wa jhe jitemeʃen wa jhe ʃuḥar sele jhe ʔidhan
and he hearing and he the.man picked.up his ears

But the man who was sitting in the well picked up his ears

98 ʔinim jeʃomer (h)e-ʃ (jeʃomer-eʃ) d-ki naʃa gijon
what say to-him of-us now jinn

and heard all what the ginns said.

99

...

[Note: The empty line represents what was in the source text at this point.]

100 ʕaf qariri ʕam ts^ʕabaḥ gedaḥ li l-jeʕomer
until tomorrow when morning came there MOOD-do

 riho d-jon gamohil d-jon ʕilejten
 water of-them camels of-them cows

In the morning the servants of the Sultan came to make water for His cows and camels.

101 ʕimer ḥa d-jon riho
did here of-them water

[Here they watered them.]

102 ʕimer ḥa d-jon de
did here of-them ...

[Here they did....]

103 ʕimer ʕinim ʕigdaḥk d-ḥa b-ʕobher
they.said what brought.you from-here into-well

“What has brought you here into the well?” they asked.

104 ʕomar ho ʕint^ʕofk d-ʕebher
he.said I was.fallen to-well

“I have fallen down,” the man said,

105 naʕa reqaḥ t-(h)o
now take.off me

“now, take me off!”

106 ʕirqaḥ te-j b-miçijo
they.took off-him with-a.leathern.pail

And they took him off from the well by a leathern pail.

107 ʕomar (h)-ihin ʔini bile (l)-ħa (di)-ten bi bilad
 he.said (to)-them is.there any (to)-place (of)-you in country

“Hai," he said, “is there any thing [that] happened here in your country?”

108 ʔini d-geʕer ʔini d-hober
 is.there of-illness is.there of-suffering?

Is there anyone ill, anyone suffering?"

109 ʕomar (h)-i ʔaħ ʔini d-geʕer
 he.said to.him ah is.there who-ill

“Ah," they said, “there is

110 w-(h)et ʔol mikilhe
 and.you not doctor?

and are you a doctor?"

111 ʕomar ho mikilhe
 he.said I doctor

He said “Yes, I'am a doctor."

112 ʕimir ʔini d-geʕer firhim d-s^ot^oħon
 they.said there.is who-ill a.daughter of-the.Sultan.

“The Sultan's daughter is ill," they said,

113a geʕero
 she.is.ill

[She is ill,]

113b wa buk se ħer
 and there she.is today

“today (one)

114a l-irħad^s d-roħad^s
 MOOD-treat who-treated

tried to treat her who treated

114b wa ʔol tirofe ʔol tirofe
 and not recover not recover

but she didn't recover."

115 ʕomar heja
 he.said come.on

"Well," he said, "come on!"

116a t^sahar
 he.went.down

[He went down.]

116b gedah mo s^sot^shon
 came to the.Sultan

When they came to the Sultan

116c ʕamar (ninhi) ʔinim ʕa-k
 said Lord what is.there.with.you

the man said "Your Majesty, what is now here with you?"

117 ʕomar d-et firhim ʔerim:o rahad^sk ho se-hen (ti-s) wa tirefe
 he.said who-you daughter if cure I her(?) (to-her) and recover

If I cure your daughter and she recovers -

118 ʔinim t^sof ħi
 what give to.me

what you will give me?"

119 ʔutʕof ʕa-k bile d-ʕik
I.shall.give to-you any which-you.want

“You will take any thing you like!” the Sultan said.

120 ʕomar ʕik kar ʔiboʕal-s
he.said I.want up(?) to.marry-her

“I would like to marry her,” the man said.

121 ʕomar tiboʕol
he.said marry

“You will!” the Sultan said.

122 ʕomar (h)-i ten naʕa ʔʕiqah (ʔʕireqah) ther
he.said to.him you now go.out(pl.) door

“Now, leave her here and all of you go outdoors!” the man said.

123a ʕeqah ther
they.went door

When they got out

123b ʔigeʔe-s talat marat (b)-tʕadaf
he.beat.her tree times on-the.back

he beat her three times at her back,

124 ħalalat wa ʕahadat
she.said.taħli:l and she.said.ʕaha:da

she said thanks to the Allah -

125a tirofe firhim d-sʕotʕhon
she.recovered daughter of-the.Sultan

and recovered.

125b baʃal-is
married.her

So the man married her.

126 ʃomar (h)-i ʔinim ʃak ʃajofk
he.said to-him what want you.lose

“What else did you lose?” he asked the Sultan.

127 ʃomar ʃajofk d-jo ʒazine
he.said I.have.lost of-me treasury

“I’ve lost my treasury,” the Sultan said.

128 ʃomar wa ke ʃiqoʃo ha-k d-jet ʒazine ʔinim ʃi tʃof
he.said and if emerge to-you of-you treasury what me give

“And if your treasury will emerge,” the man said, “what you will give me?”

129a ʃomar we ke ʃiqoʃo ʔinhi d-jo ʒazine (a)tʃof ʃa-k nusʃ
he.said and if emerge me of-me treasury I.give to-you a.half

min maʔl
from the.money

“If my treasury emerge,” the Sultan said, “I’ll give you a half of all the money!”

129b wa rum:o sʃamek ho t(a)ʃkom
and when die I you.will.rule

And when I’ll die - you became a Sultan!”

129c wa tawale d-ʃakom
and accede of-the.authority

[and accede to power!]

130 ʕomar heja
he.said well.come.on

“Well,”

131 ʕomar gidahin ʔinhi tʔotʔ qhobç ʕahir
he.said give(pl.) me one sheep black

the man said, “now, give me a black sheep!”

132 ʕere min qhobç ʕahir
they.looked from a.sheep black

They brought him a black sheep,

133 ʕisʔe-j l-ther
he.cut-him out-the.door

he slaughtered it outdoors

134 ʕiqaʕo ʕazine d-sʔotʔhon
emerged the.treasury of-the.Sultan

- and the treasury of the Sultan emerged!

135a ʔimaʕ (de) d-i sʔaʕab di d-jiʕamer dijaʕ «bismil:a»
heard.(this.one) of-him friend this which-saying bad bismilla

His friend heard

135b ʔimaʕ d-hi qaqa ʔinne baʕal firhim d-sʔotʔhon
he.heard of-him brother that he.married daughter of.the.Sultan

that his “brother” married Sultan's daughter

135c w-asʔbaʕ di tegir
and-became this merchant

and became a merchant.

136 tʰahar mo d-je qaqa
he.went to of-him brother

He came up to him and said

137a ʕomar naʕa het ʔol kisek di mel
said now you not did.get this money

He came up to him and said "Brother, you wouldn't get all this money

137b wa diʃ ʕafije d-jel:a kol diʃ min ʕobher
and this favour of.Alla except this from this.well

and all this favour of Alla if not from that well!

138 naʕa ʕik (h)-ak tzaʕa tho
now I.want for-you to.take me

Now I want you to take me to that well

139 wa tibuleq tho diʃ di-d-ehe d-ʕobher
and abandon me this which-this-one of-the.well

and abandon me in it!"

140 ʕomar ʔe qaqa laʔ ʔol ʔibuleq-k (h)o
he.said o brother no not abandon-you I

"No!" his friend said, "I will not!

141 dʕibe tʕotʕ min ʒadam kar jiʔarah-k
let one from the.servants up(?) lead.you

Let any one of the servants lead you there!"

142 reʕe-ʃ tʕotʕ d-min ʔiʃtaʕal buk d-sʕotʕhon
led-him one of-who were.working there by-the.Sultan

Let any one of the servants lead you there!" One of the Sultan's servants

143a reħe-j d-ħebhor
led-him of-the.well

led him to the well, put him down into it and cut the cord of him.

143b wa qos^ʕ ħe-j qejd
and cut of-him cord

[and cut his cord.]

144 ...

[Note: The empty line represents what was in the source text at this point.]

145 ħam ħiken bi-lilhe ħte gidaħo diki naħa ħagi-gijon
when became with-night time came these.two now men-jinns

When the night came on two jinns arrived.

146 ħomer ħaħ qaqa ħam ħero bi ħini ħefe ħa
he.said ah brother when happens(?) with there.is people here

One of them said to the other "Brother, It means there were people in the well

147a ber ħazine d-s^ʕot^ʕhon ħiqoħo
since the.treasury of-the.Sultan emerged

since the treasury of the Sultan emerged

147b wa firhim d-s^ʕot^ʕhon titrefe
and the.daughter of-the.Sultan recovered

and the Sultan's daughter recovered.

148 lot^ʕ qalaħo bi hoben
when throw by stone

Let us throw a stone?!"

149 ʕomar jhi ja foroʕ ʕa tqima tho ja ʕijal ʕaram
 he.said you o bastards don't hurt me oh children of.sin

“You bastards!” the man shouted, “don't hurt me, you children of the sin!”

150 ʕimir ʔa ʔini ʕa ʕijhi
 they.said ah there.is here a.person

“Ah! Here is a man!” the ginns shouted.

151 ʔala: kidamo ʕaj d-hi ʕebher
 Allah destroyed for.him of-him well

They made a storm over the well

152 ʕaf tken ramd ʔel-ʕimed
 until it.became invisible at-all

until it fully disappeared with the poor man in it.

153 zikaʔ li-la kol digdege ʕafiro dʕi-na faʕro
 nothing at-place except plain red this-of.it valley

Now there is nothing at this place, only a red desert valley.

154 we ʔostaʔ qisʕa
 and ended the.story

And this is now the end.

155 ʕam gidahen ʕadam kise zikaʔ li-la bile
 when came the.servants they.found nothing at-place any

[When the servants came they found nothing at the place.]

156 sʕame ʕuʕar
 died the.man

[The man died.]

157 wa ʕaf ħa-ne naʕa ʔosteʔ
and until place-of.it now the.speech.is.ended

[And to this point now, the speech is ended.]

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