A STUDY ON THE MORPHOLOGY OF MEHRI OF QISHN DIALECT IN YEMEN

by

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LIST OF SYMBOLS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
/ /	phonemic transcription
[ ]	phonetic transcription
‘ ‘	English translation of Mehri forms
-	prefix and suffix morpheme boundary
< >	infix morpheme boundary
=	clitic morpheme boundary
.	consonant in templatic representation
√	root morpheme
→	become, change into
‿	cluster
.	boundary of syllable

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

sg.	singular
pl.	plural
c.	common gender
m.	masculine
f.	feminine
suff.	suffix
pref.	prefix
perf.	perfective
imperf.	Imperfective
pass.	passive
subjun.	subjunctive
subj.	subject
obj.	objective
imp.	imperative
comp.	comparative.
fut.	future
procl.	proclitic
encl.	enclitic
poss.	possessive
prep.	preposition
dem.	demonstrative
prog.	progressive
rel.	relative
MQ	Mehri Qishn
MSA	Modern South Arabian languages
ESA	Epigraphic South Arabian
IPA	International Phonetic Association
IA	Item and Arrangement Model

IP	Item and Process Model
WP	Word and Paradigm Model
OCP	Obligatory Contour Principle
C	consonant
V	vowel
n	noun
conn.	connective
accus.	accusative
asp.	aspectual
temp.	temporal
comp.	comparative
emph.	emphatic
part.	particle
quant.	quantifier
part.	Particle
prever.	preverbal

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS & SEMINARS

Alfadly, Hassan, Alias Abd. Ghani and Salasiah, Che Lah (2006). Root and Pattern Morphology of Mehri of Qishn. Paper presented at *Proceedings of Oriental Cocosda 2006, International Conference on Speech Databases and Assessment,* 9 – 11 December, Malaysia.

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Morfologi Dialek Mehri Qishn di Yemen

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini menerangkan tentang morfologi Mehri Qishn (diringkaskan sebagai MQ) di Yemen. MQ merupakan salah satu daripada enam Bahasa Moden Arab Selatan yang tidak mempunyai tulisan khusus, yang mempunyai pertalian dengan rumpun Semitik barat cawangan selatan. Ia dianggap sebagai bahasa yang diancam kepupusan. Secara khususnya, kajian yang bersifat deskriptif ini bertujuan: (1) untuk mengenalpasti unsur-unsur morfologi (morfem-morfem, bentuk-bentuk linguistik dan lain-lain) dalam dialek MQ, (2) untuk menerangkan bentuk-bentuk fonem pada morfem-morfem dialek MQ, (3) untuk menerangkan bagaimana morfem-morfem dialek MQ terbentuk dan dibahagi-bahagikan di dalam lingkungannya. Kajian ini mengadaptasikan kaedah etnografik yang berbentuk kualitatif. Ia melibatkan lebih kurang sepuluh orang pemberi maklumat (informan) daripada sejumlah 35 orang yang terdiri daripada pelbagai peringkat umur, yang dipilih berdasarkan persampelan secara pertimbangan (pengadilan). Data-data dalam morfologi MQ telah diperolehi dengan menggunakan kaedah berikut: Senarai Swadesh, temubual informal, pemerhatian peserta (participant observation) suatu soalselidik morfologi lisan yang direka dan diadaptasi daripada soalselidik Dahl's (1985) dan Bouquiaux dan Thomas (1992) khusus untuk tujuan ini. Beberapa model dan teori juga telah diadaptasikan sebagai dasar kepada kaedah penyelidikan dan juga untuk menerangkan data morfologi dalam kajian ini. Ini termasuklah

Teori Perangkaian dalam Morfologi Semitik (morfologi akar kata dan corak), Model Percubaan Deskriptif Sinkronik dan pendekatan eklektik IP+WP. Maklumat yang diperolehi daripada data morfologi dalam kajian ini mendedahkan bahawa MQ suatu bahasa yang berdasarkan sistem akar kata tri-konsonan dalam lingkungan morfologi akar kata dan corak. Akar kata itu sendiri tidak mempunyai sebarang makna yang mutlak, tetapi lebih merupakan sebagai satu set akar kata yang mengandungi tiga konsonan yang bermungkinan membawa lingkungan makna yang tertentu (Kramer, 2005). Akar kata tersebut hendaklah dimasukkan ke dalam corak terbitan, yang terdiri daripada huruf-huruf vokal di antara setiap konsonan dan kadangkala mengandungi juga penambahan imbuhan, bagi membolehkan maknanya menjadi nyata. Sebagai tambahan, MQ mempunyai peranti pembentukan kata kedua seperti struktur kata dasar dan akhiran, yang menghubungkan kata akhiran pada suatu teras, yang pada kebiasaannya merupakan suatu perkataan, seperti yang terdapat dalam bahasa Inggeris. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa MQ adalah satu bahasa Semitik yang mempunyai ciri-ciri sintetik yang tinggi, yang kaya dengan unsur-unsur morfologi. Sistem kata kerja dan frasa namanya adalah sangat mudah berubah-ubah, dengan kata awalan dan kata akhiran sebagai penunjuk kategori bagi kelas-kelas seperti orang, nombor, gender dan kala kata kerja. Morfologi terbitannya juga kaya dan mempunyai pelbagai kata terbitan tambahan yang terdiri daripada berbagai jenis struktur di samping mempunyai kata akar, kata dasar dan alomorf imbuhan yang sangat kompleks. Akhir sekali, implikasi pedagogi dan

penyelidikan selanjutnya dicadangkan untuk mendapatkan pemahaman yang lebih menyeluruh terhadap sistem linguistik dan kedudukan MQ itu sendiri di samping mendapatkan garis panduan ke arah pemeliharaan MQ.

The Morphology of Mehri Qishn Dialect in Yemen

ABSTRACT

This study describes the morphology of Mehri Qishn (henceforth, MQ) in Yemen. MQ is one of the six Modern South Arabian unwritten languages, related to the southern branch of the western Semitic family. It is considered as an endangered language. Specifically, this descriptive study aimed: (1) to identify the morphological items (morphemes, morphs, etc.) of Mehri Qishn dialect, (2) to describe the phonemic shapes of Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes, (3) to describe how Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes are internally formed and distributed. The study adopted the ethnographic qualitative design. It involved 10 key informants out of 35 of different ages selected by judgment sampling. The data on MQ morphology were elicited by following Swadesh list, informal interview, participant observation, and oral morphology questionnaire which were designed and adapted from Dahl's, (1985) and Bouquiaux and Thomas questionnaires (1992). A number of models and a theory were adopted as the basis for research design and for describing the morphological data of the study. They include Nonconcatenative Theory of Semitic Morphology (Root and Pattern Morphology), Synchronic Descriptive Experimental Model, and Item and Process (henceforth, IP) and Word and Paradigm (henceforth, WP) Eclectic Approach. The elicited morphological data of the study revealed that MQ is based on a tri-consonantal root system within Root and Pattern Morphology. Roots themselves have no definite meaning, but

rather a root set of three consonants carries a range of potential meanings (Kramer, 2005). A root must be placed into a derivational pattern, which consists of vowels between each consonant and sometimes the addition of affixes, in order for the meaning to be realized. Additionally, MQ has a second word-formation device i.e. the stem-and-suffix structure, which attaches a suffix to a base, usually a word, as in English. The findings showed that MQ is a highly synthetic Semitic language with a rich morphology. The verbal and nominal systems are highly inflectional, with prefixes and suffixes indicating categories such as person, number, gender and tense for verbs. Derivational morphology is also rich and varied with a large array of derivational affixes of various structures and with an extremely complex root, stem and affix allomorphy. Finally, pedagogical implications and further research are suggested to reach a more comprehensive understanding of the linguistic system and situation of MQ and a guideline towards MQ preservation.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the general background to the study, which includes the historical background of Modern South Arabian languages. It introduces the discovery of Modern South Arabian languages, its genetic family and its classification within the Afro-Asiatic superfamily, Mehri language and its speakers. The chapter includes the statement of the problem under study, the significance of the study, the limitations of the study and the purpose of study including research questions and objectives are stated.

1.2 The Historical Background of Modern South Arabian Languages

The discovery of a number of languages in various regions of the Arabian Peninsula has skipped away the controversy over the diversity of these languages. Many inscriptions have been found in the northern and north-western parts of the Peninsula testifying to the former existence, in these parts, of languages including Safatic, Lihyanic, Thamudic, and Nabataen (Al-Mashani, 1999; Bakalla, 1981). In the southern parts, inscriptions of a wide variety have been identified by linguists as Minaic, Sabaic, Hadramitic, and Qatabanic. While all these languages are now extinct, they can still be traced not only in the inscriptions but certain features of them also in colloquial Yemeni Arabic and in all probability the Modern South Arabian (henceforth, MSA) languages (Ibid, Hujailan, 2003). Versteegh (1997)

expressed the probability that Mehri goes back to a spoken variety of these languages.

The South Arabian languages may have remained the spoken languages, yet they could not last long against the overwhelming influence of classical Arabic and its dialects (Hujailan, 2003). The latter swept away and replaced the southern language in the whole of Yemen and the South of the Arabian Peninsula, except the MSA languages (Al-Mashani, 1999). To be exact, what remain of the Sayhadic languages of South Arabia is to be found in the contemporary Yemeni dialects, which are mostly derivatives of classical Arabic in regard to general structure.

Over the last two centuries, Western linguists and scholars have exerted much effort in deciphering and studying these languages as a facet of their more general interest in the study of Semitic languages. The Arab linguists, on the other hand, while recognizing the existence of these languages and dialects, unfortunately have not studied them in the way that Western linguists have. For instance, the famous Arab linguist Abu ‘Amr b. al-‘Ala (1989) stated, as cited in Al-Mashani (1999), Al-dhofari (1999) and Al-Mekhlafi (2000), that the tongue of Himyar, as well as that of the furthest parts of Yemen (aqasi al-Yemen) and their Arabic, do not belong to their Arabic. Himyar (or Himyaritic) refers to the languages of those Arabs who are mentioned in the old South Arabian sources and who settled in this region, South Arabia (Versteeg, 1997). Al-Hamadani (1983) shared the same view with Abu ‘Amr (1989), although he is a Yemeni historian and linguist. Al-Mashani (1999) commented that in spite of the fact that the Arabs are

considered as one group, they have different tongues and there is a variance among them in pronunciation and utterance. Further, Ibn Jinni (1952) wrote that it was undoubtable that the language of Himyar is completely different from that of Ibnay Nizar, which refers to the North Arabic (Ibid). Finally, in referring to Himyar, Ibn Manzur (1990) stated that they have languages and expressions which deviate from the dialects of other Arabs. Katzner (2002) referred to the southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula where the people speak a number of dialects known collectively as South Arabic. Katzner (2002) affirmed that these dialects differ so greatly from the Arabic of the north that South Arabic is often considered a separate language. By South Arabic Katzner (2002) unquestionably meant the MSA languages. Because there is no intercomprehension between the speakers of these languages and the speakers of north Arabic, therefore, they are considered as distinct and separate languages.

As a matter of fact, there is a great scarcity of information about the ancient languages of South Arabia (Al-Mashani, 1999). The unavailability of this information would not help in giving a clear scope on the historical study of the ancient Arabian languages. As long as the present study is only concerned with the morphology of Mehri language in its present status, scarcity would not have much effect on it. However, it is not necessary to know the history of a language in order to be able to describe it. Ultimately, a synchronic investigation does not necessarily presuppose diachronic investigation (Langacker, 1972; Al-Saaran, 1998). Kastovsky (2005) assumed that only after a synchronic description has been

provided can one look at the history of the patterns characterising a synchronic system.

There are several factors that helped to preserve the Mehris in the most southern part of South Arabia. One of these factors was that Al-Mahrah region lay too far away from the centers of classical Arabic and its dialects (Hujailan, 2003). A very long distance stretches between Al-Mahrah and the nearest such centers, Hadrami cities and Hejaz, a distance covered by extensive deserts, very high mountains, plains, and very deep valleys.

The staple foods of the Mehri people are meat, fish in coastal areas, millet, and seasonal crops (Hofstede, 1998). This has also been a major factor in keeping the tribes isolated from outside events and influences for change. Since there have been no pressing circumstances compelling them to mix with outsiders, their language has not been subject to corruption. Even should tribesmen go to make purchases outside their territories, their dialogue will be very limited. It will not go beyond questions about provisions and the answers to those questions. According to Crystal (2000), in most settings, clusters of factors interact in preserving the languages of minority communities. Crystal (2000) drew on the conclusion of a researcher's report on the Ugong of Thailand that a language survives in geographical areas which are relatively isolated; the communities there are more likely to be economically self-sufficient and to have little contact with outside groups.

The tribes in this region have a high degree of self-respect and feeling of personal nobility, and so they greatly value their adherence to their own languages. The value that they attach to their history and culture is related to their feeling of purity and distinction from others (Ibid). Had it not been for the natives' tenacious adherence to their language, it would not have lasted and survived against classical Arabic and its dialects and other influences for change.

It can be said that there was never sufficient opportunity for classical Arabic and its dialects to constitute a real threat to the Mehris, comparable to the way in which classical Arabic obliterated the Sayhadic languages and dialects in different regions of Yemen. Although scholars admit the existence of a south Arabian language different from that of Modar, they seem to have done nothing to study it even from an exploratory point of view as contemporary scholars and researchers do. According to Al-Mashani (1999), our original knowledge of the Sayhadic languages is derived from Islamic sources and it remained sparse for many centuries because it was based on what was copied from early Arab scholars. The information obtained from the sources amounts to no more than brief descriptions and prefabricated, premature judgments, which are not founded on comparative studies or sufficient data.

While there is only slight information about the Mehris in Arabic sources, nevertheless there is sufficient information to conclude that they are contemporary south Arabian languages used throughout a very remote area at the end of the southern Arabian Peninsula. As pointed out by Al-Mashani (1999) that this is

unsurprising if we consider the scant regard paid by these Arabic sources to those Sayhadic languages and dialects which are more famous than Mehris. Most of the material in these Arabic sources about the Mehris is confined to noting the difficulty it presents to outsiders and to remarking on its oddness and certain selected characteristics, all these remarks evidently based on insufficient knowledge.

No doubt, MSA of today are not identical with the ancient ones, since it is not possible for a language to remain unaltered over such a long course of time. The language of any society is subject to the changes that necessarily occur. No society will remain immune from these changes (Crystal, 2000). Modern Mehri, for instance, is not the same as that which existed during the ages of Himyar (Ali, 1989). This region, South Arabia, has undergone many social and economic forces, together with many different political events, since the emergence of Islam. These events and forces must have had considerable effects on the language and social structure in this Mehri region (Ibid).

In referring to the linguistic situation in the Arabian Peninsula, Versteegh (1997) described the south Arabian languages as the only foreign languages in the region, which was no longer used in its epigraphic form but some varieties, known as the Modern South Arabian languages, must have remained in use as colloquial languages spoken today by some tens of thousands of speakers in the provinces of Mahra (Yemen) and Dhofar (Oman), and on the Island of Soqotra. Nurse and Philippson (2003) went astray in the identification of the language spoken in the Island of Soqotra. They described it as “a longstanding Swahili-speaking

community on the island of Soqotra, off the Somali coast but technically part of the Republic of South Yemen." (Ibid, p. 1). Nurse and Philippson (2003) stumbled on geographic confusion when they named a Semitic language i.e. Soqotri, as a Swahili although the natives of the island are Arab Yemenis speaking a MSA language belonging to the Afro-Asiatic languages. This contradiction reflects the negligence, by linguistic scholars, into which MSA languages have been put.

There are conflicting opinions regarding the terminological meaning of the word 'Mahrah'. Is it a name of a man, of a geographic region, or of a group of tribes (Ali, 1989)? Many writers in search for its origin direct their effort into genealogy and kinship believing that the name must have been derived from a name of a family, or the first grandfather of the particular community, etc (Al-Aidaroos, 1996). The Mahrah today refers to a certain geographic location on one hand, and also to a group of tribes. According to Ali (1989) and Hujailan (2003), the Mehri people claim that they are descended from a historic personality (Mahrah Bin Amr Bin Hidan) whose name, due to his powerful and influential authority and high esteem, has been used to denote a number of tribes dwelling in the southern and eastern-southern coasts of the Arabian Peninsula. The land, which is inhabited by these tribes, is called Al-Mahrah. The name of 'Mahrah' is restricted today to the district of Mahrah, one of the 20 districts of the Republic of Yemen.

Al-Aidaroos (1996) argued that this attribute or relation happens to exist sometimes, but not everywhere and in every field, and if it happens, it may not be

the only factor. Al-Aidaroos (1996) had the opinion that it was not necessary to relate it to a particular name of a person.

The Mahrah tribes occupy an extent of country exceeding that of any other tribe in the southeastern part of Arabia. According to Carter (1847, p. 339), the limits of their coast are generally allowed to be the opening of the great Wadi Masilah "… on the S.W, in 51 13' E. long. And the town of Damkot, in the Bay of Al Kamer, on the N.E, in 52 47', E. long., giving them a coast-line of about 135 miles…"

Like the other great tribes, they have their divisions, their subdivisions, and their families or baits. Regarding their characteristic features, Carter (1847, p.340) described them "They are by no means a handsome race, for their features are for the most part short and irregular, their eyes small, sunken, black, and piercing, with a cunning and very frequently a sinister expression of countenance." When tow Mehris meet each other, as a salutation they touch each others' fingers and bring their noses in contact with each other, side by side, and at the same time gently, though audibly, inhale the air through their nostrils (Ibid).

1.3 Afro-Asiatic languages

Mehri is an unwritten Semitic language of the South-Semitic subgroup. It belongs to the Afro-Asiatic family of languages, about 350 million speakers (Comrie, 2001; Katzner, 2002; Downing, 2004), as illustrated in Fig.1.1 below, – about three fourths of whom are in Africa, the rest in the Middle East (Bender et

al, 1976; Katzner, 2002) – which has several major branches: Semitic (including languages such as Arabic); Berber; Chadic (including languages such as Hausa); Cushitic (including languages such as Somali); Ancient Egyptian, whose modern descendants, Coptic, is preserved as a liturgical language; and Omotic (of which the most important is Wolaytta) (Rowan, 2006). South Semitic – which includes MSA languages and several extinct languages – are related in some aspects to Ethiopian languages (Ibid), as illustrated in the Fig. 1.1 below:

Fig.1.1: Map Showing the Distribution of Afro-Asiatic Languages
Source: http://www.answers.com/afroasiatic

In addition to Arabic and Hebrew, the Semitic languages include the Ethiopic language: Amharic, Tigrinya, Tigre, Gurage, and Harare. Modern South Arabian languages –Mehri, Jibbali, Jaddat Alharasis, Soqotri, Batharic, and Hobyot spoken in Yemen, Oman, and Saudi Arabia. Arabic dwarfs all the others in number of speakers (about 230 million) and is the official language of more than 15 countries (Katzner, 2002). The Berber languages are spoken in North Africa. There are about 12 million speakers in all: 7 million in Morocco, 3 million in Algeria, one million in Niger, 750,000 in Mali, and much smaller numbers in other countries (Ibid). The Cushitic languages are spoken mainly in Ethiopia and Somalia. According to Katzner (2002), they also extend into Eritrea, Sudan, and Kenya. In Ethiopia they are spoken by about half the population, while in Somalia the Somali language is spoken everywhere. Oromo, Sidamo, and Hadiyya as well as Somali belong too to the Cushitic languages in Ethiopia (Rowan, 2006), in addition to Beja spoken in southern Sudan and Afar spoken in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Oromo and Somali have a number of speakers in Kenya. At present Somali and Oromo are the only Cushitic languages with a formal system of writing (Katzner, 2002).

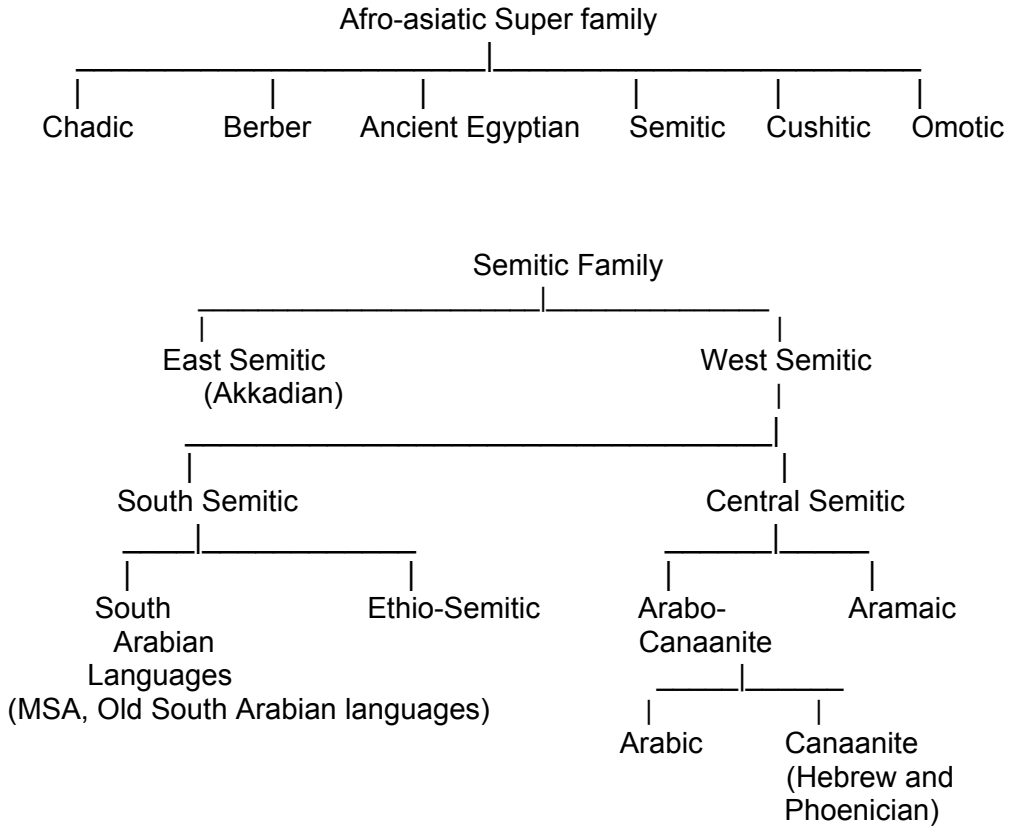


Fig. 1.2: A Family-Tree Diagram of Language Families, Hetzron and Bender (1976)

It can be noted from the above diagram that MSA languages are grouped together with the Semitic languages of Ethiopia and the Sayhadic languages (also called Epigraphic South Arabian or Old South Arabic) in the South Semitic branch. This subgrouping, as pointed out by Hetzron and Bender (1976), is justified by the shared feature of the presence of a vowel following the first consonant in the verb-form known as the imperfect.

1.3.1 An Overview of MSA Languages

The MSA languages are spoken in the south of Oman (Dhofar) and the southeast of Yemen (Al-Mahrah) (Appleyard, 2002). The name is slightly

misleading as they are not dialects of Arabic (Simeone-Senelle, 1997). The languages are grouped together with the Semitic languages of Ethiopia and the Sayhadic languages (also called Epigraphic South Arabian or Old South Arabian languages) in the South Semitic branch as shown previously. To the MSA languages belong Mehri, Soqotri, Jibbali, Bathari, Harsusi and Hobyot (Leslau, 1947, 1970; Stroomer, 1996) as shown in Figure 3.1 below. About 140,000 to 200,000 speakers speak these languages (Ali, 1989; Simeone-Senelle, 1997). Three of MSA are spoken in the Republic of Yemen: in the south and eastern part, in the province of Mahrah (Mehri and Hobyot) and in the island of Soqotra and the adjacent Abd-Al-Kuri small islands and Samha (Soqotri) (Simeone-Senelle, 1998, 2003). Four are spoken in Sultanate of Oman, in the west in Dhofar (Mehri, Hobyot, Bathari, and Jibbali) and in Jiddat Al-Harasis (Harsusi) (Ibid).

The extent, to which research has been carried out, varies from language to language. Around l900 many stories and some poems in Mehri (Southern dialect group), Jibbali and Soqotri were collected and published (Jahn 1902, Müller 1902, 1905, 1907, as cited in Hofstede (1998) and Amshoosh (2001). Until recently, extensive research has been carried out on Soqotri Naumkin (1998); Johnstone (1968); Fox (1975) and Mehri Simeone-Senelle (1997); Al-Aidaroos (1996, 1999, 2001); Sima (2002) and to a lesser extent on Jibbali Matthews (1969); Johnstone (1980); Hofstede (1998) and Harsusi Johnstone (1970).

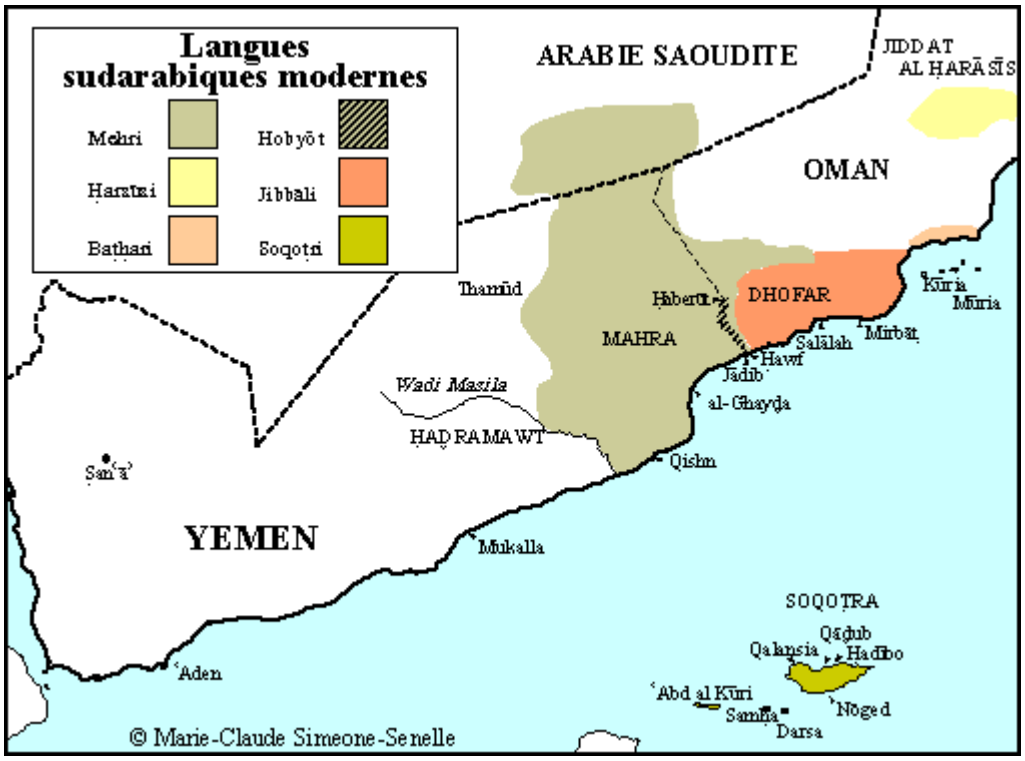


Fig.1.3: The Geographic Locations of MSA (Simeone-Senelle, 1997)

Despite what the name might suggest, the MSA languages are different enough from Arabic to make intercomprehension impossible between speakers of any of the MSA and Arabic speakers (Simeone-Senelle, 1997, Amshoosh, 2001). Moreover, intercomprehension between the speakers of MSA is not possible. A speaker of Soqotri can not understand a Mehri or Jibbali speaker except by an interpreter. The word 'Mehris' is sometimes metaphorically and commonly used to refer to the MSA (Al-Aidaroos, 2001). They are considered to be endangered languages due to the predominance and influence of Yemeni and Omani Arabic in all aspects of the life of the Mehri population (Hofstede, 1998; Al-Mashani, 1999; Amshoosh, 2001); the fact that was affirmed by Crystal (2000) when pinpointing

the factors which change the people's culture. Crystal (2000) considered the circles of influence, of one culture on the other, to have become wider and wider. The language of the dominant culture infiltrates everywhere in three broad stages (Ibid). According to Crystal (2000), the first is large pressure, which can come from political, social, or economic sources, on the people to speak the dominant language. Regardless of the source of the pressure, the second stage is a period of emerging bilingualism. Additionally this bilingualism starts to decline, with the old language giving way to the new. Finally, the third stage turns up in which the younger generation becomes increasingly proficient in the new language, as mentioned by Crystal (2000), finding their first language less relevant to their new needs.

A variety of views did not agree on a tight definition of an endangered language (Blokland & Hasselblatt, 2003). Crystal (2000, p. 20) classified the degree of endangerment of a language through the interaction of a number of factors, among which are the size of the population and the community of speakers, the community's internal organization, and the way it perceives its own language, the position of the language as an identity marker and the number of children who learn it as their first language.

Cahill (1999) stated it simply enough, as mentioned by Headland (2004, p. 3), that a language is endangered "[when] it is in fairly imminent danger of dying out." Headland referred to two ways, which were stated by Cahill (1999), to quickly recognize when a language is on its way to death. One, shared also by Crystal

(2000), is when the children in the community are not speaking the language of their parents, and the other is when there are only a small number of people left in the ethnolinguistic community.

Wurm's (1998, p. 192) gave a characteristic definition, as cited in Headland (2004), to the point that it is "when a language is moribund", meaning that it is no longer being learned by children as their mother tongue. Grimes (2001) shared Wurm's definition too. Nettle and Romaine (2000, p. 39) stated that "many languages are endangered that are not yet moribund." Crystal's (2000, p. 20) definition is more inclusive than Wurm's: "spoken by enough people to make survival a possibility, but only in favourable circumstances and with a growth in community support". Krauss's (1992) definition is yet more inclusive: that all languages with fewer than 10,000 speakers are endangered. Only 600 of the world's languages (less than 10%) are considered as "safe" from extinction, defined as those still being learned by children (Sampat, 2001; Whaley, 2003). Grimes (2001, p. 45) documented 450 languages spoken today "that are so small that they are in the last stages of becoming extinct, with only a few elderly speakers left in each one."

Wurm (1998, 2003 p.192,), cited in (Blokland & Hasselblatt, 2003, p. 112), proposed a typology of threat which includes five levels:

1. potentially endangered languages are socially and economically disadvantaged, under heavy pressure from a larger language, and beginning to lose child speakers;

2. endangered languages have few or no children learning the language, and the youngest good speakers are young adults;

3. seriously endangered languages have youngest good speakers of age 50 or older;

4. moribund languages have only a handful of good speakers left, most of whom are very old;

5. extinct languages have no speakers left. Accordingly, endangered languages tend to be used by their communities only rarely, being substituted by the dominant external language in the majority of its social functions.

Based on these criteria, one can affirm that the Mehri language is potentially endangered or seriously threatened, because there are only good native speakers (all of whom older than fifty) who still command all the aspects of the language; and it is beginning to lose child speakers. Arabic has become the prestige language inside the community due to its social and economic advantages. Actually, Mehri is spoken only by Mehri natives or by those who have learnt it as a second language. External factors, however, place all languages of Mahrah at a disadvantage. The prestige of Arabic is increasing, which tends to suppress all the minority languages in the region.

1.3.1.1 Jibbali

Jibbali is spoken in Dhofar, Oman. The number of speakers was estimated by Johnstone at about 5,000 (Johnstone, 1975, p. 94). However, Simeone-Senelle

(1997) estimated the total number at about 30-50,000. Traditionally, three dialect groups are distinguished: Eastern dialects (including the dialect of the al-Hallaniyyat Islands), Central dialects, and Western dialects (Johnstone, 1981). A dictionary of a Central dialect was published by Johnstone (1981). Two publications on Jibbali poetry have been published (Johnstone, 1972 and Morris, 1985).

1.3.1.2 Soqotri

Soqotri is spoken on the island of Soqotra. There are four dialect groups: the dialects spoken on the north coast, the dialects spoken on the south coast, the dialects spoken by Bedouins in the mountains in the centre of the island and the dialect spoken on Abd al-Kuri. The dialect spoken on the island Samha seems to be the same as the one on the west coast of Soqotra. The inhabitants of Soqotra are estimated at 50,000, those of Abd al-Kuri at about 250 and those of Samha at ten or a dozen Simeone-Senelle (1997, p. 379) following Naumkin (1988, pp. 342-359). In 1938, Leslau (1938) published a dictionary on Soqotri. Recently, more research has been carried out on the language and culture Simeone-Senelle (1997) and Naumkin and Porchomovskij (1981).

1.3.1.3 Bathari

Bathari is spoken in Oman on the coast facing the al-Hallaniyyat Islands, previously called the Kuria Muria Islands. Bathari is closely related to Mehri. The number of tribe members is estimated at about 300 (Morris, 1983) as cited in

Hofstede (1998). Not all of them speak Bathari; some of them speak only Mehri. The research carried out on this language is rather limited. The standard work on Bathari is written by Thomas (1937), but this should be treated with caution, as the transcription is sometimes misleading (Hofstede, 1998). Furthermore, Morris (1983) published an article discussing a Bathari poem. Some Bathari words were mentioned in Johnstone's Mehri Lexicon and Jibbali Lexicon (1981).

1.3.1.4 Harsusi

Harsusi is mainly spoken in the Jiddat al-Harasis, Oman. The estimated number of the Harasis is not more than about 600 (Johnstone, 1977). Simeone-Senelle (1997) suggested that the number was very likely larger as at the time of Johnstone's visit. Many Harasis had left the region to go and work in oil wells (Simeone-Senelle, 1997). The language is, like Bathari, closely related to Mehri. Johnstone (1977) published a dictionary of Harsusi and also Thomas (1937) gave some information.

1.3.1.5 Hobyot

Hobyot is spoken around the border between Yemen and Oman. The estimated number of speakers is less than 100. The language displays characteristics of both Mehri and Jibbali. Arnold (1993, p. 24), cited in Hofstede (1998), concluded in his article that it can be regarded as an independant language. A few Hobyot words are mentioned in Johnstone's Mehri Lexicon and Jibbali Lexicon (1981).

1.3.1.6 Mehri

Mehri is the most widespread language, spoken nowadays by the Mahrah tribes (about 140,000 to 200,000 speakers) (Appleyard, 2002) and some Beyt Kathir, in the mountains of Dhofar in Oman, and in Yemen, in the far eastern governorate, on the coast, between the border of Oman and the eastern bank of Wadi Masilah; in the north-west of Yemen. Mehri is spoken as far as Thamud, on the border of the Rub'al-Khali (Simeone-Senelle, 1997). The Mehri variety in Oman is called Nagdi or eastern Mehri (Mehrjuut), in the region of Dhofar in Oman. The other one in Yemen is called western Mehri (Mehrjiit), far east in the province of Mahra in Yemen (Simeone-Senelle, 1997). Speakers of Mehrjiit include all people in Mahra governorate except Hoaf, which is a town links Mahra with Dhofar (Al-aidaroos, 1996). Western Mehri is subdivided into two groups: dialects spoken in the hinterland (Bedouins) and those spoken along the coast (villagers). This research will focus on the coastal dialect of Qishn, the former capital of the Mahra, which is very prestigious in Yemen (Ibid).

The Mehrjiit is in wide use in Qishn region, from Etab to Haswayn in the west to Ras Fartak in the east, in the towns and villages of the mountains and coastal plains such as Seihut (Ali, 1989). Mehrjiit is still a distinct entity and understood by many people in the region of Qishn, especially the older people. This is because while a very short time ago Mehrjiit was the spoken language of communication in certain quarters of Al-Mahrah, particularly the isolatable Qishn and its outskirts; it was the main language of communication between the MSA

native speakers and those who lived with them who spoke one or other language or dialect in Al-Mahrah.

1.4 The Writing System of MSA

The MSA languages possess a rich oral tradition, but not a written tradition. According to Hofstede (1998), presently, there exist two systems for writing the languages: one is the Arabic alphabet; the other is a modified Latin alphabet. Hofstede (1998) explained that the system, in which the Arabic alphabet is used, has two variants. In the most commonly used variant, only unmodified Arabic letters are used. This leads sometimes to problems as some letters are used for two phonemes. Users of this system are aware of this problem. Also the way in which Arabic vowels are written, does not suffice for the wide variety in the MSA languages.

In the other variant, a modified Arabic alphabet is used. Dots are added to or omitted from an original Arabic letter (Ibid). The system for vowels is the same as in the first variant. One example of this kind of system is given in Simeone-Senelle and Lonnet (1985). Attempts to create such a system have come from native speakers and non-native speakers. Even in this modified system it is sometimes not possible to have a one-one representation. For example, it does not provide a letter for the Central Jibbali phoneme s. (Ibid). Two other problems: the system is not standardized; and it is not always understood by outsiders.

At present, only the first, unmodified, system is used in publications and other writings. The second system, the modified Latin script, is the result of the mixture of modified Latin letters and IPA (Hofstede, 1998). There are some differences between languages/dialects with regard to occurring vowels and consonants. Eight colours of short vowel are distinguished (Ibid, Simeone-Sennele). Special graphs are used to mark labialized and lateral variants of dental obstruents, and diacritics for ejective and fricative consonants, as well as for nasalized, long and accented vowels. This system is now standardized. But, depending on the purpose of an article, one can decide to use a more phonetic script, i.e. closer to IPA, or a more phonological script, i.e. one closer to the Latin script (Ibid).

The choice between the Arabic and the modified Latin alphabet depends on the circumstances. The (unmodified) Arabic alphabet is used by the native speakers, and in publications written in Arabic. The modified Latin alphabet is used in publications which are not written in Arabic.

1.5 The Statement of the Problem

It is widely agreed that about half of the 6,500 languages spoken in the world today (Lehman, 1996; Ostler, 1999; Miyaoka, 2001; Whaley, 2003; Headland, 2004) are endangered to some degree. Due to the impact of urbanization, the spread of global communications, migration, government policies, and people's negative evaluations of their languages and traditions, an increasing number of languages are no longer being learnt by children (Ibid). Today 96% of

the world's population speaks just 4% of the languages, meaning that the vast bulk of languages have small and diminishing speech communities (Whaley, 2003). If nothing is done, most of these languages will become extinct within this century (Lehman, 1996; Ostler, 1999; Crystal, 2000; Whaley, 2003; Headland, 2004)

In 1992, the International Linguistics Congress in Quebec issued the following statement as cited in Crystal (2000, p. vii) and Janse and Tol (2003, p. xiv):

> As the disappearance of any one language constitutes an irretrievable loss to mankind, it is for UNESCO a task of great urgency to respond to this situation by promoting and, if possible, sponsoring programs of linguistic organizations for the description in the form of grammars, dictionaries and texts, including the recording of oral literatures, of hitherto unstudied or inadequately documented endangered and dying languages.

UNESCO responded by the adoption of 'Endangered Languages Project' – including the 'Red Book of Endangered Languages' – in November 1993 (Lehman, 1996). UNESCO, later on, published a report observing (Ibid):

> Although its exact scope is not yet known, it is certain that the extinction of languages is progressing rapidly in many parts of the world, and it is of the highest importance the linguistic profession realize that it has to step up its descriptive efforts.

Annamalai (2000) reported that the Unesco recognized that the responsibility for action towards maintenance of languages lie with the Government, the Non-governmental Organizations, the Market, the Community, the Individual and the International bodies. Dixon's view (1997, p. 144) of what needs to be done was stated in Newman (2003, p. 3) "The most important task in

linguistics today – indeed, the only really important task – is to get out in the field and describe languages, while this still can be done …".

MSA research confronts several difficulties such as the recent discovery of these languages and the unavailability of any document dating back to before 1835 (Simeone-Sennele, 1999; Al-Mashani, 1999) when Soqotri was first discovered. Then followed up the discovery of other MSA until the 70s of the last century when Johnstone (1975) announced the existence of Hobyot language in Dhofar. Finally, the French expedition discovered the sixth Modern South Arabian language in the Yemeni region (Simeone-Sennele, 1999). There is no enough information about the nature of the social, economic, intellectual, and literary life in Mahrah in ancient times.

Research on the MSA languages is characterized to be on pace with the rapid influences exerted on these languages through their increasing connection with classical and colloquial Arabic, which is used for communication between the MSA natives and the Arabic speakers from Yemen and other Arab countries. Moreover, Arabic is the medium of instruction in schools and universities and it is used for communication between speakers of different languages. Therefore, it is not surprising that Arabic has a strong influence on the MSA languages. Versteegh (1997), Hofstede (1998) and Al-Aidaroos (1999) identified the threatened current state of MSA languages for the time being as they represented isolated forms that were never touched by Arabic influence until the modern period. This situation makes MSA more threatened to be extinct due to different factors: the spread of

media, governmental and private education, and transport (Al-Aidaroos, 1999) that are supported by the Yemeni government. Those facilities interconnected the far-reaching areas with the main cities. All these factors, as they have been elaborated before by Crystal (2000), work in helping the Arabic language to strongly influence the mother tongue of MSA natives; and to restrict and narrow down (Simeone-Senelle, 1999) the geographic stretches and domains in which MSA are utilized. Classical Arabic and its dialects have gradually supplanted and disinherited these regional languages. As is now obvious, it is currently in the process of eradicating all linguistic traces of any of the ancient languages in the southern parts of the Arabian Peninsula. Thus Mehrjiit, the focal point of the current study, is threatened with extinction owing to the advancement of classical Arabic via the mass media and education.

According to Simeone-Senelle (1999), an MSA child, at age 7 or 8, must be ushered into the highly developed modern world in which he/she is compelled to use his/her mother tongue no continuously. This may make him/her lose the ability to use it spontaneously and naturally at home. In consequence, Crystal (2000) expected that children stop talking to each other outside the home in their language and that within a generation - sometimes within a decade – “a healthy bilingualism within a family can slip into a self-conscious semilingualism and thence into a monolingualism which places that language one step nearer to extinction.” (Crystal, 2000, p. 79). Documenting these languages becomes essential and critical and the extinction of which may lead to the loss of part of Yemen’s legacy, which is a part of the Arabian Peninsula’s legacy and all

humanity. What is perhaps most important, however, as emphasized by Lehman (1996) and Munero (2001), is that those languages that have received the fullest attention in descriptive linguistics are certain to survive the next century, while precisely those that are as yet undescribed are certain to be threatened by extinction.

Given this reality of MSA status, the researcher tries in this research to document the morphological system of the standard and most prestigious variant of Mehri language, the Mehrjiit of Qishn in the far eastern part of Yemen. Al-Dhofari (1999) emphasized on the rich morphological patterns existent in the Yemeni tongues and dialects which can be invested in devising terms relevant to agriculture, water, sea, etc, and carrying on comparative Semitic studies. Al-Dhofari (1999) argued why interest, in Yemen, is in the linguistic aspects of dead languages whose letter sounds of the Al-Musnad letters are no longer uttered; and refrain from studying living spoken-only languages in Al-Mahrah and Dhofar and benefiting from its living vocabulary load after analyzing, classifying, and arranging it. Hofstede (1998) strongly recommended further research on MSA languages in order to preserve the languages; as it is still possible to record the languages as they are spoken by elderly people. Their language is the least influenced by Arabic. Stroomer (1996, p. 272) urged on the same vein the study of MSA dialects "… is still a topic open for research and a scientific *desideratum* becoming more urgent everyday because of the increasing influence of Omani Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic in these parts of the world."

It also came to be realized that the focusing of Semitic linguistics on the philological, comparative, and diachronic aspects of Semitic languages (Shlomo, 2002), i.e. MSA languages, had led to an almost total neglect, in the eastern part of Yemen, of the synchronic analyses of the speech forms used by the majority of Mehri population. Goldenberg (2002) announced up the need to acquire a profound knowledge of languages not only to study their relationship with other languages, but also for the sake of synchronic analyses and for enhancing theoretical observations on language. Semitic linguists and dialectologists remained, as they still remain to a considerable extent, ignorant about the way in which Mehri people in Yemen speak, and have therefore been missing out on a great deal of linguistic data. The perception therefore developed that the study of Mehri language is a necessary task. Versteegh (1997) also mentioned the fact that the dialects of Yemen, in addition to the MSA, used to be one of the most neglected topics. This view was also shared by Hofstede (1998) and Appleyard (2002) stating that in comparison with research on other Semitic languages and related topics, only very little research has been carried out on these languages.

Finally, a central aspect of any study of a language with few speakers is the sheer documentation (Munero, 2001). With their limited number of speakers, Mehrjiit of Qishn and the other MSA languages represent some of the many endangered languages of the world. Although Mehrjiit of Qishn may not appear to be in immediate danger of extinction, it is clear that the gradually changing lifestyle of the Mehris presents a long-term threat to the existence of their language. A linguistic extinction represents a serious loss of information about linguistic

variation, and the documentation of small and endangered languages is therefore of great scientific interest (Munro, 2001). According to Lehman (2001) and Bird and Simons (2003), language documentation provides a record of the linguistic practices of a speech community, such as a collection of recorded and transcribed texts. Language description, on the other hand, presents a systematic account of the observed practices in terms of linguistic generalizations and abstractions, such as in grammar or analytical lexicon.

Little is known of MSA languages and what is already known is recently dating from the 20th century (Stroomer, 1996). A lot of research was done on the Mehri varieties in Oman and Soqotra Island Johnstone (1968, 1970, 1972, 1980); Matthews (1969); Fox (1975); Goldenberg (1979); Naumkin (1998); Hofstede (1998); Sima (2002); Appleyard (2002). From the 1980s onwards, the French expeditions, in addition to some contemporary Arabic scholars, researched the Mehri dialects in Yemen (Al-Aidaroos, 1996, 1999, 2001; Simeone-Senelle, 1997, 2003). All those researches are comparative and some are purely linguistic; some of them are anthropologic and historic (Hofstede, 1998). According to Shlomo (2002), the study of Semitic languages, including the studies on the MSA languages, has always been associated with philology rather than linguistics, with the decipherment of dead languages rather than the study of modern living languages, and with diachronic and comparative linguistics rather than synchronic analyses of languages.

1.6 The Purpose of the Study

This study seeks the following objectives:

1-to identify the morphological items (morphemes, morphs, etc.) of Mehri Qishin dialect.

2-to describe the phonemic shapes of Mehri Qishin dialect morphemes.

3-to describe how Mehri Qishin dialect morphemes are internally formed and distributed.

1.6.1 Research Questions

This study will aim at answering the following research questions:

1- What are the morphological items (morphemes, morphs, etc.) of Mehri Qishn dialect?

2- What are the phonemic shapes of Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes?

3- How are Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes internally formed and distributed?

1.7 The Significance of the Study

The importance of this study within the context of the previous studies done on the MSA languages arises from the fact that Most accounts of MQ morphology are fragmentary, with the information given not in systematic theses, but in journal articles and works which address particular aspects of morphology, and even phonology taking examples from all MSA besides MQ. Here the researcher seeks to provide a more comprehensive and integrated account as a preliminary work base for future researches on MQ and MSA in general. The significance, therefore, of this study can be realized as follows:

- The highest and significant contribution made available by this descriptive research is the original discovery of many aspects of Mehrjiit grammar (its morphology) that have been missing or not noted previously; and their documentary preservation.
- Provision of new knowledge and data to the field of Semitic linguistic studies.
- Addition to the contributions made in the Arabic and Yemeni efforts in the domain of Semitic and South Arabian dialects studies which was not adequate in comparison with the contributions of European Semiticists in this field.
- Studying Mehrjiit provides fruitful and important information which feed and enrich Yemeni and Arabic studies of languages and history.

Moreover, the present work is the first morphology of a Modern South Arabian language (Mehri) to appear since the Hofstede's unpublished (1998) description of Jibbali's syntax and Al-Mashani (1999). As such, it is intended to expand our knowledge of MSA as a whole, grammatical descriptions of which have so far been largely concerned with the MSA in Oman and Soqotra, notably Jibbali (Hofstede, 1998; Al-Mashani, 1999). In this respect, its appearance is timely because it coincides with the publication of different incomprehensive articles and papers of MSA in Yemen Simeone-Sennele (1998, 1999); Al-Aidaroos (1996, 1999, 2001). It is also intended as a contribution to Semitic languages studies in general, and, hopefully, also to a wider linguistic context. Furthermore, it is hoped that it may

serve as a source of linguistic information for those working among the Mehrjiit and other MSA speakers; whereby this current study has been arousing the interest and estimate of MSA scholars (see appendix D.).

1.8 The Limitations of the Study

The domain of the present study is restricted to the coastal area of Mehri of Qishn dialect (Mehrjiit) only. The purpose of this research is not to provide a complete and exhaustive linguistic description; in that sense it is not to be viewed as a reference grammar. Rather, it should be regarded as a general introduction to the subject and a basis for further research.

The overriding aim of the present study is linguistic description, and it is therefore to be regarded as essentially non-theoretical. This means that the purpose of the study is not primarily to create, develop, modify, support, refute or in other ways evaluate particular theoretical frameworks. However, where considered particularly suitable and helpful, specific theoretical models are adopted as descriptive tools in order to provide as explicit, economic and systematic an account as possible of the material available.

1.9 Definition of Terms

Afro-Asiatic Languages:

The Afro-Asiatic group of languages, formerly known as Hamito-Semitic, is a family of genetically related languages most of which are spoken in Africa, and which comprises four main branches: Semitic, Berber, Chadic (e.g. Hausa), Cushitic (e.g. Somali), and Ancient Egyptian (and its modern descendant, Coptic, which has survived as a liturgical language). The Afro-Asiatic group is the main language family of northern Africa and southwestern Asia and includes such languages as Arabic, Hebrew, Amharic, and Hausa. (Rowan, 2006).

Modern South Arabian Languages:

They are six unwritten languages, related to the pre-Islamic languages spoken in the Arabian Peninsula, belonging to the Southern branch of Western Semitic family as the Semitic languages spoken in Ethiopia and Eritrea (Simeone-Sennele, 2003).

Mehrjuut /mɛhɹɪjuːt/:

A variety of Mehri language spoken in the Western region of Oman, Dhofar, called Eastern Mehri or Nagdi (Simeone-Sennele, 1997; Al-Aidaroos, 1999).

Mehrjiit /mɛhɹɪjiːt/:

The second variety of Mehri language spoken in the far eastern part of Yemen, Western Mehri (Simeone-Sennele, 1997; Al-Aidaroos, 1999).

Qishn:

One of the important Mehri communities situated along Southern-Eastern coast of Yemen; its Mehri dialect is regarded as the most prestigious among the Mehri people (Simeone-Senelle, 1997; Al-Aidaroos, 1999).

Nonconcatenative Templatic Morphology:

All Semitic surface word forms result from the interleaving of two abstract morphemes, a root and a word pattern. The root is exclusively consonantal, while the word pattern consists mainly of two further underlying morphemes: the vocalic melody and the CV skeleton, though it can involve consonants as well, while the word pattern contributes morpho-syntactic information such as perfective, active, or causative (Katamba, 1993; Berent and Shimron, 1997; Cartstairs-McCarthy, 2005). Nonconcatenative Templatic Morphology includes the type of word formation known in earlier work as Root-and-Pattern Morphology, and is meant to describe word formation processes, which involve a templatic restriction on morphological realization (Ussishkin, 2004).

Root Tier:

A level of tri-consonantal morpheme representation which conveys the semantic meaning and the lexical content of a word is expressed by these three consonants (Katamba, 1993; Cartstairs-McCarthy, 2005)

Skeletal Tier:

It signifies the overall abstract pattern of consonants (C) and vowels (V) specified by the word pattern. It provides a canonical shape that is associated with a particular meaning or grammatical function (Katamba, 1993; Cartstairs-McCarthy, 2005).

Vocalic Melody Tier:

It refers to the sequence of vowels specified by the word pattern that contributes morpho-syntactic information such as perfective, active, or causative (Katamba, 1993; Berent and Shimron, 1997)

Perfective:

The perfective provides the view of an event as a whole from outside, an action viewed as complete, and is unconcerned with the internal temporal structure of the event from inside. The perfective views the situation as bounded and forming a unified entity (Bhat, 1999).

Imperfective:

The imperfective provides the view of an event as a whole from inside, an action viewed as in progress or repeated, and is crucially concerned with the internal temporal structure of the event from inside. The imperfective views the situation as on-going or habitual (Bhat, 1999).

1.10 Summary

This Chapter has provided an introduction to the MSA in general and MQ in particular, their historical background, genetic affiliation, the statement of the research problem, and the objectives of the current study. Chapter 2 addresses issues related to the concepts of morphology, approaches to morphological descriptions, autosegmental theory and nonconcatenative templatic morphology theory, previous linguistic studies on MQ, fieldwork descriptive models, and the conceptual framework of the study. Chapter 3 presents the methodology of the research, including the research design, samples and sample selection, instrumentation and data gathering procedures, and the method of analysis and description. Chapter 4 introduces the phonological system of MQ and its phonotactics. Chapter 5 examines the units and Semitic processes of MQ morphology. Chapter 6 and 7 identify and describe nominal and verbal word classes respectively, as well as the morphological categories associated with them. Chapter 8 presents a summary of the dissertation, some conclusions, an account of the dissertation's contributions, recommendations, pedagogical implications, bibliography, and appendices consisting of Swadesh list, the oral morphological questionnaire, pictures on Qishn area, and samples of personal communication between the researcher and one of the leading international Semitic linguists in the world.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Morphology and its Basic Concepts

According to Booij (2001) and Stekauer and Lieber (2005), since the beginning of the seventies of the past century, the insight has re-emerged that morphology is a central part of grammar. Booij (2001) went on saying that in traditional grammar, and in historical and in typological linguistics, morphology has always been in the focus of interest, but it lost this position, at least in theoretical linguistics, in the early days of generative grammar, with its focus on syntax and phonology, and its attempt to reduce morphology as much as possible to syntax on one the hand, and phonology on the other. However, morphology is in full swing again, and forms an exciting area of present-day of linguistic research (Stekauer and Lieber, 2005). It deserves a central role, because, as Spencer and Zwicky (1998) put it:

> "Morphology is at the conceptual centre of linguistics. This is not because it is the dominant subdiscipline, but because morphology is the study of word structure, and words are at the interface between phonology, syntax and semantics." (Spencer and Zwicky, 1998, p. 1).

Spencer and Zwicky (1998) further pointed out the reason that morphology is the dominant subdiscipline. They state that words have phonological properties, they articulate together to form phrases and sentences, their form often reflects their

syntactic function, and their parts are often composed of meaningful smaller pieces.

The term morphology is Greek-based parallel to the German Formenlehre (Lyons, 1968; Matthews, 1991; Katamba, 1993) (the study of forms), and like many linguistic terms is nineteenth-century in origin (Ibid). Morphology is defined (Bauer, 1992; Spencer, 2001a) as the study of the forms of words (etymologically from the Greek *morphe* 'form' and *–ology 'study'*). In other words, it is the study of the ways in which lexemes and word forms are built up from smaller elements, and the changes that are made to those smaller elements in the process of building lexemes and word forms. Morphology, therefore, is simply a term for that branch of linguistics, which is concerned with the forms of words in different uses and constructions (Matthews, 1991).

Words exhibit formal patterns in different uses and constructions. There are many words that are fairly obviously analyzable into smaller grammatical units. For example the word 'unacceptability' can be divided into un-, accept, abil-, -ity. All these units are minimal grammatical units, in the sense that they cannot be analyzed into yet smaller grammatical units. Minimal grammatical units like un-, abil-, and -ity are what Bloomfield (1933) called morphemes. Bloomfield (1933, p. 161) defined them as follows "A linguistic form which bears no partial phonetic-semantic resemblance to any other form, is a simple form or morpheme." This definition requires that each form, which has a different meaning, be considered a separate morpheme. In other words, the thrust of this definition is the requirement

that phonetic and semantic resemblances be correlated (Anderson, 1992). For example, “unacceptable”, “untrue”, and “ungracious” are phonetically (or phonologically) similar as far as the first syllable is concerned and are similar in meaning in that each of them is negative by contrast with a corresponding positive adjective (“acceptable”, “true”, “gracious”). This “partial phonetic-semantic resemblance” is accounted for by noting that the words in question contain the same morpheme (namely, un-) and that this morpheme has a certain phonological form and a certain meaning. Bloomfield’s definition of the morpheme in terms of “partial phonetic-semantic resemblance” was considerably modified, and eventually, abandoned entirely by some of his followers (Lyons, 1968; Muhadjir, 1981; Bauer, 1992; Katamba, 1993). Whereas Bloomfield took the morpheme to be an actual segment of a word, others defined it as being a purely abstract unit, and the term morph is introduced to refer to the actual segments of words (Ibid). The distinction between morpheme and morph (which, in certain respects, parallel to the distinction between phoneme and phone (Lyons, 1968) may be explained by an example. If a morpheme in English is posited with the function of accounting for the grammatical difference between singular and plural nouns, it may be symbolized by enclosing the term plural within brace brackets (Ibid). The morpheme [plural] is represented in a number of different ways. Most plural nouns in English differ from the corresponding singular forms in that they have additional final segment (Bauer, 2003; Carstairs-McCarthy, 2005). In the written forms of these words, it is either s, -z, or -ɪz e.g. “cat”: “cats”; “dog”: “dogs”; “fish”: “fishes”. The word segments written -z or -ɪz are morphs. So also the word segment –en in

“oxen”. All these morphs represent the same morpheme. But there are other plural nouns in English that differ from the corresponding singular forms in other ways e.g. “mouse”: “mice”; “criterion”: “criteria”; and so on or not at all different e.g. “this sheep”: “these sheep”. All these nouns contain (in some sense) the same morpheme as the more regular plurals.

Morphs that are in complementary distribution and represent the same morpheme are said to be allomorphs (Katamba, 1993; Coates, 1999). For example, the regular plurals of English nouns are formed by adding one of three morphs on to the form of the singular: /ɪz/, /z/, or /s/. Their distribution is determined by the following principle: if the morph to which they are to be added ends in a sibilant sound e.g. /s, z, ʃ, tʃ, dʒ/, then the syllabic allomorph /ɪz/ is selected e.g. fishes /fɪʃɪz/, matches /mætʃɪz/; otherwise the nonsyllabic allomorphs are selected, the voiceless allomorph /s/ with morphs ending in a voiceless consonant e.g. cats /kæts/ and the voiced allomorph /z/ with morphs ending in a vowel or voiced consonant e.g. fleas /fliːz/, dogs /dɒgz/ (Coates, 1999). These three allomorphs, it is evident, are in complimentary distribution, and the alternation between them is determined by the phonological structure of the preceding morph. Thus the choice is phonologically conditioned (Carstairs-McCarthy, 2005).

Very similar is the alternation between the three principal allomorphs of the past participle ending, /ɪd/, /d/, and /t/ (Ibid), all of which correspond to the –ed of

the written forms. If the preceding morph ends with /t/ or /d/, then the syllabic allomorph /ɪd/ is selected e.g. waited /weɪtɪd/. Otherwise, if the preceding morph ends with a voiceless consonant, one of the nonsyllabic allomorphs is selected, the voiceless allomorph /t/ when the preceding morph ends with a voiceless consonant e.g. packed /pækt/ and the voiced allomorph /d/ when the preceding morph ends with a vowel or consonant e.g. rowed /rəʊd/; tamed /teɪmd/. This is another instance of phonological conditioning (Ibid). Phonological conditioning may be contrasted with the principle that determines the selection of yet another allomorph of the past participle morpheme. The final /n/ of shown or seen (which marks them as past participles) is not determined by the phonological structure of the morphs show and see (Ibid). For each English word that is similar to show and see in this respect, it must be stated as a synchronically inexplicable fact that it selects the /n/ allomorph. This is called grammatical conditioning (Bauer, 1992). Alternation of the kind illustrated above for the allomorphs of the plural morpheme and the allomorphs of the past participle is frequently referred to as morphophonemic (Carstairs-McCarthy, 2005).

An important concept in grammar and, more particularly, in morphology is that of potentially free and obligatorily bound morphs (Coates, 1999). An obligatorily bound form is one that cannot occur alone as a complete utterance in some normal context of use. For example, -ing is bound in this sense. Potentially free forms have the potential of being word-forms on their own e.g. live, thing. All of

the potentially free morphs realize lexemes, and none of the obligatorily bound morphs do (Ibid). Any morph which can realize a lexeme and which is not further analyzable (except in terms of phonemes) is termed a root (Ibid). Obligatorily bound morphs which do not realize lexemes and which are attached to roots to produce word forms are called affixes. A root to which affixes is attached is called a base. If an affix is attached before a base it is called a prefix, if it is attached after a base it is called a suffix, and if it is attached in the middle of a base it is called an infix. In the word 'prepacked' there is a root 'pack', a prefix 'pre-', and a suffix '-ed'. There are no infixes in English (Ibid). Affixes can be of two kinds, inflectional or derivational. An inflectional affix is one which produces a new word form of a lexeme from a base. A derivational affix is one which produces a new lexeme from a base (Coates, 1999).

2.3 Morphological Operations

Morphologists usually distinguish between two main types of morphological operation, inflection and derivation (Spencer, 1991; Bauer, 1992, 2003; Haspelmath, 2002). An important distinction in morphological theory is drawn between inflectional and derivational morphology. Taking the words employing *and* employed as examples, it is assumed that there is a lexical stem which they have in common - employ. Inflectional morphology is concerned with the manner in which these lexical stems are combined with grammatical markers for things like plurality and tense. Exactly which grammatical markers are appropriate depends on the class of the stem - it is not normally possible in English to add tense to

nouns, for instance (*lamped from lamp, and so on). It should be noted that the concept of a lexical stem is not a simple notion as the underlying object, and the grammatical markers, must be fairly abstract in order to explain plurals in English such as men and children. Also, many languages inflect for many more markers than English - gender, case, and noun and verb classes are typical examples - so the study of inflectional morphology alone is a large field.

Where inflectional morphology is concerned with the combination of stems with grammatical markers, derivational morphology investigates the construction of the stems themselves (Beecher, 2004). Typical cases of derivational morphology involve the English `class-changing' suffixes which form adjectives from nouns, verbs from nouns, nouns from verbs, and so on, as the following examples illustrate:

fool → foolish	(noun → adjective)
advert → advertise	(noun → verb)
advertise → advertisement	(verb → noun)

The resulting lexical stems are subject to appropriate inflectional morphology, of course, and so forms such as advertised and advertisements can be obtained.

2.4 Overview of Approaches to Morphological Descriptions

2.4.1 Traditional Approaches

Models have been developed in order to explain and describe patterns of word structure in the languages of the world (Spencer and Zwicky, 1998). Blevins (2004) stated that morphological models tended to be classified in terms of the units that they treat as 'meaningful' and the way that they associate properties with these units. Blevins (2004) further elaborated the way a morphological analysis can be utilized to approach the patterns in a grammatical system. Blevins (2004) stated that this can be carried out through one of two directions. One type of analysis isolates recurrent bases and exponents within a system, and derives surface word forms from these simple elements by rules or other combinatory principles. A second type of analysis treats word forms as basic units of a system, and classifies recurrent parts as abstractions over full forms. The first alternative is Morph-Based and the second is Word-Based.

Lehman (1996) made it clear that structural linguists, especially the American structural linguists, came up with a number of methods which are still valuable today. They were much concerned with objective procedures that would allow one to work out the structure of an unknown language. An earlier approach, labeled by Hocket (1954) as Item and Arrangement (IA), was developed within the paradigm of Structural Linguistics in Europe and especially the United States in the first half of last century. A key concept for such structuralist theory was that of the morpheme: treating words as combinations of discrete meaningful units (morphemes) put together by concatenation (Spencer, 2001a). Contemporary

morphologists call this a "Morpheme-Based" Theory (Matthews, 1991; Spencer and Zwicky, 1998; Spencer, 2001a; Blevins, 2001, 2004; Beecher, 2004).

On the traditional analysis, according to Beecher (2004), the meaning of the whole word can be obtained from a combination of the meanings of its component morphemes. This process of 'gluing' morphemes together to form a string is known as agglutination (Spencer, 2001a). In many models of morphology besides IA, agglutination is the basis of word structure, and for some morphologists the goal is to show that all morphology can be reduced at some level to the simple process of agglutination (Ibid). In an 'ideal' morphological world all words would have such a structure, namely, a string of easily identifiable morphemes. In other words as pointed out by Spencer (2001a), this means each morpheme would have just one meaning/function and each meaning/function in the language would correspond to exactly one morpheme. A language that had this property would be perfectly agglutinating (Lyons, 1968; Spencer, 2001a).

According to Matthews (1970), this model (IA) involves the following steps for the complete morphological analysis of the language:

1- A specification of the inventory of morphemes (the 'items' of Hocket's 'Item and Arrangement' label);

2- A specification of the sequences in which these morphemes can appear (the possible 'Arrangements'); and

3- A specification of the morph or morphs by which each morpheme can be realized; in other words, providing the link between the grammatical aspects of morphological structure (1 and 2) and the phonology.

The second approach to morphological description is called an Item-and-Process Theory (henceforth "IP"), under which only roots are morphemes, and therefore only roots are listed in the lexicon. Affixes are processes--another term would be "morphological rules"--and exist in a separate component of the grammar (Spencer, 2001a). In other words, the structure of a word is specified by a series of operations. Morphemes were assumed to have an underlying form to which a process, in the Item-and-Process (IP) Theory, applied to create derived forms (Lowie, 1998). This approach denies the principle of discrete or separate signals which was the original basis for IA Model (Matthews, 1970; Spencer, 2001a). Blevin (2001) and Beecher (2004) shared the view that the primary object of morphological description in these frameworks is the Bloomfeldian concept of morpheme, or the smallest morphological unit establishing a one-to-one Saussurean association between form (signifiant) and meaning (signifier).

Katamba (1993) pointed out that in recent years; various morphologists have the notion that it is not the morpheme but rather the word that should be regarded as the central unit of morphological analysis. Katamba (1993), Blevin (2001, 2004), and Beecher (2004) asserted that Word-and-Paradigm Morphology (WP) is one theory that puts the word at the centre. Hocket (1954) firstly mentioned it in modern linguistics, as affirmed by Blevin (2001). According to Beecher (2004),

recognizing a central role for paradigm in lexeme formation, Hockett (1954) coined the label 'Word and Paradigm' (WP) to distinguish Word-Based Morphology from Morpheme-Based 'Item and Process' (IP) or 'Item and Arrangement' (IA) Models. This model was articulated and extensively revised afterwards, as cited in Beecher (2004), by Robins (1959) and Matthews (1972) respectively (Spencer, 1991; Anderson, 1992). WP criticised the view of the relationship between morphological representations and morphs found in some structuralist models of morphology (Katamba, 1993). Matthews (1972) pointed out that a theory of the morpheme is based on the notion that morphemes are always typified by a one-to-one pairing of morphemes with morphs is misled. The relation between categories of meaning and aspects of form Anderson (1992) or between morphological form and morphosyntactic function Spencer (2001a) is often many-to-many rather than one-to-one. According to Anderson (1992), for particular languages or families of languages; various particular models or techniques of description have proved suitable and effective.

Blevins (2004) classified these models morphotactically, in terms of the status that they assign to these meaningful units referred to above. According to Blevins (2004), from a morphotactic perspective, a model is word-based, which he labeled in a morphotactic sense as abstractive, if it treats surface word forms as the basic elements of a system, and regards roots, stems and exponents as abstractions over a set of full forms. A model is root-based or morph-based, which he morphotactically labeled as constructive, if it assumes an inventory of morphotactically minimal forms, from which surface forms are 'built' or 'derived'.

The morphotactic assumptions of a model strongly influence the types of analysis that the model assigns (Ibid). According to Blevins (2004), each of the models that Hockett (1954) identified, namely 'Item and Arrangement' (IA), 'Item and Process' (IP), and 'Word and Paradigm' (WP), can be interpreted constructively. A constructive perspective is implicit in the idea that morphological analysis 'isolates minimum meaningful elements' and describes 'the arrangements in which the minimum meaningful elements occur' (Hockett 1947, p. 229), as cited in Blevins (2004).

Katamba (1993) mentioned a number of empirical problems with the 'classical' type of Morpheme-Based Theory. One very obvious problem, and one which caused a great deal of discussion amongst structuralist linguists who first developed the Morpheme Theory, is the existence of inflected forms which involve some phonological change to the stem rather than the addition of an affix. Some apparent morpheme does not correspond to a continuous substring of the segments making up forms in which it apparently occurs such as the infix; where the infix itself breaks up the string of segments corresponding to whatever other element it is infixed into.

Katamba (1993) and Versteegh (1997) shared the view that the classical Model which sees that morphemic units are linearly strung one after the other to create new forms, faces one of the classic puzzles for morphological analysis, that is the verbal system of Semitic languages like Modern Standard Arabic, or Hebrew which draw on a Non-Linear Word Building Principle whereby at least two abstract

morphemes are interlaced one within the other. The Semitic languages show an extreme of infixation, in that word roots are represented by fixed consonants, usually three, and their inflection and derivation is done with internal vowel patterns as well as affixes (Bauer, 2003). For example, in Arabic we find kataba "he wrote", yaktubu "he writes", kaatibun "writer", kitaabun "book", maktuubun "office". All these forms utilize the consonant cluster ktb. Anderson (1992) also maintained that with the exception of a small number of prefixes and suffixes, the morphological structure of such forms do not conform to the classical picture of continuous and discrete morphemes.

McCarthy (1981) suggested that revising the fundamental opinion of what constitutes the morphological analysis of a form is the appropriate way to approach such problems. In contrast with the Linear (or Concatenative) Approach to morphology, Non-Linear (or Nonconcatenative) Approach to morphology has been ushered in and applied to the problem of Semitic Root-and-Pattern Morphology. McCarthy (1981) applied the principles of Autosegmental Phonology to produce what is called Theory of Nonconcatenative Morphology (Spencer, 1991; Ussishkin, 2004).

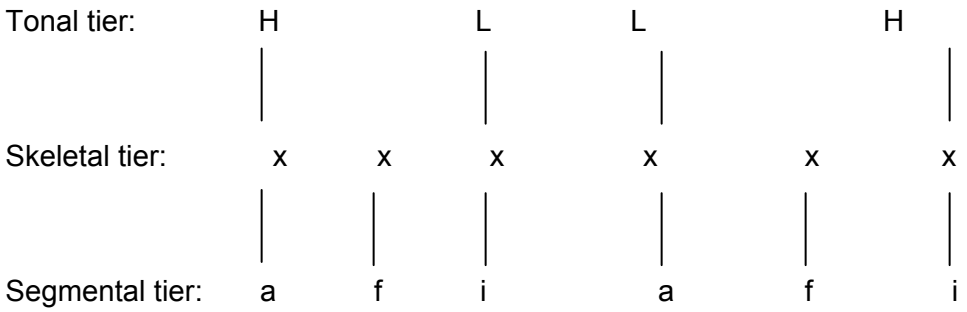
2.4.2 The Autosegmental Phonology Theory

McCarthy's earliest (1979, 1981) accounts of Semitic Nonconcatenative morphology are a melding of the traditional Arabic and Semiticist analysis and the insights of 1970's morphological and phonological theory, in particular, autosegmental accounts of phonological phenomena like tone (Spencer, 1991;

Anderson, 1992; Katamba, 1993; Kager and Zonneveld, 1999; Ussishkin,2000, 2003, 2004; Rowan, 2006). According to Goldsmith (1976), the key feature of Autosegmental Phonology is that generalizations about phonological structure can be captured if sets of phonological features are allowed some measure of independence from the segment with which they are associated. Such features are termed autosegments (Spencer, 1991). Autosegments of a given type are considered to occupy their own tier of phonological structure. For example, in Goldsmith's (1976) analysis of tone, tonal features like H and L occupy a tonal tier, independent of the tier on which features like ± high and ± back are represented (Leben, 2006) .

In this way, a single autosegment on the tonal tier can be associated with more than one autosegment on the melody-bearing tier, and more than one tonal autosegments can be associated with a single melody-bearing autosegment (in dynamic tone systems) (Leben, 2006). The major constraint on inter-tier association is that the lines representing autosegmental association do not cross. Autosegmental theory assumes a directionality of association between tiers such that, for example, the sequence of autosegments A, B, C on a melodic tier associate to a sequence of melody-bearing autosegments X, Y, Z on what might be viewed as an autosegmental skeleton (Ibid) as shown below:

a.



b.

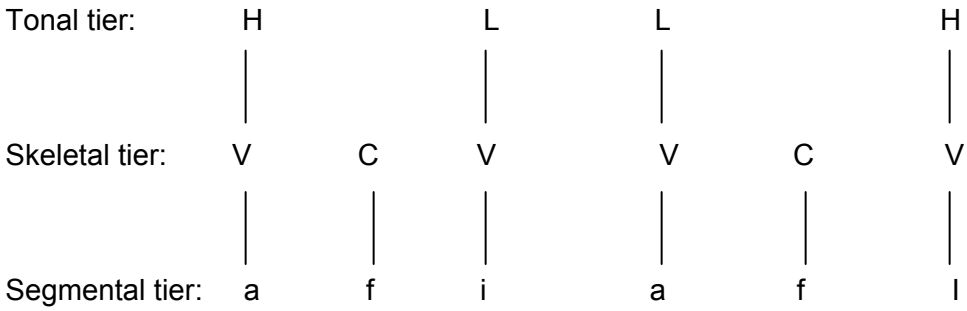


Fig. 2.1: Autosegmental Skeleton from Katamba (1993).

As seen above in a, the skeletal tier is represented by x's (with each x standing for a segment like a consonant or vowel, while in b an alternative representation, with the skeletal tier represented by C and V slots is proposed by Clements and Keyser (1999).

Between such tiers the following conditions hold:

1. Each slot in the skeleton must be linked with at least one segment in the melody.

2. Any unassociated melodic autosegments are associated with any unassociated melody-bearing autosegments in a one-to-one fashion left-to-right.

3. If any unassociated melody-bearing elements remain, all are associated with the melodic element on their immediate left, if possible.

4. Linking lines must never cross.

5. When a melody contains both linked and unlinked units, it is the latter that are spread to unfilled slots (Katamba, 1993; Kager and Zonneveld, 1999; Ewen and Hulst, 2001; Leben, 2006).

2.4.3 Theory of Nonconcatenative Templatic Morphology

According to Benmamon (1999), Ussishkin (2004), and Rowan (2006), since the ground-breaking work on Semitic morphology and phonology of McCarthy (1979, 1981), languages of the Semitic Branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family have served as a classic example of Root-and-Pattern Morphology. Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson (2004) traced the Root and Pattern Approach, which dates back to the work of the medieval Arab lexicographers, as the oldest and most influential view of Arabic morphology (Bohas & Guillaume, 1984; Holes, 1995; Versteegh, 1997), as cited in Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson (2004). On this traditional view, all surface word forms result from the interleaving of two abstract morphemes, a root and a word pattern. The root is exclusively consonantal, while the word pattern consists mainly of vowels, though it can involve consonants as well. Functionally, the root conveys semantic meaning, while the word pattern contributes morpho-syntactic information such as perfective, active, or causative (Ibid and Berent and Shimron, 1997). The Arabic surface form [batar] cut, for example, is the result of combining the root √btr cutting with the word pattern {fa?al} which conveys an active, perfective meaning. Two critical features define this approach. The first is the claim that the standard three-consonantal root is a unitary entity that has no further internal structure and the second is a similar claim about the unitary nature

of the word pattern (Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson, 2004). Recent developments in linguistics, however, have questioned both these claims (Ibid).

Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson (2004) revealed the status of word patterns, as unitary elements, as having been challenged by McCarthy's influential multi-linear approach, where the word pattern is viewed as consisting of two further underlying morphemes (McCarthy, 1979, 1981, 1982). These separate out the linguistic information carried by the word pattern into two components labeled the vocalic melody – the sequence of vowels specified by the word pattern – and the CV-Skeleton – the overall abstract pattern of consonants (C) and vowels (V) that it also specifies (Rowan, 2006). From this perspective, the surface form [batar] cut is argued to consist of the consonantal root √btr, the vocalic melody {a-a}, and the CV-Skeleton {CVCVC} as illustrated in the fig. 2. 2:

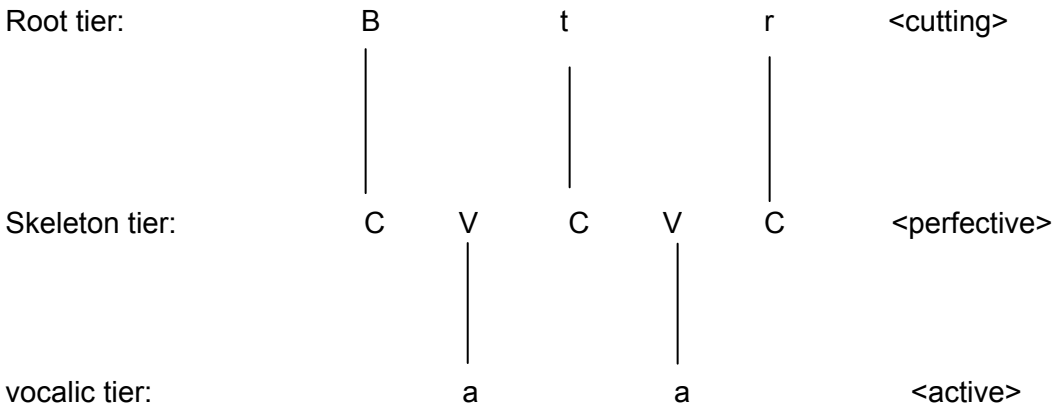


Figure 2.2 Multi-Linear Representation of the Complex Form [batar] 'cut' from Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson (2004).

With respect to the consonantal root, McCarthy's approach coincides with the traditional root and pattern view, since on both accounts this unit is thought to convey the general semantic load, which will be more or less transparently reflected in the meaning of the resulting surface form (Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson, 2004). The vocalic melody conveys syntactic meaning such as voice (active/passive). The CV-Skeleton contributes a rich variety of other syntactic information, as well as specifying the phonological shape of the word (Ibid, Idrissia and Kehayia, 2004). Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson (2004) further indicated that the CV-Skeleton, in contrast to the vocalic melody and the consonantal root, is a phonologically underspecified morpheme that consists only of a generic consonant and vowel sequence, and has no specific surface phonetic content associated with it.

In his original work on these Semitic languages, McCarthy (1979, 1981) extended the representations provided by Autosegmental Phonology (Goldsmith 1976) to describe the patterning of morphemes in languages like Arabic. Three types of morpheme (never pronounced in isolation) compose a word under this view: the vocalic melody, the consonantal root, and the CV template (Doron, 2003, Frisch et al., 2004; Idrissia and Kehayia, 2004; Rowan, 2006).

McCarthy (1981) applied the principles of Autosegmental Phonology to produce what is called Theory of Nonconcatenative Morphology (Spencer, 1991; Ussishkin, 2004). McCarthy (1979, 1981) firstly devised prosodic morphology. Noting the similarity in the behavior of vowels put into consonantal roots by

morphological processes in Arabic and that of phonological prosodies like tone spreading, McCarthy (1979, 1981) adopted the hypothesis that the verb in Arabic has elements ordered on three independent tiers: the root tier, the skeletal tier, and the vocalic melody tier:

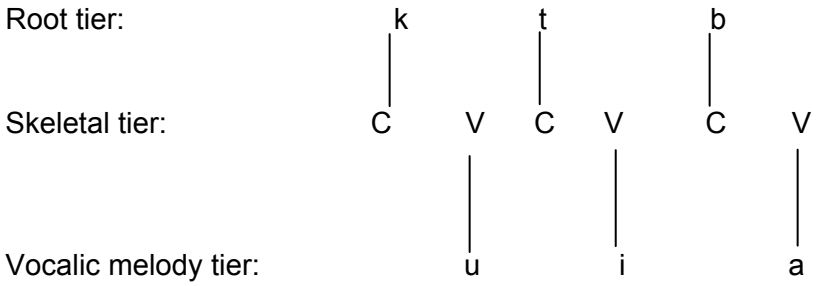


Fig.2.3: Non-Linear Representation of the Arabic Verb ‘kutiba’

These three tiers are linked together by association lines similar to those used above. Broselow (1996) argued that the mechanisms for mapping between tiers were the same as those employed in tonal mappings and the unmarked case involves left-to-right association. In McCarthy’s analysis, consonantal roots, vowel melodies, and skeletal templates are all considered separate morphemes (Katamba, 1993; Broselow, 1996; Frisch and Zawaydeh, 2001; Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson, 2004).

Katamba (1993) explained more closely these three tiers. He said that the root tier signals the meaning of a verbal lexeme through the consonantal segments. The root usually has three consonants (Ibid; Rowan, 2006), triconsonantal root such as √ktb. The skeletal tier (which is also called the CV-tier

and the prosodic template tier) gives a canonical shape that is related with a particular meaning or a grammatical function (Ibid). For example the template CVCCVCV carries the grammatical meaning. The vocalic (vowel) melody tier provides information about tense, aspect, number, or derivational affixes. For example, a prosodic morphology with the vocalic melody for past tense, the vowel /æ/, and the template for this tense which is CVCVCV. According to mapping principles mentioned earlier, association goes from left to right. The only segment vowel /æ/ associated to the first V slot leaving two unassociated V slots. The principle of language specific vowel spreading melody inherent in Arabic is needed to derive /kætæbæ/ 'he wrote' and having this form:

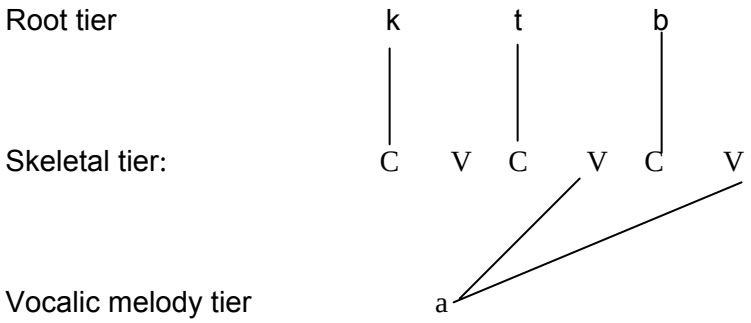


Fig.2.4: Left-to-Right Association Principles of V Slots, Adapted from Rowan (2006)

Nonconcatenative Templatic Morphology (henceforth, NTM) (Ussishkin, 2004) included the type of word formation known in earlier work as Root-and-Pattern Morphology, and is meant to describe word formation processes, which involve a templatic restriction on morphological realization (Ibid; Rowan, 2006). The issue of Nonconcatenative Templatic Morphology has received much attention

in the phonology and morphology literature. Frisch and Zawaydeh (2001) and Rowan (2006) pointed out that Semitic languages have a Nonconcatenative Root-and-Pattern Morphology, in which the consonants and the vowels can be analyzed as distinct morphemes. This situation provides a rationale for segregating the consonants and vowels into separate autosegmental tiers (McCarthy, 1986), as in kutib 'was written'. The consonantal root for this verb is √ktb. The structure of Semitic words is well captured by Non-Linear Autosegmental Theories of Phonology (Berent and Shimron, 1997). Berent and Shimron (1997) explained that Autosegmental Theories of Phonology represent phonological constituents on distinct levels of representation, i.e., planes. These planes are interconnected by the skeleton, a sequence of timing units. For example, the root √ktb is represented on a single plane, whereas the vowels are represented on a separate plane. These planes are interconnected by the skeleton, which specifies the word pattern of katab .

Rowan (2006) maintains that this word formation strategy is widespread in the Semitic language family, and is illustrated below with a well-known representative example from Arabic (Broselow, 1996; Berent and Shimron, 1997; Ussishkin, 2004):

Arabic paradigm for the verb katab:

Arabic verb Gloss

kætæb 'he wrote'

kʊtɪb 'it was written'

æktʊb ‘he dictated’

ʊktæb ‘it was dictated’

kættæb ‘he caused to write’

kæætæb ‘he corresponded’

At first glance, a morphological decomposition of such forms seems a daunting task. Unlike more familiar morphology (Katamba, 1993), it is difficult in this case to isolate any recurring contiguous string of segments that could serve as the base of affixation in analyzing the relationship between these words. This initially puzzling pattern leads to two potential analyses of Semitic morphology (Ussishkin, 2004).

One potential analysis involves a morphological element not found in any other language family. Semitic grammarians since at least the 9th century CE have analyzed such patterns using the consonantal root as the basis for NTM (Kirchhoff and Virgyri, 2005). In fact, the consonantal root, as pointed out by Doron (2003) and Ephratt (2003), plays a central role in the generative analyses of Semitic in modern linguistics, most notably in the work of Chomsky (1951), McCarthy (1979, 1981), and McCarthy and Prince (1986).

Following McCarthy’s (1979) influential study, many phonologists and morphologists assumed the Consonantal Root-Based Approach Bat-El (2001) and Ussishkin (2004) as the only possible analysis of word formation in Semitic

languages. In this view, the consonantal root is one of three morphemes that compose a word. The two other morphemes are the vocalic melody and the prosodic template. These morphemes occupy separate tiers (as an extension of the notion tier from Autosegmental Phonology (Goldsmith 1976), and are linearized (Katamba, 1993) according to a process of tier conflation prior to pronunciation. The representation of an Arabic verb, prior to tier conflation, can be illustrated with the verbal stem katab as follows:

Morphemic tier representation in an autosegmental framework (Fischer et al., 2004) for k□t□b:

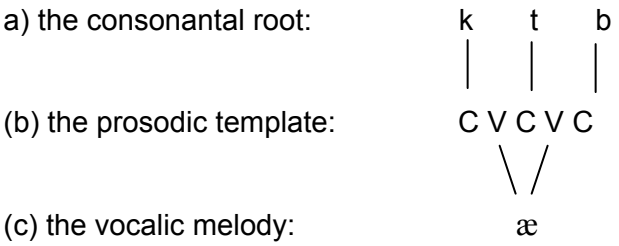


Fig. 2.5: Morphemic Tier Representation in an Autosegmental Framework

The second potential analysis of NTM involves word-based morphological relationships, rather than relationships that are based on the consonantal root. A number of researchers have proposed word-based analyses for both Arabic (including a range of dialects) and Hebrew; these scholars include Bat-El (1994, 2001), Ratcliffe (1998), Benmamon (1999) and Ussishkin (1999, 2000, 2003). The principal distinction between the word-based approach and the consonantal root-based approach concerns the nature of the base of affixation. Rather than the

consonantal root, whole words or stems serve as the lexical item to which affixes attach.

Further developments in template theory arose in the work of McCarthy & Prince (1986), known as Prosodic Morphology. The basic principle underlying this approach is that templates are defined in terms of authentic prosodic units. So, rather than defining the Arabic verbal template for k□t□b as CVCVC, it is defined as an iambic foot, which is independently known to occur in the language.

According to Ussishkin (2000), McCarthy's approach to the morphology of Semitic languages, involving three different types of morpheme and extending the autosegmental framework of Goldsmith (1976), poses several problems. The notion of the consonantal root as a distinct morpheme, which Ussishkin (2000) argues as being done without in much recent work e.g., Bat-El (1994), Ussishkin (1999). Additionally, generalizations regarding the prosodic structure of verbal forms in Semitic remain unexplained in this type of approach (Ibid). Ussishkin (2004) proposed an alternative theoretical approach to Nonconcatonative Templatic Morphology, which is called Fixed Prosody. This approach makes no reference to templates or to the consonantal root. In stead, output forms are taken as the base of affixation for verbal morphology in Semitic languages (Ibid).

Traditional morpheme theory is ideal for the description of word building processes whereby morphemes are concatenated (Katamba, 1993; Gurevich, 2003) i.e. are attached one after the other. For example, while the English words

writer and written are more or less easily analyzable into a discrete base, presumably the verb write, immediately followed by a suffix (-er and -en, respectively), their Arabic counterparts kaatib and maktuub resist such a linear analysis (Virgyri and Kirchhoff, 2005). Comparing the Arabic verb katab with its English equivalent 'write': katab is not phonologically contained within, say, kaatib 'writer', in the same way 'write' is contained within 'writer' in English (Ibid). The model of IA is not well suited to describe nonconcanetative morphological processes including, for instance, infixing or the internal modification of the root (Haspelmath, 2002). Surface word forms in such morphologies are traditionally analyzed into word patterns and roots. According to Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson (2004), word patterns are CV structures, primarily specifying vowels that provide phonological structure and convey syntactic meaning, while roots consist solely of consonants and convey the broad semantic properties of the surface form. In Semitic morphology, a very different word-formation is encountered. Much of the word-formation takes place root-internally. Infixing and modification of the root, rather than the stringing together of discrete morphemes, is the norm (Berent and Shimron, 1997; Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson, 2004). In this sense, Andersson and Soderberg (2003) claimed that the IA Model is especially well suited for agglutinative languages. Before the advent of Nonconcanetative Morphology there was no theoretically elegant way of describing this Semitic word-formation.

McCarthy's approach to the morphology of Semitic languages, known as Root-and-Pattern or Nonconcatenative Templatic Morphology will be adopted by the researcher as the theoretical framework of the current dissertation. This

research is more concerned with descriptive synchronic analysis rather than theoretical analysis of controversial theoretical issues. Descriptive work with much data has longer shelf time than the theoretical analysis. The researcher will handle an eclectic approach comprising the Item-and-Process and Word-and-Paradigm Model in explaining Root-and-Pattern Morphology and nominal and verbal paradigms of Qishn Mehrjiit respectively. The aim of adopting this eclectic approach (IP+WP Models) is to account for an analysis of the internal structure of Mehri words (the order and the processes in which morphemes appear in words, and paradigms in which word forms appear in different contexts) rather than to develop a general theoretical framework for productive language use.

Haspelmath (2002) explained that morphologically complex words derived by non-concatenative processes are most conveniently described in process terms. According to this Model, IP, all affixes are treated as morphological rules, rather than as 'things' that get concatenated onto the stem. This is the original meaning of Item-and-Process morphology, as the term was first used by Hockett (1954).The term was later used to mean that affixes were attached to stems in their underlying form, then modified by morpho-phonological rules (Muller, 2002). The use of morphological processes (IP) makes it fairly straightforward to implement nonconcatenative morphology, such as infixes or reduplication. One of the traditional arguments in favor of IP Morphology is that such Nonconcatenative Morphology cannot be represented in IA terms. This is the line taken in Anderson (1992), a study that defends an Item-and-Process view of both inflectional and derivational morphology (Booij, 2005). The consonantal root approach will be

followed too due to the fact that Root-and-Pattern Morphology formalizes the notion of consonantal root, a concept dating back at least 1000 years in the scholarly tradition of Semitic grammar (Ussishki,2004; Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson, 2004).

WP Model is also adopted in this study in order to overcome the problems that may face the IP Model in describing the inflectional paradigms in MQ. There are cases regularly inherent in MQ and which Bauer (2003) regarded as useful in WP descriptions. WP is suggested to provide useful insights in the description of MQ because:

a) there is a regular paradigm in MQ;

b) there are cumulative realizations of meaning (portmanteau morphs);

c) a single morpheme is realized by a number of formal elements, which are possibly not even contiguous;

d) rules of affixation and rules with phonological content (such as vowel lengthening, Umlaut and so on) are used side-by-side with similar effects (Bauer, 2003).

2.5 Fieldwork Synchronic Descriptive Models

Kibrik (1977) indicated the synchronic state of the language as the empirical basis of any field investigation. Kibrik (1977, p. 5) defined field linguistics as “a specific investigative situation where the investigator is not linguistically competent in the target language and the only source of information about the language is a

native speaker of the language." Kibrik (1977) listed what he considered to be three basic objects of any conceivable linguistic descriptive activity:

1- the subject of investigation (the target language)

2- the object of observation (data)

3- the product of the investigation (the model of target language)

According to Munro (2001, p. 130), field linguistics refers "to the collection of primary linguistic data on the basic grammatical facts of a relatively natural setting from ordinary speakers, and to the analysis and dissemination of such data." Munro (2001), in her definition, has the opinion that classic fieldwork is done in the field, the area where speakers actually live and from which the speakers' ancestors originated. She excludes linguists working on introspective data from being field linguists.

According to Kibrik (1977) and Milroy (1987), the character of interrelations of the investigator with the target language leads into different types of descriptive synchronic linguistics models as illustrated in the figure 2.6 below:

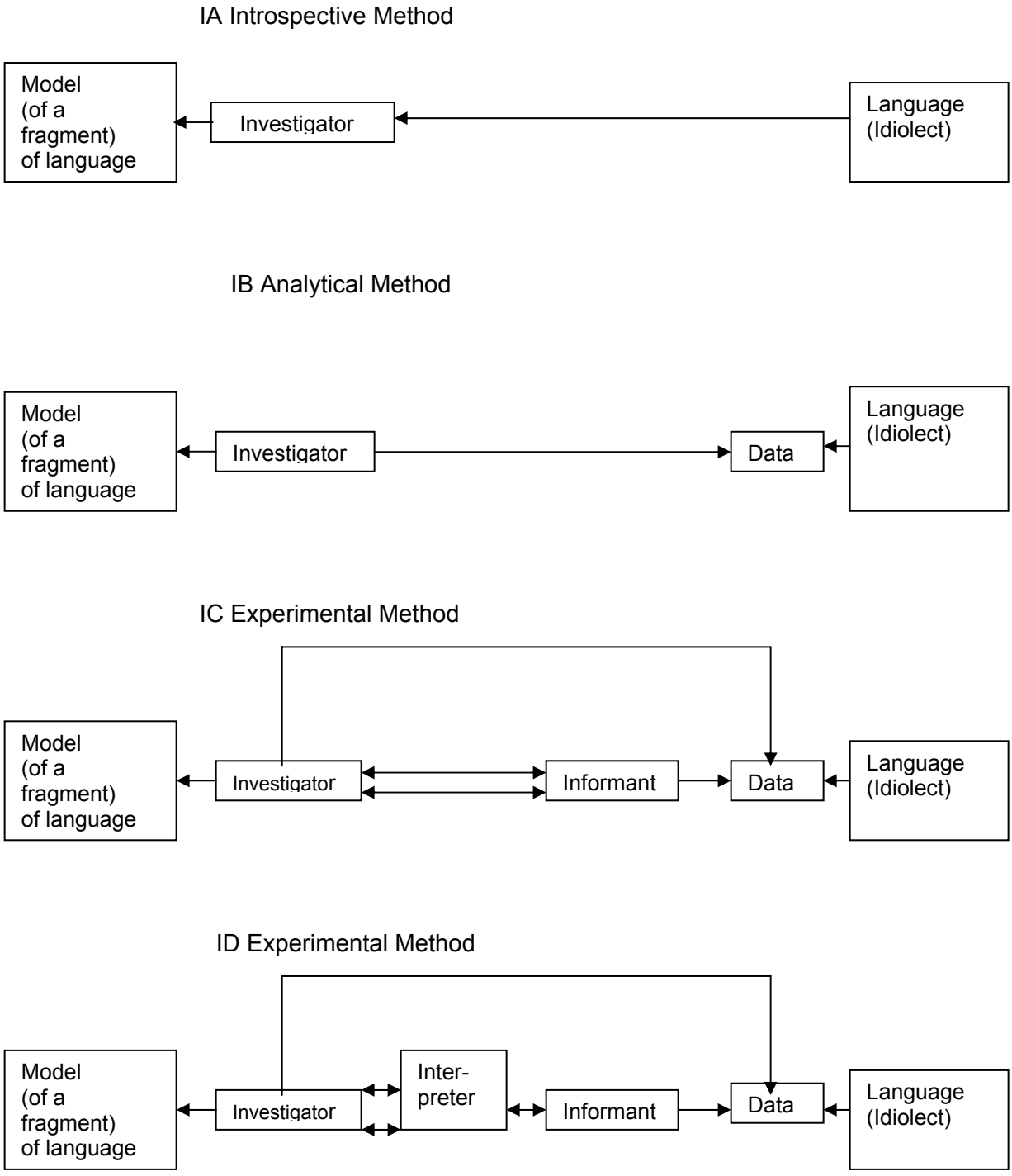


Fig.2.6: Synchronic Descriptive Models (Kibrik, 1977; Milroy, 1987).

As shown in the Figure 2.6 above, IA represents the situation where the investigator knows the target language. A type of spontaneous and direct communication between the investigator and the target language can be established (Kibrik, 1977). This case is called the introspective method of investigation, which is based exclusively on self-observation (Ibid). The investigator acts as a source of data on the given language and establishes a linguistic description based on data so obtained. This method came under criticism by proponents of descriptive approach to the study of language that do not recognize the objective value of linguistic self-observations (Ibid).

The method represented by IB differs from the introspective method in that the investigator has a certain independently received data that is liable to study. Bloomfieldian linguistics as asserted by Kibrik (1977) presumed the possibility of studying a language using only an accidental corpus of texts. This method is called the analytical method. According to Kibrik (1977), as long as the investigator knows the language well enough to be his own informant in the two above-mentioned methods, a combination of the two methods is considered as a truly scientific method of studying the language. The analytical method has not proved to be a successful type of investigation and its feasibility is doubtful (Ibid).

In IC, an additional element is brought to take a position between the investigator and the target language. It is the informant (the native speaker) who is used as a generator of data on the target language. If the investigator deals wisely with the informant, he or she will obtain the requested information about the target

language. This method is called the experimental method. The informant serves as the essential investigative tool of the linguist in this method. Mostly the investigator is unfamiliar with the target language beforehand.

But if there is no common language between the informant and the investigator by means of which the investigator can control the data he is eliciting, in this case an interpreter comes to stand between the investigator and the informant, which is represented by ID. Kibrik (1977) mentions three languages that are constructed: the target language (under investigation), the mediator language (between the investigator and the interpreter), and the metalanguage (which is used to describe the target language).

The experimental method will be selected as the appropriate method in order to achieve those objectives. Mehri is unknown language to the researcher. Consequently, there will be no common language between the researcher and the native speaker of Mehri by which he or she can control the data he is eliciting. The informant, not the researcher, will be taking the role as the basic source of data and facts on the target language. The researcher will be in need of language of communication between him and the informant that the third party will provide as the interpreter. As illustrated in the Figure 2.6 above, the researcher still has some control on a corpus of independently received data, which can be studied.

2.6.1 Previous Linguistic Studies on MSA Languages

2.6.1 MSA Languages

Al-Mashani (1999) did not notice any evident major differences between works of contemporary Arab scholars and the older ones with regard to the level of their knowledge and concern about MSA languages, as far as Mehri language is concerned. The last ten years witnessed an effective interest in studying MSA languages, particularly Mehri. This has been expressed by the international symposiums held in Yemen, in 1999 and 2001, on the Yemeni tongues and dialects in which Yemeni scholars like Al-Aidaroos (1996, 1999, 2001) Amshoosh (1999, 2001) described their novel works on Mehri and a variety of Yemeni dialects and South Arabian languages.

Almashani (1999) argued that scarcity of works on those languages may be attributed to the dependence of contemporary scholars on the writings of their predecessors and also their failure to engage in any new research on the subject. He considered even that any improvement in their knowledge about these languages, Shehri or Mehri, is due to studies undertaken by Western scholars at the beginning of this century. However, most of what was published on the subjects by Arab scholars does not go beyond a general description or incidental references to these languages. No one has even devoted a book or a separate study to the subject.

Al-Mashani (1999) held the view that this clear neglect by contemporary Arab linguists of these languages seems to probably have been the motivating

force behind Muhsin's (1989) publication of his book. In the first Chapter the author discussed the Shehri language, which he referred to as the Himyari of Dhofar, in reference to the locale of its speakers. He compared some of the verb forms in Shehri and Classical Arabic, and, further reviewed and explained some examples of Shehri poetry. In the second chapter, he dealt with the Mehri language, which he referred to the Himyari of Mahrah. He identified the territory in which it was spoken and, as with Shehri, examined some of its verb forms and discussed samples of Mehri poetry. In chapter three, he discusses Soqotra, paying particular attention to the island's isolation, its ancient name, and the origin of the tribes inhabiting it. The title of the book reflected the author's opinion that the Mehri language is the original of all other languages and dialects in the area. The author believed too that it was the source of many utterances found in Classical Arabic (CA) or that it represented an earlier stage of CA. Furthermore, according to Almashani (1999), it is of Muhsin's (1989) view that the Mehri language presents the basis for what are today called the Semitic languages, which he considered ancient Arabic languages, because they contain in their sounds and pronunciation original Semitic word forms. The author's views were refuted by Almashani (1999) as being far from sufficient evidence for concluding that the MSA languages contain many of the roots of the north Semitic languages.

However, unlike Arab authors, Western scholars conducted many studies and written many articles on MSA languages, beginning in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first pioneering work that attracted the attention to the existence of Mehri was carried out by Carter (1847). The French consul in Jeddah

seems to have been the first among Westerners to have identified the existence of Shehri, which he called ‘Ehkli’ in reference to the Al-Hakli tribe, who used to dominate most of Dhofar during recent centuries (Simeone-Sennele, 1999; Amshoosh, 2001). In 1839, the French consul wrote many letters containing information about this language. In November 1898, an Austrian expedition was sent from Vienna to the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula and Soqotra Island. This expedition came back with some texts containing samples of Soqotri, Mehri, and Shehri (Murad, 1968; Stroomer, 1996). Accordingly, Bittner (1909) wrote three articles about the three languages. During the period from 1909 to 1917, he published many articles in which he attempted to construct grammars for Soqotri, Mehri, and Shehri from the texts brought back by the Austrian expedition. These texts seem to have been the only source of information on Mehri until 1937.

In that year, the British explorer, Bertram Thomas, (1937) published a paper entitled ‘Four strange tongues from central south Arabia’. This was the first time that anyone ever discussed ‘Harsusi’ and ‘Bathari’ (Amshoosh, 2001). Thomas presented information about the tribes who spoke these languages, on some aspects of their grammar, on the names of the people and animals, accompanied by comparative lists of vocabulary for each language.

Leslau (1945) published the findings of his research into vocabulary for the bodily parts in the MSA languages. Two years later, he published another study of the contemporary MSA languages, in which he discussed Bathari and Harsusi, the only difference between his own studies and those of Thomas being that Leslau

was more systematic and indeed more accurate in linguistic questions, phonology, and morphology. He was also in favour of considering Bathari and Harsusi as Mehri dialects.

Mathews (1967) published an article under the title ‘Modern South Arabian Determination: a Clue thereto from Shehri’. He asserted that the nasalized initial mīm in Shehri confirms the determination characteristic in it. This nasalized mīm in words such as mask, malhot, and mol does not appear when added to the definite article al. Bittner did not recognize it when he wrote about Shehri grammar since he thought it was something else. Accordingly, he arrived at many incorrect deductions concerning the language. Actually, Mathews’s (1967) essay contained many critical remarks concerning Bittner and his colleagues, the members of the Austrian expedition who visited the region at the beginning of this century.

After Mathews’s essay, Johnstone (1970, 1972, 1975, 1980, and 1981) made a special study of the MSA languages. He conducted extensive research and wrote many articles, most of which were published before he died. The first of his publications, in 1970, was about the definite article in the South Arabian languages. He (1972) published another study about the diminutive patterns. He (1975) published an article under the title ‘The Modern South Arabian Languages’ followed by another one in 1980 about germination in the Shehri language. Again, in the same year, he published an essay under the title ‘The Non-occurrence of the‘t’ prefix in certain Jibbali verbal forms’.

Johnstone (1981) published the Jibbali lexicon, on the Shehri language. This is the most extensive and authoritative work on Shehri until now because Johnstone collected most of its vocabulary directly from native speakers. Johnstone's works were of major assistance to Lonnet and Simeone Sennele (1985) in the preparation of their study published under the title Lexique des noms des parties du corps dans les langues sudarabiques modernes (Dictionary of names of the parts of the body in the South Arabian languages).

Two other scholars produced further works on the subject. Nakano (1986) published a comparative study of the vocabulary of Mehri, Soqotri, and Shehri. Nakano'work was a collection of lists of words arranged according to their semantic fields. The researcher corrected, modified and added different missing or wrong word forms elicited by the Nakano. Nakano did not visit the area but he stayed in Aden interviewing a Mehri informant who is probably assumed to be a Mehrjiit speaker. Nakano set up an inventory of Mehri phonemic system mentioning IPA symbols for certain sounds; but in his whole work he did not use the IPA in transcribing Mehri phonemes. D. Testen (1992) published a paper under the title 'The loss of the person marker (t-) in Jibbali and Soqotri'

2.6.2 Previous linguistic Studies on MQ

Since the initial works on MSA from the earlier periods of the 20th century until the 1970s, all the focus of these works were directed away from the Mehri dialects spoken in Yemen towards the Mehris of Dhofar in Oman and Soqotri and adjacent islands (Simeone-Sennele, 2002). The Austrian South Arabian expedition

was the first pioneering attempt in studying Mehri of Yemen (Stroomer, 1996). According to Stroomer (1996), the publications of this expedition, valuable as they will always remain, are hard to consult because they are made by scholars with different phonetic and linguistic abilities. The results of this magnificent scientific expedition were, necessarily, in a phoneic notation (Ibid). The oldest work on MQ which may be excepted is by Hein (1909). Hein (1909) collected different texts of tales, stories, etc. in MQ (Murad, 1968). The researcher managed to obtain some samples of Hein's work; but the other old works on MSA were not available to the hand of the researcher. It should be remarked that the MSA spoken in Yemen, including MQ, had been neglected since 1909 until the 1980s (see appendix D) when Naumkin started his research on Soqotri and the French expedition set out to study Mehri (Simeone-Sennele, 1999). Simeone-Sennele (1997, 1999) and Simeone-Sennele and Lonnet (1985) launched the activities of the French mission in Yemen since 1985. As far as the MSA are concerned, Simeone-Sennele (1997) produced a general introduction about all Modern South Arabian languages. She has comparatively spotted the light on the phonological, morphological, syntactical, and semantic aspects of these languages. Simeone-Sennele's (1997) study is the only and first work, after Hein's (1909), that mentioned some aspects of the phonology, morphology and other grammatical ones of the Mehri of Qishn, the dialect under the focus of the current research. The overview scope on MSA made Simeone-Sennele's study on Mehrjiit very limited and incomplete and kept it from giving full nominal and verbal paradigms of MQ or providing much missing data on MQ. Simeone-Sennele (1999) has also given a good paper on the consequences and implications of researches and studies of Modern South Arabian languages.

Al-Aidaroos's (1996, 1999, and 2001) articles have been mainly focused on the Mehris in Yemen. Al-Aidaroos (1996) published a paper in which he introduced the Mehri tongues. He discussed the relationship between Mehris and classical Arabic arguing that Mehris may have even supplied classical Arabic in different aspects because of the existence of many commonly sharing linguistic features or reserving them at the phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactical levels. Al-Aidaroos (1996) went on to suppose that Hadramout, particularly the coastal area bordering the Mehri region, has some linguistic characteristics or aspects similar to Mehris. Those characteristics are realized through the local dialects amongst old people, illiterate and socially close communities like Shiher.

Al-Aidaroos (1999) was the first scholar who tried to use Arabic alphabet as the appropriate systematic phonological alphabet for Mehri language. Al-Aidaroos (1999) modeled his alphabetical study on Mehri of Qishin due to reasons he elaborated and which the researcher mentioned in Chapter 1. Al-Aidaroos (1999) used orthographic letters similar to Arabic for transcribing MQ phonemes. Transcription problems arise with certain peculiar Mehri sounds that are not available in Arabic such as some lateral Mehri sounds. Al-Aidaroos (2001) wrote an article titled "Modern South Arabian Languages and Classical Arabic: A Comparative Study". This paper aimed at studying the linguistic relationship between Modern South Arabian languages and Classical Arabic with focus on the semantic agreements between them. According to Al-Aidaroos (2001), the phenomenon is that so many vocabularies of MSA languages lexically agree in the

root with others in classical Arabic and if grammatical units like affixes are removed from the total stem of them, the root stands very close to the equivalent in classical Arabic.

Hofstede (1998) presented the first doctoral thesis on one of the MSA languages, Jibbali, on the subject of the Syntax of Jibbali followed by Al-Mashani (1999). Jibbali is a Modern South Arabian language which is spoken in Dhofar (in the south of the Sultanate of Oman) by about 50,000 persons. Although Hofstede's study has nothing to do with the literature on MQ, it is mainly based on unpublished texts collected by Johnstone around 1970. According to Hofstede (1998), where appropriate, examples from Johnstone's Jibbali Lexicon (1981) and additional fieldwork have been added. Besides the syntax, some aspects concerning the morphology are also treated. The presentation of the data is of a descriptive nature with sometimes a functional approach.

From the above review of important studies and researches into the MSA languages and MQ the following remarks can be recorded:

1- Most of these works have dealt collectively with the MSA languages at the same time, viewing them as different languages with different dialects. Even from the first works dedicated to these languages, their authors adopted a comparative methodology in their analyses. They ought to have commenced making discrete studies of each language with regard to its vocabulary, phonology, morphology, and syntax before comparing it with other related languages since one of the main

requisites of adequate comparison is good, if not comprehensive, knowledge of each of the elements being compared. In this way incorrect deductions are avoided as are deceptive results built on inaccurate or inadequate knowledge. Moreover, studying several languages or dialects in one book or one research report is tiring for both the writer and the reader, and decreases the overall benefit of the analysis. Yet, it will remain an incomplete work owing to its superficiality and the insignificant information it contains.

2- These studies have clearly not dealt synchronically with one linguistic aspect of one of the MSA languages, except the synchronic study made by Hofstede (1998) on the Syntax of Jibbali.

3- Most of these studies have depended primarily on the work of the Austrian expedition that visited some areas in the south of the Arabian Peninsula. The expedition collected some texts exemplifying the MSA languages, which were later criticized by Western scholars themselves (Murad, 1968; Stroomer, 1996). The present study has relied on new fresh fieldwork data which led to novel findings on MQ morphology.

4- There has been a general neglect of research specifically dedicated to an investigation of the Mehri of Qishn except for Hein (1909), and Nakano's (1986), Simeone-Sennele (1997), who partially dealt with MQ, and Al-Aidaroos's (1996) work on the systematic phonology of the Mehri of Qishn. The Mehri of Qishn is still in need of further detailed study into all its various aspects – morphology, syntax,

phonetics, etc. –, which have not been dealt with before. The current study has come to fill in this gap as the first comprehensive study on MQ in the field of Modern South Arabian languages linguistics.

5- These studies have failed to synchronically study the morphology of the Mehri of Qishn using recent morphological theories in describing the morphologies of Semitic languages, which is the topic of the present research.

2.7 The conceptual framework of the study

Having presented and discussed the theoretical framework of this study, the researcher has adopted Root and Pattern Morphology (Nonconcatenative Morphology (McCarthy, 1981), and the two models of morphological description IP and WP as the conceptual framework; in addition to that this study also adopted fieldwork synchronic descriptive model, which the researcher has come up with in his conceptual framework, where a summary of these models discussed earlier. Figure 2.7 below shows the elements of the conceptual framework of the the study. It is conceptualised to fulfill these three objectives:

1. to identify the morphological items (morphemes, morphs, etc.) of Mehri Qishn dialect.
2. to describe the phonemic shapes of Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes.
3. to describe how Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes are internally formed and distributed.

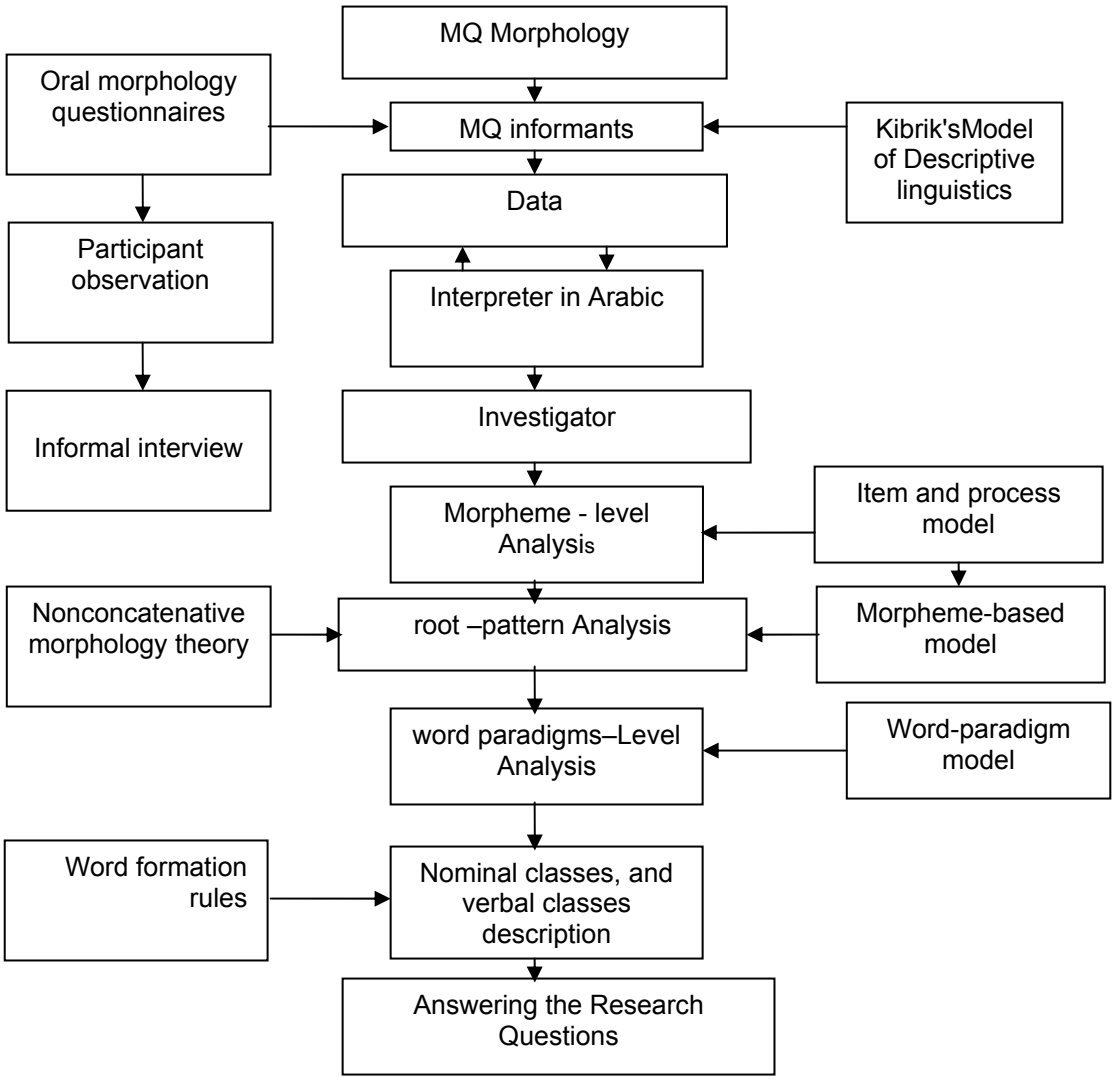


Fig.2.7: The Conceptual Framework of the Study

To achieve these aims, the researcher built up his conceptual framework as shown in the Fig. 2.7 above, which illustrates the various stages involved in the entire study. The researcher carried out an initial samples selection of the key informants of the study by utilizing the method of judgment sampling. Under this method, the researcher usually introduced himself into the Mehri community as a

friend thereby adopting the Synchronic Descriptive Model (Kibrik, 1977; Milroy, 1987). Here, an interpreter stands between the researcher and the investigator. Oral morphology questionnaire, participant observation and informal interviews were used mainly to elicit MQ data. The theory adopted by the study is incorporated in the conceptual framework in addition to the models of describing the morphological data. Root and pattern morphology is used to describe the templatic nonconcatenative morphology of MQ, root and pattern analysis. The eclectic approach IP+WP is also applied in the description of the data; the IP is directed to describe MQ word formation rules at the morphemic level and the WP Model helps in the description of inflectional paradigms at the word level. Finally, Conclusions and recommendations drawn were justified by the morphological data description carried out.

2.8 Summary

This chapter addressed the possible literature issues related to the current study. A brief note on the main morphological concepts was given. The chapter then portrayed the prominent approaches to morphological descriptions comprising IA, IP, and WP models. An eclectic approach, IP+WP, was adopted as appropriate to the description of MQ morphology. The nonconcatenative templatic morphology theory, as the adopted theoretical framework of the study, was explained. The researcher spotted the light on fieldwork descriptive models and a conceptual framework was set into which the eclectic approach, the fieldwork descriptive model, and the theoretical framework of the study were incorporated. Finally, the

previous linguistic studies on MSA and MQ were presented and discussed; then closed by the gap left by those studies that the current study contributed to fill up.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

To address the research questions proposed in Chapter 1, information which deals with the morphology of MQ under study is needed. The methodology designed to obtain the necessary information to answer the research questions is presented below in this chapter. The first research question seeks to identify the morphemes, morphs, and allomorphs of MQ. This question is concerned with the identification of all nominal word classes and verbal word classes available in MQ morphological system. The second research question describes the phonemic shapes of these morphemes, morphs, and allomorphs. As mentioned by Katamba (1993) that morphemes are recognizable distributional units, the third research question describes the internal distribution and formation of MQ morphemes.

This Chapter outlines the overall methodology for the study. It begins with describing the design of the study, sample and sample selection, data sources, instrumentation and data gathering procedures that are necessary for the study. This chapter ends with the method of analysis used to describe and analyze the data gathered for the study.

3.2 Research Design

The research described in this thesis is based solely on qualitative research methods. This permits (indeed requires) an on-going, a participatory, a flexible and

iterative approach (Creswell and Maietta, 2002; Siegel, 2005). This is pointed out by Nastasia and Schensulc (2005) that description, analysis and interpretation of qualitative data begin with initial data collection and requires input from the participants. During data gathering the choice and design of methods are constantly modified, based on ongoing analysis. This allows investigation of important new issues and questions as they arise, and allows the investigators to drop unproductive areas of research from the original research plan (Ibid, Jones, 2004). One important methodological option adopted by the researcher in conducting his research is the use of qualitative methods for data collection and analysis. Qualitative research, with its emphasis on understanding complex, interrelated and/or changing phenomena, is particularly relevant to the challenges of conducting language documentation research, qualitative research must be conducted with methodological rigor (Ibid; Varjas et al, 2005).

As linguistics is included in the behavioral sciences, Lehman (2004, p. 189) ascertains that "… modern disciplines of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics imported the methodology of such thoroughly empirical sciences as sociology and experimental psychology …", however, after being refined in the seventies, "into linguistics, including their methods of obtainment and manipulation of data". According to Lehman (2004), It has only been for a relatively short time that descriptive linguistics, taking up insights of European dialectology and American structuralism, has been struggling to raise its methodological standards concerning the treatment of data to the level established in socio- and psycholinguistics. In the past few decades, more and more linguists have dedicated themselves to fieldwork

and to the documentation of endangered languages, involving the recording, representation, elaboration and archiving of primary data for their own sake (Munro, 2001; Ibid).

The researcher has followed the naturalistic inquiry approach (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), ethnography, during the field work investigations. According to Varjas et al (2005), ethnography, the study of culture, strives to achieve an in-depth understanding of culture (…, language) from the perspective of the members of the culture. Naturalistic inquiry, or ethnography, has its roots in anthropology and sociology and involves long-term exposure to a setting or a group of people (Ploeg, 1999; Creswell and Maietta, 2002). It is implicitly stated in Jones (2004) that extensive use of unstructured observations and conversations documented by detailed field notes form the basis for this type of research, often considered the purest form of qualitative research. A subset of this type of inquiry involves participant observation (Deumert, 2005) in which the investigator becomes a part of the setting or the process being studied.

Therefore, documenting a language typically involves fieldwork with native speakers in their community (Chelliah, 2001). Trips to remote places and months of fieldwork may be necessary to obtain a sizable corpus of raw data (Lehman, 2004). When a researcher claims to have used ethnographic methods, it is assumed that he or she has come to know a culture or group through immersion and engagement in fieldwork or participant observation (Deumert, 2005) and has also undertaken to portray that target context through text from the perspective of

the members of the society (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Nastasia and Schensulc, 2005; Variasa et al. 2005). Ethnographic analysis uses an iterative process in which cultural ideas that arise during active involvement "in the field" are transformed, translated, or represented in a written document (Golafshani, 2003; Lehman, 2004; Deumert, 2005; Nastasia and Schensulc, 2005)).

According to Katamba (1993), morphology has been regarded as essentially synchronic discipline focusing on the study of word structure at one stage in the life of a language rather than on the evolution of words. Kibrik (1977) points to the synchronic state of the language as the empirical basis of any field investigation. The present research will focus on the study of Mehri of Qishn word structure in its current stage of its life. Consequently, this research is a descriptive synchronic modeled study.

Figure 3.1 below represents the situation where the fieldwork for implementing the research is displayed. It can be noted that a third person, the interpreter who stands between the investigator and the informant, is necessary because there is no common language between the informant and the investigator by means of which the investigator can control and stimulate the data he is eliciting. This experimental method becomes suitable to the present study, as the investigator is unfamiliar with the target language in the fieldwork. Lehman (2004) discusses whether one needs to be a native speaker of a language in order to analyze it. Although many persons (including linguists) have acquired a full, native-like command of a second language, Lehman (2004) considers it not even

necessary to have a native-like command of the target language in order to do a linguistic description of this language, since understanding and controlled interaction with native speakers may serve the same purpose. The answer given to this issue as stated by Lehman lies in the witness of dozens of excellent grammars of languages not mastered by their authors.

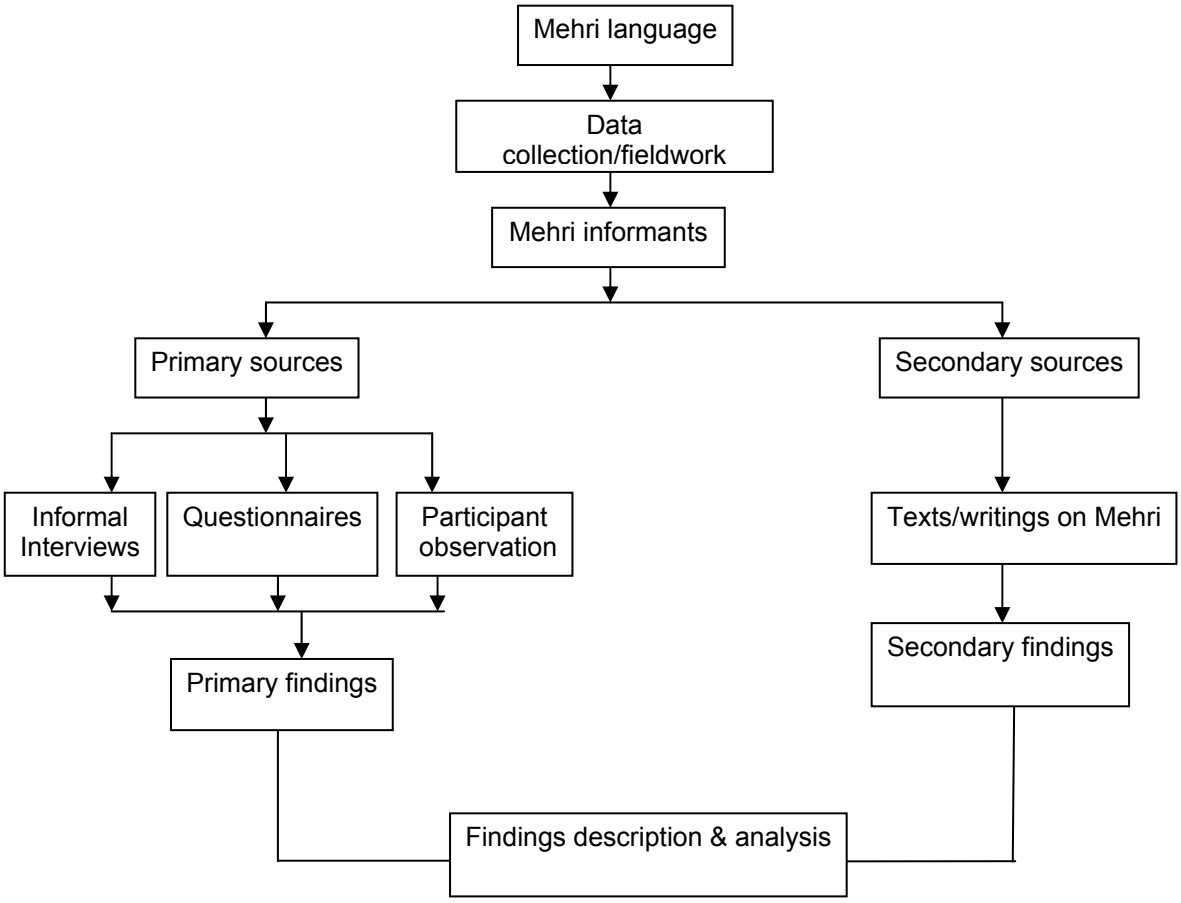


Fig.3.1: The Procedural Steps of the Research Design

The above diagram gives an overlook of the main stages of the research design including the primary and secondary instruments of the fieldwork and data

collection. All the main sections of the research design will be explained in detail hereunder.

3.3 Samples and Sample Selection

Sampling refers to the process used to select a portion of the population for study (Neuman, 2000). Qualitative research is generally based on non-probability and purposive sampling rather than probability or random approaches (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Ploeg, 1999; Vaus, 2001; Nastasia and Schensulc, 2005). Sampling decisions are made for the explicit purpose of obtaining the richest possible source of information to answer the research questions. Purposive sampling decisions influence not only the selection of participants but also settings, incidents, events, and activities for data collection (Nastasia and Schensulc, 2005).

The type of sample selected in this study was the non-probability sample that uses the investigator's judgment. The investigator chooses sample which best fits the objectives of the study. Purposive sampling involves selection of informants based on an important characteristic under study, such as where they live (rural or urban), position in society (for example, community leader or ordinary householder), or specific cultural knowledge (for example, caretakers of children, farmers, fishermen) (Neuman, 2000). Siegel (2005) also considered the process of identifying individuals with specific attributes relevant to the study's purpose as a reflection of purposeful sampling. Informants are selected with the assistance of local persons. Unlike most quantitative studies, informants are repeatedly interviewed in order to explore issues in-depth (Ibid; Endacott, 2005).

According to Milroy (1987), this sampling is known as judgment sampling. The principle underlying judgment sampling is that “the researcher identifies in advance the types of speakers to be studied and then seeks out a quota of speakers who fit the specified categories,” (Milroy, 1987, p. 26). In judgment sampling, the researcher uses his/her judgment in selecting the units from the population for study based on the population’s parameters.

This type of sampling technique might be the most appropriate as the population to be studied is difficult to locate or some members are thought to be better (uneducated, preserving purely the target language, etc.) than others to select and interview. Newman (2000) and Endacott (2005) advised that judgmental sampling is appropriate to select a sample on the basis of knowledge of a population, its elements, and the purpose of the study, prior to data collection. Consistent with the ethnographic approach within the interpretive paradigm, Endacott (2005) refers to this type of sampling as representative based sampling. This technique will be employed in selecting the subjects of the study, because the researcher may be unable to reach the typical representatives of the target language or enumeration of all population. Because the population is homogeneous, the distribution of characteristics within the population is even and any sample would be representative. Therefore, it is easy to study a small subset of a larger population in which many members of the subset are easily identified (Ibid). The informant should be of the type that he commands and preserves purely

the target language. He spent most of his life in his community away from being mixed with standard Arabic-speaking society (Kibrik, 1977; Hofstede, 1998). The researcher has avoided working with only one informant as working with one informant as stated in Kibrik (1977) the researcher may run the risk of describing an idiolect and not the language as a whole. Therefore, it will be desired and best to carry out linguistic discovery with a limited group of informants who best (Ibid) meet the demands made of them.

Milroy (1987) emphasized on the necessity of reaching the central community networks in each area in order to gain access to vernacular speech. In other words, the fieldworker should be part of the context, which he or she is studying. For this reason, Milroy (1987) and Deumert (2005) advised that a fieldworker had better adopt the role of 'a friend of a friend'. The effects of adopting this role are far-reaching. It does not only make it possible to seek information by means of informal interviews and questionnaires, but also by the researcher's being attached to the group and record extended interaction in which he/she participated only marginally (Ibid). Deumert (2005), Nastasia and Schensulc (2005) and Endacott (2005) pointed out the position of the fieldwork investigator as insider manifested in adopting the more familiar ethnographic role of the participant observer.

The researcher has successfully adopted this role during his fieldwork. The researcher has been introduced initially in each Mehri community not in his formal capacity as a researcher, but as a friend of a friend. Thanks go to the Sheikh Yaser

Al-Dobai and the physician of Qishn Dr. Saeed who did the researcher a great favour by introducing him to Mehri natives as a friend of theirs. The researcher has approached initially certain Mehri persons, the informants S. Bin Z., A. Bin S. and S. Bin Z. whose names were given to him by the physician categorized as an insider with whom the researcher had previously made contact. The researcher significantly needed to establish this type of role or relationship because he should at the least spend long enough periods in the field for data collection. The above informants played a crucial role in keeping the doors to Mehri houses and Mehri social gatherings open for the researcher out of which the researcher built up warm effective relationships and managed to select his appropriate informants. Those Mehri informants arranged for the researcher a meeting with the chief of their tribe Sheikh Saleh. The chief of the tribe took interest in the researcher's work and gave his permission for the researcher to move and sit freely with his tribal members. The photographs, plate 3.1 below, show some samples of the social gatherings which the researcher took care to attend and record long series of spontaneous speech events. Milroy (1987) has the view that these roles or relationships are crucial to the design of the fieldworker's design. According to Milroy (1987, p. 35), the main practical advantage is that the researcher is able to attach himself or herself to a group and "by making use of the group's dynamics which influence patterns of language use, obtain very much larger amounts of spontaneous speech than is generally possible in interaction with a single individual who is isolated from his or her isolated customary social network."

Plate 3.1: The Informant Rowaih, 89 Years Old

Plate 3.2: An Afternoon Mehri Social Gathering

Plate 3.3: One of the Social Gatherings of Old Mehri Natives Frequently Attended by the Researcher

When not conducting linguistic informant sessions, the researcher took advantage of invitations to teas, lunches, and dinners from some Mehri natives. By interacting personally with Mehri natives from a wide range of age groups and villages, the researcher refined and expanded his command of the MQ.

Mehri women are mostly monolingual who can rarely speak other language than their MQ. Accodingly, they are the best traditional and active carers of MQ. But it is extremely illicit for an outsider to talk to a Mehri woman. As mentioned by Vanhove (1999), it is a taboo in Yemeni community for a foreigner to speak with a woman or to tape-record her voice. Therefore due to these social restrictions and

for the safety of the researcher, all the samples of the study were males of different ages.

3.4 Data Sources

The data on which the present descriptive study of Mehrjiitt is based were collected intermittently in the field among Mehrjiitt speakers during the period 2005-2006 (8 months). The total amount of time spent in direct interaction with Mehrjiitt speakers were about six months; they were distributed over four field-trips of one month – one month and half duration each. In the intervening periods (two weeks), the data was systematized and continuously analyzed. This periodic approach furthered the data collection in that the systematization away from the field may serve as a useful foundation for each new round of fieldwork and facilitates the author's acquisition of Mehrjiit. The importance of ability of the investigator to be enculturated, to learn a new language, "to empathesise." is given much emphasis by Hocket (2001, p. 135)

The present study, in general, was based on two types of data: (i) 'primary data' obtained mainly by working with informants or directly observing language use, (ii) 'secondary data' obtained from writings on Mehri. Originally, the research is meant to make use of both kinds of sources in the investigation (Ibid).

The researcher decided to concentrate on spoken data for two reasons. The first of these is the apparent absence of descriptions of MQ based on systematically collected spoken data. The second reason is that the researcher

was concerned to include at least a partial description of the phonology and prosody of MQ, for which recorded data is necessary. The third reason for including spoken data relates rather more directly to the research question which seeks the phonemic shapes of MQ morphemes. The spoken data will consist of series of free conversation among the members of a particular group (usually of 2-4 people) who live in the same region and are in the same age group. This is an attempt to collect data that is as naturalistic as possible and to minimise the Observer's Paradox first described by Labov (1972, p. 61) who explained "our goal is to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed". The presence of the researcher and his equipment might disturb the usual way an interaction unfolds. Good language data requires systematic observation while the informants are not conscious of being observed (Ibid). The current research is not concerned with the variability or style stratification in MQ (Alias Abd Ghani, 2003), nevertheless the researcher selected the fifth guideline of Labov, to ensure that the data collected were spontaneous speech data. In this study, an MP3 device was used. This MP3 device when it was placed on a flat surface, such as a table-top or a floor surface, made the respondents feel more relaxed, thereby producing spontaneous speech. The unconventional appearance of the MP3 (a small mobile-like piece) and the fact that it enabled the researcher to place the recorder out of sight or in the front on the floor, helped subjects to soon forget that they were being recorded. It has been noticed that self-consciousness of being recorded was only temporary.

The sources of data for this study were informants and Mehri native speakers who have been selected by the researcher on the basis of certain criteria. The producer of the data is normally a person in his capacity as a speaker of the language in question. Respect for his role has increased too (Lehman, 2004). The career that he has made from the background to the foreground of linguistics is much more noteworthy. While he was not even mentioned in the earliest linguistic publications based on fieldwork, it is now standard to render him due attention and not seldom has he advanced to the position of co-author of the linguistic description (Munro, 2001; Ibid).

The researcher has also benefited from any relevant Mehri texts collected by European and contemporary Arabic researchers in eliciting the data regarding this research. Field linguists continue to rely on both direct elicitation and texts as complementary sources of data (Payne, 1997; Chelliah, 2001; Hocket, 2001). It is also important to note the central role of native-speaker consultants in the transcription and analysis of texts. In fact, Payne (1997) suggests that working through a text with a consultant can provide a fruitful context for eliciting data. The linguist can ask, in reference to a passage in the text, “Can different word orders be employed? What would the speaker have meant if he/she had said ACB instead of ABC?” (Payne, 1997, p. 369). The researcher practiced this process effectively with a number of informants at the transcription and analysis process. The consultant informants ranged from very old to some young adults well-versed in MQ. The results were greatly fruitful and probably enriched the research strongly.

Lehman (2004) classifies the primary linguistic data into two perspectives: the semasiological perspective (hearer) and the onomasiological perspective (speaker), according to the linguist's two converse relations to them. The linguist takes the same two perspectives, in the semasiological perspective, which is typical of structural linguistics; he is confronted with utterances produced by somebody else. He analyzes their form and structure, interprets this and thus arrives at the meanings and functions carried by the data (Ibid). In the onomasiological perspective, which is typically taken in functional linguistics, the linguist starts from some cognitive or communicative function which is to be fulfilled by linguistic signs. The utterances produced in this way are functional variants of each other, and so the linguist sees which structural means the language uses to fulfill such a function (Ibid).

3.5 Instrumentation and Data Gathering Procedures

The researcher has used several methods of data collection to elicit data in the fieldwork situation, such as controlled elicitation i.e., question-answer session with one or more informants (Munro, 2001) (informal interview); participant observation (the researcher is involved in day-to-day activities, and collects spontaneously-uttered material (Hocket, 2001; Varjas et al, 2005); collection and analysis of a corpus of spontaneous speech. This is the empiric task of the researcher as stated by Hocket (2001). According to Hocket (2001), the researcher must base his judgments on observations of actual speech. The researcher started by eliciting various words in the language. In fact, the first thing elicited was a series of one-hundred words that supposedly exist in all the world's languages—

known as the Swadesh word list after the linguist who devised it in the first half of the twentieth century (Oliver, 1993). It is a useful point from which to start fieldwork. This was granted reasonable argument by Hocket (2001) that a fieldworker almost always begins by eliciting quite brief utterances, of approximately “word” length, because the investigator can hardly hope to have with accuracy any much longer stretch of alien speech until he has had practice.

In this study, the researcher additionally used another type of instrument. It was a structured oral morphology questionnaire adapted and developed from Dahl’s (1985), Hancock’s (1987), and Bouquiaux and Thomas’ questionnaires (1992). Henry (2005) argued that written questionnaires are not a suitable method of obtaining judgments on nonstandard varieties, because these varieties are not generally written. This is proved by the fact that some local forms do not even have an agreed written form (Polleto and Cornips, 2005). Presentation of non-standard sentences in a written form seems strange to native speakers, because, unfortunately, they never see them written (Ibid), and the use of non-standard forms in written questionnaires is particularly strongly criticized in field linguistics. Thus Henry (2005) concluded that oral questioning is essential. The main part of this oral questionnaire consists of a number of sentences and short connected texts in Arabic together with indications of the contexts the sentences or texts are assumed to be uttered in. These sentences and texts were then translated into the language to be investigated by native informants. The questionnaire was designed to elicit details of morphological units of Mehri of Qishn and its word formation. The following information was requested:

1. Roots;

2. Lexemes;

3. Bases;

4. Affixes;

5. Clitics;

6. Infixation;

7. Stem modification processes;

8. Compounding;

9. Nominal word classes (nouns singularity, duality, and plurality derivations, classifiers, personal pronouns, demonstratives, numerals and quantifiers, interrogatives, coordinating morphemes, prepositions, adjectives);

10. Verbal word classes (roots, vocalic patterns, word templates, verbal tenses, verbal paradigms, denominal and deadjectival verbs derivations, auxiliaries and adverbs)

Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992) asserted that all these questionnaires are meant to be suggestive. They do not intend to be exhaustive, but only to provide direction to the investigation. The questionnaires will serve as a reminder. Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992, p. 39) stated “The questionnaires and guides for research and description have been developed along specific theoretical and morphological lines, which explain their organization and order of presentation.” As pointed out by Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992), those morphology questionnaires necessitate closer supervision on the investigator’s part because they require a good knowledge of linguistics. Those questionnaires are intended to explore some

morphological phenomena such as derivation, compounding, inflection, etc (Ibid). This study can be started with the informant so that he can comprehend the nature of the relationship looked for and display it if it exists in the target language. The informant, when he understands the process under investigation, can continue on his own to find lists of examples illustrating the types of morphological operations.

With both the elicitation and the translation methods, the responses of the informant are recorded, analyzed with his help and counterchecked with other native speakers. Both methods are frequently applied in fieldwork on underdescribed languages (Munro, 2001; Hocket, 2001). They are popular because they are inexpensive in every respect (Lehman, 2004). Moreover, although it might be thought that it would be more scientific to adopt a rigorous system of questioning in which each speaker was asked exactly the same questions, it is in fact important to keep the interaction as informal as possible, and to work with speakers to establish what is grammatical in their dialect (Munro, 2001; Hocket, 2001; Henry, 2005; Deumert, 2005). Otherwise, valuable information which they may be able to provide may be lost.

However, Lehman (2004) stated that elicitation and translation methods are, to some extent, both unreliable and invalid. Lehman attributes their unreliability to the linguist, the informant and their relationship as sources of error which render the data faulty. As for their invalidity, to the extent that they are meant to reveal the grammatical categories that the language possesses. In fact, they only reveal such categories that the analyst expects and therefore codes in his questionnaires,

example sentences and paradigmatic operations. To solve this problem, Lehman (2004) believes that it is crucial that the onomasiological method does not rely on the grammatical categories of the analyst's language or on any grammatical categories at all, for that matter. However, Lehman (2004) emphasizes that they, elicitation and translation, must never be applied in isolation, but must always be complemented by other methods. This view is also shared by Polleto and Cornips (2005) and Burenhult (2002).

Elicitation has been an important tool in the field for the detection and identification of various linguistic phenomena (Chelliah, 2001). However, it became clear early on that elicited material was not entirely reliable, partly because informants tended to equate acceptability of linguistic forms with comprehensibility rather than grammaticality (Wolfson, 1986; Kabatek, et al. 2003; Polleto and Cornips, 2005). And also because people, including linguists, subconsciously change their perceptual input (Lehman, 2004). Also, elicitation sometimes proved to result in misleading over-generalizations on the informant's part (Burenhult, 2002). So whereas elicitation has been invaluable as a primary means of detecting patterns and tendencies, it was decided that the final analysis would rather rest mainly on recordings of authentic language use. These recordings were made continuously during the fieldwork periods. It seems reasonable, according to Wolfson (1986), given all what is known about the complexity of human speech behavior, that this moving back and forth between observation and elicitation will need to be repeated a number of times, always refining as we learn. The important point is that if it is to arrive at valid analyses of speech behavior, observation and

elicitation will have to be used as necessary complements to one another (Hocket, 2001).

According to Lehman (2004), the advantage of working with a corpus is the enhanced objectivity of the data and of all the research that is based on it. In comparison with the other approaches, Lehman highlighted that the possibilities for the researcher to manipulate the data are minimized. He adds that another great advantage of working with a corpus is that a corpus the researcher has not produced himself may be varied, heterogeneous, and full of surprises and a constant source of inspiration. Lehman furthermore considers exposing oneself to spontaneous data as the safest way of discovering those categories of a language that are peculiar to it and that the researcher did not expect. The heterogeneity of spontaneous data has two sides. Multiplicity and richness is the positive side. The negative side is wild variation. The undeniable drawback of a corpus is its incompleteness. Certain lexical items, morphological forms and syntactic constructions will be lacking even from a very large corpus (Kabatek et al., 2003).

Given the negative aspects about the data elicitation techniques mentioned above, Wolfson (1986) makes it clear that this is not to suggest that techniques of data collection which depend on elicitation should be avoided, but researchers must be aware of the potential pitfalls. Most important, according to Wolfson, they need to recognize that elicited data draw on native-speaker perceptions and cannot be presumed to be the same as the speech which would actually be produced by a given set of speakers. Henry (2005) argues that native speakers are

themselves the experts on their own language varieties and it is in working with them, rather than 'studying' their output in corpus form, or looking at their responses to fixed questionnaires, that their underlying grammars can best be discovered.

To ensure the trustworthiness of the findings and that are plausible too and reflect the reality of the participants, the researcher has employed all the following procedures suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985):

1- the process of prolonged engagement by which the researcher engages in the target context for a period of time that is sufficient to ensure a broad understanding of the culture (language), test for misinformation or misinterpretations, and build trust with members of the culture.

2- the procedure of persistent observation which involves increasingly more focused examination of the target phenomenon to ensure sufficient depth of understanding of the insider perspective and permit the identification of relevant and irrelevant information (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

3- the procedure of triangulation which involves the use of multiple sources or informants, multiple methods of data collection (Ibid).

4- the procedure of member checking which involves presenting findings and interpretations to representatives of the population from which the data were

collected, and gathering feedback regarding the authenticity of the data and researcher's inferences (Ibid) .

The researcher has used recording techniques for collecting speech data. Milroy (1987) and Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992) emphasized on the significance of recording data which constitute the very foundation of the research. Recording equipment, a Corvus MMP3-E301 Digital MP3 / WMA Player USB Flash Disk Voice recorder was used to record the speech events of the informants and the native speakers of the target language. Recording was administered by the researcher. More than 250 megabyte recordings were done during the whole fieldwork. Informal interviews, given so much thought by Kalekin-Fishman (2002), have been tackled by the researcher as speech events.

During the recording sessions, all interactions between the researcher and the informant took place in Arabic. The procedures are discussed as follows: The native speaker was orally presented with an Arabic lexical item, the Mehrjiitt translation of which he or she was to utter out loud. If need be, more information about the meaning or the usage of the word in the Mehrjiitt is given. Rarely, a speaker was unable to translate the word on the basis of this information, or offered a semantically related alternative. Then the researcher writes the Mehrjiitt word on paper. If the speaker did not recognize the word, no further attempts would be made to elicit it.

Nastasia and Schensulc (2005) and Variasa et al. (2005) highlight the roles of researcher and participant observation in qualitative research. They are influenced by the open-ended nature of data collection and efforts to capture the insider perspective. Nastasia and Schensulc (2005) and Variasa et al. (2005) focus on the researchers themselves as the primary instruments of data collection. Thus, Nastasia and Schensulc (2005) argue that the quality of data is highly dependent on researcher's skill in observing, interviewing, and analyzing qualitative data. Therefore, according to Nastasia and Schensulc (2005), the interpersonal skills of the researcher are critical to entering the natural settings, data collection, and negotiating meaning. Finally, the study participants are much more active in the process of data interpretation (Ibid).

3.6 Method of Analysis

The collected oral morphology questionnaire data and spontaneous speech data were transcribed in fine phonetic transcription and the morphemic elements were classified and their phonemic shapes and internal distribution were studied and analyzed. Root and Pattern Morphology was, using IP+WP eclectic approach, used in describing Mehri's morphology.

The technique of paradigms was utilized in the analysis and organization of data. Kibrik (1977) considers paradigms as an empirical basis for morphological generalizations. Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992) shared the view with Kibrik (1977) that once the domain of morphology has been clearly defined, the first step is to establish an inventory of forms which can be analyzed in paradigms. Bat-El (2004)

considered the use of paradigms in the morphology chapters is very important in the description of any Semitic language.

Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992) pointed out that there would always be exceptions and irregularities which can not be assimilated and are difficult to interpret. They propose, in this case, the use of a technique which has been especially developed to take account of those formal variations like elision, contraction, and consonantal alternation without resorting to historical explanation in a strictly synchronic analysis. Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992) referred to this technique as morphophonemic technique and its use is particularly relevant when morphological units need to be brought out in a given paradigm.

CHAPTER 4

PHONOLOGICAL DATA: MQ PHONOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the phonological system of MQ, including its phonemic inventory of vowels and consonants and the phonetic realization of phonemes (4.1.2 and 4.1.3), phonotactic properties (4.4) as well as prosodic features (4.5). This account of MQ phonology is based on extensive lists of forms elicited by the researcher, Swadish list is given as an example (Appendix B). These are citation forms of words, which generally represent synchronically minimal free forms, so called lexemes (see 4.3). Burenhult (2002) emphasizes on the significant consequence of listing those free forms that lexemes set the standard for phonotactic well-formedness. There are some forms corresponding with Arabic ones and are included within these citation forms of words. They conform to the same pattern as indigenous forms and are therefore not treated separately.

4.2 Phonology

The interaction of phonology and morphology is fundamental to the study of sound patterns and morphological processes (Kiparsky 1982; Mohanan 1982; Yip 1989; McCarthy & Prince 1996; Mullins, 2005). It has been observed that phonological processes are often affected by morphological structure and vice versa. This phonological analysis was carried out in the current study to make it both readable and applicable. The phonological data were organized and analyzed

as an essential precursor in answering the research questions and to fulfill the objectives of the study, which are briefed out as follows:

1-to identify the morphological items (morphemes, morphs, etc.) of Mehri Qishn dialect.

2-to describe the phonemic shapes of Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes.

3-to describe how Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes are internally formed and distributed.

4.2.1 Inventory of distinctive segments

Regarding the phonemic description of Qishn variant, , the researcher has heavily drawn on Al-Aidaroos's work (1999) as a good representative of Mehrjiit which is pronounced as /mɛhɪjiːt/, in addition to Nakano's (1986) and Simeone-Senelle's work (1997) in the phonemic description of Mehri Qishn variety phonemes, which is the focus of this study. Nakano (1986) described the phonemic system of Mehri consonants and vowels in the Yemeni region. Simeone-Senelle (1997) described comparatively the phonetics and phonology of the six Modern South Arabian languages, of which Mehri of Qishn variety was. According to Al-Aidaroos (1999), this variant may be chosen as standard for all different Mehri languages. Al-Aidaroos (1999) has based this selection on several factors: firstly, most of Mehri native speakers assume that the Qishn dialect still keeps many of the actual phonetic and linguistic features of Mehri languages, and that Qishn variety was considered the court of appeal when they differ in many Mehri forms.

Secondly, during research this variant has shown very little philological changes of Old Mehris – like the almost invisible definite article – compared to those elsewhere in Mahra with reference to the old forms of the Proto-Semitic language. Thirdly, the speakers at the time of study, because of geographical reasons, were rather isolatable, and consequently their variety was less influenced by the interference of other languages or dialects like Classical Arabic or Modern Arabic dialects. And, finally, Qishn was economically and politically the most powerful region in Mahrah for centuries.

It has been noticed that the more one remote from the areas close to Hadramout, i.e. to the east, (Al-Aidaroos, 1996) the less Mehri people use frequently and fluently classical Arabic dialects. Therefore, it is assumed that interior towns and cities particularly Qishn represents the best conservative variety of Mehri tongues, which has less influence of non-Mehri tongues or other languages or dialects than Arabic. Approving this assumption, Qishn variety has some phonetic features, which go back to the original features of the very ancient Semitic language (Ibid).

An application of a structurally-oriented phonological approach is performed to give a synchronic dialect-specific description of the currently observable phonetic facts as they relate to the sounds in question in MQ. The phonetic analysis is based mainly on auditory impression.

4.2.1.1 Consonants

Like other MSA languages and many languages native to South Semitic in general, Mehri of Qishn phonology is characterized by the presence of gutturals and ejectives. According to Simeone-Sennele (1997) and Watson (2002), the consonantal system of the Mehri languages is the closest, among the modern Semitic languages, to the reconstructed system of Proto-Semitic. They are the only ones with three alveolar fricatives and additionally they have a phoneme /ɯ/. The postglottalised realization of emphatic consonants is another typical feature of Mehri language (Ibid). The MQ phoneme inventory, with 31 consonants and 12 vowels, is laid out below using the latest version (2005) of standard IPA classification (Ladefoged, 2005). It is a formal representation of information adapted from Nakano (1986), Simeone-Sennele (1997) and Al-Aidaroos (1999) and from first-hand data collected by the researcher; and does not represent a tested exploration of the phonemic status of each sound.

Table 4.1: Pulmonary Consonant Inventory

	bilabial	labioden-tal	dental	alveolar	Postalve-olar	retroflex	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyng	glottal
Plosive	b		t d			ʈ ɖ	ɟ	k g			ʔ
Nasal	m		n								
Fricative		f	θ ð	s z	ʃ				χ ʁ	ħ	h
approxi-mant	w		ɹ			ɻ	j				
lateral approxi-ment			l								
Lateral fricative			ɬ ɮ								

Table 4.2: Nonpulmonary Ejective Consonant Inventory

t’	Dental alveolar ejective
s’	Dental-alveolar fricative ejective
k’	Velar plosive ejective

Table 4.3: Exemplification of MQ Consonants

Sound	Word	Gloss
b	bæɪ	went at night
t	təʊk	I / you ate
d	dɪhɪk'hɔːb	bring
ʈ	sɛnnɔːʈ	cat
ɖ	jɛɖɔː	return
ɟ	ɟɑːɪ	fell
k	kɛmbəʔ	ankle
g	giːd	good
ʔ	ʔʌs dəh	like this
m	mɛdnɪ	pregnant (animal)
n	niːɦɛɪ	small narrow valley
f	fɛnwəʔ	opposite
θ	θ(t)ɪwiːt	feminine sheep (offspring)
ð	ɟɛɪiːð	mouse
s	shiːl	easy
z	zbuːn	expensive
ʃ	ʃkeɪ	sword
χ	χɔːɪ	little
ʁ	ʁʌj	my brother

ħ	ħɛbɹiːɹ	sand
h	hɛt	six
ɬ	ɬɪbkiːt	spider's net
ɮ	ɮiːk'eɪn	narrowness
ɹ	bæɹ	went at night
ɻ	ʔɑːɻɮ	earth
w	wʌtχɛf	came afternoon
j	jɪkɪs	he gets
l	lɔːm	last year
t'	t'wuːt	she came at night
s'	s'ænwiːt	deaf (f)
k'	k'ɹɔːɹ	go in the morning

4.2.1.1.1 Description of Consonant Phonemes

It can be noted from the table above that MQ comprises of pulmonary and non-pulmonary consonants including pharyngeal, emphatic, and the non-pulmonary ejective consonants. The phenomenon of emphasis which has been found to occur in some Semitic languages like Arabic and MSA languages is well known among Semiticists (Watson, 2002). Hoberman (1996, p. 840) points out that Semitic languages are famous for "possessing consonants articulated in the pharyngeal and uvular region, and consonants, chiefly apicals, with a coarticulation in that region". The phonetics of this coarticulation are complex, usually described as including pharyngealization, velarization, labialization, and sometimes additional

gestures for which “emphatic” as a cover term is used (Ibid). According to Hoberman (1996), lexically, emphasis is in most cases a property of one or more consonants of a root morpheme, rather than of an affix or a vocalic stem morpheme.

From the phonological analysis of MQ emphatic articulations, it has been found out that these emphatic articulations, which Eddaikra and Tench (1992) referred to as instances of either velarization or pharyngealization, have observed that the second term is more appropriate to them. Pharyngealization is characterized by three main features: (i) a reduced pharyngeal cavity caused by the approximation of the root of the tongue to the back wall of the pharynx; (ii) the concavity of the back and root of the tongue producing a large resonance chamber in the oral cavity; (iii) and by high muscular tension (Ibid). Spencer (2001b) considers the process of pharyngealization as a superposition of a retracted [ɑ] sound on the consonant. But in Mehri the prevailing articulation of the emphatic consonants has appeared to be a post-glottalization, this finding has been endorsed by Simeone-Senelle (1997) and Watson (2002). In the Mehri dialect of Qishn, the constriction of the glottis is not complete and provokes a laryngealization or creaky voice; under such conditions, some emphatics become voiced. The pharyngeal, uvular and glottal sounds often behave as a group, nowadays referred to as gutturals (Clements and Hume, 1996; Hoberman, 1996; Spencer, 2001b; McCarthy, 2001; Fleming, 2005). The classification of phonemes into places of articulation is based on traditional phonetic analyses of place of

articulation described in Nakano (1986), Simeone-Sennele (1997) and Al-Aidaroos (1999).

4.2.1.1.2 Stops or Plosives

Voiceless /t, ʈ, ɟ, k, ʔ / and voiced /b, d, ɖ, g / occur syllable-initially, medially and finally. The voiced plosives are realized as fully voiced and unaspirated bilabial, alveolar, palatal, glottal and velar stops; whereas the voiceless ones are aspirated.

Table 4.4: Distribution of MQ Plosives

Sound	syllable-initially	syllable-medially	syllable-finally
/t/	tɛːwiː 'meat'	mtɔːt 'dead'	ħɛɹmɛːt 'woman'
/b/	beɪdɪ 'liar (m)'	mbeɪl 'dog'	ħeɪb 'father'
/d/	dəʊmə "this (m.)'	bɛdiːt 'liar (f)'	s'eɪd 'fish'
/ʈ/	*-	-	sɛnnɔːʈ 'cat'
/ɖ/	-	jɛɖɔː 'return'	-
/ɟ/	ɟɛhmɛh 'tomorrow'	ʁɛɟeɪn 'boy'	nħɑːɟ 'dance'
/k/	ktuːɹəʔ 'hand' washing water'	ɬɪbkiːt 'spider's net	ɟiːʔək 'got hungry'
/g/	g(k')heɪb 'came'	χædgeɪg 'torn'	dɹiːg 'staircase'
/ʔ/	ʔæluːt 'high'	bəɹʔeɪs 'stood'	fɛt'wəʔ 'naked'

*Notation: (-) in the above table means that no example found based on the data available

At the word-final there occurs unreleased devoicing and partial glottalization for the voiced plosives / b / and / d / e.g. / bɔːb / [bɔːb̚] (Nakano, 1986), / giːd / [giːd̚] (Simeone-Sennele, 1997). It is fairly difficult to distinguish the set /ɟ, g : k' / from each other as recorded in this study consistent with Nakano's findings (1986). Several speakers may pronounce the word /k'heɪb/ as [k'heɪb] or [gheɪb] 'came'. Word-initial /b/ is usually nasalized and realized as [m] without being followed by a nasal segment: [mɛbsɪ] /bɛbsɪ/ 'Pepsi drink'. It has also been found that in MQ, in the paradigm of a few verbs consistent with Semeone-Sennele (1997) that /b/ does not occur in intervocalic position e.g. [t'ælɔːm] 'they requested' /t'ælɔːb/ 'he requested'. [ɟɔːt'] /ɟɛbət'/ 'he took'.

4.2.1.1.3 Nasals

The nasal phonemes /m, n/ occur in the same places of articulation, bilabial and alveolar, as the voiced stops and in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions as shown in the table below.

Table 4.5: Distribution of MQ Nasals

Sound	syllable-initially	syllable-medially	syllable-finally
/m/	mɛχbæt 'pocket'	hɛmlæ 'lazy'	ɟhɔːm 'leave'
/n/	nɔːkə 'come'	fənuːn 'before'	mɔːn 'who'

4.2.1.1.4 Fricatives

A fricative is a sound in which the articulators are close, but air still passes by in a turbulent fashion (Ladefoged, 2005). Voiceless /f, θ, s, ʃ, χ, ħ, h, ɬ/ and voiced /ð, z, ʁ, ʒ/ are the only fricatives recorded in this study. MQ, and all MSA languages, occupies a rather exceptional position in that nearly half of its fricative inventory is situated far back in the uvular, pharyngeal and glottal areas (McCarthy, 2001).

The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ commonly occurs in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial, and syllable-final positions. There are no allophones for this phoneme used by Mehri natives.

The voiceless dental fricative /θ/ is not a distinctive phoneme in the coastal dialect of Qishn. It is existent in the inland dialect of Bedouins. Qishn native speakers pronounce /t/ as the Qishn allophone of /θ/ e.g. /θɹiːt/ is pronounced in Qishn as /tɹiːt/ 'two'. Al-Aidaroos (1999) verified the allophonic status of /θ/ → /t/

and recognized the inexistence of a dental fricative /θ/ in Mehrjuut pronounced as /mɛhɹɪjuːt/.

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ frequently occurs in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions. When /s/ is preceded by /ɹ/, both sounds have retroflex articulation /ʔɛɹs/ [ʔɛːɻʂ] ‘marriage’. It can be noted that the short vowel /ɛ/, preceding the retroflex consonant, is lengthened in epenthesis because it occurs in the stressed syllable.

The voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ occurs in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions. According to Al-Aidaroos (1999), the old Arabic /ʃ/ like /ɟ, j/ as described by Sibaweih (1977) was pronounced with the centre of the tongue against the hard palate (Beeston, 1985) which is close to the Mehri /ɬ/. The Mehri phoneme /ʃ/ resembles the contemporary Arabic one. It has no allophonic variants in MQ.

The uvular production of the voiceless uvular fricative /χ/ recorded in the present study is consistent with Nakano (1986) and Semeone-Sennele (1997). Al-Aidaroos (1999) labeled it as a voiceless velar fricative consonant. /χ/ occurs in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions. It has been found out in

this study that /χ/ is nasalized when it follows /n/ making a cluster word-finally e.g. /ʃænχ̃/ ‘rest’. It is realized as an unreleased nasal fricative.

/ħ/ is articulated as a voiceless pharyngeal fricative. Its distribution spreads in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions. Syllable-initially, it is argued to be the definite article in some Modern South Arabian languages (Johnstone, 1977; Mathews, 1968). It can be obsolete in MQ. During the researcher’s fieldwork, native speakers of MQ confirmed that /ə/ was not used as a definite article in their dialect. This denotes no morphological function performed by this phoneme.

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ has been identified in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions. /h/ gets into the process of pluralizing some MQ singular nouns. It occurs in the syllable-initial position in the plural form of these nouns. For example, /biːɹ/ ‘well, sg.’ /həbjæɹ/ ‘wells, pl.’

The voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/ has an apico-alveolar articulation as described by Simeone-Sennele (1997). The tongue tip is on the alveolar edge and the lateral fricative sound is produced by the air flowing out of the passage opened by lowering the mid section of the tongue and retracting the corner of the mouth, generally at the right side. This voiceless lateral, /ɬ/, is classified as one of the three sibilants of proto-Semitic (Watson, 2002).

/ð/ is a voiced dental fricative. In spite of the extensive collected data in the current study, this sound is found restricted to the syllable-final position, for instance in these two indigenous words /ɟɛɹiːð/ 'mouse' and /luːðɪ/ 'towards me'. This is in contrary to Al-Aidaroos's (1999) argument that he met Qishn Mehri speakers who admitted that this dental fricative sound did not exist in Qishn.

The voiced alveolar fricative /z/ occurs in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions.

/ʁ/ is described here as a voiced uvular fricative consistent with Nakano's (1986) and Simeone-Sennele's (1997) designation of this sound. Al-Aidaroos (1999) described it as a velar; claiming that its articulation is made by a contact between the back part of the tongue and the velum in a partial closure. /ʁ/ is found in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions.

At the phonetic and phonological levels, MSA languages are easily distinguished by a sound nearly disappearing from most of the modern forms of the languages or dialects of Semitic origins (Al-Aidaroos, 1996; Versteegh, 1997). Al-aidaroos (1996) describes this sound, given the symbol, /ɮ/, henceforth, in IPA, is called the third [s] or the lateral [s]. Its description (Ibid) can be summed up in a five key label terms as: fortis voiceless palatal lateral fricative sound." According to IPA terms which the researcher adopts, /ɮ/ is a voiced alveolar lateral fricative;

According to Al-aidaroos (1996), this /ɮ/ is distinguished amongst the other fortis voiceless phonemes in Mehri tongues as well as in Modern Classical Arabic and therefore becomes special to MSA amongst aspects it reserves of the Semitic languages. Regarding the manner of articulation of [ɮ], Al-Aidaroos (1999) briefs out its description stating, in contradiction with IPA description, that there is no vibration realized in the vocal cavity by the vocal folds and a voiceless sound is produced. The central part of the tongue is raised against the hard palate, and the air is released in a continuous stream through the right side of the mouth (in a lateral manner) as the right rim allows causing friction. This right rim curls. It is, also, noticed that the air is expelled in a fortis manner and the tongue is tense. The upper jaws, especially the left ones, approximate to the lower ones and they move as if the speaker is chewing tobacco. The aperture made between the upper and the lower teeth is very narrow.

When /ɮ/ is preceded by /ɹ/, both sounds have retroflex articulation (Simeone-Sennele, 1997) /ʔʌɹɮ/ [ʔʌɻɮ] ‘earth’, or a cerebral sound is produced (Nakano, 1986).

Table 4.6: Distribution of MQ Fricatives

Sound	syllable-initially	syllable-medially	syllable-finally
/f/	/fɛɹfiːɹ/ 'insect'	/mɛɹfɛj/ 'acquaintances'	/kʼʌf/ 'standing'
/s/	/slɔːb/ 'wait'	/ʁsuːm/ 'went'	/ʔeɪs/ 'knife'
/ʃ/	/ʃɛkf/ 'sleep'	/dəʃɪniːt/ 'sleep (n)'	/ɬəʊʃ/ 'long time'
/χ/	/χbɔːɹ/ 'news'	/mɛχbæt/ 'pocket'	/wæɹχ/ 'month'
/ħ/	/ħmɔːh/ 'water'	/ɹæħmiːt/ 'rain'	/dɪfuːtəħ/ 'open'
/h/	/hæmmɨ/ 'my mother'	/ʃiːhəm/ 'they have'	/twʊh/ 'he ate'
/ɬ/	/ɬɪnk/ 'saw'	/heɪɬən/ 'what'	/tənwiːɬ/ 'dance'
/ð/	-	/ɬɪðəʔ/ 'log'	/luːðɪ/ 'towards me'
/z/	/zbeɪd/ 'water foam'	/χziːw/ 'refuse'	/ħuːz/ 'goat'
/ɮ/	/ɮmɔːɹ/ 'capital'	/dɪɮħɔːl/ 'pass water'	/kʼɪbiːɮ/ 'be caught'

4.2.1.1.5 Approximants

/ɹ/ is an alveolar approximant that has different phonetic articulations depending on its environmental occurrence. It is articulated as an approximant rolling /ʁ/ when it is initial followed by a vowel or final preceded by a vowel e.g. /ɹɔːɹəm/ [ɹɔːɹə̃m] 'sea' /χɔːr/ [χɔːɹ] 'little'. It is recorded in this study and it is consistent with Nakano (1986), Simeone-Sennele (1997), and Al-Aidaroos (1999) that when /ɹ/ is followed by a dental, alveolar, or lateral, it assimilates into these

consonants. Al-Aidaroos (1999) argued that /ɹ/ is not pronounced e.g. /mnɔːɹt/ [mnɔːt] ‘minaret’. Nakano (1986) labeled this merging as cerebral phoneme which corresponds to /ɹ/ + dental or lateral e.g. /jɛɹdɔː/ [jɛɖɔː] ‘return’; /ɖ/ is a voiced retroflex plosive, /sɛnnɔːɹt/ [sɛnnɔːʈ] ‘cat’; /ʈ/ is a voiceless retroflex plosive. Simeone-Sennele (1997) stated that both sounds have retroflex cluster articulation e.g. /kɪɹɬ/ [kɛːɻɬ] ‘belly’. It can be concluded, as recorded in the current study, that if /ɹ/ is followed by alveolar plosive /t, d/ in which it is preconsonantal and preceded by a vowel, /ɹ/ merges with /t/ or /d/ producing /ʈ/ and /ɖ/ respectively. Retroflex cluster occurs when /ɹ/ is preceded by a lateral fricative or the voiceless alveolar /s/ e.g. /kɪɹɬ/ [kɛːɻɬ] ‘belly’, /ʔʌɹʁ/ [ʔɑːɻʁ] ‘earth’, /ʔɛɹs/ [ʔɛːɻs] ‘marriage’. /ɹ/ is articulated as voiced alveolar flap allophone /ɾ/ when it is preceded by a glottal fricative /h, ʔ/ or nasal /m/ making a cluster with these consonants word-initially /hɹiːk’/ [hɾiːk’] ‘stole’; /mɹiːʁ/ [mɾiːʁ]. /ɹ/ occurs in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions.

The voiced bilabial frictionless approximant /w/ occurs in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions. /w/ is found to play crucial morphological roles in the derivational and conjugational processes of MQ word formation. It is inserted into the patterns of certain nouns and verbs to derive or inflect these patterns. This is elaborated in chapters 5, 6, and 7.

The voiced alveolar approximant /l/ occurs in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions. It has approximately the same phonetic shape in all positions: /lɔːm/ [lɔ̃ːm] ‘last year’, /k’ædluːtən/ [k’ædluːtə̃n] ‘camel’s rope’, /jɪχuːtəl/ ‘hunt’.

Table 4.7: Distribution of MQ Approximants

Sound	syllable-initially	syllable-medially	syllable-finally
/ɹ/	/ɹɪbæ/ ‘friend’	/bɛɹɪk/ ‘ready’	/bæɹ/ ‘went nightly’
/ɻ/	-	-	/ʔɑːɻʁ/ ‘earth’
/w/	/wʌtχɛf/ ‘came’	/tɛːwɪ/ ‘meat’	/dət’eɪw/ ‘come’
/j/	/jɛjɛh/ ‘yes’	/t’jjɔːnæ/ ‘come fut.’	/dɪtuːj/ ‘eat’
/l/	/lɔːm/ ‘last year’	/k’æluːtən/ ‘young’	/k’ændɔːl/ ‘power’

4.2.1.1.6 Ejectives

According to Simeone-Sennele (1997, p. 382), “the prevailing articulation of the emphatic consonants is not, as in Arabic, a vulgarization, but a post-glottalization”. Crystal (1985) described this articulation as glottalic airstreams involving movement of air trapped between the closed glottis and a closure made in the mouth. Glottal closure occurs as part of the glottalic pressure airstream mechanism used in the production of voiceless ejectives (Esling et al, 2005; Rowan, 2006). An ejective involves five steps as described in Spencer (2001b):

1.Closure of articulators (lips, tongue against teeth, roof of mouth etc..) and closure of the glottis.

2.Upward raising of larynx, like a pump.

3.Body of air in pharynx is compressed due to the raising of the glottis; air pressure increases.

4.Oral articulation is released.

5.Glottal closure is released.

MQ recorded in this study as having three ejective consonants /tʼ/, /sʼ/, /kʼ/. Al-Aidaroos's (1999) description of each ejective consonant can be adopted. Al-Aidaroos (1999) labeled /tʼ/ as voiceless alveolar ejective emphatic. Its articulation is made by a complete closure done between the blade of the tongue and the alveolar ridge. The back part of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate. The air is compressed in the oral cavity, while the glottis is closed, and then released. The sound is expelled in a sudden release. There is no vibration accompanies the articulation of this sound. This ejective is found in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions. When /ɹ/ is followed by a denti-/ lateral-alveolar consonant, they have both retroflex articulation e.g. /nhɔːɹ tʼiːtʼ/ [/nhɔːɻtʼiːtʼ] 'one day'. However, some speakers have been recorded during the researcher's fieldwork did not pronounce /ɹ/ in this context e.g. [nhɔːtʼiːtʼ].

Based on IPA, /sʼ/ is described as a voiceless alveolar fricative ejective. But Al-Aidaroos (1999) described it as a voiceless denti-alveolar emphatic ejective

fricative. The tip of the tongue is against the back of the upper teeth and the blade of the tongue contacts the alveolar ridge. The back part of the tongue is raised to approach the roof of the mouth to produce an emphatic consonant. The sound has an ejective articulation. Air releases with audible friction. The vocal folds do not vibrate and are tightly closed. It occurs in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions.

/kʼ/ is a voiceless velar ejective plosive. Its occurrence is recorded in all syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions. The contact is made between the back part of the tongue against the soft palate and not the uvular. There is ejective articulation in the production of this sound. Air suddenly releases. Vocal folds vibrate. The sound is close to Arabic /q/. Al-Aidaroos (1999) argued that the glottalized /k/ sound with a dot under it that Johnstone (1987) considered in his table is in fact the voiceless ejective Mehri allophone of the /g/ phoneme e.g. /mhæggəɹ/ [mhækʼkʼəɹ] 'I will go in the morning'. Based on the fieldwork's recordings, the researcher claims the existence of this allophonic articulation in MQ e.g. /kʼheɪb/ [gheɪb] 'to come'. In fact this phenomenon needs further research due to its unclear variations among the Mehri natives.

Table 4.8: Distribution of MQ Ejectives

Sound	**syllable-initially**	**syllable-medially**	**syllable-finally**
/tʼ/	/tʼɔːɹ/ 'a time'	/bəɹtʼluːb/ 'claimed'	/dɪχɪbiːtʼ/ 'stir'

/s’/	/s’eɪmɛɹ/ ‘disturbed’	/ʔæs’ɛb/ ‘constipation’	/jɪk’s’uːs’/ ‘cut’
/k’/	/k’ɹɔːɹ/ ‘go’	/hæk’ʌb/ ‘bring’	/hɪɹiːk’/ ‘stolen’

4.2.1.2 Vowels

Judging from the data available at present, the MQ vowel system is characterized by three degrees of vowel height for the front, central and back positions. This is in line with the system attributed to Mehri by Nakano (1986). It is also in accordance with the systems described for some Other Modern South Arabian languages, including Harsusi and Hobyot Simeone-Sennele (1997) and Al-Aidaroos (1999). Mehri of Qishn has three frequent short vowels / ɪ /, / ɛ /, / ə /, and three infrequent / ʌ /, / ʊ / and / æ / which are recorded in this study in line with Nakano (1986). It has five long vowels / iː /, / ɑː /, / ɔː /, / ɛː / and / uː /.

Table 4.9: Vowel Inventory

	Front	**central**	**back**
High	ɪ / iː		ʊ / uː
middle	ɛ / ɛː		ɒ / ɔː
		ə	
			ʌ
low	æ	ɑː	

The following near-minimal set illustrates the full system of oral vowels:

/sɪɹ/ ‘behind’ /bæɹ/ ‘went’ /ɟɑːɹ/ ‘fell’

/hɛt/ ‘six’ /həh/ ‘he’ /hiːt/ ‘you’

/hʌd/ ‘somebody’ /hɒh/ ‘I’ /hɔːn/ ‘where’

/flʊ/ ‘offspring of a cow’

Table 4.10: Exemplification of MQ Vowels

Sound	Word	Gloss
/ɪ/	ɹɪbæ	friend
/ɛ/	hɛnnɪ	for me
/ə/	dətuːj	I am eating
/æ/	hæbuː	people
/ʌ/	hʌk!	Come!
/ɒ/	hɪbɒh	how / what
/ʊ/	wʊtbæɹən	later on

4.2.1.2.1 Vowel Length

MQ also makes a distinction between long and short vowels, although the exact extent of this contrast is currently unknown and unanalysed. In the examples given in this research, vowels are only marked as long (with the IPA length mark ː) when clearly recognizable as being so. Consequently, errors may exist in the

transcription and readers are advised to execute caution when considering vowel length as part of any subsequent analysis of these examples. This issue will be resolved when critical investigation into the phonology of the language is carried out separately. MQ has five long vowels / iː /, /ɛː/, / ɑː /, / ɔː /, and / uː /.

Table 4.11: Exemplification of some MQ Long Vowels

Sound	Word	Gloss
/iː/	hniːs	for her
/ɛː/	hɛːχɛɹ	old man
/ɑː/	ɟɑːɹ	fall
/ɔː/	ʔɔːɬɛɹ	ten
/uː/	k’ɛnnuːn	small

4.3 Phonological Alternations

The orthography used for transcription of examples in the present study is that of the IPA. Although a standard MQ orthography does not exist, any other orthography i.e. Arabic (Al-Aidaroos, 1999), cannot be used to accurately describe the exact sounds found in the natural speech of a Mehri native speaker. Another reason that the IPA and not other standard orthography has been adopted is that a full phonological exploration of the language is beyond the scope of the present study. Before a reliable phonemic analysis can be carried out, a high degree of accuracy in the phonological transcription of the spoken language is necessary. In

the following sections, an outline is given of phonological variants and processes typically found in Mehri speech.

4.3.1 Indiscriminate Alternations of / uː / and / ɔː /

Although the above vowel system may well be applied to the present material, it is not altogether unproblematic. For example, as noted by Johnstone (1975) and Simeone-Sennele (1997), it is difficult to distinguish phonetically between high and low vowels, particularly the back vowels /uː/ and /ɔː/. Even the same speaker may in the same sentence use /ʔæmɪuːt/ or /ʔæmɪɔːt/ 'she said'. As there are no in-depth phonological studies carried out on MQ, for the time being, however, the previously mentioned vowel system will be posited for MQ. Four diphthongs were recorded for MQ. Diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ frequently occur in MQ e.g. respectively / mbeɪl / 'dog', /bəʊməh/ 'here'. / ɑʊ / occasionally occurs in MQ e.g. / hɑʊlʌj / 'first'. Phonemically significant diphthongs have also been identified in the present material i.e. / beɪt / 'tribal family' and / biːt / 'house'.

4.3.2 Environmentally Conditioned Nasalization of Vowels

In the Mehri of Qishn, vowels may be phonetically nasalized frequently by surrounding nasal consonants, for example:

/ ʔmuːɮʌʁ / [ʔmũːɮʌʁ] 'taste'

/ hɔːn / [hɔ̃ːn] 'where'

4.4 Phonotactics

4.4.1 Syllable Structure and Types

4.4.1.1Syllable Structure

It is well known that languages do not make use of all possible sequences of sounds. Within a particular language, sound sequences are constrained in well-defined ways (Neubarth and Rennison, 2005). These phonotactic constraints — restrictions on the environments in which sounds appear (Katamba, 1993; Booij, 1999) — are part of what defines the phonology of MQ. The first seminal study into Afroasiatic consonant compatibility restrictions (or dissimilation) is of Greenberg (1950), cited in Rowan (2006). Greenberg (1950, p. 181) asserted that "The general subject of the patterning of consonantal phonemes within the morphemes of Hamito-Semitic [Afroasiatic] languages would seem to be a promising subject of investigation … ".

Occurrence of the various types of syllables in MQ calls significantly for further separate detailed phonological study; the occurrence of simple syllables and long vowels (CV, CVC, CVV, CVVC…) is higher in MQ. MQ, on the other hand, also shows a tendency towards a high occurrence of complex syllables (CCVC, CCVCC, etc) and short vowels. However, no detailed investigation, to the best of my knowledge, has compared yet these different syllable structures in MQ or assessed their role as possible identification cues of well-formedness. Vincent (1986) argued in defence of the role of the syllable as an environment in the statement of phonological processes and a natural domain for the statement of phonotactic patterns.

Syllables consist of an onset, nucleus, and coda. The onset and coda are occupied by consonants forming the margins of the syllable, and the nucleus is universally obligatory and occupied by vowels (Neubarth and Rennison, 2005; Scheer and Szigetvari, 2005; Tallerman, 2006). Thus, the universal structure for syllables is:

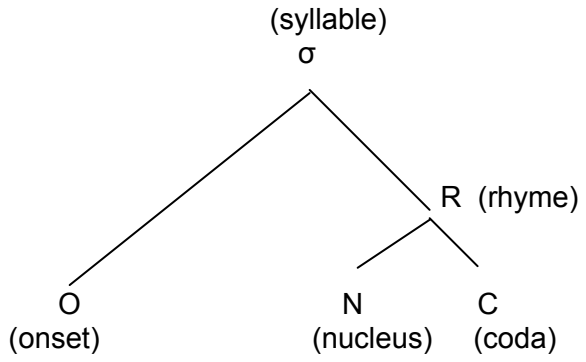


Fig. 4.1: The Universal Structure of the Syllable, Scheer and Szigetvari (2005) and Tallerman (2006).

There are languages that will accept no coda, or, in other words, that will only have open syllables. Other languages will have codas, but the onset may be obligatory or not. In all Semitic languages, the onset is obligatory and the coda is accepted. This is a syllable structure of the type CV(C) which is found in MQ as an obligatory syllable structure or template. Onsets are obligatory but codas are not and the minimal syllable is therefore [CV]σ. Syllable structure is represented here as a flat consonant-vowel tier. The basic configuration or template of a MQ syllable will be therefore (C)CV(C) – the parentheses marking the optional character of the presence of the consonants in the respective positions. The part of the syllable preceding the nucleus is called the onset of the syllable. The non –vocalic

elements coming after the nucleus are called the coda of the syllable. The nucleus and the coda together are often referred to as the rhyme of the syllable. In conclusion, it is found out in the current study that the most common syllabic structures in MQ are CV(C) or CVː(C). The syllables (C)CV(C) or (C)CVː are found in initial position; while the syllables CV (C (C)) or CVː (C) occur in final position. MQ is found similar to some Arabic dialects attested by Watson (1999) in having three basic syllables: CV, CVV, and CVC. For both phonetic and phonological theories, two types of dominant syllables emerge: CV and CVC, with CV being the most frequent and the most universal type (Hamdi et al, 2005).

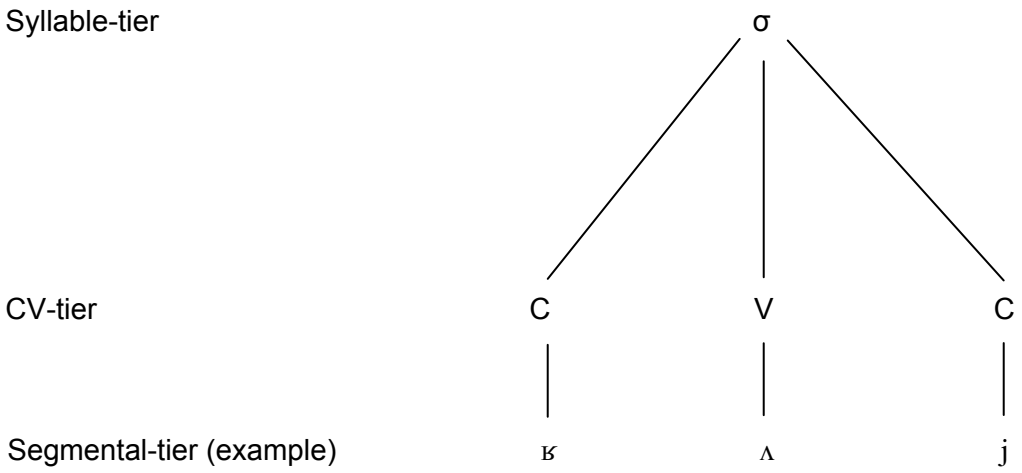


Fig.4.2: Common Syllable Structure in MQ

4.4.1.2 Syllable Types

A syllable that has not a coda and consequently ends in a vowel having the structure [CV]σ, is called an open syllable. One having a coda and therefore ending in a consonant - of the type [CVC]σ - is called a closed syllable (Ohsiek,

1978). A distinction was made between short and long vowels and this distinction is relevant for the discussion of syllables and on the basis of which syllables may be broadly divided into light syllables and heavy syllables, and in consequence of the absence or presence of a coda too (Scheer and Szigetvari, 2005) . A syllable that is open and ends in a short vowel is called a light syllable (Ohsiek, 1978; Scheer and Szigetvari, 2005). Its general description will be CV. If the syllable is still open, but the vowel in its nucleus is long or is a diphthong, it is called a heavy syllable (Ibid). Its representation is CVː (the colon is conventionally used to mark long vowels) or CVV (for a diphthong). Any closed syllable, no matter how many consonants will its coda include is called a heavy syllable, too (Ibid). Syllable types may be summarized as in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Syllable Types in MQ

LIGHT		**HEAVY**	
Initial	**final**	**initial**	**final**
CV	CV	CVː(V)	CVː(V)
CCV		CCVː	CVːC
		CCVC	CVC
		CVC	CVC C
		CCCVːC	CCVCCC

The syllables are the locus of the sequential constraints on concatenation of sounds (Booij, 1999). Such sequential restrictions are among the most striking differences among languages (Vincent, 1986). MQ, for instance, may allow consonant clusters both in prevocalic position and in postvocalic position of the syllable, but it requires that there be no more than three consonants in postvocalic position.

4.4.2 Word Structure

MQ lexemes may be monosyllabic (4.4.2.2), disyllabic (4.4.2.3) trisyllabic (4.4.2.4) or quadric-syllabic (4.4.2.5). Word-final syllables (including monosyllabic words) are invariably maximal as displayed in table 4.12 consisting of a simple onset, nucleus and coda, and since syllables in Mehri require an onset, therefore always begin and mostly end with a consonant.

4.4.2.1 MQ Consonant Clusters

MQ categorically contains onset clusters and does allow coda clusters. Maddieson (2005) reports that languages which permit a wide range of onset clusters, or which permit clusters in the coda position are classified as belonging to the Complex Syllable Category. MQ belong to this category as shown in table 4.13 below. A striking property of MQ as most other Semitic Languages is that in these languages syllable structure is determined primarily by the morphology of the word and only secondarily by the phonological composition of the word. One of the most intriguing features of MQ phonology is the wide array of consonant clusters

attested in the language. Examples of some of the possible sequences are shown below:

Table 4.13. Consonant Clusters in MQ

	Initial	Gloss	Medial	Gloss	Final	Gloss
a.	ltuːʁ	'killed'	sɛlbəm	'they waited'	wʌtχɛfk	'I came'
b.	k'ɹɔːɹ	'go'	tɛbχɔːs	'pain'	ɪʃħk'æbk	'I felt sorry'
c.	mdiːt	'seawind'	mɛχbæt	'pocket'	həbs'ɛɹks	'I saw her'
d.	mbeɪl	'dog'	jɪk'ɹuːɹ	'attack (v)'	k'fɛdk	'went down'
e.	twuːhən	'we ate'	dɪɮħɔːl	'pass water'	mʌt'k'	'sweet'
f.	ħmɔːh	'water'	ʃʊɬuːt	'she went'	bʔʌmk'	'among'
g.	skuːn	'security'	dənbɑːɹ	'we are going'	ʔæswɪft	'mattresses'
h.	ɬɹʊh	'passed'	wʌtχfɔːnæ	'I will come'	həlɪjæχt	'fish nets'

Table 4.14 below illustrates the combinations of consonant clusters that have been attested in MQ. The vertical line C1 indicates the first consonant, and the horizontal line C2, the second consonant. It should be remarked that MQ has also three consonant clusters which may be as coda or onset slots e.g. /həbs'ɛɹks/ 'I saw her', /mbɹiːd/ 'file'.

Table 4.14: Attested C-Clusters of MQ*

C1 ↓ / C2 →	b	d	t	k	g	m	n	θ	f	s	ʔ	h	ʃ	ɟ	ð	ɬ	ɮ	z	ʁ	χ	ɹ	l	ħ	j	w	t’	s’	k’
b		x	x2	x1			x1					x							x	x1		x1	x2	x1	x1	x		
d					x1				x1	x2										x1	x1	x1						
t	x1			x1		x1			x				x						x1	x	x1	x	x	x1	x			x1
k	x1		x						x2	x						x					x1	x						
g												x1										x1	x1					
m	x	x	x	x			x1					x	x	x1		x1			x	x	x1		x1					x
n	x1	x1	x1	x2		x			x1			x		x2			x1		x1	x1			x	x2	x1			x1
θ																												
f		x1	x1	x2									x2			x1					x1	x		x		x		x
s	x		x1	x		x1						x											x1	x				
ʔ									x					x														
h	x1					x2	x			x1											x1		x1				x1	
ʃ			x	x			x																		x			
ɟ							x1						x			x1	x1				x		x		x1			
ð																												
ɬ	x1		x			x	x1						x1							x	x1	x			x			x1
z	x				x														x					x1				
ʁ				x2		x1											x1					x			x1			
χ	x1		x2			x			x1												x1					x	x1	
ɹ	x1	x1	x2	x2		x1	x1		x1			x1	x1			x1			x	x1			x1	x1	x		x1	x1
l	x1		x1	x2		x1			x			x	x2										x	x1	x	x		x1
ħ	x1	x	x2	x1		x	x			x			x			x1	x					x				x		
j																												
w														x1														
t’							x1																x1		x			x1
k’	x						x1		x				x1					x				x1	x1		x1	x1	x1	
s’	x1					x1																						x1

* Notations: x = clusters appearing word-initially, x1 = clusters appearing word-medially
x2 = clusters appearing word-finally

The following diagrams exemplify the occurrence of onset and coda clusters as attested in MQ.

a. Bilabials

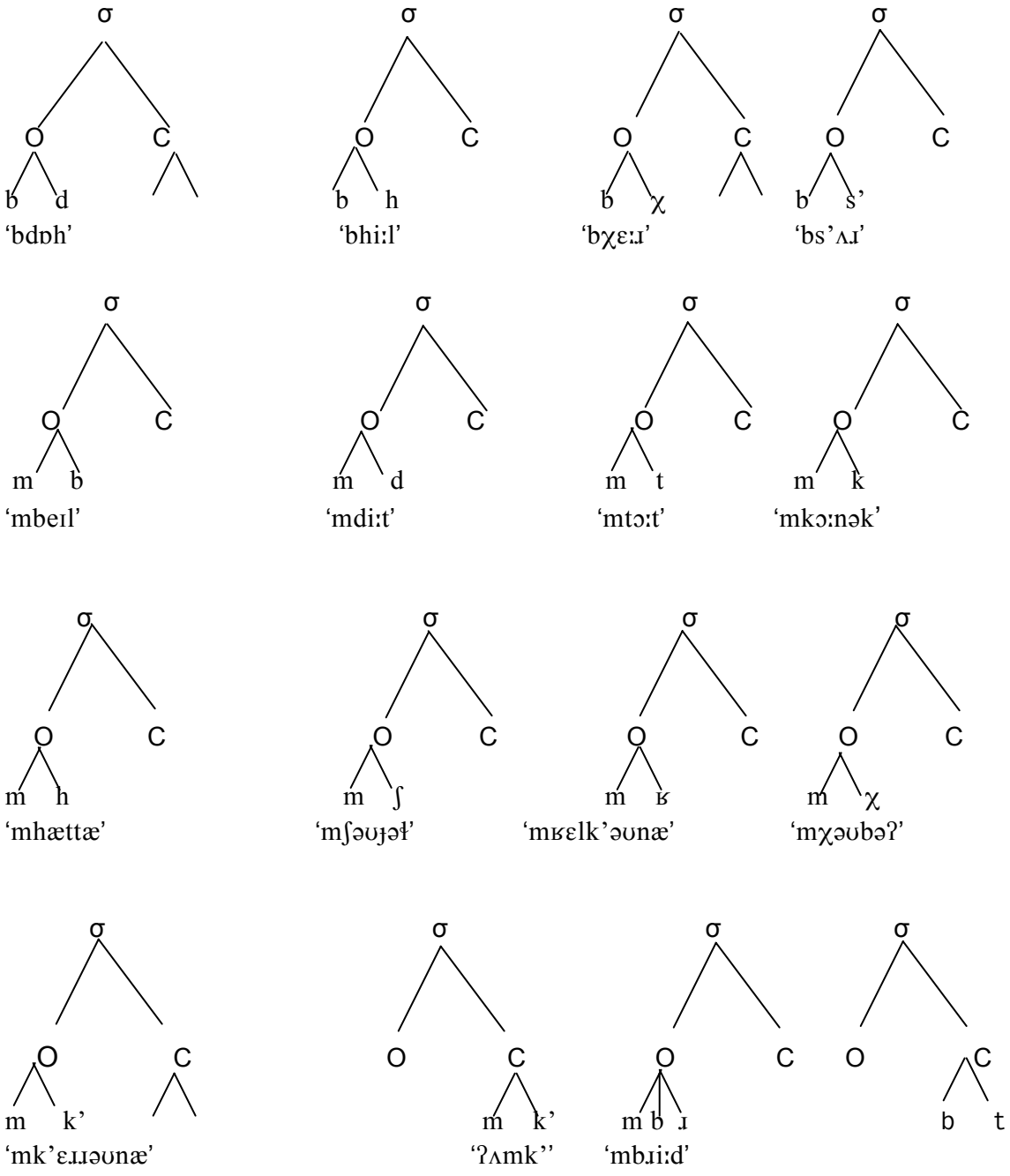


Fig.4.3: The Metrical Diagrams of Bilabial Onset and Coda Clusters in MQ

b. Labiodentals

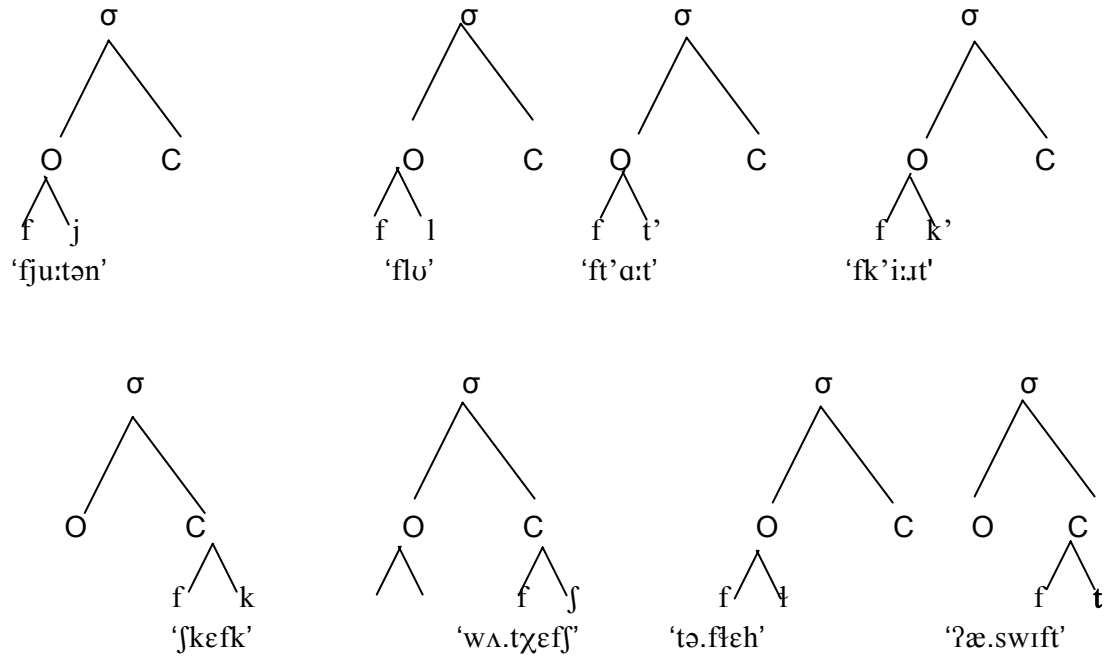
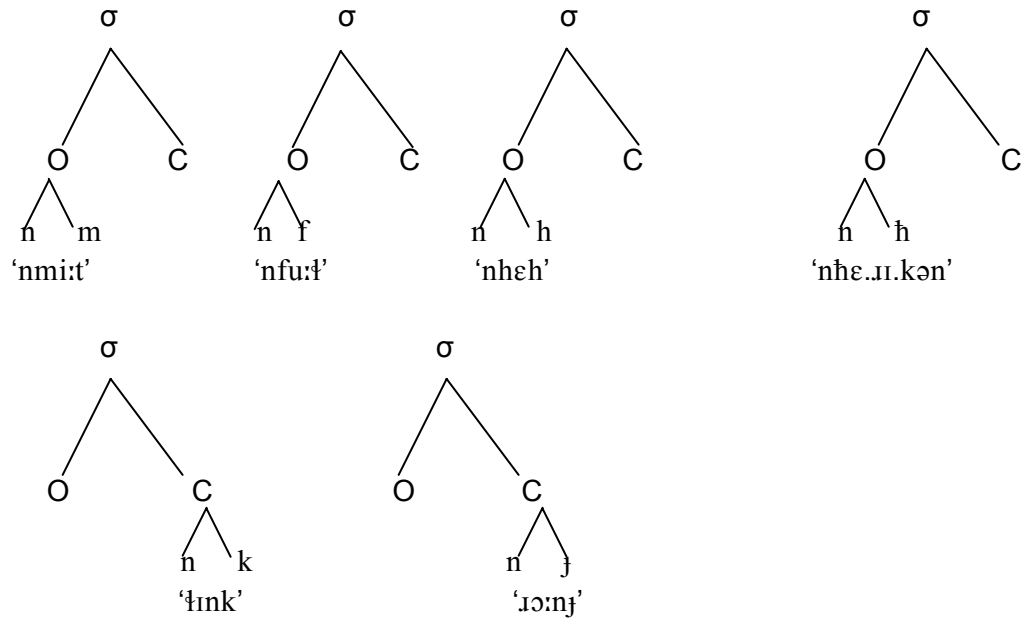
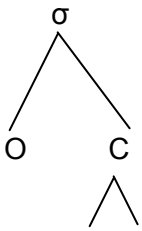


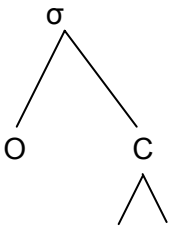
Fig.4.4: The Metrical Diagrams of Labiodentals Onset and Coda Clusters in MQ

C. Alveolars

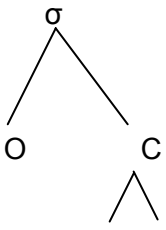




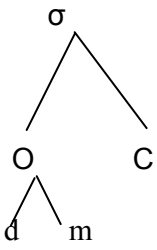
‘lbɛdk’



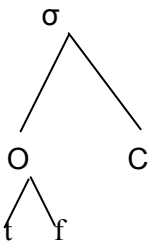
‘lbɛdʃ’



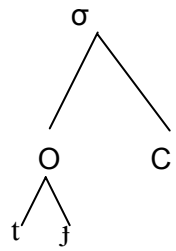
‘ʔæds’



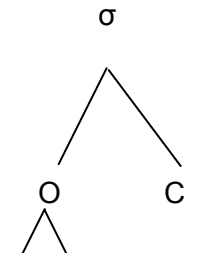
‘dmɔːħɪ’



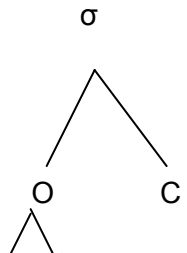
‘tfiːl’



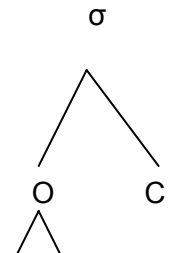
‘tʄɛːɹ’



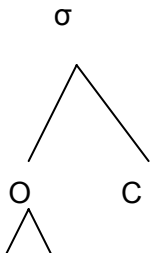
‘tleɪs’



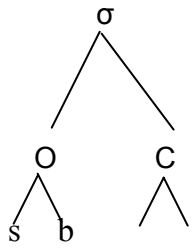
‘tħɔːm’



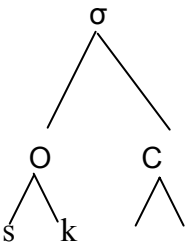
‘twʊh’



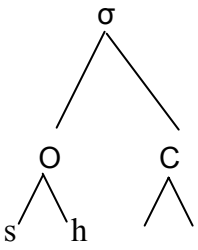
‘tχɛ.wwɛl’



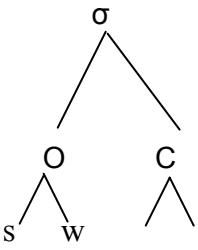
‘sbuːħ’



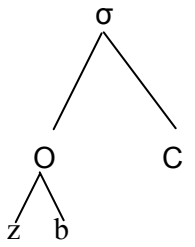
‘skuːn’



‘shiːl’



‘swɛʔ’



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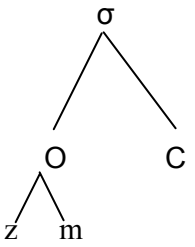
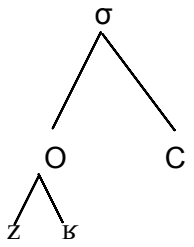
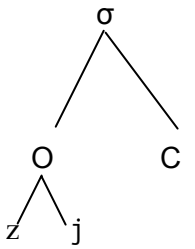


‘zmiːs’



‘zʁɑːf’



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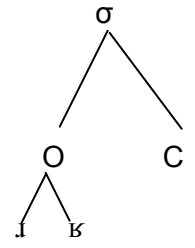
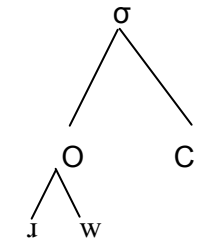


‘ɹʁɑːt’



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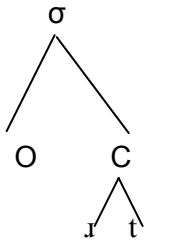

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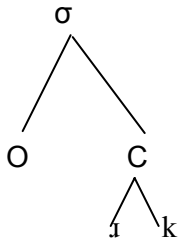

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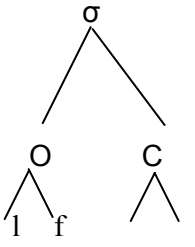
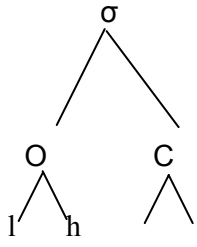


‘ʔæ.lfuːtən’



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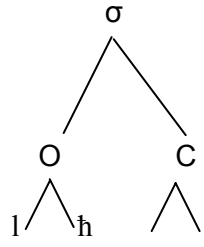
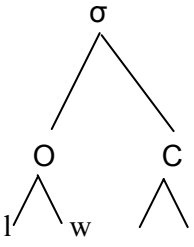


‘lħɔːg’



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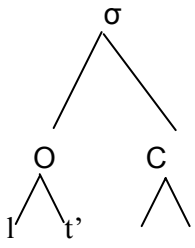

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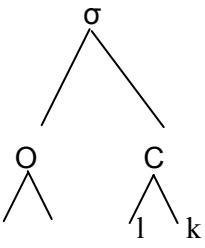
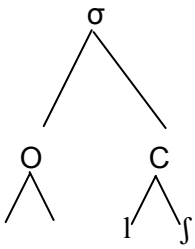


‘ɬχʊ.llɛlk’



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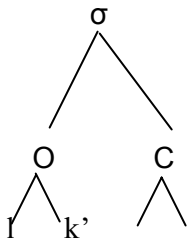
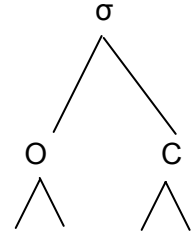
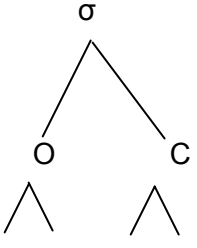


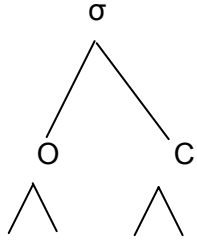
‘lkʼɛʔ’



‘lʃɔːnəχ’



‘lʁɐɪɬ’



‘jɪ.ɬkʼɔːk’'

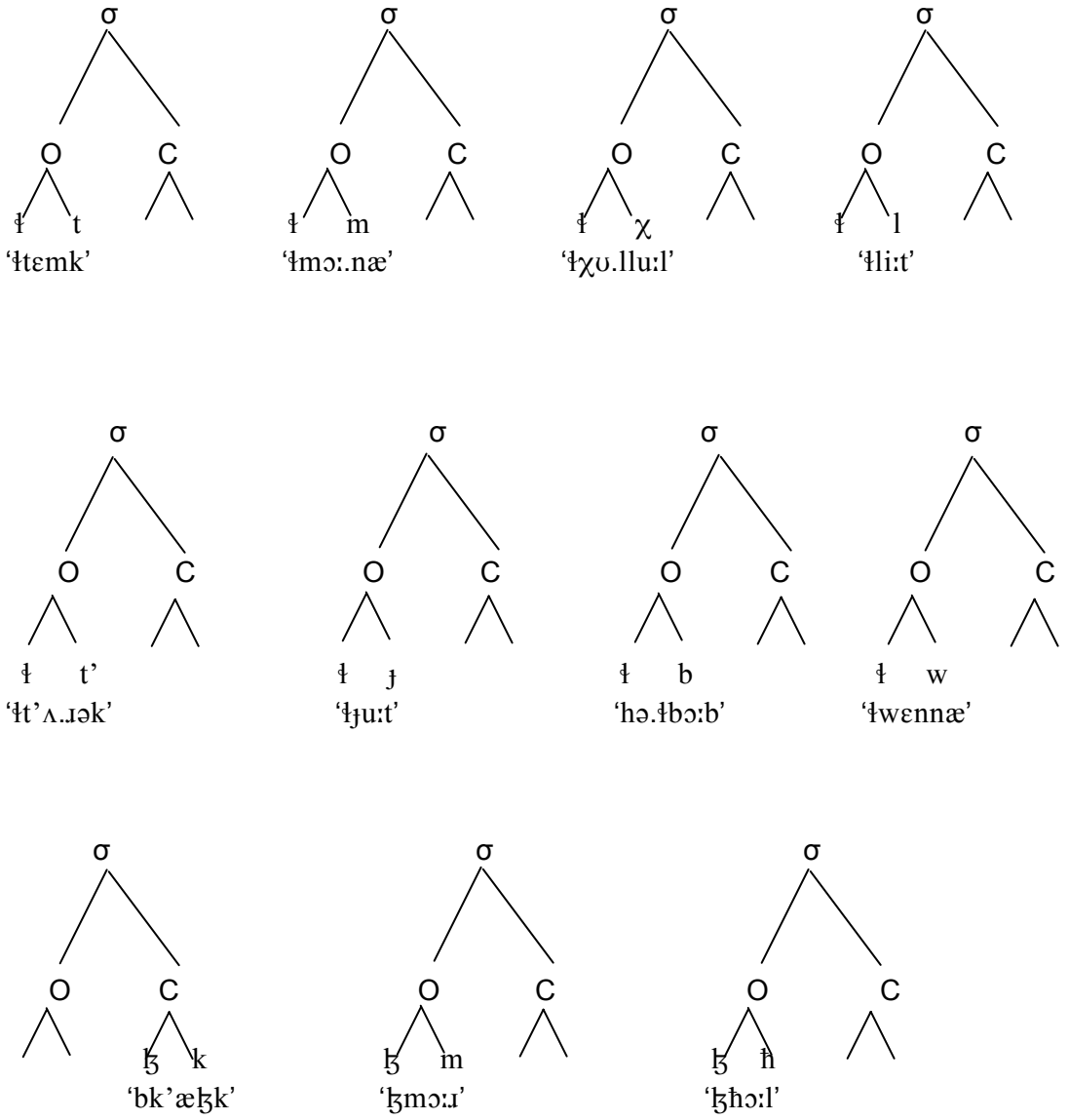
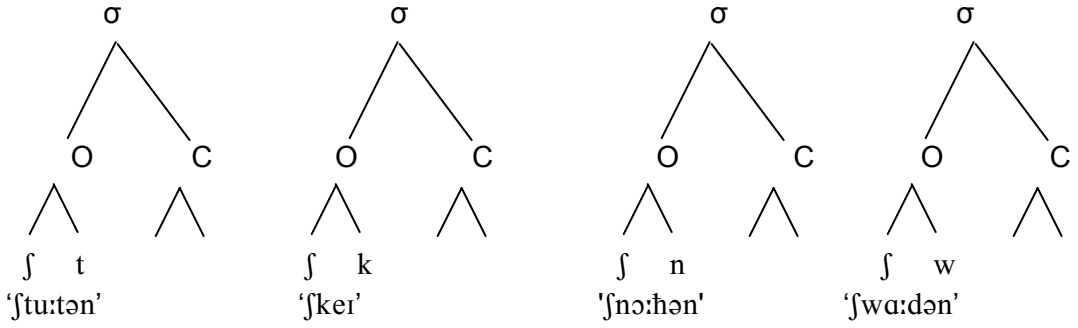


Fig.4.5: The Metrical Diagrams of Alveolar Onset and Coda Clusters in MQ

d. Post alveolars



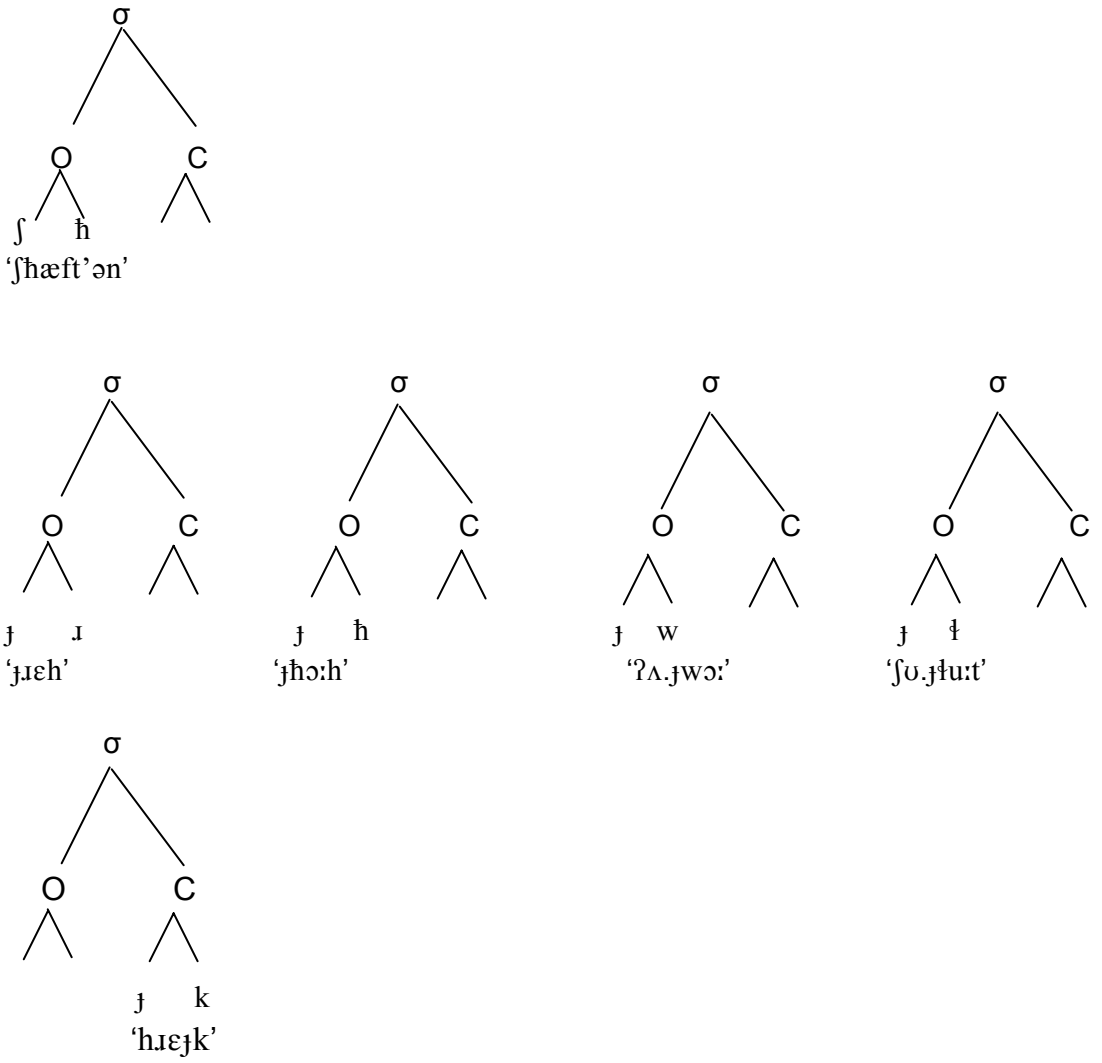
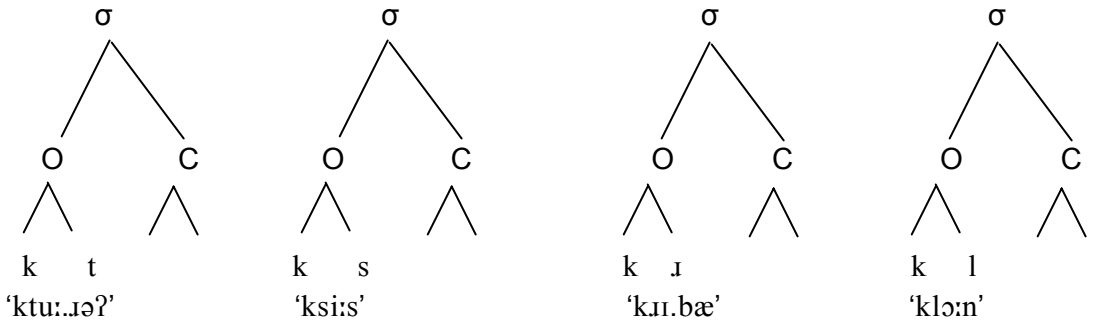


Fig.4.6: The Metrical Diagrams of Post Alveolar Onset and Coda Clusters in MQ

e. Velars



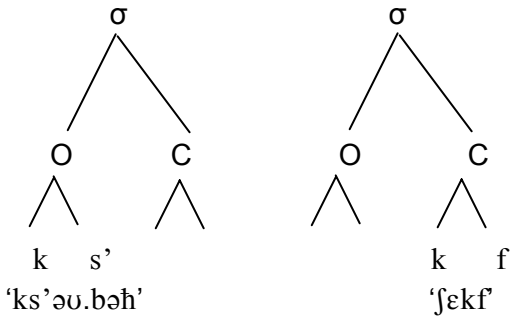


Fig.4.7: The Metrical Diagrams of Velar Onset and Coda Clusters in MQ

f. Uvulars

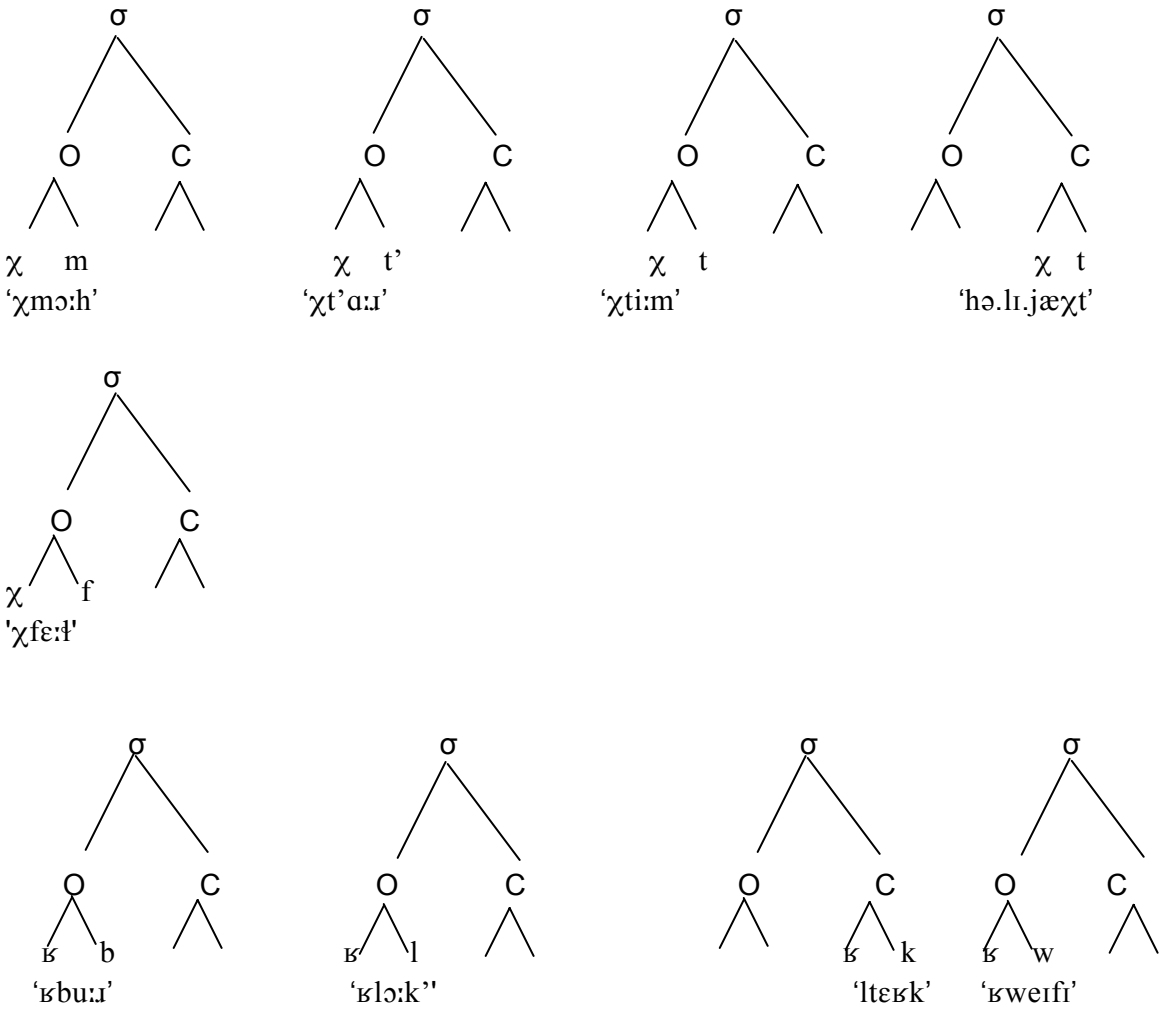


Fig.4.8: The Metrical Diagrams of Uvular Onset and Coda Clusters in MQ

g. Pharyngeals

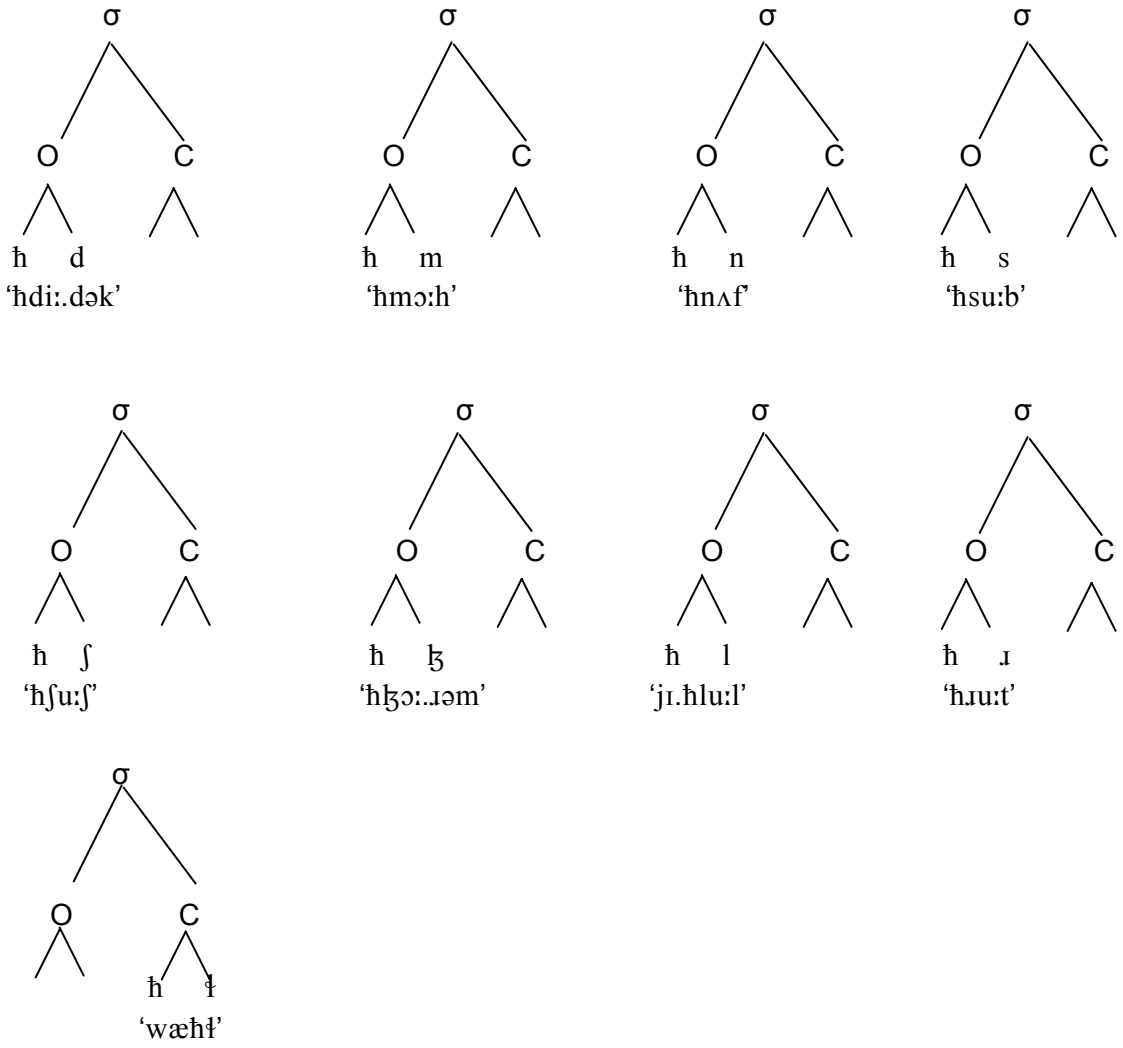
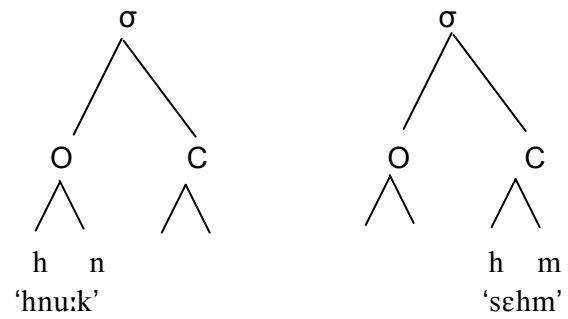


Fig. 4.9: The Metrical Diagrams of Pharyngeal Onset Clusters in MQ

h. Glottals



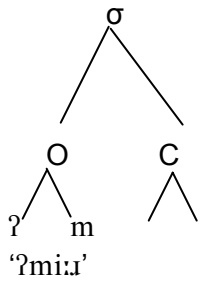
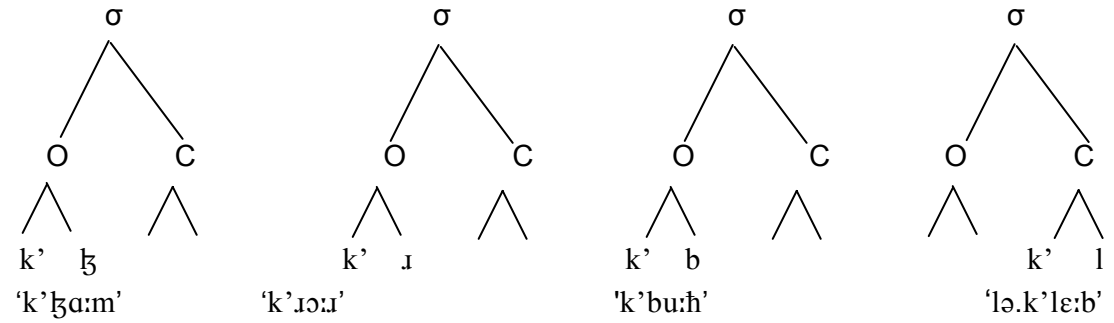
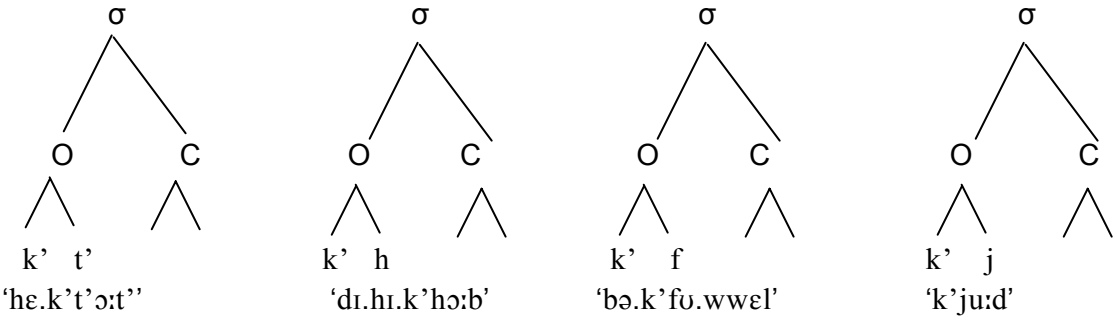
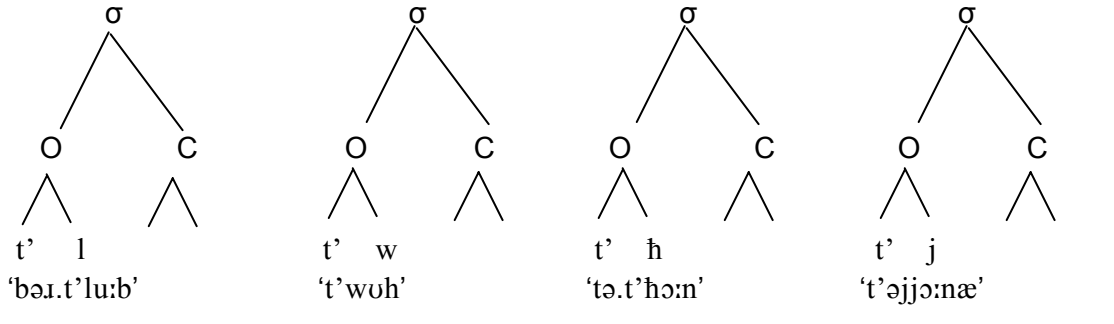


Fig. 4.10: The Metrical Diagrams of Glottal Onset and Coda Clusters in MQ

i. Ejectives







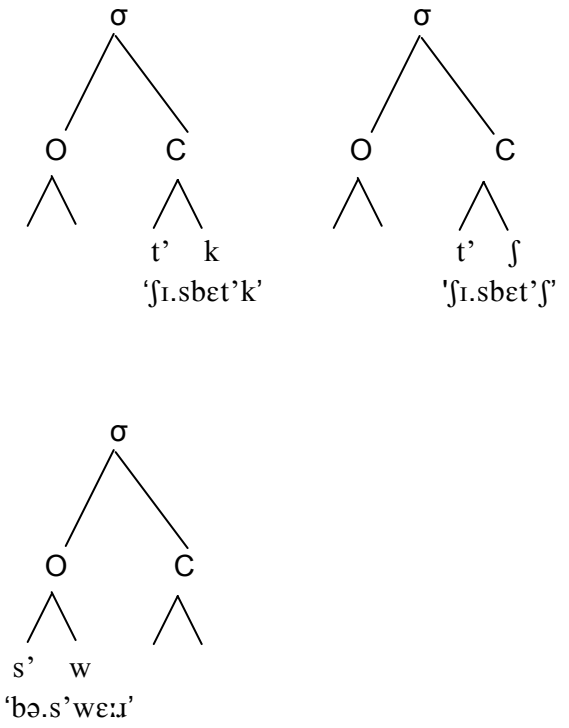


Fig. 4.11: The Metrical Diagrams of Ejective Onset and Coda Clusters in MQ

Table 4.14 summarizes the facts of MQ clusters that have been recorded in the current study. Several interesting patterns can be observed:

a. Consonant clusters appear in both word initial, medial and final positions;

b. A cluster is made up mostly of two consonants in uninflected verbs; but there are certain clusters of three consonants in the onset and coda positions e.g. /mbɹeɪd/ ‘file’; /hə.bs’ɛɹks/ ‘I saw her’.

c. A consonant cluster may not have almost any consonant as either of its members, due to certain constraints;

d. There is gemination resulting from clustering;

e. Homorganic clusters do not occur (with the exceptions of clusters involving bilabials e.g. /mbeɪl/ [mbl] ‘dog’).

Most noteworthy in Table 4.14 is the lack of homorganic clusters, given the fact that a wide array of consonant clusters, with some restrictions, is allowed in the language. Like Semitic languages, MQ roots exhibits a notable prohibition against forms with initial gemination, /ɹɹɔːm/. It allows an initial sequence of two identical consonants divided by a vowel e.g. /ɹɔːɹəm/ [ɾɾm̥], /bʊbɔːɹ/ [bbɹ], (**C1-C1-C2**), alongside an abundance of forms with final gemination or final identity such as /hæmm/. **C1-C1-C2** roots are common in MQ that sharply violates McCarthy’s OCP (1994), as displayed in figure 4.3 below. McCarthy (1994) observed that in Semitic languages, consonants within a lexical root cannot be homorganic. He proposed that such prohibition can be accounted for by two constraints, the OCP and No-Linked-Structure. The representation in figure 4.3 (a) violates the OCP, which prohibits adjacent identical elements at the melodic level (McCarthy 1986; Yip 1988). (b) is ruled out by the constraint No-Linked-Structure (McCarthy's No-Branching Condition), which disallows representations that contain a single Place node branching to two dominating nodes.

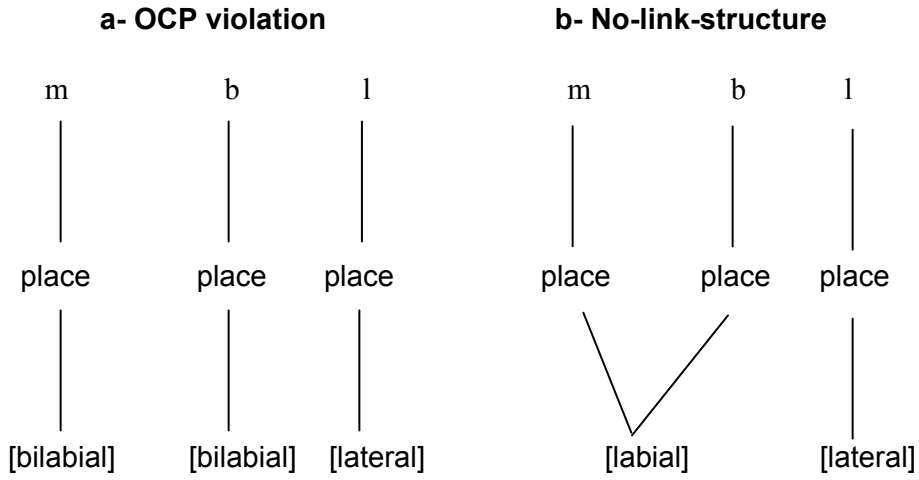


Fig. 4.12: MQ Violations of OCP

McCarthy also states that no roots or a virtually complete absence of roots with identical initial radicals **C1-C1-C2** in Semitic languages (Goldenberg, 2005a); but the occurrence of these roots in MQ falls in line with the principles of Semitic morphology. Goldenberg (2005a) emphasized that the existence of **C1-C1-C2** roots in genuine Root-and-Pattern languages just has to be taken into account. Concerning OCP, Goldenberg (2005a) supported Bohas' (1991, 1993) alternative theory of Free Association, which in fact follows the ingenious analyses of the traditional Arab philologists. Goldenberg (2005a) insisted that this theory could not be avoided seeing the many expanding strategies other than autosegmental spreading rightward. According to Goldenberg (2005a), McCarthy (1981) expressed from the beginning strong reservations about the applicability of OCP and the constraint on contiguous elements in any autosegmental tier, saying that for some languages such a constraint alone is too strong, and adopting the weaker claim that it operates as part of the evaluation metric rather than as an absolute universal principle.

4.4.2.2 Monosyllabic Words

MQ monosyllabic words always consist of a heavy syllable with this variety of canonic structures /CVC/, e.g. /ʁʌj/ [ˈʁʌj] ‘my brother; /CVVC/, e.g. /ʔeɪs/ [ˈʔeɪs] ‘knife’; /CV:C/, e.g. /lɔːm/ [ˈlɔ̃ːm] ‘last year’; /CCVC/, e.g. /ɦmɔːh/ [ɦmɔ̃ːh] ‘water’; /CCV:C/, e.g. /skuːn/ [ˈsk̚uːn] ‘state of being secure’; /CVCC/, e.g. /sɛhm/ [ˈsɛhm] ‘big stick’; /CV:CC/, e.g. /hɔːnd/ [ˈhɔ̃ːnd] ‘sleepy’; /CCV:CC/, e.g. /fk’iːɹt/ [ˈfk’iːɹt] ‘poor (f)’.

4.4.2.3 Disyllabic Words

MQ disyllabic words usually consist of a final /CVC/, /CV:C/, /CVVC/, /CVCC/ or /CV/ syllable preceded by a penultimate light or heavy syllable: /CCV:.CVC/ e.g. /ks’əʊbəɦ/ [ˈks’əʊbəɦ] ‘morning’; /CV.CVC/ e.g. /jɪmɒh/ [ˈjɪmɒh] ‘today’; /CV:.CV/ /fuːlʊ/ [ˈfuːlʊ] ‘cow offspring’; /CV.CV:C/ e.g. /hɪɹiːk’/ [hɪˈɾiːk’] ‘stolen’; /CVC.CVVC/ e.g. /jɪhweɪɦ/ [jɪˈhweɪɦ] ‘run’; /CV.CVCC/ e.g. /ɦɛnʌfk/ [ɦɛˈnʌfk] ‘yourself’; /CCVC.CV/ e.g. /ʁɹɛbkɪ/ [ˈʁɹɛbkɪ] ‘knew me’; /CV.CCVCCC/ /həbs’ɛɹks/ [həˈbs’ɛɹks] ‘I saw her’; /CVC.CV:C/ /mɒʁʛɑːn/ [mɒ̃ʁˈʛɑ̃ːn] ‘cute (m)’

4.4.2.4 Tri-Syllabic Words

Indigenous MQ tri-syllabic words mostly consist of a final /CVC/ or /CV/ syllable preceded by a light or heavy penultimate syllable. This, in turn, is preceded by an antepenultimate light or heavy syllable: /CV.CVC.CVC/ e.g. /jəʁælkəm/ [jəˈʁælkəm] ‘they see’; /CV.CVV.CVC/ e.g. /ɬəɹəʊməh/ [ɬəˈɹəʊməɦ] ‘now’;

/CV.CV:.CVC/ e.g. /dəsiːɾək/ [dəˈsiːˑɾək] ‘I am walking’; /CV.CCV.CV:C/ e.g. /dɪnχɪɹuːɹ/ [dɪˑnχɪˈˑɹuːɹ] ‘snoring’. /CVC.CV:.CV/ e.g. /k’ɛhbɔːnæ/ [gɛhˈbɔːnæ] ‘I will come’; /CCVCC.CV:.CVC/ /mʃəɹdfuːtən/ [mʃəɹdˈfuːtə̃n] ‘doubling’; /CCV.CV:.CV/ /ɬχʊllɔːnæ/ [ɬχʊˈlɔ̃ːnæ] ‘I will sit’; /CV.CCV.CV/ /həɹħɛk’ɪ/ [həˈɹħɛˑk’ɪ] ‘keep away from me’; /CV.CV.CVCC/ /həlɪjæχt/ [həˑlɪˑˈjæχt] ‘fish nets’; /CV.CV.CV:C/ /hʊwwɛχɑːɹ/ [hʊˑwɛˑˈχɑːɹ] ‘old man (diminutive)’

4.4.2.5 Quadrisyllabic Words

Indigenous MQ quadrisyllabic words mostly consist of a final /CVC/ or /CV/ syllable preceded frequently by a heavy syllable and infrequently by a light syllable. This, in turn, is preceded by a heavy or light syllable. The first syllable is commonly light: /CV.CVC.CV:.CV/ e.g. /həkˈ’ʌhbɔːnæ/ [həˑkˈ’ʌhˑˈbɔ̃ːˑnæ] ‘I will bring’; /CV.CVC.CVV.CV/ /ʃɛmɪddeɪjæ/ /ʃɛ̃ˑmɪdˑˈdeɪˑjæ/ ‘we will receive’; /CV.CVC.CV:.CV/ /ʃɛmɪddiːtæ/ /ʃɛ̃ˑmɪdˈdiːtæ/ ‘I will receive (f)’; /CV.CVC.CV:.CVC/ /mʊtɪljuːtən/ [mʊ̃ˑtɪlˑˈjuːˑtə̃n] ‘together’; /CV.CV.CVV.CVC/ /bəɹɪbəuɮək/ [bəˑɹɪˑˈbəʊˑɮək] ‘ cut off’; /CV.CV.CV.CV:C/ /mɛk’æt’ɛbuːt/ [mɛ̃ˑk’æˑt’ɛˑˈbuːt]; /CVC.CVC.CV:.CVC/ /mɪftɪɹɟuːtən/ [mɪ̃fˑtɪɹˑˈɟuːˑtə̃n] ‘spectators’; /CVC.CV.CV:.CV/ /ʔɪnɟɛzɔːnæ/ [ʔɪnˑɟɛˑˈzɔːˑnæ̃] ‘I will achieve’; /CV.CV.CV:.CVC/ /dɪhʊwuːk’əʔ/ [dɪˑhʊˑˈwuːˑk’əʔ] ‘he puts’; /CV.CV:.CV.CV/ /ʁɛjiːɟɪjæ/ [ʁɛˑˈjiːˑɟɪˑjæ] ‘ my men’. Table 4.15 below summerises the canonical structure of MQ words of all occurring syllable types.

Table 4.15: Word Structure in MQ

word type	canonical structure	example	translation
monosyllabic	/CVC/	/ʁʌj/	'my brother'
	/CVVC/	/ʔeɪs/	'knife'
	/CV : C/	/lɔːm/	'last year'
	/CCVC/	/ɦmɒh/	'water'
	/CCV : C/	/skuːn/	state of' being secure'
	/CVCC/	/sɛhm/	'big stick'
	/CV : CC/	/hɔːnd/	'sleepy (f)'
	/CCV : CC/	/fk'iːɹt/	'poor (f)'
	/CCCV : C/	/mbɹiːd/	'file'
disyllabic	/CV.CVC/	/jɪmɒh/	'today'
	/CV : .CV/	/fuːlʊ/	'cow offspring'
	/CV.CV : C/	/hɪɹiːk'/	'stolen'
	/CCV : .CVC/	/kɬəʊbəɦ/	'morning'
	/CVC.CVVC/	/jɪhweɪɦ/	'run'
	/CVC.CV : C/	/mɒʁʡɑːn/	'cute (m)'
	/CV.CVCC/	/ɦɛnʌfk/	'yourself'
	/CCVC.CV/	/ʁɹɛbkɪ/	'knew me'
	/CV.CCVCCC/	/həbs'ɛɹks/	'I saw her'
trisyllabic	/CV.CVC.CVC/	/jɪʁælk'əm/	'they see'
	/CV.CVV.CVC/	/ɬɛɹəʊməh/	'now'
	/CV.CV : .CVC/	/dɪsiːɹək/	'I am walking'
	/CV.CCV.CV : C/	/dɪnχɪɹuːɹ/	'snoring'
	/CV.CCV.CV/	/həɹɦɛk'ɪ/	'keepaway from me'
	/CVC.CV : .CV/	/k'ɛhbɔːnæ/	'I will come'
	/CV : .CVC.CVC/	/mɔːtɛɹhəm/	'their car'.
	/CVC.CVC.CVC/	/wʌtχɛfkəm/	'you came (pl.m)
	/CCV.CV : .CV/	/mɟɪbɔːnæ/	'I will answer'
	/CV.CV.CV : C/	/hʊwwɛχɑːɹ/	'oldman (dimin)'
	/CCVCC.CV : .CVC/	/mʃəɹdfuːtən/	'doubling
	/CCV.CV : .CV/	/ɬχʊllɔːnæ/	'I will sit'
	/CV.CV.CVCC/	/həlɪjæχt/	'fish nets'

continued table 4.15

word type	canonical structure	example	translation
tetrasyllabic	/CV.CVC.CV : .CV/	/həkʼʌhbɔːnæ/	‘I will bring’
	/CV.CVC.CVV.CV/	/ʃɛmɪddeɪjæ/	‘we will receive’
	/CV.CVC.CV : .CV/	/ʃɛmɪddiːtæ/	‘I will receive (f)’
	/CV.CVC.CV : .CVC/	/mʊtɪljuːtən/	‘together’
	/CV.CV.CVV.CVC/	/bəɹɪbəʊɮək/	‘cut off’
	/CV.CV.CV : .CVC/	/dɪhʊwuːkʼəʔ/	‘he puts’
	/CV.CV.CV.CV : C/	/mɛkʼætʼɛbuːt/	‘torn off’
	/CVC.CVC.CV : .CVC/	/mɪftɪɻuːtən/	‘spectators’
	/CVC.CV.CV : .CV/	/ʔɪnɟɛzɔːnæ/	‘I will achieve’
	/CV.CV : .CV.CV/	/ʁɛjiːɟɪjæ/	‘my men’

4.4.3 Distribution of Phonemes

With regard to the phonemic variation between final syllables and pre-final syllables, it is slightly clear different, the final and the antepenultimate show more variety than the others. This applies to vowels. For instance, the nucleus of final and antepenultimate syllables may consist of any of the 12 vowels except /ʌ/ and /ɒ/ for the former and /ɛː/, /ɑː/ and /uː/ for the latter (monosyllabic words are excluded). The vowels /ə/, /ʌ/, /ɒ/, /ʊ/ and /ɛː/ occur in the nucleus of the penultimate syllables, whereas the first syllables (in tetrasyllabic syllables only) nucleus is restricted to short /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ə/, /æ/ and /ʊ/. A summary of phoneme distribution is given in Table 4.16 below.

Table 4.16: Vowel Distribution in MQ

	Short							long				
vowels	ɪ	ɛ	ə	æ	ʌ	ɒ	ʊ	iː	ɛː	ɑː	ɔː	uː
final	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
penultimate	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
antepenultimate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
first syllable	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.17: Consonant Distribution in MQ

		b	d	t	k	g	m	n	θ	f	s	ʔ	h	ʃ	ɟ	ð	ɬ	w	z	ʁ	χ	ɹ	l	ħ	j	w	t’	s’	k’
Coda	#CV<u>C</u>#	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	.CV<u>C</u>#																												
	.CV<u>C</u>.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
	#C(V)<u>C</u>.									-	+			+	+													+	
Onset	#<u>C</u>VC#								-							-							-						
	.<u>C</u>VC#	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	#<u>C</u>V.				-											-			-										
	.<u>C</u>V#	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
	#<u>C</u>(V)C.								+			+				-				+	+						+	+	
	.<u>C</u>V(C).	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

4.4.3.1 Final Syllables

As illustrated in the tables above, final syllables, including monosyllabic words, almost invariably have the canonic structure /CVC/. All consonant phonemes in MQ may occur as the coda of such syllables except /θ/. All 12 vowel phonemes may occur as syllable nucleus in final syllables (monosyllabic words are included). Below are examples of nucleus vowels in monosyllabic and disyllabic words:

Table 4.18: Distribution of Nucleus Vowels in Mono and Disyllabic Words

MQ word	Gloss	MQ word	Gloss
lɔːm	'last year'	bdɒh	'lied'
ʁʌj	'my brother'	ʔeɪs	'knife'
ɟɑːɹ	'fell'	t'ɑɪ	'smell'
t'əʊk	'came'	swuːb	'wounds'
t'wʊh	'he came'	mdiːt	'sea winds'
hɛh	'he'	ʔəs	'like'
mɪn	'from'		
hɛmlæ	'lazy'	dɪnʁæm	'to get angry'
ʁeɪtɪ	'my sister'	ʁɛɟɟeɪn	'boy'
hɛːχɛɹ	'old man'	k'ɛnnuːn	'small'
bɛdiːt	'liar (f)'	jɪmɒh	'today'
tɪtχɔːf	'she is coming'	ɟɪnɔɪb	'daggers'

4.4.3.2 Pre-Final Syllables

4.4.3.2.1 The Penultimate Syllable in Disyllabic Words

Coda position, in disyllabic words with a closed penultimate syllable, can be filled by any consonant phoneme except /ʔ,ð, j/, which are never codas, and /s, ʃ, ɟ, t'/ which can probably occur as codas in antepenultimate syllables. /f/ only occupies the coda position in penultimate syllables but is not a coda in the antepenultimate; while /s/ acts in reverse to /f/. In disyllabic words with an open penultimate syllable, onset position can probably be filled by any consonant except /k,ð, z/. Many examples of words, as shown below, whose two syllables have identical onsets, are recorded. This indicates that there are no clear restrictions as to which penultimate and final onset phonemes may be combined. The penultimate onset may be in open or closed syllable as follows:

/lɛk'leɪb/	'put'
/jɛjɛh/	'yes'
/bʊbɔːɹ/	'quickly'
/tɪtχɔːf/	'she is coming'
/ɹɔːɹə/	'sea'
/fæfæ/	'papaya'
/dədħɔːk'/	'I am treading'
/hɛnhuːt/	'forgetting (n)'

It can be observed from the examples above that the non-predictable vowel nucleus of these open syllables comprises all short vowels and only the long vowel /ɔː/ and all are found in this position. The vowel /ɒ/ is not found in those penultimate syllables. Conversely, there appear to be some restrictions as to which consonant phonemes may fill the penultimate onset position in a closed penultimate syllable e.g. stops, fricatives, nasals and laterals are absent except /h/ and /l/.

4.4.3.2.2 Pre-Final Syllables in Tri-Syllabic Words

Tri-syllabic words may include inflected and derived forms which usually consist of more than one morpheme. It is possible that many trisyllabic forms contain archaic morphemes which cannot be analyzed synchronically. Thus, such forms are regarded here as monomorphemic. The following words are typical examples of indigenous trisyllabic forms in MQ:

/ɬɛɹəʊməh/	‘now’
/ħɛlʌkməh/	‘over there’
/χɪtæfuːt/	‘pass’
/ɟəħəʊɟɛħ/	‘strong people’
/hæɬəlbuːb/	‘young people’
/tɪχæɹæn/	‘after a while’
/mɒkʼhuːjət/	‘café’
/bəħəlliːw/	‘night’

/ʃɪmɛħniːt/ ‘busy’

/wɛstædəm/ ‘organized groups’

The penultimate syllable in trisyllabic words may occur as either open or closed. The onset position of open and closed penultimate is always filled by all consonants except /g, θ, ð, s/ which never occur as onset in open or closed penultimate syllables. The coda position of closed penultimate syllables has two possible consonant occurrences. Firstly, it may be filled by /b, t, m, n, f, h, ɹ, l, ħ, s’, k’/. Secondly, the absence of /d, k, g, θ, s, ʔ, ʃ, ɟ, ð, ɬ, z, ʁ, χ, j, w, t’, ɮ/ in this position. The vowel nucleus of penultimate syllables in monomorphemic trisyllabic words is always non-predictable. It possibly includes all the vowels except /ɒ/. Clear constraints can be noted on /ɒ/ as to its co-occurrence within initial and final consonants in penultimate syllables.

Antepenultimate syllables are mostly open. The onset position of the open antepenultimate syllables is always filled by all consonants except /ð, z / which never occur as onset in open antepenultimate syllables. The vowel nucleus always includes all the vowels except /ɛː, ɑː, uː /.

4.4.3.2.3 Pre-Final Syllables in Quadri-Syllabic Words

A limited number of indigenous monomorphemic quadrisyllabic words have been recorded in the current study e.g. /bəɬɪbəʊɬɪb/ ‘high mountains’.

Quadrisyllabic words mostly comprise inflected and derived verbal or nominal categories as shown in Table 4.15. The penultimate syllable of quadrisyllabic words mostly occurs as an open light syllable (CV) or a heavy syllable (CVː, CVV). The onset position of the open penultimate syllables is always filled by all consonants except /g, θ, ð, s / which never occur as onset in open penultimate syllables. The vowel nucleus of penultimate syllables in quadrisyllabic words is a non-predictable /ɛ/, /ɪ/, /ɔː/, /iː/, /uː/, /ɑː/ or /eɪ/.

Antepenultimate syllables are either closed (CVC) or open syllables (CV, CVː), and their onset includes all consonants except /ð, z/. The vowel nucleus is a non-predictable one of all the vowels except /ɑː/, /ɛː/, /uː/.

4.5 Prosodic Features of MQ

In surveying Modern South Arabian languages studies on their stress-accent systems, it has been noted that the majority of the languages in this South Semitic group is not well described and analyzed due to the relatively small number of scholars working on several number of languages for a much shorter period of time. As a result, the only documentation often consists of a grammatical sketch, often many years old using idiosyncratic transcription systems, an analysis of part of the language, or a couple of short journal articles. Accent along with many other grammatical features is not always mentioned or reliably described and documented in these sources as far as MQ is concerned.

MQ stress system remains poorly documented. As a result, this study, like all comparative work on all Modern South Arabian languages, comes with the assumption that the generalizations in those studies are based on the information available which might be so limited as to be unrepresentative in some cases such as the case of MQ. Moreover, first-hand data collected and elicited by the researcher will be the main and primary source in this preliminary description of MQ stress system in the current study and one of its primary contributions to the knowledge Modern South Arabian languages.

Thus, in MQ, both syllables containing a long vowel or diphthong [CVV(C)] as well as closed syllables (CVC) are heavy for stress; open syllables containing a short vowel (CV) are light. Stress in MQ preferentially falls on closed syllables and on syllables with long vowels. Thus, MQ places stress on the heavy syllable that is either closed or contains a long vowel or diphthong; and it could be the ultimate, the penultimate or the antepenultimate. Otherwise stress falls on the penultimate or the antepenultimate if there are no heavy syllables, depending on the other parameters of stress. This conforms to Gordon (2002) argument that stress systems differ in terms of which syllables are treated as heavy and which count as light. Gordon (2002) suggests that the language specific choice of weight criterion for stress is predictable on phonetic grounds. Gordon (2002) points out those heavy syllables are those that are phonetically more prominent than light syllables in a given language, where prominence is evaluated along the phonetic dimension of total rimal energy, the integration of intensity over the duration of the syllable

rime. A syllable rime thus benefits in prominence if it is relatively long and / or contains relatively intense segments (Ibid).

Stress placement in MQ is not uniform throughout all possible combinations of two-syllable words and above. MQ can be quantity-sensitive as displayed in Table 4.19 below. Stress rules that are sensitive to the structure of the syllables are often said to be quantity-sensitive, "a term which suggests that the accent rule is primarily sensitive to length distinctions." (Ewen and Hulst, 2001, p. 223). MQ shows distinction between long and short vowels as well as between geminated and non geminated consonants in stress assignment. This generalization holds throughout the language. Simeone-Sennele's (1997, p. 386) statement "The stress in Mehri … is on the last long syllable or on the first syllable if there are only short syllables in the stress unit. " is in fact ambiguous. It may make the understanding that Mehri stress is immobile and the stress unit is only represented in the final syllable, which reverses the empirical data found out in this study. This is shown in the Tables 4.19, 4.20 and 4.21 whereas the stress unit is the heavy syllable which might be the initial, the penultimate or the antepenultimate. It possibly occurs on the initial syllable if there are not heavy syllables in the word.

Why main stress in the languages of the world is overwhelmingly located at a word or stem edge: initial, penultimate or final position is explained by Hyman (1977), as cited in Halle (2001), that the important function of stress is to demarcate major morpheme edges (stem or word). And stress has the typological

characteristic of being culminative: only one (main) stress may occur within a particular domain and every word must be assigned stress (Ibid).

Table 4.19: Stress Placement in Disyllabic MQ Words

		MQ word	**gloss**
Nominal	a.	[ˈtɛːwɪ]	‘meat’
	b.	[ˈhɛːχɛɹ]	‘old man’
	c.	[bɛˈdiːt]	‘liar (f)’
	d.	[ˈʔɔːɬəɹ]	‘ten’
	e.	[hæˈɹuːn]	‘goats’
	f.	[ˈɟɛhmɛh]	‘tomorrow’
	g.	[hɪˈbɒh]	‘how’
verbal	h.	[dɪˈnʁæm]	‘to get angry’
	i.	[ˈltʌʁəh]	‘kill him (imperfective)’
	j.	[ltəˈʁɛh]	‘killed him (perfective)’
	l.	[hɪˈɹiːk’]	‘be stolen’
	k.	[ʔəˈttɛk’]	‘to drink’
	m.	[hɛˈk’t’ɔːt’]	‘she-camel gives birth’

Table 4.20: Stress Placement in Tri-Syllabic MQ Words

		MQ word	**gloss**
Nominal	a.	[ɬɛˈɹəʊməh]	‘now’
	b.	[ˈmɔːtɛɹhəm]	‘their car’
	c.	[mtæˈlliːjət]	‘last (f)’
	d.	[k’æˈluːtən]	‘young people’
	e.	[hæɬəlˈbuːb]	‘young people’
verbal	f.	[ʔɛmˈɹɔːnæ]	‘I will say’
	g.	[k’ɛhˈbuːtən]	‘we will come (f.pl)’
	h.	[dɪʔɪˈtiːw]	‘ he is eating’
	i.	[dətɛˈliːm]	‘ I am learning’
	j.	[həɹχeɪkhæ]	‘I set him free’

Table 4.21: Stress Placement in Quadri-Syllabic Words

		MQ word	**gloss**
Nominal	a.	[ʁɛˈjiːɟɪjæ]	‘my men’
	b.	[mɪftɪɹˈɟuːtən]	‘spectators’
	c.	[bəɬɪˈbəʊɬɪb]	‘high mountains’
verbal	d.	[ʃɛmɪddiːtæ]	‘I will receive (f)’
	e.	[həkˈʌhˈbɔːnæ]	‘I will bring’
	f.	[bəɹɪˈbəʊɮək]	‘cut off’

Out from the empirical survey of MQ stress in this research, it can be noted in the Tables 4.19, 4.20, 4.21 above respectively that all two-Syllable, three-syllable and four-syllable words in the language display different placement stresses, with regard to the weight of the final syllable and the weight of the first syllable too, as demonstrated in the tables above. Stress and quantity are closely related in MQ. In describing these facts in this section, a moraic theory of the syllable is assumed. This can be justified by the fact that MQ belong to the rhyme-weight languages (Ewen and Hulst, 2001) in which CVC syllables are heavy, the vowel and the final consonant will be assigned to distinct moras. Light syllables contain only one mora (monomoraic) (Ibid), heavy syllables contain at least two (bimoraic) (see figure 4.13) below, moras are represented as μ, and syllables as σ. According to this model, the relationship can be characterized as a two-way implication holding between weight and stress: heavy syllables must be stressed and stressed syllables must be heavy; light syllables must be unstressed and unstressed syllables must be light (Rice, 2006).

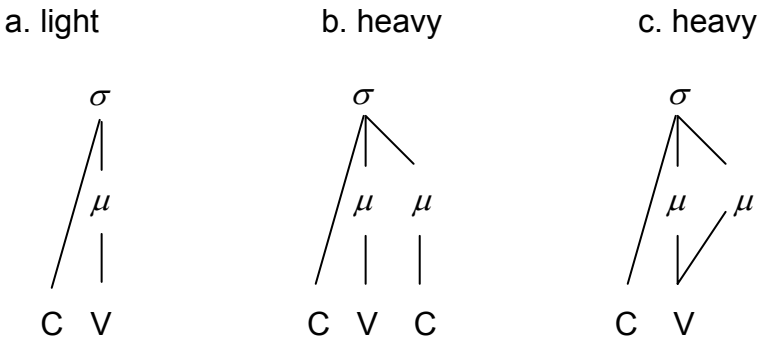


Fig.4.13: Rhyme-Weight Languages, Source from Ewen and Hulst (2001)

Stress location in the verbal system is noted to be not homogenous. Verbal forms display final as well as penultimate stress in different environments. The analysis presented in this study shows that there are, however, two patterns of contrastive stress recorded in MQ verbal system. These patterns surface systematically and seem to depend on morphological information. This stress-in-contrast shift has been found in perfective forms. For instance, the stress placement in /ltʌʁəh/ 'kill' depends on the morphological information to be provided. Stress falls on the penultimate if /ˈltʌʁəh/ is used to mean 'you are about to kill him'. But stress falls on the final syllable [ltəˈʁɛh] to express that 'you killed him'.

There remains a stress type which affects the transitivity-causativity of the verb. It can be called an emphatic (geminated) stress, whereby the first or second radical of the root is probably geminated carrying the stress. Although Simeone-Sennele (1997) claimed that gemination never had a morphological value in all the Modern South Arabian languages to various degrees, the researcher argues that gemination in MQ has a morphological value that clearly appears in different examples e.g. /(d)jɪtiːw/ 'be eating' is an intransitive imperfective verb. This verb becomes causative when the first radical of the root /t/ is geminated and stressed and having this shape e.g. /(d)jɪˈttiːw/ 'to make someone eat'. There are other verbs as examples demonstrating the morphological value of gemination and the emphatic stress e.g:

/hɪɬ/ ‘got up’ → /hɪɬɬəh/ ‘woke someone up’

/dəɬtɔːk’/ ‘burn’ → /dɪˈɬɬəʊk’/ ‘to get something burnt’

Gemination may indicate the tense of the verb e.g.:

/jɪft’uːn/ ‘to remember’ → /fəˈt’t’ɔːn/ ‘remembered’

Unquestionably, there are some geminations which have no morphological values that must be exempted from the morphologically-valued gemination elaborated above and be included in Simeone-Sennele’s claim. Exemplifications of these geminated verbs are given below:

/mhək’k’ɛɹ/ ‘I will go’

/tχʌwwɛl!/ ‘Sit down!’

/nættɛɹ/ ‘untie a rope’

/ɬχʊlluːl/ ‘to sit down’

4.6 Summary

This chapter has provided an introduction to the contemporary MQ sound system. Two main issues have been addressed in this chapter: the phonemic inventory of MQ phonemes and phonotactic properties of MQ phonemic system. MQ conforms to the emphatic, ejective, and phonological characteristics described for most other languages of South Semitic branch of Central Semitic. MQ appears to have three lateral fricatives, three ejectives that no longer exist in its Arabic

neighbour. MQ also displays a rich vowel system, phonemically significant vowel nasality, peculiar combinations of consonant clusters, open and closed final syllables. It is also characterized by prosodic features which are normally associated with Semitic languages, such as vocalic lengthening and consonantal doubling, stress movement with the heavy syllable

CHAPTER FIVE

MORPHOLOGICAL DATA: WORD FORMATION IN MQ

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the system of word formation in MQ, the main path of morphology as a part of linguistics that studies the formation of words. The current study, 'The Morphology of Mehri of Qishn Dialect in Yemen', aims at carrying out the following objectives stated in chapter one:

1-to identify the morphological items (morphemes, morphs, etc.) of Mehri Qishn dialect.

2-to describe the phonemic shapes of Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes.

3-to describe how Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes are internally formed and distributed.

The three research questions are closely related. To answer third question the first two questions should be answered first. For instance, question No.1 is concerned with identifying the inflectional and derivational affixes. Question No.2 seeks to describe the phonemic shapes of those affixes and display them in tables. Question No.3 is concerned with showing how morphosyntactically they are distributed and formed by giving examples, etc. Katamba (1993) highlighted the significance of distribution as a central technique in the identification of morphemes. Katamba (1993, p. 27) defined the technique of distribution as "the total set of contexts in which a particular linguistic form occurs." Verbal and

nominal paradigms are assumed by the researcher as an evident adequate instrument in presenting the distributional relationships among MQ morphemes and their phonemic shapes. Based on this rationale, the three research questions are so closely interrelated, therefore, to answer them they should be tackled together in describing a morphological aspect in MQ i.e. a morpheme.

For the sake of answering those research questions, this chapter starts by giving a preliminary note on word formation in MQ (5.1), defining its morphological units (5.1.1) and examining the morphological processes of affixation, root and pattern morphology of MQ (5.2), segmental processes (5.3). This chapter and all the following chapters are systematized strictly to process and morphemic function and are mostly organized along what it has been referred to as root and pattern morphology. Descriptions of individual morphemes, their phonemic shapes, their distributions and their allomorphs will be presented in these chapters so that the objectives of the study can be soundly carried out. Much of the analysis rests on the utilization of root and pattern morphology and the technique of paradigms in the analysis and organization of data using the IP model to describe the former as endorsed by Ephratt (2003); and WP model to describe the later as an appropriate approach to inflectional paradigms determined by Katamba (1993), Stump (1998) and Bauer (2003). It should be observed that the principle of Semitic main path of derivation by root and pattern has always been in consensus. The other way of Semitic derivation by base and affix is only pertinent to nominals (Goldenberg, 2005a).

MQ is transcribed here in full accordance with the standards of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Phonemic transcription is indicated by slant brackets / /, whereas phonetic transcription is indicated by square brackets [ ]. English translations of forms are indicated by apostrophes ‘ ‘, and wherever direct translation is not possible an explanatory description is given in brackets ( ). Examples of MQ text are always given in their phonemic form, and words are consistently segmented and glossed morphemically. Following Burenhult (2002), morpheme boundaries are represented by a hyphen (-) in the case of prefixes and suffixes, arrows (< >) in the case of infixes, equals sign (=) in the case of clitics and in the case of a cluster. Following Goldenberg (2005a), segments in a templatic representation of any morpheme are represented by a hyphen (-) in the case of a vowel, a dot (.) or the capital letter (C) in the case of a consonant. (V) is used too to indicate a vocalic change and (√) to refer to root morpheme. Grammatical morphemes are glossed with the items given in the list of abbreviations. As far as possible, the translation of text examples aims to give the reading intended in the original utterance. Examples are taken from both spontaneous text materials and elicited texts. This transcription, glossing and translation scheme is applied regularly in this chapter and the following chapters.

5.2 Word Formation

The standard account of word-formation processes in Semitic languages describes words as combinations of two morphemes: a root and a pattern (Ephrat, 2003; Daya, 2005). The root consists of consonants only, by default three, although longer roots are known, called radicals (Goldenberg, 2005b). The pattern

is a combination of vowels and, possibly, consonants too, with ‘slots’ into which the root consonants can be inserted (Marcusb, 2002; Berent et al, 2002). MQ, a language with a nonconcatenative internal structure, exhibits a pattern of word formation expressed mostly through a change in the internal structure of the word itself. In MQ, word formation involves affixation, reduplication, Semitic stem interdigitation among others. The most characteristic feature of MQ morphology is root-pattern phenomena. This is especially true for MQ verbs, which rely heavily on the arrangement of consonants and vowels in order to code different morph syntactical properties (such as perfect, imperfect, jussive, etc.) Consonants, which mostly carry the semantic core of the word, form the root of the verb. Consonants and vowels together constitute the stems, and stems take different types of affixes (prefixes and suffixes) to form the fully inflected verbs. Thus far the theoretical background of all the research into MQ morphology is the root and word pattern approach, which seems to fit quite well with the synchronic data obtained during the fieldwork investigations.

The dialect analyzed here, like all other Modern South Arabian languages, displays several types of morpheme shapes: the sequential (linear) and the non-sequential (non-linear). Sequential morphemes are those in which the sequential components, consonants and vowels, combine in sequential order with clear-cut boundaries. They can be called affixational morphemes (Habash et al. 2005). These are common in particles and affixes e.g.

dɪ(ə)- an aspect particle

ʃ- a possessive particle

Non-sequential morphs are those which occur in a discontinuous order, i.e. the phonemes of one morpheme are interrupted by the phonemes of one or more other phonemes. They can be called templatic morphemes (Habash et al. 2005). They occur in three different shapes. They may be consonantal as in root morphemes, vocalic as in the vocalic morphemes, or pattern template e.g.

sluːb	'he waited'	√slb --uː-
səlleɪb	'weapon'	√slb -ə--eɪ-

The other shape is called broken morphemes which are non-sequential in a different way from the previous type. They occur in two parts separated by one or more other morphemes, e.g.

mɪltəʁɔːnæ	'I will kill'	√mɪ …… næ √ltʁ ….

5.2.1 Morphological Units

The following sections define the structural units of Qishn Mehri word formation that are relevant to the subsequent description, including roots, vocalic patterns, templates (5.2.1.1), which do not stand separate, but when combined they form the Semitic word, stems (5.2.1.2), bases (5.2.1.3) and lexemes (5.2.1.4), which are typically free forms, as well as affixes (5.2.1.5), which are always bound morphemes. Subsequently, an overview of the morphological processes will be

presented in order to have some knowledge background of MQ word formation on affixation (5.3), cliticisation (5.4), root and pattern morphology of MQ (5.5), and segmental processes (5.6).

5. 2.1.1 Roots

Roots may be defined for Qishn Mehri as morphologically bound units that are both synchronically and diachronically triconsonantal or quadriconsonantal and therefore unanalysable. The consonantal root plays a primary role in the analysis of MQ root and pattern morphology. According to the Root-and-Pattern Approach, a MQ root is associated with a template; the template coordinates vowel melodies and consonant positions. Under this approach, the MQ template is viewed as a separate morpheme consisting of syllabic positions to which a root is mapped compatible with McCarthy (1981), or as a representation containing vowels or information on consonant clustering consistent to Goldenberg (1998). Importantly, the root is recognized as a discontinuous lexical entry distinct from the template. Prunet et al (2000) explained this fact that Semitic roots are abstract by virtue of the fact that they surface discontinuously, that is, separated by vowels adding morphological information (e.g., the perfective /uː/ in ktuːb ‘wrote’, or the passive /ɪ - iː / in kɪtiːb ‘be written’.

In conclusion, as a matter of fact, Semitic word formation has proved particularly contentious over the past several years with respect to the notion of the 'root' and 'template' (Berent et al, 2002; Ephratt, 2002, 2003; Rose, 2003). Owen

(1997, p. 46) stated ‘‘the basic unit of morphological analysis is the root, a consonantal skeleton’’. (Goldenberg, 1998, p. 30) presented a similar view claiming that the root should ‘‘be conceived as the primary lexical representative in a paradigm’’.

5.2.1.1.1 The Phonemic Shape of Roots

The minimum number of consonants that constitute a root morpheme in MQ is two and the maximum is four e.g. bi-consonantal roots C1C2. All MQ personal pronouns consist of bi-consonantal roots. This class is relatively small e.g.:

√tw	C1C2	in	/tɛːwɪ/	‘meat’
√ʔs	=	in	/ʔeɪs/	‘knife’
√ʔɬ	=	in	/ʔeɪɬ/	‘corn’
√sh	=	in	/sɛh/	‘she’

It has been found out that some bi-consonantal roots have two identical consonants C1C1 e.g.

√ff	in	/fæfæ/	‘papaya’
√hh	in	/hɛh/	‘he’
√bb	in	/bɔːb/	‘door’

Tri-consonantal roots are the most common and frequent of the classes. It occurs in different shapes:

a) C1C2C3 e.g.:

√hɹk’	in	/hɹuːk’/	‘stole’
√ʁlk’	in	/ʁluːk’/	‘saw’
√slb	in	/sluːb/	‘waited’

b) C1C2C2 e.g.

√ħʃʃ	in	/ħʃuːʃ/	‘injured’
√fnn	in	/fənuːn/	‘before’
√k’ɬɬ	in	/k’æɬuːɬ/	‘food waste’

c) C1C1C2 e.g.:

√ɻɻm	in	/ɻɔːɻəm/	‘sea’
√bbɹ	in	/bʊbɔːɹ/	‘quickly’

Quadri-consonantal roots occur in MQ. The consonants of this type of root may be partially identical or non-identical. It can be observed in the examples below that although the radicals of the root morpheme are described as non-sequential, they, unlike vocalic patterns, cluster within the stem e.g.

√nχʁ	→	/nɛχʁiːʁ/	‘nose’
√ʁbtt	→	/ʁɛbtuːt/	‘milk foam’
√ɟdʁ	→	/ɟɪdʁiːt/	‘termite’

5.2.1.2 Stems

Based on the analysis of the morphological data available, MQ stems are found to be formed by a derivational combination of a root morpheme and a vowel melody; the two are arranged according to canonical patterns. Roots are said to interdigitate with patterns to form stems, for instance:

The verbal stem /hʁuːk’/ ‘steal’ can be analyzed into the morphemes from which it is derived, which are the consonantal root morpheme √hʁk’ and the vocalic melody morpheme /uː/ in Figure 5.1 and Table 5.1 below:

	hʁ-k’	root	
CCuːC	. . uː .	pattern	
	hʁuːk’	form	‘steal’

Fig. 5.1: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Verb Stem

Table 5.1: The Morphemic Components of the Verbal Stem in MQ

The consonantal root morpheme	**The vocalic melody morpheme (pattern)**	**The verbal stem form**
√ltʁ	uː	ltuːʁ ‘kill’
√tbɪ	iː - ɛ	tiːbɛɪ ‘break’
√χtl	uː - ɛ	χuːtɛl ‘hunt’

According to the Root-and-Pattern approach, as shown above, a stem form is the result of a given Pattern (Graf, 2003). Zohra et al (1998), Bat-El (2003), Daya (2005) and Rowan (2006) recognized that the distinctive character of a Semitic stem is usually identified by the root-and pattern structure, whereby a stem consists of two interdigitated segmental units, a consonantal root and a vocalic pattern.

5.2.1.3 Bases

Similar to Semitic languages, the MQ word base, the uninflected form, is combined of two morphemes—the root and the vocalic pattern**,** which are interwoven in each other in a non-linear (non-concatenated) manner. As far as Semitic bases are concerned, Semitic languages has a characteristic unlike Indo-European languages such as English, in which complex words are combined by affixation in a linear (concatenated) manner (Berent et al, 2002; Shimron, 2003; Graf, 2004); that is affixes are placed before or after the word’s base, while the

base itself is an indivisible unit, as in Semitic languages, this form of word inflection and derivation is not the only one form of morphemic composition. In MQ the base itself can be inflected by all kinds of suffixation like most or all Indo-European languages. This type of morpheme, base, is verified by Yona and Wintner (2005) as being produced by the combination of a root with a pattern.

5.2.1.4 Lexemes

Lexemes are synchronically minimal free forms and may occur independently. MQ lexemes are formed by the interdigitation of root segment and vocal pattern. Thus, they differ from roots in that they also include morphologically complex forms that are synchronically unanalysable. Lexemes refer to all the semantic units stored in the lexicon, and may thus refer to lexical units (e.g. milk) (Nemo, 2005). Lexemes are usually represented in the citation forms of MQ words and are therefore those forms which, some examples of them feature in the glossary (Appendix B). Lexemes also represent those forms on which the analysis of phonotactic restrictions is based (4.4); lexemes thus set the standard for phonotactic well-formedness. Verbs in their lexeme forms may be used to denote situations that are past and bounded as well as present and unbounded. They may also be used to denote future situations. In order for any root, as mentioned previously that it is triconsonantal, to function as a major category of lexeme, it must be fixed into some vocalic pattern or template. This is similarly noted in another Semitic language (Yona and Wintner, 2005). This interdigitation of the consonantal root and vocalic pattern is governed by a prosodic template (Bat-El, 2003):

The lexeme /sluːb/ ‘WAIT’ may have the following morphosyntactic forms: sluːb ‘waited’, dəsɔːləb ‘waiting’, sɛlbɔːnæ ‘will wait’, ‘sɪliːb ‘be waited', etc. Katamba (1993), Bauer (2003) and others capitalise the form which represents the lexeme e.g. ‘WAIT’ so as to be differentiated from its word forms.

5.2.1.5 Affixes (Affixational Morphemes)

Affixational morphemes have significant status in MQ word formation processes. They are phonologically bound morphemes whose domain of attachment is words, particularly before, inside or after the word. They are prefixes, infixes or suffixes treated as distinct morphemes which make up the word. As expected in Grandi and Montermini (2005), among the world’s languages, prepositional and verb and object (VO) languages use prefixes and suffixes and object and verb (OV) languages use suffixes. This fact shows that many languages prefer using suffixes rather than prefixes in any case to express their grammatical relationships (Ibid). MQ use all the three types of affixes, prefixes, suffixes, and infixes. They are classified as inflectional and derivational affixes.

5.2.1.5.1 Inflectional Affixes

MQ inflectional affixes include tense, gender, person and number markers, and subject and object affixes. Note that in perfective stems, there are no subject prefixes, only subject suffixes. Imperfective may have just prefixes or a combination of both. The occurrence of inflection by means of affixes is consistent

to Bauer's (2003) and Stump's (2005), in a Morpheme-Based Approach, definition of inflection as a process of adding affixes which create word forms of an already known lexeme, do not change the category of the word, and have a regular meaning. MQ inflectional categories are the categories of morphosyntactic properties which are expressed in its inflectional system. Enumeration of these inflectional categories found in MQ will be carried out starting with noun-related gender and number marking affixes.

MQ nouns are inflected for masculine, feminine and common gender. The masculine and common are unmarked and the feminine is marked by -t and -t□n feminine inflectional suffixes. Gender is a category of morphosyntactic properties which distinguish classes of nominal lexemes (Stump, 1998) and defined in Corbett (1991, p. 1) as "Genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behaviour of associated words." In MQ a noun's gender is overt gender (Corbett, 1991) expressed through the inflection of the noun and its agreeing modifiers. For each such class of lexemes, there is a distinct set of inflectional markings for agreeing words (Ibid) e.g.:

/hɛɪk'/ 'a thief m.'

/hɛɪk'əʊt/ /hɛɪk'əʊtən/ 'a thief, thieves (f.)' The feminine marker suffix -Vt is usually preceded by a predictable vowel /iː/, /uː/, and /əʊ/. However, the most common means of marking gender in MQ is by agreement. Agreement in gender may occur in a wide range of agreeing elements e.g. most nominal class words

and verbal class words. Nouns and adjectives have similar gender markers as mentioned previously and refer to sections 6.2 and 6.11 in chapter 6. Pronouns also vary in form according to gender. Personal pronouns have these forms according to gender /hɛh, nhɛh/ 1st person common singular and plural pronouns; /hiːt, tɛːm/ 2nd person masculine singular and plural pronouns; /hiːt, tɛːn/ 2nd person feminine singular and plural pronouns; /hɛh, hɛːm/ 3rd person masculine singular and plural pronouns; /sɛh, sɛːn/ 3rd person feminine singular and plural pronouns (see section 6.6). Demonstrative pronouns and relative pronouns frequently show gender agreement by vocalic change only (refer to sections 6.6.3; 6.9.1,2). As for verbal class words, they commonly have these affixes such as -k, -ʃ, t-, -t, -n, -(k)ən, -(k)əm, -j. -n, -t, and -j occur only with future verbs as portmanteau morphs indicating gender and person.

Table 5.2: MQ Gender Markers

	suffixed	**suffixed**
	singular	**plural**
1.c	-k, -n	-n, -j
2m.	-k	-kəm
2f.	-ʃ, -t	-k(t)ən
3m.	ø	-əm
3f.	-t	-tən

Itcan be noted from Table 5.2 that MQ does not show gender distinctions marked on first (singular and plural) and second person pronouns (singular).This fact corresponds with Bhatt's (2004) conclusion that most languages disallow gender distinctions to be marked on first and second person pronouns. Sections 6.10.16, 18, 19, 20 can be referred for prepositional gender agreement.

MQ possessive pronouns also work as inflectional markings in gender denoting possession, which attach to nouns. They comprise the following suffixes -ɪ, -(ə)k, -(ə)ʃ, -(ə)h, -(ə)s, -ən, -kəm, -kən, -həm, -sən:

diːməh ʔeɪs-ɪ 'this is my knife.'

diːməh ʔeɪs-ək 'this is your knife.'

diːməh ʔeɪs-ən 'this is their knife.'

Table 5.3: MQ Possessive Gender Markers

	Suffixed	Suffixed
	Singular	**Plural**
1c.	-ɪ	-ən
2m.	-k	-kəm
2f.	-ʃ	-kən
3m.	-h	-həm
3f.	-s	-sən

Number is a category of morphosyntactic properties used to distinguish the quantity to which a noun phrase refers (Stump, 1998, Corbett, 2000). MQ distinguishes only two number properties (singular, plural) and dual in limited usage. The suffixes -tən, -t, (ə)n, -j and (ə)m are the common inflectional number (plural) marking suffixes in MQ; (ə)m and -j are masculine plural marker suffixes and -tən is a feminine plural marker suffixe, whereby –t and -n are both feminine and masculine number marking suffixes. It sould be noted here that -n and -j suffixes appear only in verbal future patterns. Dual is expressed by number two (agreeing in gender with the noun) preceded by the noun. For a detailed description and examples on all inflectional affixes, please refer to chapters six and seven.

/ʁɛʄn-uːt/ ‘a girl (f.sg.)’ /ʁɛʄnuːt-ən/ ‘girls (f.pl.)’

/hæmm/ ‘a mother (f.sg.) /hæmm-uːtən/‘mothers (f.pl.)

/dəltuːʁ/ ‘a killer (m.sg.)’ /dəltəʊʁ-əm/ ‘killers (m.pl.)

ħɛɻmiː ɪtɻiːt ‘two women’

ʁɛjuːʄ ɪtɻɒh ‘two men’

Table 5.4: MQ Number Markers

suffixed		suffixed
singular		**plural**
1c.	-j	-(ə)n -j
2m.	-n	-j
2f.	-t -n	-tən
3m.	-n	-əm -j
3f.	-t	-ən -tən

The inflectional affixes which are attached to verbs will be displayed in general in the following examples derived from the consonantal root √ltʁ in the type A verbal template, meaning 'kill'; as there are two lexical types of verbal templates: A and B which are elaborated in Chapter 7.

(1) dɪlɔːtəʁ, təlɔːtəʁ, təltɛʁən , etc.: prefix conjugation

3m.sg. 3f.sg 2f.pl. 3f.pl.

(2) ltɛʁəʊt, ltɛʁəm, ltɛʁkən, etc.: suffix conjugation

3f.sg. 3m.pl. 2f.pl.

While verbs of both conjugations may have suffixes denoting such elements as number and mood, only verbs of the type in (1) may, and in fact always do, have prefixes and may be both, and only verbs of the type in (2) always have suffixes. The prefix conjugation may be described as either "imperfect" or "non-

past" (or "present/progressive"), and the suffix conjugation is known as either "perfect" or "past".

MQ verbs inflect for Voice, Aspect, Tense, Mood, Number, Person of subject, Person of object, and Gender which are the studied categories expressed inflectionally in verbs in a sample of fifty languages from different language families (Bybee, 1985), cited in Carstairs-McCarthy (1998). Person can be informally defined as "the grammatical category that indicates discourse roles." (Panagiotidis, 2002, p. 18). Person marking on MQ verbs or, more accurately, verb-words is achieved through a series of word-initial prefixes in the imperfective form or word-final suffixes in the perfective form and imperative form or through prefix-suffix pairs in the imperfective form. The person marking prefixes, suffixes and prefix-suffix pairs in the imperfective include /də-/, /dɪ-/, /tə-/, /dən-/, /-n/, /j/, /-tən/, /tə - əm/, /tə - ən/, and /dɪ - əm/

/dəʃkuːf/ 'I am sleeping'

/dɪhuːɹəɟ/ 'he is speaking'

/təhuːɹəɟ/ 'you are speaking'

/dənbɑːɹ/ 'we are going'

/tədɛlfəm/ 'you (2m.pl.) are falling'

/tədɛlfən/ 'you (2f.pl.) are falling'

/dɪdɛlfəm/ 'they (3m.pl.) are falling'

/tədɛlfən/ 'they (3f.pl.) are falling'

/dɛlfɔːnæ/ ‘I/you/he (m.sg.)will fall’, /dɛlfiːtæ/ ‘you/she (f.sg.) will fall’, /dɛlfɛːjæ/ ‘we/they (m.pl.) will fall’, /dɛlfuːtən/ ‘they (f.pl.) will fall.’

Table 5.5: MQ Person Markers in the Imperfective

	Prefixed / suffixed (future usage)		**prefixed / suffixed**	
	Singular		**plural**	
1c.	də-	-n	də-	-j
2m.	tə-	-n	tə - əm	
2f.	tə-	-t	tə - ən	-tən
3m.	dɪ-	-n	dɪ - əm	-j
3f.	tə-	-t	tə - ən	-tən

The person marking suffixes in the perfective include -k, -ʃ, -t, -ən, -kəm, -kən, and -əm e.g.:

/χɛtl-ək/ ‘I / you hunted’

/χɛtl-əʃ/ ‘you (2f.sg.) hunted’

/χuːtɛl/ ‘he hunted’

/χɛtl-uːt/ ‘she hunted’

/χɛtl-ən/ ‘we hunted’

/χɛtl-əkəm/ ‘you (2m.pl.) hunted’

/χɛtl-əkən/ ‘‘you (2f.pl.) hunted’

/χɛtl-əm/ ‘they (3m.pl.) hunted’

/χɛtl-ən/ ‘they (3f.pl.) hunted.’

The third singular masculine and feminine are unmarked for person.

Table 5.6: MQ Person Markers in the Perfective

	suffixed	**suffixed**
	singular	**plural**
1c.	-k	-ən
2m.	-k	-kəm
2f.	-ʃ	-kən
3m.	-	-əm
3f.	-	-ən

MQ person markers in the imperative include both second singular and plural feminine masculine persons: ø, -ɪ, -ən, and -əm which are exemplified in the following examples:

/hʌk’(2m.sg.)!/ ‘come!’

/hʌk’əm (2m.pl.)!/ ‘come!’

/hʌk’ɪ (2f.sg.)!/ ‘come!’

/hʌk’ ən(2f.pl.)!/ ‘come!’

Table 5.7: MQ Person Markers in the Imperative

	Suffixed	Suffixed
	Singular	**Plural**
1c.		
2m.	ø	-əm
2f.	-ɪ	-ən
3m.		
3f.		

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 also express subject markers in MQ. This makes it necessary to mention object markers in MQ too which comprise the following suffixes -ɪ, -k, -ʃ, -h, -s, -n, -kəm, -kən, -həm, and -sən. As shown in table 5.8 below, the third person object morpheme /-j-/ may precede those object suffixes in certain verbs.

Table 5.8: MQ Object Markers

	suffixed	suffixed
	singular	**plural**
1c.	–(j)ɪ	-(jV)n
2m.	-(jV)k	-(jV)kəm
2f.	-(jV)ʃ	-(jV)kən
3m.	-(jV)h	-(jV)həm
3f.	-(jV)s	-(jV)sən

Below are examples of object markers in MQ.

ʁɹɛbk-s
know-1c.sg.-3f.sg.obj.suff
'I knew her'

hɛːt ɬɪnjiː-həm
2c.sg. see-3c.sg.-3m.pl.
'you saw them'

ɬɪnk tuː-k
see-1c.sg. accu.-2m.sg.
'I saw you'

Tense is a category of morphosyntactic properties distinguishing a finite verb's temporal reference (Stump, 1998). It is an inflectional marker of the verb used for denoting the temporal location of an event (Bhat, 1999). In MQ verbs inflect for three tenses: past unmarked or marked by the prefix bəɹ-, present

marked by the prefix də(ɪ)- in some verb forms and future marked by the suffix -æ and prefix m- e.g.; all these tense inflections are elaborated in chapter 7:

/ʁbuːɹ/ ‘attended.’

/bəɹ-ʁbuːɹ/ ‘attended.’

/dɪ-ʁɔːbəɹ/ ‘be attending.’

/ʁɛbɹɔːn-æ/ ‘will attend.’

/m-hɛk’k’ɛɹ/ ‘I will go’

MQ has two aspects called perfective, it usually refers to the past tense (Benmmamoun, 2003), and imperfective which refers to the present/progressive (Ibid). The imperfective has three moods, the indicative used to assert a proposition as a fact, the subjunctive used to express propositions whose reality is wished for, and the jussive (imperative) used to command that a proposition be realized (Stump, 1998). Mood is a category of morphosyntactic properties which distinguish the ways in which a proposition may relate to actuality (Stump, 1998; Bhat, 1999). In MQ the indicative inflection is marked by aspectual marker (Simeone-Senelle, 1997) də- with first singular and plural masculine persons, dɪ- with third singular and plural masculine persons, and tə- with all other persons e.g.:

hɒh də-duːləf ‘I fall 1c.sg.’

nhɛh dən-duːləf ‘we fall 1c.pl.’

hɛh dɪ-duːləf ‘he falls 3m.sg.’

hɛːm də-dɛlf-əm ‘they fall 3m.pl.’

hɛːt tə-duːləf ‘you fall 2m.sg.’

hɛːt tə-deɪləf ‘you fall 2f.sg.’

tɛːm tə-dɛlf-əm ‘you fall 2m.pl.’

tɛːn tə-dɛlf-ən ‘you fall 2f.pl.’

sɛːn tə-dɛlf-ən ‘they fall 3f.pl.’

The subjunctive inflection is marked by the prefix l- which appears with the first masculine singular person and the third masculine singular and plural person, n- appears with the first plural person and tə- with other persons e.g.:

ħɔːm lə-lbɛːd t’ɛːɹ ‘I want to shoot a bird’

həh jɪħɔːm lə-lbɛːd t’ɛːɹ ‘he wants to shoot a bird’

hɛːm jɪħeɪm lə-lbɛːd-əm ‘they (3m.pl.) want to shoot a bird’

nhəh nħɔːm nə-lbɛːd ‘we want to shoot a bird’

hɛːt tħɔːm tə-lbɛːd ‘you (2m.sg.) want to shoot a bird’

hɛːt tħiːm tə-lbɛːdɪ ‘you (2f.sg.) want to shoot a bird’

səh tħɔːm tə-lbɛːd ‘she wants to shoot a bird’

tɛːm tħeɪm(əm) tə-lbɛːd-əm ‘they (2m.pl.) want to shoot a bird’

tɛːn tħeɪm(ən) tə-lbɛːd-ən ‘you (2f.pl.) want to shoot a bird’

sɛːn tħɔːmən tə-lbɛːd-ən ‘they (3f.pl.) want to shoot a bird’

Voice is another category for which a verb may inflect. It is a category of morphosyntactic properties distinguishing the various thematic relations that may exist between a verb and its subject (Stump, 1998). It comprises active voice and passive voice. /d-(ə)(ɪ)/ is a temporal aspectual marker acting as a prefix signaling the passive voice of the imperfective verb and the progressive aspect. It attaches directly to one of the above passive word patterns e.g.

/dɪlɪtiːʁ/ ‘he is killed’ ‘he is being killed’

/d-(ə)(ɪ)ʃɪsbuːt’/ ‘he is hit’ ‘he is being hit’

MQ verbs inflect for number distinguishing the plural by prefix or prefix/suffix pairs such as nə-, -kəm, -kən, -əm, -ən. Examples are presented below:

nhɛh nə-tbɔːɹ lɔːħ ‘we break the wood’

tɛːm tə-tbɔːɹ-əm bɔːb ‘you (2m.pl.) break the door’

tɛːn tə-tbɔːɹ-ən bɔːb ‘you (2f.pl.) break the door’

hɛːm dɪ-tbɔːɹ-əm bɔːb ‘they (3m.pl.) break the door’

As for gender marking on verbs in MQ, the verb inflects for gender in accordance with the tense, past, present or future using V-t, -tən, -ən, t- feminine markers and n-, -əm, j- masculine markers as displayed in the following examples:

sɛh tw-uːt ‘she ate’

sɛːn tɔːj-ən ‘they (3f.pl.) ate’

ʔɛɟzuːn təjjuː-tən	‘women will eat’
fætɛməh təjjiːtæ	‘Fatema will eat’
nhɛh də-n-tuːj	‘we (1c.pl.) are eating’
hɛːm dɪtɔːj-əm	‘they (3f.pl.) are eating’
hɛːm/nhɛh tʊjjɛː-j-æ	‘they / we (3m.pl./1m.pl.) will eat’

It can be noted there that, instead of affixation, inflectional morphology (Stump, 1998) can involve a vowel change in the stem (ablaut), e.g. second person feminine subject morpheme /eɪ/ tətuːbəɹ (2m.sg.) → tət<u>eɪ</u>bəɹ (2f.sg.) or even the use of a completely different allomorph of the stem (suppletion); such types of morphology that are not based on combining stems and affixes, but rather on modifying the form of the stem, are known in general as nonconcatenative morphology (Rowan, 2006). There is a special kind of affix which occurs throughout the base and it is, thus, called a transfix (Bauer, 2003). The transfix is made up of a number of vowels and may also involve operations on consonants e.g. consonants may be doubled (Ibid). All these nonconcatenative operations will be elaborated and described in the following sections.

5.2.1.5.2 Derivational Affixes

Affixation (prefixation, suffixation, and infixation) is one of the most productive means of marking derivation in MQ. There is a number of derivational affixes in MQ, ʃ-, <t>, hə- and d-. These occur closest to the stem, and other

prefixes, such as object and subject markers, are affixed outside the derivational prefixes.

The prefix ʃ- is known as the passive-reflexive. It attaches to transitive verbs to form the passive (Simeone-Senelle, 1997), as shown by the following examples:

/ʃ-ɪlbuːd/	‘be shot’
/ʃ-ɪltuːʁ/	‘be killed’
/ʃ-ɪsbuːt’/	‘be hit’

The prefix ʃ- is also known as causative-reflexive. It attaches to the transitive to form the causative as illustrated in the examples below:

/ʃ-ɪɮjuːk’/	‘to get tired’
/ʃ-əfk’ɔːt/	‘to get married’
/ʃ-ənsʼɔːɹ/	‘to win in war’

The prefix hə- forms the causative, and can attach to any verb type, A + B, with no concomittant change in the internal stem shape or mutation patterns. Nevertheless, it has semantic restrictions on its association. First, it associates to certain transitive verbs but not others: e.g. /ʁlɔːk’/ ‘see’ /həʁlɔːk’/ ‘make see /

show ’ but /tiːbəɹ/ ‘break’ *hətiːbəɹ ‘make break’. Second, it associates to intransitives and renders them transitive:

/hə-nfɔːχ/ ‘to blow fire to’

/hə-sʼwɔːɹ/ ‘to make stand’

/hə-kʼkʼɛsʼə/ ‘to make dry’

Words initiated by glottal /ʔ/, when prefixed by hə-, the glottal /ʔ/ is deleted due to the co-occurrence restrictions of homorganic sounds:

/ʔɛːɖ/	→	/hɛːɖ/	‘to return’
/ʔeɪs/	→	/hɛss/	‘to make wake up’

The derivational infix /<t>/ morpheme can be classified as causative and reflexive. It induces gemination and gemination moves within the word (Simeone-Senelle, 1997). It changes the transitive verb into intransitive. The vowel preceding the infix /<t>/ is either /æ/ or /ɛ/; whereby it is followed by /ə/.The infix /<t>/ makes a medial cluster with the second radical:

/lɛ<t>kʼəf/ ‘become caught’

/sʼɛ<t>məɹ/ ‘become troubled’

/ħæ<t>ɹək/ ‘move, shake, swing’

5.3 Affixation

When analyzing processes of affixation in MQ, two types of affixation need to be addressed, including (1) non-linear (non-concatenative) affixation, (2) linear (concatenative) affixation.

5.3.1 Non-Concatenative Affixation

On morphologically analyzing the data at hand, MQ turns out to have types of morphology that are not based on combining stems and affixes, but rather on modifying the form of the stem, that are known in general as nonconcatenative morphology. MQ affixation may involve the creation or reorganization of a syllable. Usually a new syllable is created, which means that monosyllabic forms become disyllabic, whereas disyllabic forms become trisyllabic. In some cases, however, affixation instead involves a change in syllable type, whereby, for example, light syllables become heavy (Spencer, 1998; Burenhult, 2002).

As it has been mentioned repeatedly in this thesis that the MQ root , similar to the Semitic root (Schwarzwald, 2001) , is thus a core phonological and semantic unit relating the members of its morphological family by supplying the basic lexical content and the consonantal skeleton of the word. The root is a discontinuous consonantal morpheme, consisting of three-four consonantal radicals, which is not a pronounceable or semantically independent word. In order to become a word, it combines with the Semitic pattern by a process termed nonlinear affixation. The pattern supplies the interdigitated vowels, sometimes also prefixes and / or suffixes, which are all part of the pattern.

The pattern is the categorial component of the word: It classifies nouns, adjectives and verbs into semantico-syntactic classes such as causative, reflexive verb; agent, instrument, place or abstract noun, etc. Together, the root and the pattern participate in non-linear affixation which constitutes the core of Qishn Mehri:

	n ħ - ɟ	root	
C C ɑː C	. . ɑː .	pattern	
	nħɑːɟ	form	‘play’

Figure 5.2: Non-Linear Affixation in MQ

Rose (2003) and Ravid (2004) argued that infixation is clearly one type of affixations but can be subsumed under the family of nonconcatenative morphology from the perspective that it incurs a faithfulness violation. A single stem is split up into two chunks in infixation, resulting in a violation of Contiguity. It can be noted here that, and as mentioned previously, instead of affixation, inflectional morphology can involve a vowel change in the stem (ablaut) or even the use of a completely different allomorph of the stem (suppletion). Such types of morphology, that are not based on combining stems and affixes, but rather on modifying the form of the stem, are known in general as nonconcatenative morphology (Ibid) (see sections 5.4 and 5.5).

5.3.2 Concatenative Affixation

A second word-formation MQ device is the stem-and-suffix structure, which attaches a suffix to a base, usually a word, as in English. It should be noted that stems, unlike roots, contain vowels, and in MQ all stems are words. Unlike the pattern, the suffix is separate from the word and is not interdigitated with it. This morphological device is termed linear affixation, since the two morphemes are distinct and follow each other within the word. For example, the abstract suffix –t may be attached to the adjective base k'fuːd 'low' to produce kəfduːt 'low', and –tən to the noun base ʁɛʃnuːt 'a girl' to produce ʁɛʃnuːtən 'girls'.

Table 5.9: Stem and Suffix Structures (Linear Affixation)

stem	suffix phonemic shape	surface form	Gloss
ʁeɪt	-ɪ	ʁeɪtɪ	my sister
ħdiːd	-k	ħdiːdək	Your uncle
t'ɑɪ	-tən	t'juːtən	smell (n.f)
wæħɬ	-h	wæħɬəh	(he) alone
ʔeɪn	-ʃ	ʔeɪnəʃ	your eye (f)
ħnʌf	-həm	ħənfeɪhəm	themselves(m)
dɪʃuːɾəʔ	-m	dɪʃɛɾəm	they drink (m)

Linear affixation is simpler than root-and-pattern non-linear combination, since the boundary between the two linear components is clearly discernible and they are each whole morphological entities, while roots and patterns are unpronounceable, discontinuous entities (Rose, 2003).

5.4 Clitics and Cliticization

Although the term 'clitics' has been in use for long (Nida 1949.), its use in Modern South Arabian languages linguistics is quite recent and superficial. The first use of the term to designate elements which have hitherto been classified as inflectional affixes in MQ will be contained in this current study, where the so-called inflectional affixes are, on the basis of observed phonological and morphological behaviour, re-classified as clitics. A clitic can be defined as “a word which can not stand on its own and “leans” on a host word.” (Gerlach and Grijzenhout, 2000). Two types of clitics – proclitics and enclitics - are attested in human language on the basis of their position in relation to the host. Proclitics occur before their host, while enclitics occur after their host. Both types of clitics are attested in MQ. MQ clitics are phonologically bound morphemes, which may have alternate free forms occurring in prefixed, suffixed or broken shape. They belong to five particle classes: pronominals, prepositions, interrogatives, tense markers, and conjunctions, as similarly designated by (Gerlach and Grijzenhout, 2000). Proclitics and enclitics in MQ represent an outer layer of syntactically determined post-derivational morphology and are always attached to the periphery of the base.

Phonologically, most of the elements considered in the present description as clitics are characterised by the criteria that most clitics in the language have no independent stress, and their vowels are determined by the morphological status of the clitic. These criteria fit in with Zwicky's view (1992). MQ Clitics have been observed to be bound morphemes which attach syntactically to phrases, clauses or some other unit of words. This characterization conforms to Nida's definition (1949) of clitics as allomorphs of free forms. For instance, personal pronominal enclitics in MQ are allomorphs of the independent subject pronouns. This is verified in other Semitic languages Goldenberg (2005b, 2005c). In this regard, they have the property of inflectional morphemes. Morphologically, clitics in MQ, like words, are not constrained with regards to the word classes that occur adjacent to them unlike the inflectional morphemes (affixes) which are so constrained. Clitics, like words, can be found in the environment of adjacent words such as verbs, pronouns and particles, unlike affixes which are found to occur only before verbs, as in the case of prefixes, and only after nouns, as in the case of suffixes.

5.4.1 Proclitics

It has been observed that clitics play a crucial role in the morphology of MQ. The two types of clitics, proclitics and enclitics, occur in MQ. Proclitics occur basically before verbs or nouns (see 6.10.4). However, when particles also occur in the clause, they may occur after the particle and before the verb. Anyhow, clitics usually occur after the particles (enclitics see 5.3.2) such as /t-/, /h-/, /t'əɪ/, etc. Phonologically, proclitics have three interesting properties. First, their vowels are

determined predictably on morphological basis. In other words, their vowels may be mostly short /ə/ if the proclitic denotes the first person masculine singular or /ɪ/ if it denotes the third person masculine singular as shown in the table below; and the verb is in the imperfect form. All other proclitics have /ə/ except the third person masculine singular and plural. Second, they have two shapes, CV and CVC which are in complementary distribution, i.e. the CV forms and the CVC forms are not found before the same host at the same time. CVC is the only phonemic shape of the first person masculine plural pronoun prefix. It is noted also that the CV forms, first and third person masculine singulars excluded, are in free variation as illustrated in table 5.10. Third, some of them have obligatory suffix markers denoting number and gender. The different forms of proclitics are presented in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10: Forms of MQ Proclitics

Person	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Example: /tu:bɑ̃r/ 'break'**
1st	də	dən	də=tuːbəɹ / dən=tuːbəɹ
2nd m.	tə	tə	tə=tuːbəɹ / tə=tɛbɹəm
2nd f.	tə	tə	tə=teɪbəɹ/ tə=tɛbɹən
3rd m.	dɪ	dɪ	dɪ=tuːbəɹ / dɪ=tɛbɹəm
3rd f.	tə	tə	tə=tuːbəɹ / tə=tɛbɹən

Proclitics of MQ display interesting grammatical properties especially at the syntactical level. Proclitics take the place of independent subject N(oun) P(hrases) which enter into the argument structure of verbs. In the absence of subject NPs, proclitics become the sole bearer of the nominative case as the external argument of the verb. Consider the following examples:

a) hɛːt tə=seɪm mɪn ʔeɪsək
2c.sg. 2c.sg.procl.-search prep. knife-2m.poss.
'you are searching for your knife.'

b) tə=seɪm mɪn ʔeɪsək
2c.sg.procl.-search prep. knife-2m.poss.
'you are searching for your knife.'

An examination of (b) revealed that even when the subject NP, /hɛːt/ is deleted, the sentence remains grammatical. This results from the fact that the proclitic absorbs all the grammatical features of the subject NP so that the grammaticality of the sentence is not affected when the subject NP is deleted. It is interesting to note that whereas the subject NP may be dropped as a result of any pragmatic factor such as 'common knowledge between speaker and hearer about the subject NP', proclitics usually are not dropped. Thus, they act as pseudo-subjects in the absence of subject NPs. Interestingly, MQ, as a null subject variety, is similar to both North Italian dialects and Bantu languages, whereby the full presence of independent subject pronoun is optional and the subject clitic is obligatory (Cocchi, 2000).

The paucity in verb-agreement paradigms in MQ is, however, augumented by subject clitics which encode features of agreement. It has been observed in this

language that proclitics agree with subject NPs in person, number, gender, and case. These agreement features encoded in the proclitic results in the deletion of the personal pronoun in subject position, since it appears to be redundant, vocalic change in the verb and affixation to indicate gender and number. Consider examples (c, d, g, and h) .

a) hɛːt tə=tuːbəɹ lɔːħ dəʊməh
2c.sg. 2m.sg.procl.-break wood dem. '
'you are breaking this wood.'

b) hɛːt tə=teɪbəɹ lɔːħ dəʊməh
2c.sg. 2f.sg.procl.-break wood dem.
'you are breaking this wood.'

c) tə=tuːbəɹ lɔːħ dəʊməh
2m.sg.procl.-break wood dem.
'you are breaking this wood.'

d) tə=teɪbəɹ lɔːħ dəʊməh
2f.sg.procl.-break wood dem.
'you are breaking this wood.'

e) tɛːm tə=tɛbɹəm lɔːħ dəʊməh
2m.pl. 2m.pl.procl.-break-2m.pl wood dem.
'you are breaking this wood.'

f) tɛːn tə=tɛbɹən lɔːħ dəʊməh
2f.pl.2f.pl.procl.-break-2f.pl wood dem.
'you are breaking this wood.'

g) tə=tɛbɹəm lɔːħ dəʊməh
2m.pl.procl.-break-2m.pl wood dem.
'you are breaking this wood.'

h) tə=tɛbɹən lɔːħ dəʊməh
2f.pl.procl.-break-2f.pl wood dem.
'you are breaking this wood.'

Example (a and b) showed that the proclitics are 2nd person masculine and singular and 2nd person feminine and singular because the subject pronoun 'you' which receives nominative case from the verb is 2nd person and singular and which is common in gender but due to the vocalic change /uː/ into /eɪ/ it is treated as masculine in example (a) and feminine in example (b), while example (e) shows that the proclitic is 2nd person masculine and plural because the subject pronoun /tɛːm/ 'you' is 2nd person masculine and plural and the verb is suffixed by enclitic /=m=/ to denote number and gender in agreement with subject pronoun. Examples

(g) and (h) remain grammatical even with the dropping of the subject pronoun because of the agreement feature encoded in the proclitic. Given this situation, it may be concluded that proclitics are obligatory in MQ, without them no MQ exists.

It may be concluded according to the proclitics distributions presented above; each pronominal clitic appears on the head it is selected by. In this respect, cliticization is a local phenomenon in MQ which does not have a process of 'clitic climbing' such as the one found in various Romance languages (see Kayne, 1975, 1984; Rouveret and Vergnaud, 1980). This similarly applies to enclitics in the next subsection.

5.4.2 Enclitics

The hosts to enclitics in MQ are either verbs, pronouns or prepositional particles which occur as the object of intransitive or transitive verbs, and have these structures V, (V)C, CV, CVC. Like proclitics, the vowels of enclitics are morphologically determined by the clitic itself.

Like proclitics, enclitics combine with perfective verbs, pronominal affixes, and prepositional particles and contribute significantly to the grammar of MQ. Like proclitics the features of agreement, such as discussed in 5.4.1., are encoded in enclitics. The syntactic and semantic notions expressed by the enclitics that have so far been identified are perfect and imperative. The different phonemic forms of enclitics are presented in Table 5.11:

Table 5.11: Forms of MQ Perfect and Subject Enclitics

Person	Singular	Plural	Example:'know'
1st	k	ən	ʁɹɛb=k= / ʁɹuːb=ən=
2nd m.	k	kəm	ʁɹɛb=k= / ʁɹɛb=kəm=
2nd f.	ʃ	kən	ʁɹɛb=ʃ=/ ʁɹɛb=kən=
3rd m.	ø	əm	ʁɹuːb / ʁɹuːb=əm=
3rd f.	t	ø	ʁɛɹbuː=t= / ʁɹuːb

The enclitic in the above table has two morphological functions: one as a person pronominal subject marker and the second as a perfective that marks completion. It has eight morphologically conditioned allomorphs: /k/, /əm/, /kəm/, /ʃ/, /kən/, /əm/, and /t/. There are gender distinctions within these enclitic forms.

The pronominal suffix form attaches to the perfective verb denoting completion and obligatorily the features of pronominal subject sign agreement in the presence or absence of the independent subject pronoun:

a) hɒh ʃkɛf=k=
1c..sg. sleep-1c.sg.procl.
'I slept.'

b) ʃkɛf=k=
sleep-1c.sg.procl
'I slept.'

c) hɛh ʃkuːf
3m.sg. sleep
‘he slept.’

d) sɛh ʃɛkfuː=t=
3f.sg. sleep-3f.sg.procl.
‘she slept.’

e) tɛːm ʃkɛf=kəm=
2m.pl. sleep-2m.pl.procl.
‘you slept.’

f) nhɛh ʃkuːf=ən=
1c.pl. sleep-1c.pl.procl
‘we slept.’

The imperative enclitic morpheme is represented in four phonemic shapes i.e. /ø/ in the singular masculine imperative form, /əm/ for the plural masculine imperative enclitic, /ɪ/ for the singular feminine imperative enclitic, and /ən/ for the plural feminine imperative enclitic; it has V and CV structures. Exemplifications of imperative enclitics are given below:

hʌk’!
come (2m.sg. imp.)
‘come!.’

hʌk’=əm=!
come-2m.pl. imp.encl.
come!.’

hʌk’=ɪ=!
come-2f.sg. imp.encl.
‘come!.’

hʌk’=ən=!
come-2f.pl. imp.encl.
‘come!.’

Enclitics do not combine directly with transitive verbs; instead they combine with an accusative object marking particle i.e. /t-/. Each vowel is predicted according to the morphological category of the enclitic as displayed in the Table and examples below:

Table 5.12: Accusative Object Enclitics

Person	Singular	Plural	Enclitic phonemic shape
1st	-ɪ	-n	t=ɪ= / t=ən=
2nd (m.)	-k	-kəm	tuː=k=/ tiː=kəm=
2nd (f.)	-ʃ	-kən	tiː=ʃ= / tiː=kən=
3rd (m.)	-əh	-həm	t=əh / tiː=həm=
3rd (f.)	-s	-sən	tiː=s= / tiːsən

a) łɪnk tuː=k=
see-1c.sg. prep.-2m.sg.accus.encl.
'I saw you.'

b) łɪnʃ tiː=sən
see-2f.sg. prep.-3f.pl.accus.encl.
'you saw them'.

5.5 Root and Pattern Morphology of Mehri Qishn

Like other Semitic languages, MQ morphology is both highly productive and nonlinear. MQ words are formed by inserting a root morpheme, an abstract sequence of generally 3 consonants, in a word pattern containing vowels, and sometimes, additional consonants (Berent et al, 2002; Shimron, 2003; Ibid). The root itself is not an independent word, but it may be realized in several words that are morphologically (and often semantically) related (Ephratt, 2002, 2003). These words are generated by inserting the root into one of several verbal and nominal

word patterns, called CV tier. As an example of root-and-pattern morphology, consider the Mehri root /ltʁ/, as displayed in table 5.13 below:

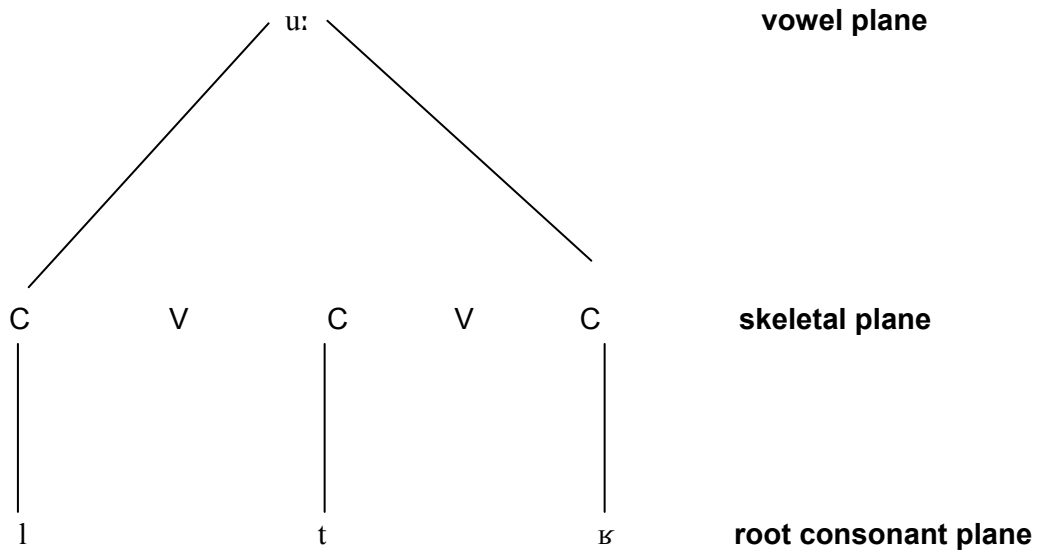
Table 5.13: An Illustration of some of the Derivations of the Root [l t]

Phonological form	meaning	word pattern
√ltʁ	killed	ltuːʁ
√ltʁ	be killed	lɪtiːʁ
√(də)ltʁ	a killer (m)	dəltuːʁ
√ltʁ	killing (n)	luːtəʁ

The root √ltʁ conveys the general meaning of killing. This root may form the verb /ltuːʁ/, he killed, by inserting it into a prosodic pattern that is characteristic of the third person, masculine, singular, past tense form .i.e., CCuːC. Similarly, the noun /dəltuːʁ/, a killer, is formed by inserting the root √ltʁ in a dəCCuːC noun template. Each of these words, in turn, may further be subjected to a rich inflectional system. Specifically, the root √ltʁ may be conjugated in several verb patterns. The second characteristic of MQ morphology, its nonlinearity (Berent and Shimron, 1997), may prove an obstacle for morphological decomposition. In MQ, the root morpheme and the word pattern are not linearly discrete units. Instead, they are interwoven, temporally co-occurring entities. Thus, root consonants are

often interrupted by a series of vowels, and sometimes, additional nonroot consonant, provided by the prosodic template. The structure of MQ words is well captured by nonlinear autosegmental theories of phonology. Autosegmental theories of phonology represent phonological constituents on distinct levels of representation, i.e., planes (Goldsmith, 1976; Berent and Shimron, 1997). These planes are interconnected by the skeleton, a sequence of timing units. In our example, the root √ltʁ is represented on a single plane, whereas the vowels are represented on a separate plane. These planes are interconnected by the skeleton, which specifies the word patterns of /ltuːʁ/ and /dəltuːʁ/ as shown in Fig. 5.3 below.

a: ltuːʁ



b: dəltuːʁ

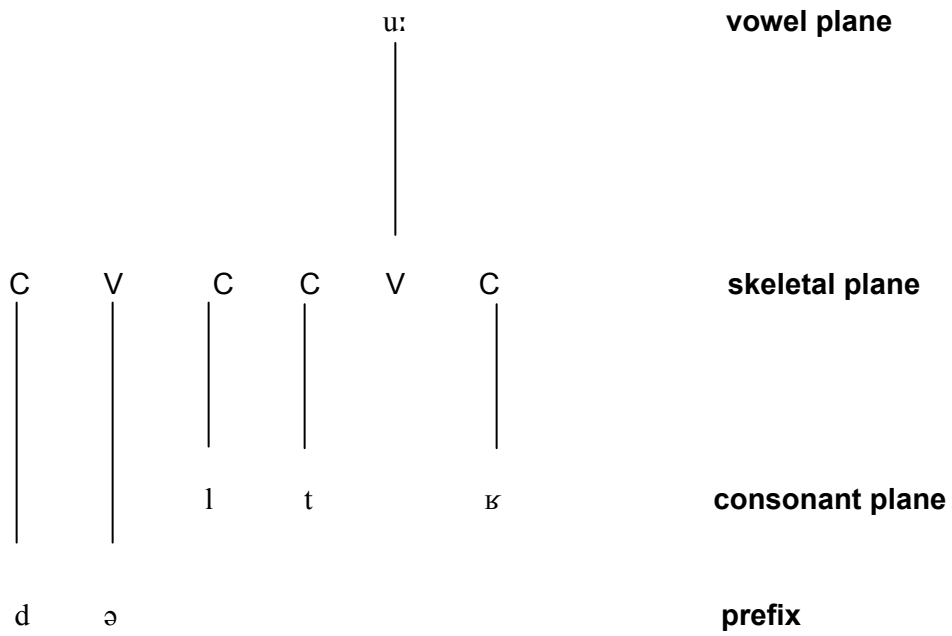


Figure 5.3: Non-Linear Representation of Root and Pattern Forms, Adapted from Berent and Shimron (1997)

The representations of the words /ltuːʁ/ and /dəltuːʁ/ as noted in the above figure; each representation specifies a skeleton, a root consonants plane and a vowel plane. Root consonants are thus represented as a single constituent separately from the vowels and any non-root consonants. This representation neatly captures the fact that, despite their temporal discontinuity, root consonants and vowels each form distinct morphemic constituents.

5.6 Segmental Processes in MQ

5.6.1 Stem Modification

‘‘One way of handling a phonologically conditioned alternation is to set up a basic form which undergoes a modification where necessary’’ (Matthews 1974, p. 97). The same is true for morphologically conditioned alternations like English man–men (Ibid. p. 128). In this section a structural interpretation of stem modification is presented to express the morphologically conditioned alternations in MQ stems. Morphological relations expressed by a phonological process cannot be accounted for by a simple concatenation of morphemes. Only root-pattern formation rules would account for these relations in MQ.

Matthews (1974) and Anderson (1992), as cited in Bat-El (2003), provided extensive discussions on this type of morphology and conclude that morphological relations should be expressed by operations (or processes). Ephratt (2003) came to the conclusion that the essence of grammatical theory is not the nature of input

(the “base” models) but the operations stimulated by this or that formation. An operation can be an addition of phonological material, i.e. affixation, as well as an application of a phonological rule, e.g. vocalic alternation (apophony), metathesis, or deletion (truncation), and other examples of stem modifications. According to Ephratt (2003), this yields a modern, revised, item and process (IP) model, which is elaborated in Chapter two. This view is also adopted in the following analysis and description of morphological operations in Mehri of Qishn.

5.6.1.1 Substitution of Segments

5.6.1.1.1 Apophony

Apophony is dominant in the Semitic morphology of MQ. Apophony refers to phonological alternations which are morphologically conditioned, also known as ablaut or gradation, in this case vocalic alternation (Beard, 1998; Spencer, 1998). This type of stem modification is well attested in Semitic languages as asserted by Beard (1998) and Spencer (1998), whereby lexical items in those languages comprise consonants only, and vowels are used to mark morphological functions (Ibid). In this type of stem modification, some additional Morphological content is signaled not by the addition of a material to the base, but rather by a change in some vowel or consonant of the base. There is no natural way to treat the added element of meaning in the derived forms as the result of an additional morpheme of the classical sort (Anderson, 1992). For instance, plurality in MQ may be marked by lengthening a short vowel in the base or by changing the quality of the vowel as displayed in Table 5.14. This process represents a kind of apophonic relation.

Table 5.14: Vowel Alternations (Apophony) in MQ

singular	plural	gloss	vowel alternation
mbeɪl	mbɔːl	'dog / dogs'	/eɪ-ɔː/
ɬɪtɹuːɹ	ɬɪtɹiːɹ	'swamp/swamps'	/uː-iː/
hɛːχəɹ	hɛχɑːɹ	'old man/old men'	/ə-ɑː/
k'ət'ɪf	k'ət'ɔːf	'wing / wings'	/ɪ-ɔː/
ħeɪb	ħəʊb	'father / fathers'	/eɪ-əʊ/

5.6.1.1.2 Suppletion

According to Veselinova (2003), the term suppletion is typically used to refer to the phenomenon whereby regular semantic and/or grammatical relations are encoded by unpredictable formal patterns. Standard examples are expressions of comparative and superlative degrees of the English adjectives good and bad, or the present and past tense forms of the English verb go.

a) POSITIVE COMPARATIVE SUPERLATIVE

good better best

bad worse worst

b) PRESENT PAST

go went

Suppletive forms can also be found in nominal inflection, as for instance the formation of plural forms illustrated below by several MQ words. Simeone-Senelle (1997) mentioned suppletion as one of MQ word formation processes. The examples of suppletives in MQ below are first-hand data collected by the researcher.

Table 5.15: Suppletive Plural Forms in MQ

MQ word (singular)	**suppletive form (plural)**	**gloss**
ħuːz	hæɹuːn	‘goat / goats’
ħɛɹmɛːt	ʔɛɟzuːn	‘woman / women’
suːf	ʔæswɪft	‘mattress / mattresses’
ʁeɪɟ	hæbuː	‘person / people’
hɒh	nhɛh	‘I / we’
hɛːt	tɛːm	‘you / you (pl.)’
sɛh	sɛːn	‘she / they (f.)’

5.6.1.1.3 Reduplication

Reduplication in MQ can be taken to be an instance of templatic derivation, or in other words, a strategy of word formation. The pattern of MQ reduplication has never been looked into very attentively nor studied in previous research. Graf (2005) pointed out that previous research on templates, and especially on reduplication showed that the non-concatenative nature of Semitic languages,

which was taken to be cross-linguistically unique, can be brought closer to the grammar of other studied languages. Reduplication is defined in the sense that all reduplicated expression contains a string (not necessarily contiguous) that can be identified as repeated segments (Katamba, 1993; Raimy, 2000; Graf, 2005). This is referred to as the 'reduplicant', and the remainder of the expression, which can commonly be identified with an unreduplicated counterpart, as the 'base' (Ibid).

Based on the above argument, Broselow and McCarthy (1983) had the assumption that most Semitic languages have a phenomenon of reduplication of biconsonantal roots. In some modern South Arabian dialects, particularly those of the Mehri Yemeni part, there is a parallel process of reduplication in biconsonantal roots, usually with a pluralistic mark meaning (Corbett, 2000). The biconsonantal root reduplications seem formally quite distinct at first glance, which can be observed from the data below.

Turning to the bi-radical roots like √bk' in which nominal partial reduplication yields /bɛk'ɔːk'/ from the unmarked noun /bɛk'/ 'anus', which is subject to morphophonemic alternation. As was demonstrated according to McCarthy's theory (1981), the unmarked noun is derived not only by partial reduplication with its concomitant phonemic melody copying but rather by rightward autosegmental spreading of the second root consonant, filling up the vacant final C slot of a CVCVːC template. Reduplicative suffixation, called so by Katamba (1993), involves the addition of an underspecified consonant

segment at the right edge of the monosyllable (final syllable) CVC string of the base preceded by a long vowel. This underspecified slot is filled by a copy of the final consonant of the CVC string, which corresponds to the coda of the underlying monosyllable base; hence the term coda copy, following the terminology introduced in Burenhult (2002), may be used to refer to this process. In the present description, coda copy is explained as the result of reduplication of the final consonant of CVC stem and the right-to-left association of its consonant segment with vacant final C slot of a CVCVːC template. This coincides with Bat-El's (2006) argument that reduplicated stems, like most non-reduplicated native stems, are disyllabic, conforming to the minimal and maximal bound of the minimal word constrain. Therefore, reduplication is often motivated by the requirement to form a disyllabic stem, i.e. a minimal word (Bat-El 1994, 1995, Ussishkin 1999, 2000), as cited in (Bat-El, 2006).

In the following procedural description based on Broselow and McCarthy's (1983) Mapping Principles in Reduplication, the copying process is illustrated by MQ monosyllabic noun /bɛkʼ/ 'anus (s.)', the underlying structure of which is CVC, and its disyllabic plural form /bɛkʼɔːkʼ/ 'anus (pl.)'.

a. C V C

b ɛ kʼ

(/bɛkʼ/ is underlying representation of the root.)

b. C V C - V C

b ɛ k’ ɔː

(Attach a suffix template to the right edge of the base CVC which has a preassociated /ɔː/ vowel and unlinked C.)

c. C V C - V C

b ɛ k’ ɔːbɛk’

(Copy phonemic melody of the base after /ɔː/ of the VC suffix.)

d. C V C - V C

b ɛ k’ ɔː b ɛ k’

(Do right-to-left association, which is the norm in suffixes, as opposed to left-to-right association in prefixes (Katamba, 1993.)

e. C V C - V C

b ɛ k’ ɔː b ɛ k’

(Use a universal convention (Katamba, 1993.) to delete any segment unattached to CV slots and any CV slots unassociated with segments.)

f. Output: bɛk’ɔːk’

Figure 5.4: Nominal Reduplication in MQ, Adapted from Katamba (1993)

5.6.1.1.4 Subtractive Morphology

Subtractive morphology process marks morphological category by removing segments from the base (Spencer, 1998). The shape of the base cannot be predicted from the shape of the derived form. Subtractive morphology presents a remarkable aspect of word formation in MQ. MQ subtractive morphology mostly marks pluralisation process. On the basis of the first-hand data available, many illustrations of MQ subtractive forms have been elicited:

Table 5.16: Subtractive Forms in MQ

Singular form	**Plural form**	**Gloss**
fuːlʊ	fluː	'offspring of cow, sg. / pl'
ʔʌk'wiːt	ʔʌk'iːw	'buttock / buttocks'
ltʁəʊt	ltəʊʁ	'killer / killers (f.)'
lɛbniːt	leɪbɛn	'white f. sg./ pl.'

It is remarkable in the subtractive forms in the table above that metathesis co-occurs too with the vowels or consonants of some of these forms e.g. /fluː/ in which /l/ is metathesized over the long vowel /uː/.

5.6.1.1.5 Consonant-vowel compensatory metathesis in MQ

As described by Blevins and Garrett (1998, p. 527), as cited in Macelaru (2004), consonant-vowel compensatory metathesis is a process by which, before being lost, a peripheral vowel undergoing phonetic weakening is compensatorily coarticulated or copied, over a consonant, in the position of the stressed nonperipheral vowel. The final result of vowel coarticulation can be either the diphthongization or the partial or total assimilation of the word-internal vowel. In Semitic languages there are obvious cases of vowel coarticulation followed by the loss of peripheral vowel that is incidence of compensatory metathesis (Macelaru, 2004). Traces of similar processes are found in MQ.

Macelaru (2004) argued that if a vowel migrating to the interior of a word through compensatory metathesis is the sole and the exclusive device by which a morpheme is expressed and if its compensatory metathesis is not prosodically, phonologically or lexically restricted, then a vocalic infix (also called ablaut or inner flexion) will arise. In Modern South Arabian languages, however, instances of true internalization of external morphology have been found (Ibid). Thus, Mehri of Qishn has developed infixes to express second-person singular feminine subjects in the imperfect as can be seen in the examples below:

/təteɪbəɹ/ ‘you (fem.) break’ vs. /tətuːbəɹ/ ‘you (masc.) break’.

The form /təteɪbəɹ/ goes back, according to Macelaru (2004), to a form which is probably to be reconstructed as *tVtɛbVɹi̯ː (where V stands for a short vowel whose quality cannot be determined with certainty). The suffix -i̯ː rendering

feminine lost its phonetic length and, in order to avoid its imminent and irretrievable disappearance, it was anticipatorily coarticulated in the position of the preceding stressed vowel. Good evidence in favor of such a change is offered by the fact that, in the Mehri dialects of Mahra and Dhofar, the form with internal /t- … V may have added to it the suffix /-iː/ (Simeone-Senelle 1997; Macelaru, 2004), the latter representing nothing but the previous stage of the process of compensatory metathesis, when the loss of the final vowel had not yet taken place.

5.6.1.1.6 Replacive Morphology

According to Spencer (1998), replacive morphology can be defined in terms of the replacement of part of a morpheme by another phoneme string. MQ morphology has been found out in having this type of replacement morphology at the level of noun pluralization. Based on the current data of this study, the following examples clearly display this morphological process:

/təbbəʊkʾət/	‘whip sg.n.’ vs.	/təbbəʊkʾəkʾ/	‘whips pl.n’
/mənɮeɪf/	‘mattress sg.n’ vs.	/ʔənɮfuːtən/	‘mattresses pl.n’

5.7 Summary

Schramm (1991) wrote that “the conventional statement of Semitic morphological typology for the last thousand years or so has always reflected the view that all verbs and most nouns are to be derived by a process of interdigitating discontinuous consonantal root morphemes, expressing lexical content, and

vocalic pattern morphemes which express grammatical content." (Ibid, p. 1402). This is the standard view in the background of all past and current work.

This Chapter describes a number of issues, not studied previously, in the MQ word formation morphology. It started by determining the morphological units in MQ such as roots, stems, bases, lexemes, affixes, etc. Following the objectives of the study, this chapter answered the three research questions throughout all the chapter by defining the underlying morpheme, then describing its phonemic shape of occurrence , and lastly describing how this morpheme is internally formed and distributed using illustrations, exemplifications, and tabulated paradigms. The rest of the whole chapter flows over describing the empirical morphological operations inherent in the MQ morphological system such as affixation, cliticization, root and pattern morphology in MQ, and all relevant segmental processes i.e. stem modification, apophony, suppletion, subtractive morphology, etc. Description of these nonconcatenative processes should be regarded as one of the main contributions achieved by the current research. Previous academic and systematic studies on MQ have not existed at all. This may have left main aspects of MQ morphology unknown and liable to extinction, has not a comprehensive study based on first-hand data such as this current one been carried out.

Processes like blending, clipping, etc. have not been captured in the data at hand. Further research in this dialect MQ may be expected to record such processes. Moreover, the focus of the current research has been directed mainly to the essential prominent morphological processes in MQ.

CHAPTER SIX

MORPHOLOGICAL DATA: NOMINAL WORD CLASSES

6.1 Introduction

This section describes nominal word classes in MQ and the morphological categories associated with them. Nominal word classes are those whose members function primarily as elements in the noun phrase (Rijkhoff, 2004). They include nouns (6.2), personal pronouns (6.3), demonstratives (6.4), numerals / quantifiers (6.5), and interrogatives (6.6), which may be either heads or modifiers in the noun phrase. The section also includes a description of coordinating morphemes within the noun phrase (6.7), notably relative markers. Prepositions, operating at noun phrase level, are also treated here as a nominal class (6.11). The description focuses on the identification and semantic characterization of word classes and their categories. Adequate reference is made to morphological processes, where relevant. As mentioned in chapter 5 earlier regarding how to describe the morphological data applicably enough to answer the research questions. The same scheme will be tackled here in defining and describing a nominal morpheme, describing its phonemic shape and its internal distribution by using tabulated paradigms, diagrams, and illustrations of sentences and nominal phrases.

6.2 Nouns

Nouns form a semantically well-defined word class in MQ. MQ is a highly synthetic Semitic language with a rich morphology. This has both semantic and morpho-phonological consequences: nouns and adjectives are obligatorily inflected

for gender and number; verbs and prepositions are obligatorily inflected for gender, number and person (verbs also for tense). In addition, there is fully productive and less productive optional bound inflectional morphology such as possessive markers and accusative inflection. Derivational morphology is also rich and varied with a large array of derivational affixes of various structures and with an extremely complex root, stem and affix allomorphy.

The noun in MQ is marked for gender (masculine and feminine), number (singular, dual, and plural), and case (nominative, accusative, and genitive). But definiteness seems to be obsolete in MQ. After morphological analysis of the synchronic data recorded by the current study, a definite article probably does not occur in MQ. MQ speakers usually use a demonstrative pronoun to define a certain nominal item. Masculine gender is unmarked, while feminine singular nouns are usually marked with the suffix –(V)t. The vowel preceding the feminine marker morpheme is /ə/, /iː/, /uː/, or /eɪ/. MQ nouns are divided into those that have a "sound plural" (regular plural) or external plurals (Simeone-Senelle, 1997), and those with "broken plural" (irregular plural) or internal plurals (Ibid). Nouns that have a sound plural, form it with a special suffix, whereas the broken plurals are formed according to several different patterns or templates (Corbett, 2000), e.g. /mbeɪl/ ‘dog’ /mbɔːl/ ‘dogs’, /ktuːb/ ‘book’ /kɪtbeɪn/ ‘books’, /bɔːb/ ‘door’ /həbwiːbət/ ‘doors’.

The data in the current research verifies the fact that only nominal dual is still alive in MQ. Johnstone (1975) claimed that the dual is obsolete in the Modern

South Arabian languages, except in Soqotri. Yet, Simeone-Senelle (1997) confirmed the existence of nominal dual in MQ. Moreover, Simeone-Senelle (1997) claimed that in the Mehri language of Qishn and the surrounding area, there are no dual pronouns i.e. pronominal and verbal duals are obsolete. The dual marker, according to Simeone-Senelle (1997), for nouns is the suffix -ɪ. In MQ dual nouns are usually followed by the numeral 2. The speakers do not consider this -ɪ as a nominal suffix, but as a numeral prefix; /ħɛɹmɛːt ɪ-tɹiːt/ 'two women' (Ibid) is pronounced [/ħɛɹˈmɛːt ɪ-ˈtɹiːt]; /nhɔːɹ ɪ-tɹiːt/ 'two days' [ˈnhɔːɹ ɪ-ˈtɹiːt].

Nominal compounds are fairly common. These consist of a construction of two free nominal morphemes, mostly bound by the particle dɪ-. Names of animals such as crawling ones consist of a compound with the generic name of this class as head e.g.:

1. k'æbɔːn dɪ ħɪleɪg
   crawling animal type of scorpion
   'a type of scorpion.'

Furthermore, a handful of locative nouns may combine with other nouns in compound-like constructions where the locative noun forms the head. Such locative nouns signal a particular location in relation to the referent of the modifying noun. These constructions are frequently best translated into English as

prepositional phrases. Locative nouns include /nχælɪ/ ‘underside’, /fənuːn/ ‘front’, /t’əɹ/ ‘above’, /bɹək/ ‘inside’, /sɪɹ/ ‘back, behind’. Examples are given below:

2. nχælɪ łɪɟɹiːt
under.side tree
‘under side of tree’ / ‘under the tree’

3. bɹək biːt
inside house
inside of house’ / ‘inside the house’

4. fənuːn jɪmʃɪ [ˈfnɛmʃɪ]
before yesterday
‘before yesterday’

Syntactically, nouns form part of noun phrases, where they may function either as heads, genitive, nominative, accusative, or as modifiers. As modifiers they generally represent a modifying possessor of a possessed head noun in constructions that are reminiscent of compounds, as in the following compounds:

5. biːt ʔɛlɪ
genit.house Ali
‘Ali’s house’

6. bɛɹ ʔəmʌj
genit.son ʔmj (proper name)
‘ʔəmʌj’s son’

7. mɔːtəɹ də hɒh
car of I
‘car of mine / my car’

8. bɔːlɪ ɹɔːɹəm
owner sea
‘seamen’

9. ʁeɪɟ dəʁɔːlək’ ʁɛɟnuːtən
man nom. 3m.sg.-see girl accus.

‘the man sees the girl.’

The above examples show the morphological forms which a MQ noun may take such as the nominative singular, nominative plural, genitive singular, genitive plural, accusative singular, and accusative plural. Most MQ words have a form for each of these case/number combinations (see the following sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2). Nominative and accusative cases in MQ appear in unmarked contexts: that is, in isolation, in subject position and object (accusative) position such as example (9) above. The genitive construction in MQ consists of the juxtaposition of the possessed and possessor in that order. The possessor appears in the genitive case and the possessed appears in whichever case a simple noun would otherwise appear. In (7) the possessed appears in the nominative because a simple noun in isolation appears in the nominative.

The following sections start describing noun number inflections, beginning with the phonemic shapes of singular nouns (6.2.1), then the derivative categories that are marked morphologically on the noun. These include canonic patterns of feminine and masculine plural (6.2.2).

6.2.1. The Phonemic Shape of Singular Noun Morphemes

The phonemic shapes of singular nouns are displayed in the form of canonical patterns. Several main patterns for singular nouns have been recorded in the current research, e.g.

a) CɛCC

√sk’f	→	/sɛk’f/	‘roof’
√ʁlk’	→	/ʁɛlk’/	‘eyelid’
√shm	→	/sɛhm/	‘big stick’

b) CɛCəC

√hɹh	→	/hɛɹəh/	‘head’
√ɟðʔ	→	/ɟɛðəʔ/	‘log’
√ʔs’b	→	/ʔɛs’əb/	‘constipation’
√dk’l	→	/dɛk’əl/	‘vertical stick’

c) CɔːCC

√ɹnɟ	→	/ɹɔːnɟ/	‘paint’
√ʁɹt	→	/ʁɔːɹt/	‘fighting’

d) CɔːCəC

√χdm	→	/χɔːdəm/	‘servant’
√k’bl	→	/k’ɔːbəl/	‘wood stick’
√hbʔ	→	/hɔːbəʔ/	‘seven (f)’

e) CCɛ(ɒ)C

√bɬɹ	→	/bɬɛɹ/	‘sick’
√ħmh	→	/ħmɒh/	‘water’
√tɹh	→	/tɹɒh/	‘two’

√nhh	→	/nhɛh/	‘we’

g) Cæ(ɪ)Ci(u, ɔ)ːC

√k’bn	→	/k’æbiːn/	‘a crawling animal’
√dʁs	→	/dæʁuːs/	‘pepper’
√ʔɹɮ	→	/ʔæɹiːɮ/	‘offspring of a goat’
√ħmt’	→	/ħɪmɔːt’/	‘money paid by tribe against murder’

h) CCɑ(ɔ, i)ːC

√ɹʁt’	→	/ɹʁɑːt’/	‘a pregnant she-camel’
√ɬχf	→	/ɬχɔːf/	‘milk’
√zʁf	→	/zʁɑːf/	‘tea material’
√mdt	→	/mdiːt/	‘sea winds’

i) Cu(ɔ)ːCɪ(ʊ, æ)

√lð	→	/luːðɪ/	‘in my direction’
√fl	→	/fuːlʊ/	‘offspring of a cow’
√ʃb	→	/ʃiːbæ/	‘seven’
√t(θ)d	→	/t(θ)ɔːdɪ/	‘breast’
√χl	→	/χɔːlɪ/	‘a divorced man’

j) Cɒ(ɛ, ə, ʌ)C

√χh	→	/χɒh/	‘mouth’
√ht	→	/hɛt/	‘six’
√sh	→	/sɛh/	‘she’
√ʔf	→	/ʔʌf/	‘wind mixed with soil’

k) Ci(ɔ)ːC

√t’n	→	/t’iːn/	‘soil’
√ht	→	/hɛːt/	‘you’
√bb	→	/bɔːb/	‘door’
√bɹ	→	/biːɹ/	‘a well’

l) CɛCCu(i, ɔ)ːC

√ɹħbt	→	/ɹɛħbiːt/	‘town’
√ɹʁwt	→	/ɹɛʁwuːt/	‘foam’
√ɹbtt	→	/ɹɛbtuːt/	‘milk foam’
√k’ndl	→	/k’ɛndɔːl/	‘the power of men’

m) CɛCCCiːC

√ʔnfst	→	/ʔɛnfsiːt/	‘parted teeth’
√ʔnχlt	→	/ʔɛnχliːt/	‘sieve’

6.2.2 The Plural Nouns in MQ

Nouns in MQ form their plurals either by suffixation or by an internal change in the word. The suffixed plural, also called sound plural (Corbett, 2000), is formed by the affixation of a plural gender-number marking suffix to the singular form. Examples are given below to show the plural suffix morphemes, their phonemic shape and their internal distribution:

Table 6.1: External (Suffixed) Plural Nouns in MQ

Singular form	Plural form	Gloss
a) hæmm	hæmmuːtən	'mother / mothers'
b) mɛnɮeɪf	ʔɪnɮfuːtən	'mattress/ mattresses'
c) hɛlkiːt	hɛlkuːtən	'sea / seas'
d) ʔɔːk'əl	ʔʌk'əleɪt	'clever(s.m)/clever(m. pl)
e) ʔæk'ɛlt	ʔʌk'əluːt	'clever (f.s) / clever (f.s)
f) ɟɛmɦɛːt	ɟəmɛɦtən	'lizard'
g) dəltuːʁ	dəltəʊʁəm	'killer / killers (m)'

As noted in the Table above, the suffixes -tən, -t, and (ə)n which appear in examples (a), (b), and (d) are the most frequent feminine plural allomorphs in the language of Mehri Qishn. These allomorphs may mostly be accompanied by a vocalic change in the stem. Some masculine nouns have also the plural suffix –t which appears in examples (c) and (e). As shown in example (f), the suffix –m is a masculine plural marker; whereas example (g) displays subtractive morphological process, t in the feminine singular is subtracted to form the plural noun. According to McCarthy's theory (1979), the plural forms of these nouns are derived via a morphological rule which attaches the plural suffix to the singular base form. These plural forms are produced by regular processes. Their singular forms are hypothesized to be represented in the lexicon dominated by the consonantal root.

6.2.3 The Phonemic Shape of Internal Plural Nouns

Although the sound/suffixed plural is quite regular and transparent, it is not the most frequently occurring plural form in the language. Rather, the most frequent form is the broken plural (internal plural) (Simeone-Senelle, 1997), a form that exhibits a wide variety of unpredictable stem-internal changes. The singular pattern is modified but does not have an affix.

Table 6.2: Distribution and Phonemic Shapes of Internal Plurals

Singular form	Plural form	internal plural pattern phonemic shape	Gloss
bɛk'ɹeɪt	bk'ɑːɹ	CCɑːC	'cow / cows'
s'ɔːwɛɹ	s'wɛːɹ	CCɛːC	'stone / stones'
k'əfeɪt	k'fiːf	CCiːC	'basket / baskets'
k'æfəl	k'fuːl	CCuːC	'lock / locks'
mɛk't'ɑːt	mk'ɔːt'əʔ	CCɔːCəC	'saw / saws'
fɛndək'	fnɔːdək'	CCɔːCəC	'hotel / hotels'
fənʃɔːn	fnæʃɛnt	CCæCɛCC	'cup / cups'
mɪzħæt	mzɔːħɪ	CCɔːCɪ	'hoe / hoes'

As it can be seen in the first four examples in Table 6.2, even though both plural forms share internal structure CCɛ(i, ɑ, u)ːC, their singular forms are different. The singular pattern is modified but does not have an affix. The pattern CCɛ(i, ɑ, u)ːC is the most common plural pattern of many feminine singulars (Simeone-Senelle, 1997). All other examples present similar idiosyncratic features. According to McCarthy (1979), broken plural forms are not derived structurally from their singulars as is the case with the sound/suffixed plurals. Rather, they are listed separately in a linking relationship of immediate dominance and carry the

idiosyncratic feature (Corbett, 2000). That vowel length encodes plurality is evident within the nominal system where the bulk of the broken plurals share, the feminine plural pattern in particular, by having a long vowel (CCɛ(i, ɑ, u)ːC) as shown in the diagram below, C and (.) refer to consonants and (-) refers to a vowel in all coming pattern figures in Chapters 6 & 7:

	sʼw-ɹ	root	
CCɛːC	. . ɛː .	pattern	
	sʼwɛːɹ	form	‘stones’

Figure 6.1: A Non-Linear Representation of Feminine Plural Noun Pattern in MQ

Like other Semitic languages, some MQ singular nouns have two or three surface consonants, but when they are pluralized they are synchronically assumed to contain, three or four elements. The third / fourth root segment is either a glide /j/ or /w/. These ‘weak’ segments are inserted within other elements in the plural noun root, causing palatalization or vowel fronting in the case of /j/, or labialization or vowel rounding in the case of /w/. Some examples of plural nouns with glides /j, w/ are shown below:

Table 6.3: Plural Nouns with Glides /j, w/

Singular form	Plural form	internal plural pattern phonemic shape	Gloss
ʁeɪɟ	ʁjuːɟ	C(j)uːC	‘man / men’
sɔːb	swuːb	C(w)uːC	‘wound / wounds’
ʔəwiːɹ	ʔəwjuːːɹ	CVC(j)uːC	‘blind / blind (pl.m)
ɹɔːɹəm	ɹwɛːɹəm	C(w)ɛːCəC	‘sea / seas’
ɹɛd	ɹwiːd	C(w)iːC	‘reddish, s / pl’
hɛɹk’	hɛɹwuːk’	CɛC(w)uːC	‘thief / thieves’
k’eɪd	k’juːd	C(j)uːC	‘rope / ropes’

Simeone-Senelle (1997) considered vocalic opposition as a common sign of internal plural. As a matter of fact, it is a type of apophonic relationship (see 5.6.1.1.1).

Some singular forms are prefixed by glottal h- in addition to being internally or externally pluralized. This process is similar to internal plural Arabic which is

prefixed by glottal ʔ- e.g. /bæb/ → /ʔʌbwæb/ ‘door / doors’. Then it may be infixed by glides /j/ or /w/ e.g.:

Table 6.4: Internal Plurals Prefixed by h-

Singular form	**Plural form**	**Gloss**
bɔːb	həbwiːbət	‘door / doors’
liːχ	həlɪjæχt	‘net / nets’
feɪɬəl	həfɬɔːl	‘work / works’
ɹɪbæ	həɹbæt	‘friend / friends’
ʃkeɪ	həʃkeɪt	‘sword / swords’
biːɹ	həbjɔːɹ	‘well / wells’
lɔːħ	həlwiːħ	‘board / boards’

Matthews (1969) argued that the prefix /hə-/ is a definitezer claiming that it is similar to the glottal Arabic /ʔ/. He went on criticizing the Vienna expedition members who did not attest this fact in Mehri. The researcher argues that the glottal Arabic /ʔ/ is wrongly claimed to be a definitezer. In /bæb/ → /ʔʌbwæb/ ‘door / doors’ Arabic process of pluralisation, augmenting the singular noun by prefixing it

with /ʔ/ and inserting a glide /w/ occurs according to Arabic pluralisation, not a difinitization, rules. To difinitize /ʔʌbwæb/, add the affix /ʔəl/ to it initially: /ʔəlʔʌbwæb/ (Versteeg, 1997). This seems to be similar to MQ as shown in the Table above; but based on the analysis of the synchronic morphological data of the current study, there is no definitization in MQ.

6.3 Verb-to-Noun Derivation

6.3.1 Nominalising /eɪn/

A denominal derivational process has been uncovered in MQ under the current research. It has never been noted before. Cross-linguistically, Spencer (2005) argued that there are two aspects to deverbal nominalisation. On the one hand, the derived word loses some of its verbal morphosyntactic properties, while on the other hand it gains certain nominal properties.

Affixation of /eɪn/ in verbs typically derives verbal nouns which denote the state of being or act / manner / way of doing whatever is denoted by the verb. The process is fully productive and may be applied to any verb. The affix here will be labeled nominaliser (NM). Nominalised verbs behave syntactically like ordinary nouns and become NP heads or modifying nouns of NP heads. The morphological processes involved occur by root and pattern in templatic bases. A VVC affix consisting of the prespecified /eɪn/ attaches as a suffix to the right edge of the monosyllabic templatic string of the base. The initial cluster of the base is

epenthesised by the predictable vowel /ə/ or /ɪ/. The stress is usually born by the suffixed syllable. Examples include the following; all verbs are given in the 3rd person masculine singular perfective unless otherwise specified:

/ltuːʁ/	'kill'	/lɪtʁeɪn/	'act of killing'
/hɹuːk'/	'steal'	/hɪɹk'eɪn/	'act of stealing'
/ʁluːk'/	'see'	/ʁɪlk'eɪn/	'act of seeing'

The first set of nouns surveyed above occurs in the template-suffix combination of CɪCCeɪn as shown in Figure 6.2 below. These nouns are clearly deverbal. They denote the action which is initiated at the endpoint of the process denoted by the verb. For example, the verb /ltuːʁ/ means kill. The related noun /lɪtʁeɪn/ means act of killing, i.e., the action resulting from kill.

	l - t ʁ	root	
CɪCCeɪn	. ɪ . . eɪn	pattern	
	lɪtʁeɪn	form	'act of killing'

Figure 6.2: Templatic Representation of MQ Deverbal Nouns

6.4 Adjective-to-Noun Derivation

6.4.1 Nominalising /eɪn/

This is a similar nominal derivation process occurs with adjectives. Affixation of /eɪn/ in adjectives typically derives deadjectival nouns which denote the state of being whatever is denoted by the adjective. The morphological processes involved are identical to those described for verb-to-noun derivation (6.3). Examples include the following:

/sʾeɪləħ/	‘fat’	/sʾɛlħeɪn/	‘the state of being fat’
/mɛtʾkʾ/	‘sweet’	/mɛtʾkʾeɪn/	‘the state of being sweet’
/ʔɔːfəɹ/	‘red’	/ʔɛfɹeɪn/	‘the state of being red’

	ʔ - f ɹ	root	
CɛCCeɪn	. ɛ . . eɪn	pattern	
	ʔɛfɹeɪn	form	‘state of being red’

Figure 6.3: Templatic Representation of MQ Deadjectival Nouns

As noted above, deverbal and deadjectival nouns in MQ typically name the general activity or state designated by the verb or the adjective respectively. All deverbal and deadjectival nouns appear to be able to have this interpretation. In the terminology of Comrie and Thompson (1985), cited in Burenhult (2002), and Spencer (2005) for example, such general deverbal and deadjectival nouns are referred to as action / state nominalizations.

The researcher advises for further in-depth studies on other nominalizations that may denote different roles associated with the nominalised categories that may be also present in MQ.

6.5 Diminutive Nouns in MQ

Diminutive infixation in the nominal system of MQ applies to nouns only based on the data obtained by the researcher. Infixation renders nouns a diminutive meaning. The purpose of the operation is the formation of a new stem with the assigned diminutive meaning. Examples of diminutive nominal infixation for nouns are given below:

/sʾɛkʾɛɹ/	‘falcon’	/sʾʊwwɛkʾɑːɹ/	‘little falcon’
/ʁʌj/	‘my brother’	/ʁʊwwɛniːn/	‘my little brother’
/hɛːχəɹ/	‘old man’	/hʊwwɛχɑːɹ/	‘little old man’
/kʾæfəl/	‘lock’	/kʾʊwwɛfiːl/	‘little lock’
/bɔːb/	‘door’	/bʊwwɛbiːl/	‘little door’

From a traditional perspective infixed forms are defined by a template, which determines a specific CV-form and contains a specific vocalic melody. In terms of syllabic structure the template has the properties of being (i) trisyllabic; (ii) containing the vowels /ʊ/, /ɛ/, /iː/, or /ɑː/. /ʊ/ and /ɛ/ always predictably occur in the first and second syllables respectively. In terms of segmental make-up the template has the form:

CʊwwɛCi(ɑ):C (CVwwVCV : C)

A template is a rigid construct where consonants and vowels have to fit into a given shape (Bat-El, 2003). Diminutive infixes fit a geminated weak consonant /w/ into a disyllabic or a monosyllabic form and lengthening the vowel in the last syllable such that a word-medial geminate is created as illustrated in Figure 6.4 below:

	bwb	C-C-C	root
CʊwwɛCi:C		. ʊ. wwɛ . i: .	pattern
		bʊwwɛbi:l	form ‘little door’

Figure 6.4: Diminutive Noun Pattern in MQ

6.6 Pronouns

MQ pronouns consist of personal pronouns which include subject and object pronominal ones, and relative pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and possessive pronouns, as displayed in Figure 6.5 below. They are all inflected for gender, number, and person. The term ‘pronoun’ (Bhatt, 2004) is generally used for referring to different sets of words such as personal pronouns, etc. MQ has ten optional independent personal subject pronouns in addition to pronominal verbal prefixes and suffixes referencing participants in the clause. Pronouns may be used for both human referents, other animates such as ‘dog’, and inanimates. No

distinction is made between third person animates and inanimates in the pronominal forms.

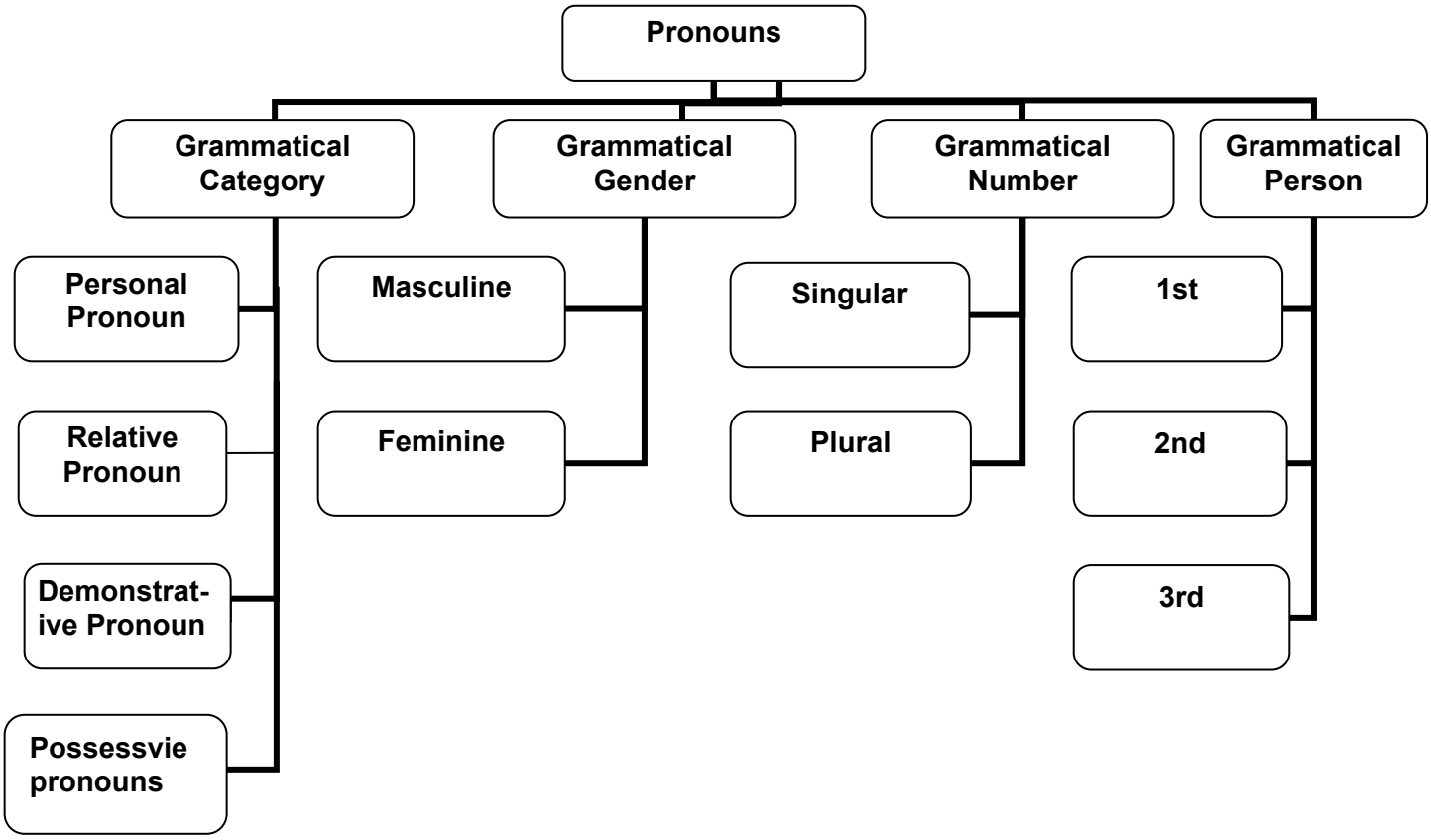


Figure 6.5: MQ Pronoun Categorization

6.6.1 Subject Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are used primarily for denoting speech roles like 'being the speaker and being the addressee of the sentence in which they occur' (Bhatt, 2004). For MQ subject personal pronouns, a distinction is made between 1st / 2nd / 3rd persons, with an additional singular vs. plural distinction within these categories.

Distinction is made for gender in these pronouns too. No distinction is made between an inclusion vs. exclusion.

6.6.1.1 Independent Subject Pronouns

Independent subject pronouns precede the verb-group. The ten-way distinction between these pronominal forms is detailed in paradigm in Table 6.5 below. These independent subject pronouns can be described using grammatical label terms as follows:

/hɒh/ First person singular masculine / feminine (common gender) pronoun.

/hɛːt/ Second person singular masculine / feminine (common gender) pronoun.

/hɛh/ Third person singular masculine pronoun.

/sɛh/ Third person singular feminine pronoun.

/nhɛh/ First person plural masculine / feminine (common gender) pronoun.

/tɛːm/ Second person plural masculine pronoun.

/tɛːn/ Second person plural feminine pronoun.

/hɛːm/ Third person plural masculine pronoun.

/sɛːn/ Third person plural feminine pronoun.

Rendsburg (1987, p. 623) stated that “In MSA the third singular pronouns generally begin with a sibilant …”. This does not hold true in MQ as revealed by the data above and the Table 6.5 below. It has been found out that only third singular and plural feminine pronouns generally begin with a sibilant; while the third singular and plural masculine pronouns begin with the glottal /h/.

Table 6.5: Independent Subject Pronouns in MQ

Person	**Gender**	**Singular form**	**Plural form**	**Gloss**
1st	Common	hɒh	nhɛh	‘I / we‘
2nd	Masculine	hɛːt	tɛːm	‘ you’
2nd	Feminine	hɛːt	tɛːn	‘you’
3rd	Masculine	hɛh	hɛːm	‘he / they’
3rd	Feminine	sɛh	sɛːn	‘she / they’

Independent subject pronouns distributions are exemplified in the following examples:

10. hɒh k’ɹɛɹk
    1c.sg. go-1c.sg.perf.
    ‘I went.’

11. nhɛh tɛbɹən bɔːb
    1c.sg. breake-1c.pl.perf.-door
    ‘we broke the door.’

12. hɛːt k’hɛbk

13. tɛːm k’hɛbkəm

2m.sg. come-2m.sg..perf
'you came.'

2m.pl. come-2m.pl.
'you came'

14. hɛːt k'hɛbʃ
2f.sg. come-2f.sg.perf
'you (f) came'

15. tɛːn k'hɛbkən
2.f.pl. come-2f.pl.
'you (f) came'

16. hɛh ħeɪbɪ
3m.sg. father-1c.sg.poss
' he is my father'

17. hɛːm ħɛbjæ
3m.pl. brother-1c.pl.poss.
'they are my brothers'

18. sɛh təˈtɔːbɛχ k'uːt
3f.sg 3f.sg. imperf.-cook food
'she cooks food'

19. sɛːn wʌtχɛf
3f.pl. came
'they came'

6.6.1.2 Pronominal Subject Suffixes

In addition to the independent pronouns discussed above, MQ exhibits varying degrees of additional new insight beyond the agreement between the subject and verb form through the use of subject pronominal suffixes. Here "pronominal" is a cover term which includes strong, weak and clitic pronouns (Panagiotidis, 2002, p. 2). On the basis of the actual data obtained on the particular status of subject pronoun suffixes usage in MQ, the researcher claims that this empirical morphological fact embraces Goldenberg's (2005a) views with regard to rejecting the sole functional explanation of the agreement between the subject and verb form through the use of subject pronominal suffixes.

Goldenberg (2005a) argued that the great drawback of twentieth-century morphological analysis was the conception of personal index in a verb-form as just an agreement-sign to a preceding independent pronoun, which pronoun may then

be deleted in so called pro-drop languages. Goldenberg (2005a) proceeded on pointing out the main theme, that the person-marker in an inflected verb-form as an allomorph is recognized in Semitic languages. The most usual case is the inflected verb, where Pronominal Actor and Verbal Base are bound together or merged to make a complex, but inseparable, form, while other parts – of each of the constituents – may be left aside e.g. we found water where the boundary between the subject “we” and the predicate “found water” is morphologically crossed by the formation of “we” with the verbal base; but not the rest of the predicate, into an inseparable inflected verb-form (Goldenberg, 2005a): “Synt. [we] + [found water] → morph. [we found] + [water].” (Ibid, p. 170).

Goldenberg (2005a) stated that the essence of the inflected verb has long been recognized as a predicative complex consisting of a verbal base and a pronominal subject, with the incorporated expression of nexus. The pronominal identity of person markers in the verb was clearly obvious to several linguistic scholars. For instance, Wright (1890, p. 164) wrote, cited in Goldenberg (2005a) “... the verbal forms of Semites are really nominal forms, mostly in combination with pronouns … which has gradually been contracted or shriveled up into a single word.”

Exemplification of subject pronoun suffixes morphemic shapes in Table 6.6 and their internal distribution in the examples after then are detailed on the basis of elicited data:

Table 6.6: Subject Pronoun Allomorphs Conjugation in MQ

Person	Singular form phonemic shape	Plural form phonemic shape
1st	-k	-ən
2nd (m.)	-k	-kəm
2nd (f.)	-ʃ	-kən
3rd (m.)	ø	-əm
3rd (f.)	-uːt	ø

The independent subject pronouns and the subject suffixes are not mutually exclusive, so may co-occur. In fact, all person singular / plural subject suffixes are obligatory even in the presence of the full independent pronoun and occur only in the perfective verb form. Therefore, while a construction such as (18) is permissible, (19) is not:

20. hɒh ʁɹɛbk
1c.sg. understand-1c.sg.suff.
'I understood'

21. *hɒh ʁɹɛb

Although that same obligatoriness does not always seem to apply. Other subject suffixes do not appear to occur with the full pronoun. For instance, the third person masculine singular and third person feminine plural as shown in table 6.6 above.

According to Goldenberg (2005a), one result of the availability of verb forms and similar predication complexes is the ability to produce easily and regularly utterances with no necessary exposition of the subject whether the subject is nominal or pronominal. Such sentences, beginning with the verb (or any predication complex) show not only a different order, but another sentence form:

22. lbɛdk mbeɪl
shoot-1c.sg. dog
'I shot the dog'

23. lbɔːdən mbeɪl
shoot-1c.pl. dog
'we shot the dog'

24. lbɛdk mbeɪl
shoot-2m.sg. dog
'you shot the dog'

25. lbɛdkəm mbeɪl
shoot-2m.pl. dog
'you shot the dog'

26. lbɛdʃ mbeɪl
shoot-2f.sg. dog
'you shot the dog'

27. lbɛdkən mbeɪl
shoot-2f.pl. dog
'you shot the dog'

28. lbuːd mbeɪl
shoot-3m.sg. dog
'he shot the dog'

29. lbuːdəm mbeɪl
shoot-3m.pl. dog
'they shot the dog'

30. lɛbduːt mbeɪl
shoot-3f.sg. dog
'she shot the dog'

31. lbuːd mbeɪl
shoot-3f.pl. dog
'they shot the dog'

6.6.1.3 Pronominal Subject Prefixes

It has been noted that pronominal subject suffixes are obligatorily bound to the perfective verb form. Contrarily, the imperfective verb form obligatorily requires other pronominal subjective affix allomorphs whose domain of attachment is the beginning of the verb. MQ exhibits varying degrees of additional agreement

between the subject and verb form through the use of subject pronominal prefixes. Subject prefixes are detailed in table 6.7. Subject pronoun allomorphs occur in all persons without exception. V refers to internal vowel change in second singular feminine subject prefix and second plural masculine subject prefix allomorphs. This vowel change is usually the predictable diphthong /eɪ/. It acts also as a second singular feminine subject morpheme No.2 (see 5.6.1.1.5, Chapter 5).

Similarly, the independent subject pronouns and the subject prefixes are not mutually exclusive, so may co-occur. In fact, all person singular and plural subject prefixes are obligatory even in the presence of the full independent pronoun and occur only in the imperfective verb form.

Table 6.7: Subject Pronoun Prefix Allomorphs Conjugation in MQ

Person	**Singular form phonemic shape**	**Plural form phonemic shape**
1st	də-	n-
2nd (m.)	t-	t-…V-əm
2nd (f.)	t-…V/iː	t-…-ən
3rd (m.)	(d)jɪ-	(d)jɪ…V-əm
3rd (f.)	t-	t-…ən

Exemplification of subject pronominal prefixes internal distributions are given below:

32. hɒh dəduːlɛf
1c.sg. 1c.sg.-jump
'I am jumping'

33. nhɛh dənduːlɛf
1cpl. 1c.pl.-jump
'we are jumping'

34. hɛːt təduːlɛf
2c.sg. 2c.sg.-jump
'you are jumping'

35. tɛːm tədɛlfəm
2m.pl. 2c.pl.-jump-2m.pl.
'you are jumping'

36. hɛːt tədeɪlɛf
2c.sg. 2c.sg.-jump
'you are jumping'

37. tɛːn tədɛlfən
2f.pl. 2c.pl.-jump-2f.pl.
'you are jumping'

38. hɛh dɪduːlɛf
3m.sg. 3m.sg.-jump
'he is jumping'

39. hɛːm dɪdɛlfəm
3m.pl. 3m.pl.-jump-3m.pl.
'they are jumping'

40. sɛh təduːlɛf
3f.sg. 3f.sg.-jump
'she is jumping'

41. sɛːn tədɛlfən
3f.pl.. 3f.pl.-jump-3f.pl.
'they are jumping'

The examples and Table 6.7 above showed that all the subject pronoun plural prefixes, except the first person subject pronoun plural prefix, entail an obligatory attachment of a verb-subject agreement marker suffix. The process of producing the second personal feminine suffix morpheme has been elaborated before (see 5.6.1.1.5, Chapter 5)**.** Similarly, Bhatt (2004) indicated that languages may also use some of the redundant markings of personal distinction, like the use of agreement markers, for providing information regarding the identity of the referents of personal pronouns.

6.6.2 Object Pronouns

The same paradigmatic ten way distinction is made when referencing the pronominal direct / indirect object of a transitive or intransitive verb. However, unlike the subject pronouns, which are independent pronouns, direct object pronoun are typically bound to the intransitive verb stem in the form of pronominal verbal suffixes. The indirect object pronouns are bound, separate from the transitive verb stem, to a personal object accusative marker morpheme (t-).

6.6.2.1 Object Pronominal Suffixes

Several personal objective accusative marker morphemes other than t- seem to occur after the transitive verb stems. They are h- and l-. Certain verbs in MQ, that each takes a specific particle as displayed in the Table 6.8 below. There are ten personal object suffix allomorphs in MQ.

Table 6.8: Object Pronominal Allomorphs in MQ

Person	Singular form phonemic shape	Plural form phonemic shape
1st	-ɪ, nɪ	-ən, -n
2nd (m.)	-k	-kəm
2nd (f.)	-ʃ	-kən
3rd (m.)	-h	-əm
3rd (f.)	-s	-n, -ən, -sən

It should be noted that the suffix pronoun, subject, object, or the possessive pronoun, is generally different after a noun, after a verb or a preposition. It also varies according to the number of the noun (see 6.2.2). When added to a verb or a noun, the suffix pronoun entails modifications of the basic pattern of the word, vocalic timbre and quantity, syllabic structure and stress (Simeone-Senelle, 1997).

Object suffixes directly bound to the verb stems are exemplified in the following constructions:

42. hɛːt ʁɹɛbkɪ
2c.sg. know-2m.sg.1c.sg.
'you knew me'

43. hɛːt ʁɹɛbkən
2c.sg. know-2.m.sg. 1c.pl.
'you knew us'

44. hɒh ʁɹɛbk [ʁɹɛbkk→ʁɹɛbk]
1c.sg. know-1c.sg.2m.sg.

45. hɒh ʁɹɛbkəm [ʁɹɛbkkəm→ʁɹɛbkəm]
1c.sg. know-1c.sg.2m.pl

‘I knew you’

‘I knew you’

46. hɒh ʁɹɛbkəʃ
1c.sg. know-1c.sg. 2f.sg.
‘I knew you’

47. hɒh ʁɹɛbkən
1c.sg. know-1c.sg. 2f.pl.
‘I knew you’

48. ʔɛlɪ ʁɹɛbəh
3m.sg. know-3m.sg. 3m.sg.
‘Ali knew him’

49, ʔɛlɪ ʁɹɔːbəm
3m.sg. know-3m.sg. 3m.pl.
‘Ali knew them’

50. hɛːt ʁɹɛbʃəs
2c.sg. know-2f.sg. 3f.sg
‘you knew her’

51. hɛːt ʁɹɛbʃən
2c.sg. know-2.f.sg. 3f.pl.
you knew them’

Table 6.9: Indirect Object Singular Pronominal Suffix Allomorphs

Person	**Object accusative marker (t-)**	**Object accusative marker (h-)**
1c.s.g	tɪ	hɛːnɪ
2m.sg.	tuːk	huːk
2f.sg.	tiːʃ	hiːʃ
3m.sg.	təh	həh
3f.sg.	tiːs	hiːs

Table 6.10: Indirect Object Plural Pronominal Suffix Allomorphs

Person	**Object accusative marker (t-)**	**Object accusative marker (h-)**
1c.pl.	tɛːn	hɛːn
2m.pl.	tiːkəm	hiːkəm
2f.pl.	tiːkən	hiːkən
3m.pl.	tiːhəm	hiːkəm
3f.pl.	tiːsən	hiːsən

Distributions of object suffixes indirectly bound to an object accusative marker independent from the verb stems are exemplified in the following constructions:

52. hɛːt ʔmɛɹk hɛːnɪ
2c.sg. say-2m.sg. to 1c.sg.
'you said to me'

53. hɛːt ʔmɛɹk hɛːn
2c.sg. say-2.m.sg. to 1c.pl.
'you said to us'

54. hɛːt ɬɪnk tiːs
2c.sg. see-2m.sg.accus.3f.sg.
'you saw her'

55. hɒh ɬɪnk tiːkən
1c.sg.see-2.m.sg.accus.2f.pl.
'I saw you'

56. hɛːt lk'ɛfʃ tɪ
2c.sg. catch-2f.sg. accus.1c.sg.
'you caught me'

57. hɒh lk'ɛfk tiːkəm
1c.sg.catch-1c.sg accus.2m.pl.
'I caught you'

To the best knowledge of the researcher, full paradigms of 3rd sg. verb-forms with object suffixes have, in fact, not been presented in previous studies. They were partly treated in the old literature, e.g. by Bittner (1909) and Hein (1909) who recorded a collection of texts directly relating to MQ dialect; but full conjugation of those forms was missing. The researcher was able only to obtain some samples of these very old texts while most of them are unavailable. The following paradigms significantly display the different conjugations of perfective verbs with object suffixes in which /j/ morpheme clearly indicates third singular pronominal enclitic. The verb /□□n/ 'see' is a good example in those conjugations. In the first Table 6.11 it will be conjugated in the meaning of 'I see, etc.'; the second Table 6.12 will be in the context of answering the question 'mɔːn ɬɪnjuːk, etc.? 'who saw you, etc.?' ʔɛlɪ ɬɪnjiː, etc. 'Ali saw me, etc.'

Table 6.11: Conjugations of the Perfective Active Verb (√□n)

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix
1	Singular	f / m	-k	ɬɪnk
2	Singular	m	-k	ɬɪnk
2	“	f	-ʃ	ɬɪnʃ
3	“	m	-j-	ɬɪnjəh
3	“	f	ø	ɬɪn
1	Plural	f/m	-ən	ɬuːnən
2	“	m	-kəm	ɬɪnkəm
2	“	f	-kən	ɬɪnkəm
3	“	m	-əm	ɬuːnəm
3	“	f	-ən	ɬuːnən

Table 6.12: Conjugations of the Perfect Active Verb (√□n) in Answer to 'who saw me, you …' e.g. 'mɔːn ɬɪnjiː, ɬɪnjuːk? ʔɛlɪ ɬɪnjiː 'Ali saw me, you, etc.'

Person	**Number**	**Gender**	**Affix**	**Verb+Affix**
1	Singular	f / m	j=iː	ɬɪn=j=iː
2	Singular	m	j=k	ɬɪn=j=uːk
2	"	f	j=ʃ	ɬɪn=j=iːʃ
3	"	m	j=h	ɬɪn=j=əh
3	"	f	j=s	ɬɪn=j=iːs
1	Plural	f/m	j=n	ɬɪn=j=iːn
2	"	m	j=kəm	ɬɪn=j=iːkəm
2	"	f	j=kən	ɬɪn=j=iːkən
3	"	m	j=həm	ɬɪn=j=iːhəm
3	"	f	j=sən	ɬɪn=j=iːsən

6.6.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

The primary deictic distinction that MQ demonstratives make is the spatial one i.e. between proximate and remote. However, this demonstrative form is not a

bound morpheme, but rather can function as an independent particle, and is accordingly written separately from the head noun. This is clearly evident in the following examples where the demonstrative is found as the subject in a copular construction. All nouns in MQ are unmarked for definiteness. In order to explicitly express the referentiability of a head noun, it must be followed with the demonstrative ‘this, that’. Demonstratives also vary in form according to gender. In the first place, the phonemic shape of demonstrative pronoun morphemes should be described. The following demonstratives are deictics referring to near things and persons.

/d(ð)əʊməh, dəʊm/ ‘this’ singular masculine demonstrative pronoun e.g.:

58. d(ð)əʊməh ʁeɪɟ ʁʌj
dem.m.sg.man my brother-1c.sg.poss.
‘this man is my brother’

/d(ð)iːməh/ “this” singular feminine demonstrative pronoun e.g.:

59. d(ð)iːməh ʁɛɟnuːt
dem.f.sg. girl
‘this is a girl’

/ljiːh/ “these” plural masculine demonstrative pronoun e.g.:

60. ljiːh ʁɔːjæ
dem.m.pl. my brothers-1c.sg.poss.
‘these are my brothers’

/ljuːmɛ/ “these” plural feminine demonstrative pronoun e.g.:

61. ljuːmɛ ʔʌɟzuːn
dem.f.pl. women
'these are women'

The following deictics are referring to far things and persons.

/dɛːk/ "that" singular masculine demonstrative pronoun e.g.:

62. dɛːk beɪtɪ
dem.m.sg. my house-1c.sg.poss.
'that is my house'

/diːk/ "that" singular feminine demonstrative pronoun e.g.:

63. diːk ħɛɹmɛːtɪ
dem.f.sg. my wife-1c.sg.poss.
'that is my wife'

/ljiːkəm/ "those" plural masculine demonstrative pronoun e.g.:

64. ljiːkəm ʁæljiːnjɛ
dem.m.pl. my boys-1c.sg.poss.
'those are my boys'

/liːh/ "those" plural feminine demonstrative pronoun e.g.:

65. liːh ɬliːt hæmmuːtən
dem.f.pl. three mothers
'those are three mothers'

As for deictics referring to space, there are two types of locational demonstratives. One involves a distinction expressing near distance (here). It has four allomorphic shapes e.g.:

/bɒh/, /buːm/, /bɔːm/, /bəʊməh/ ‘here’

66. hʌk’ lbɒh!
‘come here!’

67. hɔ̃ːn ʔɛlɪ?. ʔɛlɪ? bəʊməh
‘where is Ali?. Ali is here.

The second locational demonstrative expresses far distance. It has two allomorphs e.g.:

68. /ħʌləʊk/, /ħʌlɛkməh/ ‘there’

Deictics referring to time are usually: /jɪmɒh/ ‘today’, /ɟɛhməh/ ‘tomorrow’, /jɪmʃɪ/ ‘yesterday’ etc. Anteriority and posteriority may be expressed with prepositions such as /fənə-/ ‘before’, /bæd/ ‘after’ plus temporal adverbs e.g.:

69. /fənəmʃɪ/ ‘before yesterday’

70. /bæd ɟɛhməh/ ‘after tomorrow’

6.6.4 Possessive Pronouns

Personal possession in MQ may be expressed using one of ten possessive suffix pronouns, indexing person, number, and gender that attach to the end of the possessed. Nouns in MQ do not agree with their possessor nor do possessors agree with the possessed. No distinction is apparent between alienable and

inalienable possession. As mentioned in 6.6.2.1 that the suffix pronoun, subject, object, or the possessive pronoun, is generally different after a noun (the possessed noun number), after a verb or a preposition. The phonemic shape of the possessive pronoun varies according to the number of the noun e.g. /ʁeɪɟɪ/ 'my man' vs. /ʁəjiːɟɪjə/ 'my men'. Palatalisation of the first person singular possessive pronoun /-ɪ/ into /j/ occurs producing a possessive open syllable CV /jə/. This case is apparent differently in all possessives as shown in the examples below. Table 6.13 below shows phonemic variations of singular possessive pronouns when attached to the singular and plural possessed respectively; whereby Table 6.14 displays the plural possessive pronoun phonemic shapes if attached to the singular and plural possessed, too.

Table 6.13: Person Singular Possessive Pronouns in MQ

Person Singular	**Phonemic shape of singular possessive pronoun**	**Phonemic shape of singular possessive pronoun**
1st	-ɪ	-jə
2nd (m.)	-k	-kə
2nd (f.)	-ʃ	-ʃə
3rd (m.)	-h	-hə
3rd (f.)	-s	-sə

Table 6.14: Person Plural Possessive Pronouns in MQ

Person Plural	Phonemic shape of plural possessive pronoun	Phonemic shape of plural possessive pronoun
1st	-ən	-jən
2nd (m.)	-kəm	-kəm
2nd (f.)	-kən	-kən
3rd (m.)	-həm	-həm
3rd (f.)	-sən	-sən

It can be observed in Table 6.13 that the singular person possessive pronouns have different allomorphic categories in terms of their possessed number forms. The singular and plural form allomorphs surface to mark singular and plural personal possession only if the possessed is in the singular and plural form respectively. But this does not apply for the plural person possessive pronouns except to the first plural person which has two plural marker allomorphs. Exemplifications of the distributions of singular and plural possessives are given below:

71. ħæbɪɪ
son-1c.sg.poss.
'my son'

72. ħəbɛnjə
sons-1c.sg.poss.
'my sons'

73. ħɛɹmɛːtək
wife-2m.sg.poss.
‘your wife’

74. ʔʌɟzɛnkə
wives-2.m.sg.poss.
‘your wives’

75. ħeɪbəʃ
father-2f.sg.poss.
‘your father’

76. ħʌbʃə
fathers-2f.sg.poss.
‘your fathers’

77. hæmməh
mother-3m.sg.poss.
‘his mother’

78. hæmmɛthə
mothers-3m.sg.poss.
‘his mothers’

79. hæɹuːnəs
goat-3f.sg.poss.
‘her goat’

80. hʌɹɛnsə
goats-3f.sg.poss.
‘her goats’

81. hæɹənən
goat-1c.pl.poss.
‘our goat’

82 hʌɹɛnjə
goats-1c.pl.poss.
‘our goats’

83. ʁeɪɟəkəm
man-2m.pl.poss.
‘your man’

84. ʁəjuːɟəkəm
men-2m.pl.poss.
‘your men’

85. ħɛbɹɪkən
son-2f.pl.poss.
‘your son’

86. ħəbɛnəkən
sons-2f.pl.poss.
‘your sons’

87. ħeɪbəhəm
father-3m.pl.poss.
‘their father’

88. ħʌbəsən
fathers-3f.pl.poss.
‘their fathers’

6.6.4.1 Nominal Possession

When the possessor is represented by a full noun phrase it also follows the possessed item. Usually the connecting particle d- binds the possessor and the possessed. This particle is similar to English ‘of’ and used here to express possession.

89. ʁɔːjə dɪ ʔɛlɪ ‘brothers of Ali’

90. ʁeɪʃ dɪ ʁeɪt ‘sister’s husband’

When multiple possession is being expressed (e.g. ‘my brother’s wife), the same binding particle is used and the possessor is also preceded by the possessed item as shown previously.

6.7 Numerals and Quantifiers

Where it is deemed necessary to specify number, this must be done so with either a numeral such as /tɪɒh/ ‘two’, or with a numeral quantifier denoting non-specific plural quantities such as /meɪkən/ ‘many, much’. The numerals precede the head noun and particles expressing quantities occur post-nominally.

6.7.1 Numerals

All MQ numerals from one to ten are indigenous and above the number ten are Arabic. According to Simeone-Senelle (1997), the numerals in MQ and similarly in the Modern South Arabian languages have phonological, morphological, and syntactical characteristics that distinguish them from Arabic and are of great interest for Semitic comparatism. Numerals involve masculine / feminine distinctions. The feminine is listed under the masculine and the masculine vice versa according to the Mehri native speaker’s usage.

Table 6.15: MQ Cardinal Numerals

Masculine Noun	**Feminine Noun**	**Gloss**
t'ɑːd	t'iːt'	'one'
tɹɒh	tɹiːt	'two'
ɬæt'eɪt	ɬəliːt	'three'
ɹʊbuːt	hæɹbəʔ (ʃiːbæ)	'four'
χmɔːh	χeɪməh	'five'
jɪttiːt	hɪt	'six'
jɪbeɪt	hɔːbəʔ	'seven'
tɛmniːt	tmɔːnɪ	'eight'
seɪt	sɛʔ	'nine'
ʔæɬɹiːt	ʔɔːɬəɹ	'ten'

The numbers 1 and 2 are adjectives, and 2 follows the noun in the dual. From three to ten, masculine numerals count feminine nouns and feminine numerals masculine nouns. They are usually followed by nouns in the plural form, and above 13 the noun is either plural or singular e.g.:

91. ɬæt’eɪt ʁjuːɟ ‘three (f.) men’

92. ɬəliːt hæmmuːtən ‘three (m.) mothers’

Although numerals used after 10 are usually Arabic borrowings, but some old MQ speakers and old Bedouin speakers (Simeone-Senelle, 1997) still use the MSA’s number system above ten. This system is as follows:

Number and noun agree in gender from 11 to 19. From 11 onwards the structure of numbers is: tens + “and” + units e.g.:

93. ʔæɬəɹiːt wə t’ɑːd ‘eleven.’

In MQ, specific numerals are used for counting days. The noun ‘day’ is feminine in MQ:

94. nhɔːɹ t’iːt [nhɔːɻiːt] ‘one day’

95. nhɔːɹ ɪt’iːt ‘two days’

96. ɬiːlət jɔːm ‘three days’

97. ɹɪbæ jɔːm ‘four days’

98. χeɪməh jɔːm ‘five days’

99. hɛt jɔːm ‘six days’

100. ʃiːbæ jɔːm ‘seven days’

101. tiːmən jɔːm ‘eight days’

102. tiːsæ jɔːm ‘nine days’

103. ʔɔːɬəɹ jɔːm ‘ten days’

6.7.1.1 Ordinal Numbers

The ordinals in MQ are formed on the pattern of the nomen agentis (Simeone-Senelle, 1997). Some ordinals are based on the ancient root of number. Like cardinal numbers, ordinals involve gender distinctions. Ordinals are exemplified in Table 6.16 below.

Table 6.16: MQ Ordinal Numerals

Masculine	**Feminine**	**Gloss**
hɑʊlʌ(ɛ)j	hɑʊlʌ(ɛ)jət (leɪt)	‘first’
tɔːnɪ	tɔːnjət	‘second’
ɬliːt	ɬəʊθ(t)iːt	‘third’
ɹɔːbəʔ	ʔʌɹɛbət	‘fourth’
χɔːməs	χʌmsət	‘fifth’
sɔːdəs	sədθɛːt	‘sixth’
sɔːbəʔ	ʔʌsəbət	‘seventh’
tɔːmən	təmnət	‘eighth’

tɔːsəʔ	təseɪt	‘ninth’
ʔæɬɹiːt	ʔeɪɬəɹ	‘tenth’

6.7.2 Quantifiers

MQ quantifiers are usually post and pre-nominal modifiers of a noun or a verb. MQ have several quantifiers; the following are indigenous. There exists several classifiers in MQ denoting the quantity of things e.g. /fægħ/ ‘half’, /ɬliːt/ ‘third’, and /ɹʊbəʔ/ ‘quarter’.

104. hæbuː meɪkən
people many
‘many people’

105. χʌbz χɔːɹ (ʔiːnt)
bread little
‘little bread’

106. kæl t’ɑːd k’heɪb lbɒh!
every one comes here!
‘every one comes here!’

Other quantifiers are Arabic loans and include /kæl, kʌllæ/ ‘all’ and /bɑːɮ/ ‘some’. These are exemplified below:

107. hæbuː kæl jɪɟɛɹəm ʃiːhɪ
people all drink tea.
‘all people drink tea’

108. bɑːɮ mɪn hæbuː jɪttɛk’ ħmɒh
some of people drink water
‘some of people drink water’

6.8 Interrogatives

The set of MQ interrogative words, or WH words, display seven basic distinctions of questioning, described in 6.8.1 – 6.8.7. Interrogatives are typically clause-initial elements questioning arguments or adjuncts in the clause, or NP-initial elements questioning modifiers of NP heads. They can also be found in predicate position.

6.8.1 Person-Questioning /mɔːn/

The interrogative /mɔːn/ is used mainly for the questioning of person and corresponds to English 'who?'. MQ natives also use it for the questioning of non-human beings.

109. mɔːn ʔmuːɹ huːk tɔːm?
who say past accus.2m.sg. like this
'who said to you like this?'

110. mɔːn hɛːt?
who you?
'who are you?'

6.8.2 Time Questioning /miːtən/ , /heɪɬən mɪn wæk'ət/

The forms /miːtən/ and /heɪɬən mɪn wæk'ət/ are time questioning interrogatives and corresponds to English 'when' and 'at what time' respectively.

111. miːtən hɛːt lk'æfk təh?
when you catch-2m.sg. accus.-3m.sg.
'when did you catch it?'

112. heɪɬən mɪn wæk'ət hɛːt ɟɛhmɔːnæ?
what at time you travel-2c.sg.fut.
'at what time will you travel?'

6.8.3 Item / Situation-Questioning /hɛh/, /heɪɬən/

The interrogatives /hɛh/ and /heɪɬən/are used for questioning item or situation corresponding to English ‘what’ and ‘which’.

113. təmɔːl hɛh?
2c.sg.-do prog.what
‘what are you doing’

114. dəʊmə heɪɬən?
this what
‘what is this?’

6.8.4 Reason-Questioning /dɒkɔːh/

The interrogative /dɒkɔːh/ is used for questioning reason corresponding to English ‘why’.

115. dɒkɔːh tbeɪk?
Why 2c.sg.-cry prog.
‘why are you crying?’

6.8.5 Manner-Questioning /hɪbɒh/

The interrogative /hɪbɒh/ is used for questioning manner and thus corresponds to English ‘how?’. This interrogative morpheme has another allomorph form /ʔɪbɒh/.

116. hɪbɒh lk’æfk tɪ?
how catch-2c. accus.-1c.sg
‘how did you catch me?’

The interrogative /hɪbɒh/ is also used by Mehri speakers to express the meaning of ‘what’ e.g.:

117. ʔəmiːɹʃ hɪbɒh?
say-2f.sg. what
'what did you say?

6.8.6 Location-Questioning /hɔːn/

The interrogative /hɔːn/ is used to question location and corresponds to English 'where?'. It mostly appears with prepositional proclitic /l-/ 'to' when the speaker asks his listener where he is going.

118. lhɔːn tħɔːm?
proc.-where 2c.sg.-want
'where do you want?

119. hɛːt hɔːn dəħællɛk?
2c.sg. where imperf.asp.marker-live-2c.sg.
'where do you live?'

The researcher has recorded another different interrogative marker which gives the sole meaning 'where are you going?': It should be dealt with as an unanalyzable morpheme, since it could not be broken into its building units. The natives when asked about it they said that they use it for location questioning as follows:

120. ʔuːzmənnəs? 'where are you going?'.

6.8.7 Number-Questioning /kɛm/

The interrogative /kɛm/ is used to question number and corresponds to English 'how many, much'. It is occasionally found to be followed by the preposition

/mɪn/. It also appears in conjunction with the prepositional proclitic /b-/ to express the question ‘how much?’.

121. lk’æfk kɛm mɪn hɛːm?
catch-2c.sg. how many of 3m.pl.
‘how many of them did you catch?’

122. bkɛ(eɪ)m dəʊmə?
p.proc.-how? much this
‘how much is this?’

123. kɛm ʃuːk ʁəʊtən?
how many have-2c.sg. sister-suff.pl.
how many sisters do you have?’

124. kɛm ʔæmɹɛk?
how age-2c.sg.
‘how old are you?’

It should be mentioned here that there is the device of interrogative intonation used most commonly by MQ in order to indicate a request for information e.g.:

tħɔːm ħmɔːh? ‘you want water?’

6.9 Co-Ordinating Morphemes

MQ has a relative-marking morpheme, which involves distinctions of gender and number. It has the purpose of subordinating heads of NP’s with some of their modifiers.

6.9.1 Masculine Relative Marker /deɪd/

The relative marker /deɪd/ (glossed as rel.) always stands independently inside the sentence and occurs at the right edge of the NP. Some examples follow:

125. hɛh ʁɹɛbk bhiːməd deɪd hɹuːk' dɹiːhɛm
1c.sg. know-1c.sg. child rel. steal money
'I knew the child who stole the money'

126. beɪt deɪd hɪdmuːt
house rel. broke down
'the house that broke down'

The plural form of this relative marker is /leɪl/ and inflects for masculine gender e.g.:

127. ʁlɛk'k ʁəjuːɟ leɪlhəm k'heɪb jɪmʃɪ
see-1c.sg. men who-3m.pl. come yesterday
'I saw the men who came yesterday'

128. hæbuː leɪlhəm jɪbtiːɹəm
men rel.-3m.pl. catch fish-3m.pl.
'it is the men who catch fish'

6.9.2 The Feminine Relative Marker /diːd/

The relative marker /diːd/ (glossed as rel.) always stands independently inside the sentence and occurs at the right edge of the NP. Some examples follow:

129. ɬɪnk ʁɛɟnuːt diːd sluːf
see-1c.sg. girl rel. go out-3f.sg.
'I saw the girl who went out'

130. bɛk'ɹeɪt diːd mɹiːɮ təʁɛjuːb
cow rel. sick 3f.sg.-lie down prog.
'the cow which is sick is lying down'

The plural form of this relative marker is /liːh/ e.g.:

131. ʔɛɟzuːn liːh tətɛbχən kʼuːt
women rel. 3f.pl.-cook-3f.pl. food
'it is women who cook food'

6.10 Nominal Particles

The classification chosen to describe the MQ particles is not based on the division into prepositions, conjunctions, etc., but rather on distributive analysis, which better corresponds to the functioning of particles in the Semitic languages (Naumkin, 2001). In this sense, all particles are divided into two classes: nominal and verbal. The nominal particles require that a name or a pronoun be put after them, the verbal the verb. Despite the fact that a number of particles are used with both names and verbs, these cases of usage are examined separately in the light of the principle of description chosen.

The nominal particles are divided into polysyllabic and monosyllabic ones. Monosyllabic Particles do not form a word in its own right, but are affixed to the name as proclitics (or enclitics) and form a single accentual unit therewith. Within each of these groups one may distinguish two subgroups according to the type of government of the name or pronoun. One may infer the type of government only from the mode of combination with personal pronouns: under type A, the particle is followed by the pronoun, under type B by the pronominal affix. In the subgroup with government type B there are three kinds of particles: those used with both the names and the pronouns, with the names alone, and with the pronouns only.

Among the polysyllabic particles with government type B one may, along with simple particles, likewise distinguish those which in recent past were or simultaneously continue to be names, as well as those which were or still are verbs and are conjugated as verbs (verbal substantives). The verbal particles are also divided into polysyllabic and monosyllabic.

6.10.1 The Connective Particle /wə/ /w-/

According to Naumkin (2001), monosyllabic particles containing both a short vowel and one consonant, are affixed to the pronoun that follows them and forming a single accentual unit with the latter.

The connective particle /wə/ has the meaning of ‘and’’, ‘with’, ‘together with’ corresponding to the meaning of Soqotri /wə/ (Naumkin, 2001). It connects both nouns which are members of a single sentence and nominal sentences. With verbs and verbal sentences /wə/ is used in the same manner.

This particle functions as w + vowel in front of words starting with one consonant, common variants being /wə/, /wɛ/, /wɪ/. In front of a word starting with a vowel, the particle loses the vowel sound and appears in the form of /w/. This particle sometimes combines with other particles in such a way as though the word started with a vowel e.g. its combination with the negative particle:

132. tħɔːm ħmɔːh? wəlɛʔ? ‘do you want water, or not?’

6.10.1.2 The Adverbial Particle /w/

This particle helps in attaching to the principal clause the nominal subordinate clause acting as an adverbial modifier of time, place, mode of action, etc., similarly to Arabic Waw al-hal (i.e. the adverbial wæw) (Naumkin, 2001). In this case it is translated as ‘when,’ ‘while,’ ‘as’. In the process, the personal pronoun often occurs as a subject of the subordinate clause:

133. təʁɛnjən wə sɛh tətʼħɔːn ħɛbb
3f.pl.-sing conj. 3f.sg. 3f.sg.-grind grain
‘they sing as she is grinding grain’

134. təɮħɔːk wə sɛh tətʼɔːbəχ kʼuːt
3f.sg.-laugh while she 3f.sg.-cook food
‘she laughs while she is cooking food’

6.10.2 The Conditional Particle /wən, ʔən/, /lkʼɛʔ/, /hæm/

These particles have the meaning of ‘if’ and introduce the nominal subordinate conditional clause. /wən, ʔən/ are two phonemic shapes of the same morpheme.

135. wən kʼheɪb ʁɛlkʼkənnɛh
if he came see-1c.sg.-fut.part.-3m.sg.
‘if he came, I would see him.’

136. hæm χəɪæɮək təkʼhɔːb læ
if go out-1c.sg. 2c.sg.-come neg.
‘if I go out, do not come.’

137. lk’ɛʔ bək’eɪk’əm ħəlʌkməh ləlɪtɛʁkəm
if stay-2m.pl. location dem. Subjun.pref.-kill pass.-2m.pl.
‘if you stayed there, you would have been killed’

6.10.3 The Particle /dɪ/, /də/

It is not possible to speak of the existence of the particle /dɪ/ on the basis of considering the function of this word as a relative pronoun. But the case in point is the genitive construction corresponding to the status constructus in other Semitic languages (Naumkin, 2001), where the particle /dɪ/ is put between the first and the second members of that construction. In MQ the genitive is expressed by analytical means, the particle /dɪ/ acts as an exponent of the genitive and may in fact be considered in this case as a preposition and not as a relative pronoun:

138. ɬχɔːf dɪ bɛk’ɹeɪt
milk prep. cow
‘milk of a cow’

139. biːt dɪ ʁʌj
house prep. brother-1c.sg.poss.
‘the house of my brother’

It is understandable that /dɪ/ is an exponent of the genitive. In the genitive construction /dɪ/ does not change in case when the noun to be defined stands in the plural or in the singular e.g.:

140. biːt dɪ ʁɔːjə
house prep. brother.n.pl.1c.sg.poss.
‘the house of my brothers’

The particle /dɪ/ has been called an aspectual-temporal marking morpheme by Simeone-Senelle (1997); the researcher also found out a genitive case-marking and denominal function attributed to /dɪ/. All this will be elaborated in verbal classes section later.

6.10.4 The Particle /bɛ/ /b-/

The particle /bɛ/ belongs to the particles used with both pronouns and nouns; and it is of the government type B. As a rule, some prepositions are obligatorily proclitics which attach to the initial constituent of a NP, including nouns, personal pronouns, and other particles. They express the categories of location, time, instrument, etc.

The prepositional proclitic /bɛ/ expresses location in, at or by the referent of the NP:

141. bk'æɬn (in the meaning of 'where')
prep.procl. Qishn
'in Qishn.'

142. b-biːɹ (in the meaning of 'inside')
prep.procl. well
'in the well.'

143. b-fəʊtɛʁ (with reference to time)
prep.procl. tide in
'at the tide in.'

145. ʃuːjiːɬəm buːk (in the meaning of 'being together')
go(afternoon)-3m.pl. prep.-2c.sg.
'they go with you in the afternoon'

146. ʔeɪs nək'sʼɔːsʼ biːs tɛːwɪ (by means of, with the help of)
knife 1c.pl.-chop prep.-3f.sg. meat
'we chop meat by means of a knife'

147. hædəbɛːt nʃuːt btʼəɹiːf dɪ glɑːs (in the meaning of 'on top of')
fly fall-3f.sg. prep.-edge prep. glass
'a fly fell on the edge of the glass'

148. bɛh ħəʊməg tʼəɹ ɬɛɹeɪn (in the meaning of 'have')
prep.-3m.sg. wound prep. leg
'he has a wound on the leg.'

/bɛ/ also combines with the particle /ʔʌmkʼ/ to give the meaning 'in the middle or centre':

149. hɒh ɬχəllɛlk bʔʌmkʼ ɟɪɹɟuːɹ
1c.sg. sit-1c.sg. prep. middle group of children
'I sat in the middle of the children.'

Table 6.17: The Particle /bɛ/ with Pronominal Affixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	bə	bən
2nd (m.)	buːk	biːkəm
2nd (f.)	biːʃ	biːkən
3rd (m.)	bəh	bəhəm
3rd (f.)	biːs	biːsən

Table 6.17 shows gender-number distinctions displayed by the particle /bɛ/

6.10.5 The Particle /ʃ-/

The particle /ʃ-/ belongs to particles used with pronouns only. It is a bound morpheme which can not stand in its own right. It should be noted that /ʃ-/ and /kɛ/ are correlative particles in MQ. They are used in the same meaning. The latter is used with nouns only.

The particle /ʃ-/ is used in the possessive meaning. The possessive construction can perform the function of the subject, having the meaning of 'someone has'. The complete conjugation and combination of MQ /ʃ-/ with all personal pronouns along with illustrations are the first case recorded by the researcher, which is used in the text in the meaning of a possessive pronoun. Such usage is frequent in MQ. In the case at hand, this construction is in post and pre-position to the defined word. Leslau (1938), viewing /ʃ-/ as a palatalization of /kɛ/ as cited in Naumkin (2001), wrote that /ʃ-/ can not be used with nouns, and it is only /kɛ/ that is used in this sense with nouns.

150. ʃɪ huːʁɪ
poss.-1c.sg. boat
'I have a boat'

151. ʃɪn dʁiːhəm
poss.-1c.pl. money
'we have money'

152. ʃuːk ʁɔːh?
poss.-2m.sg. brothers
'do you have brothers?'

153. ʃiːkəm ħmɔːh
poss.-2m.pl. water
'you have water'

154. ʃiːʃ ɬχɔːf
poss.2f.sg. milk
'you have milk'

155. ʃiːkən χʌbz
poss.-2f.pl. bread
'you have bread'

156. ʃəh mɔːtəɹ
poss.-3m.sg. car
'he has a car'

157. ʃiːhəm bjuːt meɪkən
poss.-3m.pl. houses many
'they have many houses'

158. ʃiːs ʁeɪt t'ɑːd
poss.3f.sg. sister one
'she has one sister'

159. ʃiːsən dɹiːhəm læ
poss.-3f.pl. money neg.
'they do not have money'

The particle /ʃ/ is used in the meaning of 'being together' - 'with', 'together with:

160. ħɔːm lənħɑːɟ ʃuːk
want subjunc.pref.-play prep.-2c.sg.
'I want to play with you'

161. dəhuːɹəɟ ʃiːʃ hɛɹgiːt mɛhɹjiːt
aspec.tempo.prep-speak prep.-2f.sg. language Mehri-f.sg.
'I am speaking with you in Mehri language.'

The particle /ʃ-/ has another copular function recorded in this study. It expresses the demonstrative meaning of 'there is'. It is always suffixed by /-ɪ/ in this sense.

162. ʃuːk ʃɪ ħmɔːh?
prep.-2c.sg. dem.pro. water
'is there water with you?.'

Table 6.18: The Particle /ʃ-/ with Pronominal Affixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	ʃɪ	ʃɪn
2nd (m.)	ʃuːk	ʃiːkəm
2nd (f.)	ʃiːʃ	ʃiːkən
3rd (m.)	ʃəh	ʃiːhəm
3rd (f.)	ʃiːs	ʃiːsən

6.10.6 The Particle /ħɛ/ /ħ-/

This is a dative particle, used, as a rule, after verbs. One of the most common cases of usage is one with the verb /ʔmuːɹ/ 'to say, tell (somebody)'. It is attached to /-nɪ/ in the first person singular person only.

163. hæmɪ ʔəmɹuːt heɪnɪ təːm
mother-1c.sg.poss. tell-3f.sg. prep.-1c.sg. obj. so
'my mother told me so.'

Tables 6.9 -10, mentioned previously, can be referred for complete conjugations of /h-/. This particle is also used to give a directional sense in the meaning of 'to' and used as an accusative object marker with some verbs as shown previously (see 6.6.2.1)

164. k’ɹɛɹk həʔɛdən
go-1c.sg. direc.prep.-Aden
‘I went to Aden.’

With the exception of 1st person singular which takes the particle suffix /-nɪ/ attached to /h-/, all other personal pronominal affixes are affixed directly to /h-/. When all these pronouns take /-n/ attached to /h-/ → /hn-/, it expresses the meaning of ‘for’ for claims, possessions, etc.

165. ɛlf wə χeɪməh mɪjɛt hnuːk
thousand con.parti. five hundred prep.-2c.sg.
‘one thousand and five hundred for you.’

166. hnuːʃ fæfæ?
prep.poss.-2f.sg. papaya
‘Do you have papaya?.’

Table 6.19: The Particle /hn-/ with Pronominal Affixes

Person	Singular	plural
1st	he□n□	he□n
2nd (m.)	hnu:k	hni:k□m
2nd (f.)	hni:□	hni:k□n
3rd (m.)	hn□h	hni:h□m
3rd (f.)	hni:s	hni:s□n

6.10.7 The Particle /ʔə/

This particle expresses a comparative degree in MQ in combination with adjectives only. Some native speakers drop this particle while clinging to the comparative pattern, which will be described later under verbal word class subheading 7.2.7.

167. hɒh ʔəs'lɛħ mɪnk
1c.sg. comp.-adj.fat prep.-2c.sg.
'I am fatter than you."

6.10.8 The Particle /t-/

This particle is known as an accusative personal objective marking morpheme (Simeone-Senelle, 1997; Naumkin, 2001). Exemplifications of this particle's conjugations and distributions have been elaborated in 6.6.2.1 and tables 6.9 and 6.10. It follows the transitive verbs.

6.10.9 The Particle /kɛ/

It is similar to /ʃ-/ in terms of being utilized in the meaning of 'being together' – 'with', 'together with'. It is only used with nouns.

168. k'heɪb kɹɪbæh
come prep.-friend-3m.sg.poss.
'he came together with his friend.'

This particle is used in constructions denoting time i.e. periods of the day or part of the year (Simeone-Senelle, 1997).

169. ks’ɔːbɛħ
prep.-morning
‘in the morning.’

170. kχæɹɛf
prep.-autumn
‘in autumn.’

6.10.10 The Particle /l-/

The particle /l-/ has different grammatical functions. It makes an intransitive verb transitive; so it works as an accusative objective personal pronoun marker. It obligatorily combines with the personal pronouns. The following examples are from an old famous Mehri poem that the researcher elicited during fieldwork. The poem tells the events of burying the dead person from the moment he dies until being put in the grave.

171. wə sk’əʊfəm luːk bs’wɛːɹ k’ʌf (inside the grave)
conn.part. roof-3m.pl. accus.-2c.sg. prep.-stone stand
‘and they are making roof on you by standing stones.’

172. wə kbuːsəm luːk ʁɛɹniːn wə s’ʌf
conn.part. throw soil-3m.pl. group of people in line
‘and group of people in line throw soil against you.’

One may assume the meaning ‘towards’ in the following example, when /lhæl/ is made up by /l-/ + /-hæl/.

173. mhæk’k’ɛɹ lhæl biːt
fut.marker-go prep. house
‘I will go towards the house.’

/l-/ is always prefixed to mark the subjunctive verb; and some adjectives or verbs are obligatorily followed by independent /l-/ that is affixed to personal pronouns to mark the object complement.

174. tħɔːm ltɛh
2c.sg.-want eat
'you want to eat.'

175. hɛːm sɛlbəm ləh
3m.pl. wait-3m.pl. prep.-3m.sg.
'they wait for him.'

176. hɛh nʁɑːm lɪ
3m.sg. angry prep.-1c.sg.
'he is angry with me.'

6.10.11 The Particle /bəʁɐɪɹ/ 'Without'

/bəʁɐɪɹ/ is an Arabic borrowing. It gives the meaning of 'without'.

177. jɪʃkuːf bəʁɐɪɹ mɛnɮɐɪf
asp.temp.-sleep without mat
'he sleeps without a mat.'

6.10.12 The Particle /ʔæl/ 'Round'

This particle is monosyllabic containing two consonants and forming a self-contained word. It occurs independently in pre-position of the defined word. So it belongs to government type A.

178. hæbuː ɟtɛməm ʔæl məgɛddʌm
people gather-3m.pl. prep. sheikh
'the people gathered round the sheikh.'

179. bkʼɑːɹ dəttɛkʼən ʔæl biːɹ
cow asp.temp.-drink-3f.pl. prep. well

‘the cows are drinking round the well.’

One example has been recorded for /ʔæl/ losing its glottal and vowel when combined with a noun starting with a guttural consonant:

180. t’ɛɹħəʊt sɪls lʁɛtiːs
put-3f.sg. necklace prep.-sister-3f.sg.
‘she put necklace round her sister.’

6.10.13 The particle /ʔʌɹ/

In all cases this particle is used by MQ speakers to express emphasis. It has not been noted in any study on Mehri language, nor recorded in Simeone-Senelle’s latest work on MQ (1997).

181. ʔɛħməd ʔʌɹ s’leɪħ, hɒh læ
‘Ahmed emph.part. fatter, 1c.sg. neg.
‘Ahmed is the fatter, not me.’

6.10.14 The Negative Particle /læ/

This is used as an absolute negative, just as Arabic /læ/, i.e. in the meaning of ‘no’. It is always postposed to the negated term, and it is often placed at the end of a clause (Ibid). It may exceptionally occur within the negated form as exemplified in a verse of a poem in chapter 7 later.

182. hɛːt ʔʌs tɪ hɒh læ
2c.sg. like accus.-1c.sg. 1c.sg. neg.
‘you are not like me.’

183. thɔːm k’ɛhwiːt læ?
2c.sg.-want coffee neg.?

‘do not you want coffe?.’

When two negated clauses are coordinated by /w/ (‘nor, or, neither … nor’), this /w/ is immediately followed by the negative particle.

184. ɟɛhmɔːnæ læ sɒkɛtɹæ u-læ kuːɹjæmuːɹjæ u-læ ʔɛbdɛlkuːɹɪ
travel-1c.sg.fut.part. neg. Soqotra coord.part.-neg. Kuryamurya coord.part.-neg. Abdelkuri
‘I shall neither go to Soqotra nor Kurya Murya or Abdelkuri.’

6.10.15 The Adversative Particle /liːkən/ ‘But’

The particle /liːkən/ is polysyllabic containing two syllables and forming a self-contained word. It belongs to government type A and is an Arabic borrowing.

185. liːkən hɛmlæ
prep. lazy
‘but I am lazy.’

6.10.16 The Particle /mɪn/

The particle /mɪn/ is a simple particle and belongs to government type B (Naumkin, 2001). It occurs after verbs of dread and denial; and as an object particle ‘for’ with personal and impersonal pronoun or without.

186. χziːw mɪn təmiːɹən heɪnɪ
3f.pl.refuse prep. 3f.pl.-tell-3f.pl. prep.-1c.sg.
‘they refused to tell me.’

187. dɪseɪm mɪn ʔeɪsəh
search prep. knife-3m.sg.
‘he is searching for his knife.’

188. sɛlbəm ləh jəʁɛlkəm mɪnh
wait-3m.pl. prep.-3m.sg. asp.temp.-see-3m.pl. prep.-3m.sg.
'they are waiting for him to see him.'

It may occur in the meaning of 'from' (with reference of direction):

189. həɹħɛkʾ mɪnɪ ɟðəʔ!
drag away prep.-1c.sg. log
'drag the log away from me!.'

It may form adverbs with some nouns:

190. mɪn ɟɛhməh
prep. tomorrow
'(starting) from tomorrow.'

191. mɪn bəʊməh
prep. here
'from here.'

In combination with the word /hɔːn/ 'where', this particle forms an interrogative particle /mɪn hɔːn/ 'from where'; or /mɔːn mɪn/ similar to English 'which of', /mɪn/ may be attached to a personal pronoun:

192. hɛːt mɪn hɔːn?
2c.sg. prep. interr.pron.
'from where are you?.'

193. mɔːn mɪnhɛːm lkʾɛfk təh?
Interr.pron. prep-3m.pl. catch-2c.sg. accus.-3m.sg.
'which one of them did you catch?.'

Table 6.20: The Particle /mɪn/ with Pronominal Affixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	mɪnɪ	mɪnən
2nd (m.)	mɪnk	mɪnkəm
2nd (f.)	mɪnʃ	mɪnkən
3rd (m.)	mɪnh	mɪnhəm
3rd (f.)	mɪns	mɪnsən

/mɪn/ occurs too in the comparative form construction similar to English 'than' e.g. hɒh s'lɛːħ mɪn ʁʌj 'I am fatter than my brother.'

6.10.17 The Particle /bɛɹ, bəɹ/

The preverbal particle /bɛɹ/ occurs in front of the verbal sentence prefixed to the verb indicating the completion of action. Similarly it also introduces the nominal sentence, that is to say, the one with the nominal subject, in which the verb acts as a predicate; in the process, the particle is affixed to the personal pronoun to give the initiative sense of 'already'.

194. bəɹltuːʁ ɟɪɹiːð
prever.-3m.sg.kill mouse
'he killed the mouse.'

195. bɛɹəh dɪjæməːl

prever.-3m.sg. asp.temp.-work
'he is already working.'

In MQ the particle /bɛɹ/ is used too as a word giving the meaning 'son':

196. Saeed bɛɹ Ahmed 'Saeed is the son of Ahmed.'

Table 6.21: The Particle /bɛɹ/ Conjugations with Pronominal Affixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	bɛɹɪ	bɛɹən
2nd (m.)	bɛɹɪk	bɛɹɪkəm
2nd (f.)	bɛɹɪʃ	bɛɹɪkən
3rd (m.)	bɛɹɪh	bɛɹɪhəm
3rd (f.)	bɛɹɪs	bɛɹɪsən

If the vowel /ɛ/ is replaced by /ʌ/ in the above table e.g. bʌɹək 'I am ready', it gives the adjectival meaning 'ready'.

6.10.18 Particles of Nominal Origin

A characteristic group belongs to the category of particles under study. These are nouns that had become adverbs and then started to be used as particles when the noun appears in a conjoint state with another noun (Naumkin, 2001). Correspondingly, they either adjoin the noun or attach to the pronominal suffix.

6.10.18.1 The Word /bæʔəd/ ‘After’

It has the meaning of ‘after’. It may occur in front of nouns separately. It is also used in combination with /mɪn/.

197. mɪn bæʔəd ɟɛhməh
prep. after tomorrow
‘after tomorrow.’

6.10.18.2 The Word /bəsɛbbiːt/

It has the meaning of ‘on account of’, ‘because of’. It may introduce a causal clause in a complex sentence.

198. ɬɪɟɹiːt tiːbəɹ bəsɛbbiːt dɪ ɹiːħ
tree break pass. because prep. storm
‘the tree was broken because of storm.’

6.10.18.3 The Word /t’əɹ/

This word is used as a preposition ‘over, on’. It occurs with both nouns and pronominal suffixes. When the pronominal suffixes get into combination with /t’əɹ/, they entail a vocalic change to its basic vocalic pattern.

199. t’eɪɹ t’əɹ ɬɪɟɹiːt
bird prep. tree
‘the bird is on the tree.’

200. huːgəʔ dɛɹɹæt t’ɛːɪɪ
put garment prep.1c.sg.
‘he put the garment on me.’

Table 6.22: The Particle /t'əɹ/ Conjugations with Pronominal Affixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	t'ɛːɹɪ	t'ɛːɹən
2nd (m.)	t'ɛːɹɪk	t'ɛːɹɪkəm
2nd (f.)	t'ɛːɹɪʃ	t'ɛːɹɪkən
3rd (m.)	t'ɛːɹɪh	t'ɛːɹɪhəm
3rd (f.)	t'ɛːɹɪs	t'ɛːɹɪsən

6.10.18.4 The Word /nχælɪ/

This word is used as a preposition corresponding to English 'under'. It occurs with both nouns and pronominal suffixes. When first person singular and plural pronouns attach to /nχælɪ/, a process of palatalisation occurs whereby the short vowel /ɪ/ becomes /j/ resulting a CV syllable.

201. həh dħæk' fɛɹfiːɹ nχæljæ ɬɪɹeɪnəh
3m.sg. crush insect prep. foot-3m.sg.
'he crushed the insect under his foot.'

Table 6.23: The Particle /nχælɪ/ Conjugations with Pronominal Affixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	nχæljæ	nχæljən
2nd (m.)	nχælkæ	nχælɪkəm
2nd (f.)	nχælʃæ	nχælɪkən
3rd (m.)	nχælhæ	nχælɪhəm
3rd (f.)	nχælsæ	nχælɪsən

6.10.18.5 The Word /fənuːn/ /fɔːn/

This word is used as a preposition 'before' and also corresponds to English 'in front of'. It also occurs as an adverb 'long ago'. Some phonological variations occur to this preposition while in combination with personal pronouns. It occurs with nouns too.

202. bhiːmət dɪsjuːɹ fənwɪ
child asp.temp.-walk prep.-1c.sg.
'the child is walking in front me.'

203. bhiːmət dɪsjuːɹ fənwəʔ kæl t'ɑːd
child asp.temp.-walk prep. quant.
'the child is walking in front of everyone.'

204. hɛːm k'ɹeɪɹəm, bhiːmət bəɹweɪk'əʔ dɪsjuːɹ fənuːnəʔ
3m.pl. leave-3m.pl., child prep.-copular asp.temp.-walk prep.
'they left, the child was walking in front.'

205. fənuːn həh deɪd ʔmuːɹ heɪnɪ
prep. 3m.sg. rel. tell prep.-1c.sg.
'it was he who told me first.'

206. həh ʔmuːɹ fɔːn k'ɛhbɔːnæ
1c.sg. say prep. come-fut.part.1c.sg.
'I said that I was going to come.'

Table 6.24: The Particle /fənuːn/ Conjugations with Pronominal Affixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	fənwɪ	fənwɛːn
2nd (m.)	fənwuːk	fənwiːkəm
2nd (f.)	fənwiːʃ	fənwiːkən
3rd (m.)	fənwəh	fənwiːhəm
3rd (f.)	fənwiːs	fənwiːsən

6.10.18.6 The Word /sɪɹ/

It is used as a preposition in the meaning of 'behind'. It occurs with both nouns and pronominal suffixes. Its vowel changes into the weak schwa vowel when it combines with the pronominal suffixes.

207. mbeɪl s'ɑːɹ sɪɹ bɛk'ɹeɪt
dog stand prep. cow
'the dog stood behind the cow.'

208. dɪsjuːɹ səɹɪ
3m.sg.asp.temp.-walk prep.-1c.sg.
'he is walking behind me.'

209. wə mħɛssɛbiːn tuːbəʔ sɪɹ ɬɪf (this is a part of a Mehri poem's verse)
conn.part. angels follow prep. trace
'and the angels (in the grave) follow after any trace (of sin).'

In this old Mehri poem, MQ corresponds to Arabic in using the singular verb /tuːbəʔ/ for the plural subject /mħɛssɛbiːn /, one of the distinct features of Arabic.

Table 6.25: The Particle /sɪɹ/ Conjugations with Pronominal Affixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	səɹɪ	səɹeɪn
2nd (m.)	səɹuːk	səɹiːkəm
2nd (f.)	səɹiːʃ	səɹiːkən
3rd (m.)	səɹəh	səɹiːhəm
3rd (f.)	səɹiːs	səɹiːsən

6.10.19 The Particle /ʔæd/

This particle is of verbal origin. It is a verb corresponding to Arabic /ʔæd/ 'to return', which is used in Yemeni dialects as a particle (Naumkin, 2001). The meaning of this word is 'still, yet, also'. It combines with pronominal suffixes. It usually precedes the verb of the sentence.

210. ʔædəs tleɪs
adv.-3f.sg. rain
'it is still raining.'

211. ʔædəh dɪtiːw
verbal-3m.sg. asp.temp.-eat
'he is still eating.'

There is an indigenous word giving the same meaning of 'still' i.e. /mkɔːn/:

212. mkɔːnəh bɬʌɹ
verbal-3m.sg. sick
'he is still sick.'

Table 6.26: The Particle /ʔæd/ Conjugations with Pronominal Affixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	ʔædɪ	ʔædən
2nd (m.)	ʔædək	ʔædəkəm
2nd (f.)	ʔædəʃ	ʔædəkən
3rd (m.)	ʔædəh	ʔædəhəm
3rd (f.)	ʔædəs	ʔædəsən

6.10.20 The Particle /luːð/ 'Towards'

This is an indigenous particle which is firstly recorded in the current research by the researcher. To the researcher's knowledge, this particle of direction has not been noted in any study on the MQ before, nor mentioned in Simeone-Senelle's (1997) work on MQ. It is used to express the meaning of

direction ‘towards’ and is to be dealt with as a preposition. It has been noted that this particle occurs only with pronominal suffixes. Therefore, further in-depth study is needed to be implemented on this particle in particular and other particles in general.

213. bkʼæɮ luːðɪ!
run imp. prep.-1c.sg.
‘run towards me!.’

214. sɦuːb ɟɪðəʔ luːðiːk!
drag imp. log prep.-2c.sg.
‘drag the log towards you!.’

Table 6.27: The Particle /luːð/ Conjugations with Pronominal Affixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	luːðɪ	luːðiːn
2nd (m.)	luːðiːk	luːðiːkəm
2nd (f.)	luːðiːʃ	luːðiːkən
3rd (m.)	luːðəh	luːðiːhəm
3rd (f.)	luːðiːs	luːðiːsən

6.10.21 Equation /ʔəs/

The word /ʔəs/ is an indigenous free form which is used with nouns expressing likeness to the referent of the NP. Examples include the following:

215. sbuːħ ʔəs lχeɪm
swim equa. fish
'he swam like a fish.'

216. ɬiːtəm ʔeɪs ʔəs dəh t'ɑːd
buy knife equa. dem. One
'he bought a knife like this one.'

217. hɛːt ʔəs tɪ hɒh læ
2c.sg. equa. prep.-1c.sg. 1c.sg. neg.
'you are not like me.'

6.11 Adjectives

Similar to nouns in MQ, MQ adjectives are obligatorily inflected for gender and number. Masculine gender is unmarked, while feminine singular nouns are usually marked with the suffix -h and –(V)t added to the masculine form (see 6.11.2). The vowel preceding the feminine marker morpheme is /ə/, /iː/, or /uː/. But the plural of some adjectives is often of common gender. There are feminine adjectives without a feminine marker. There is no dual for MQ adjectives (Simeone-Senelle, 1997).

Although in MQ the passive participle mostly functions as an adjective, there are some adjective patterns that are common with nouns (6.11.1). The phrase dɪ- + passive often have an adjectival function e.g.:

218. ħeɪdəh dɪ tɪbɹiːt
hand-3m.sg poss. prep. broken pass.-3f.sg.
'his broken hand.'

219. dɪ-sduːd
prep. suffice
'it is sufficient.'

MQ adjectives are also modified by /wiːjən/ ‘very’ e.g. hɪmlæ wiːjən ‘very lazy’.

6.11.1 The Phonemic Shapes of Singular Adjective Morphemes

The phonemic shapes of singular adjective morphemes are introduced in the form of canonical patterns. A number of the most common singular adjective patterns have been noted in the current research.

a) CCiːC

√k’fd	→	/k’fiːd/	‘low’
√bhl	→	/bhiːl/	‘ripe, cooked’
√shl	→	/shiːl/	‘easy’
√χtm	→	/χtiːm/	‘thin’

b) Cɔ(ɛ, i)ːCəC

√ʔfɹ	→	/ʔɔːfəɹ/	‘red’
√ħwɹ	→	/ħɔːwəɹ/	‘black’
√bt’l	→	/bɔːt’əl/	‘coward’
√ʔk’l	→	/ʔɔːk’əl/	‘clever’
√wjn	→	/wiːjən/	‘well’
√ħwl	→	/ħɛːwəl/	‘crazy’

c) Cæ(ə, ʊ)CuːC

√lbn	→	/ləbuːn/	‘white’
√ʔnb	→	/ʔænuːb/	‘thich’
√ʔɟz	→	/ʔæɟuːz/	‘old woman’
√ħɟɹ	→	/ħʊɟuːɹ/	‘slave’

d) Cɔ(u, i)ːC

√χɹ	→	/χɔːɹ/	‘little’
√ɬχ	→	/ɬɔːχ/	‘big’
√hb	→	/huːb/	‘warm’
√gd	→	/giːd/	‘good’

e) Cɛ(uː)CC

√ɟħb	→	/ɟɛħb/	‘shallow’
√ɬnt	→	/ɬuːnt/	‘ugly’
√shb	→	/sɛhb/	‘tormenting sea’
√ħɹkʼ	→	/ħʌɹkʼ/	‘hot’
√hnd	→	/hɔːnd/	‘sleepy’
√hɹkʼ	→	/hɛɹkʼ/	‘thief’

6.11.2 The Feminine Singular Adjectives

The feminine marker for adjectives is the suffix (V)t- added to the masculine form. This feminine marker suffix entails some stem modifications on the masculine form; and also mostly is preceded by a predictable long vowel in addition to epenthetic vowel inserted into the initial cluster of the singular pattern and the cluster moves to the middle. The following examples include all types of feminine adjectives:

/kʼəfduːt/	‘low’
/ɟəbħuːt/	‘blunt
/χətmiːt/	‘thin’
/həmɟiːt/	‘foolish’
/həndiːt/	‘sleepy’
/sʼəlħɛːt/	‘fat’

6.11.3 The plural Adjectives

Adjectives in MQ form their plurals either by suffixation or by an internal change in the word. The suffixed plural, also called sound plural, is formed by the affixation of a plural suffix to the singular form. Examples are given below to show the plural suffix morphemes, their phonemic shape and their internal distribution:

Table 6.28: External (Suffixed) Plural Adjectives in MQ

Singular form	Plural form	Gloss
a) həndiːt (f)	həduːtən	'sleepy'
b) k'ænnɛt (f)	k'ænnuːtən	'small'
c) k'ænnuːn (m)	k'ænjuːn	'small'
d) ħnɔːbət (f)	ħənjæbtən	'big'
e) ʔɔːk'ɛl (m)	ʔʌk'əlɛːt	'clever'
g) bɔːjəɹ (m)	beɪɹiːt	'liar'
f) bət'ɛlt(f)	bət'əluːt	'coward'
h) k'ət'əʊn (m)	k'ət'wɔːn	'thin'
i) hɔːnd (m)	hɛndəm	'sleepy (m)'

As noted in the Table above, the feminine suffixes -tən, -t, and (ə)n which appear in examples (a), (b), (d), (f) and the masculine suffixes -t, -əm, and infixes w and j that appear in (c), (e), (g), (h), and (i) are the most frequent feminine and masculine plural allomorphs in the language of Mehri Qishn. These allomorphs may mostly be accompanied by a vocalic change in the stem. Some masculine

nouns share also the plural suffix –t with the feminines which appears in examples (g) and (e). As shown in example (i), the suffix –m is a masculine plural marker; whereas examples (c) and (h) display infixational morphological process caused by palatalisation and labialisation, w and j are infixed in the singular pattern to form the plural noun.

6.11.4 The Phonemic Shapes of Internal Plural Adjectives

As mentioned before that the sound/suffixed plural is quite regular, but it is not the most frequently occurring plural form in the language. Rather, the most frequent form is the broken plural, internal plural (Simeone-Senelle, 1997), a form that exhibits a wide variety of unpredictable stem-internal changes. The singular pattern is modified but does not have an affix.

/tɔːɟɛɹ/	→	/tɟɛːɹ/	‘rich’
/lbuːn/	→	/leɪbən/	‘white’
/ft’æt/	→	/fɛt’wə/	‘naked’

Some adjectives become plural through apophonic relationship e.g.:

/hʊmeɪɟ/	→	/hʊmɔːɟ/	‘foolish’
/ħʊɟuːɹ/	→	/ħʊɟiːɹ/	‘slave / slaves’
/hʌmeɪt/	→	/hɪmeɪɟ/	‘foolish (f)’

/ʔɔːfəɹ/ → /ʔæfəɹ/ ‘red’

/ħɔːwəɹ/ → /ħɑʊwəɹ/ ‘black’

The particle /dɪ/ may combine with the feminine singular form as a prefix forming the plural form e.g.:

/ɟɪjuːt/ → /dɪɟuːjə/ ‘hungry’

6.12 Summary

In order to answer the three research questions, this chapter has been concerned with the identification and description of MQ nominal word classes whose members function primarily as elements in the noun phrase, as well as the morphological categories associated with them. Then the phonemic shapes of the nominal morphological categories and their internal distribution and formation have been described and presented through paradigms, tables, and illustrations with examples. This chapter is characterized by new presentations of MQ morphological data as the first work ever carried out in the field of Modern South Arabian languages morphology. It has provided full and clear conjugations of missing forms which have been poorly or slightly touched in previous studies. Original indigenous vocabulary has been found out in the current study and presented with full paradigms such as the preposition of direction /lu:□i:/ ‘towards’.

Nouns were shown to be a semantically well-defined word class displaying productive derivational morphology. The typologically unusual nonconcatenative system of MQ morphology has parallels in other Semitic languages. Furthermore, nouns may be formed by means of derivation of verbs; a productive pattern may be encountered in other Semitic languages as well. Other features of particular interest include the rich systems of pronominal, prepositional, demonstrative, possessive, and adjectival distinctions attested in MQ.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MORPHOLOGICAL DATA: VERBAL WORD CLASSES

7.1 Introduction

This chapter describes verbal word classes in MQ and the morphological categories associated with them. Verbal word classes are those whose members function primarily as predicates of clauses or as modifiers of clauses and predicates. They include verbs (7.2), the verbal stem morphology (7.2.1), roots (7.2.1.1), the vocal pattern (7.2.1.2), the verbal template (pattern) (7.2.1.3), verbal paradigms (7.2.2), auxiliaries / adverbs (7.3). The chapter then closes with an interpretation of two classical Mehri poems. The description focuses on the identification and semantic characterization of word classes and their categories along with their phonemic shapes and internal distribution.

MQ, like other Semitic languages, exhibits a complex morphological phenomenon defying a unified description of its important characteristics. A sound assessment of the different proposals made, in chapter two, concerning the organization and description of MQ indicate that the amalgamation of the important characteristics of the different approaches better meets the requirements of the description at hand. Therefore, an eclectic approach is adopted using IP and WP models in describing MQ verb morphology. The IP model, under the root and pattern morphology, deals with morphemic analysis in which the consonantal root is the main building unit in word formation. The WP model will be relevant to the

description of paradigmatic relations and morphological processes whereby the word is treated as an essential unit in word formation operations.

MQ language, like other Semitic languages such as Arabic, exhibits the root-pattern morphological phenomenon. This is especially true of MQ verbs, which rely heavily on the arrangement of the consonants and vowels in order to code different morphosyntactic properties. Therefore, identification of the most frequently occurring consonant and vowel patterns has been a logical starting point in most attempts to organize MQ verbs into classes.

The verbal system of MQ is highly inflectional, with prefixes and suffixes indicating categories such as person, number, and gender and tense which have been described in chapter five. The verbal system nevertheless retains the characteristic Semitic root-and-pattern morphology, well-known from studies of Arabic or Hebrew (Rowan, 2006). The root, composed of consonants, conveys the core lexical semantics. The pattern refers to the stem shape and stem vowels which correspond to different aspectual or tense categories.

The researcher pictures the MQ lexicon as a set of lexical roots, morphemes, stems, words, and morphological rules. Furthermore, the basic unit over which these rules operate is mainly the discontinuous consonantal root. The lexical entry for MQ is structured as a branching tree dominated by the consonantal root from which all other forms are derived.

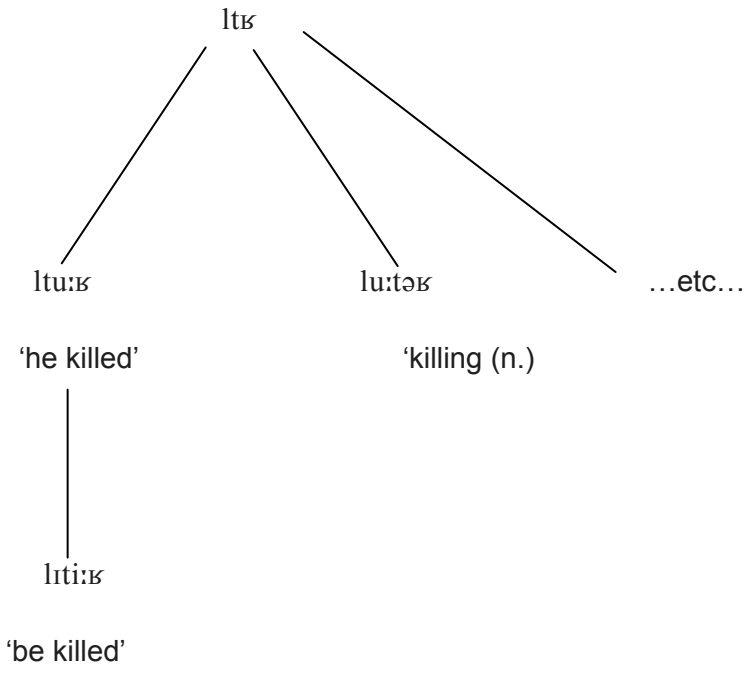


Figure 7.1: The Structured Lexical Entry of MQ (Adapted from Zohra et al., 1998)

7.2. Verbs

Verbs, which function as predicates of clauses, are defined for MQ as words which may be negated, that is, they may be followed by the negative marker /læ/ which usually occurs at the end of the clause and receive both clitics, proclitics and enclitics. MQ share the basic Semitic traits with major Semitic languages such as Hebrew and Arabic: rich morphology, based on consonantal roots, which depends on vowel changes and in some cases consonantal insertions and deletions to create inflections and derivations. For example, in MQ the consonantal root √dlf combined with the vocalic pattern CCuːC derives the verb /dluːf/ ‘fall’. This derivation is further inflected into forms that indicate semantic features, such as

number, gender, tense, etc.: /dlɛf-k/ ‘I fell (1c.sg.), you (2m.sg.) fell’, /dlɛf-ʃ/ ‘you (2f.sg.) fell’, /dɛlfɔːnæ/ ‘I / you will fall’.

Like other Semitic languages, the MQ lexeme forms of verbs are usually morphologically complex, that is, they are represented by polymorphemic forms and contain traces of morphological processes that are synchronically productive. Verbs in their lexeme forms may be used to denote situations that are past and bounded as well as present and unbounded. They may also be used to denote future situations. Furthermore, lexeme forms of verbs are used in imperative constructions. Exemplifications of such uses of lexeme forms are given in the following sentences:

1) nhɛh wʌtχɛfən fənɛmʃɪ
1c.pl. went-1c.pl. before- yesterday
‘we went afternoon before yesterday.’

2) tɛːm ʃʊkɛfkəm
2m.pl. sleep-2m.pl.
‘you are sleeping.’

3) hɒh bæɹɪəʊnæ
1c.sg. go-1c.sg.-fut.part.
‘I will go.’

4) bk’æɮ!
2m.sg.run!
‘run!.’

However, the lexeme form of a verb in MQ is not represented by a monomorphemic root. In order for any root, as mentioned previously that it is triconsonantal, to function as a major category of lexeme, it must be fixed into

some vocalic pattern or template. This interdigitation of the consonantal root and vocalic pattern is governed by a prosodic template (Bat-El, 2003) which determines the syllabic structure of the stem, i.e. the number of syllables, vowel length, and gemination. The vocalic pattern and the prosodic template together form what is called in Hebrew a binyan, or wazan in Arabic, which may be accompanied by an affix. This type of word structure appears quite different from the more familiar structure involving morpheme concatenation (Rowan, 2006).

From a phonological perspective, to determine the phonological shape of the verb, recognition of a pattern, called binyan in Hebrew, in a verb is essential for inflection; a verb that does not conform to one of the existing pattern cannot be properly conjugated and thus cannot enter the verbal system. Therefore, this was emphasized in Bat-El (1989, p. 16) “every new verb entering the language must conform to one of the existing vocalic patterns’’. Like a Semitic binyan MQ pattern has two obligatory phonological properties, one segmental and another prosodic. The segmental property is the vocalic pattern, which provides information regarding the quality of the vowels in the verb stem. The prosodic structure assigns the verb its syllabic structure.

Affixes and clitics added productively to verbs play the role in specifying the meaning of verbs, and the following sections describe the verb stem (7.2.1), including its templatic morphemes such as its root morpheme (7.2.1.1), vocalic morpheme (7.2.1.2), and word pattern morpheme (7.2.1.3). As clarified previously with regard to the scheme of answering the research questions, the same scheme

will be followed in identifying and describing the consonantal root, for instance, research question No.1, after the description of the underlying morpheme, research questions 2 & 3 focus on describing the phonemic shapes of this morpheme and showing how it is distributed and internally formed illustrated by different exemplifications, figures, and tabulated paradigms if any relevant.

7.2.1 The Verbal Stem Morphology

MQ employs the root-and-pattern system of combining a consonantal root with vowels to form verb stems. The roots √bɪ 'go by night', √slb 'wait', √ftħ 'open' and √wtχf 'come by afternoon' illustrate the verbal root-and-pattern system in the three main aspectual verb forms, perfective, imperfective and jussive.

7.2.1.1 The Root

Before describing the verbal classes, an introduction of MQ root structures should be in order. MQ verbal roots consist of a set of two to four consonants, with the canonical root containing three consonants. Vowels are inserted between the consonants to make word forms according to a CV template, an example of a nonconcatenative morphological system. For example, the root √ktb has among its word forms ktuːb 'he wrote', kɪtiːb 'it was written', and kəːtəb 'he is writing'. MQ verbal morphology can be represented by separating the vowels and consonants of the word form onto different autosegmental tiers (McCarthy 1979). Thus, a typical verb is represented as in Figure 7.2, with each morphological tier contributing to the meaning of the word form.

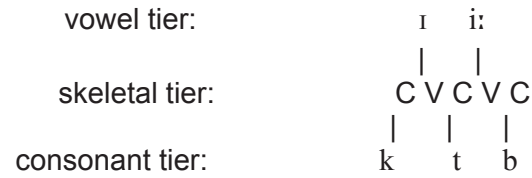


Figure 7.2 : Non-Linear Representation of a Typical MQ Verb

The consonants ktb are members of a single morpheme, whereas the intermediate vowels /ɪ/ and /iː/ form a second morpheme. The linguistic theory of autosegmental phonology (e.g. Goldsmith, 1990) nicely captures this fact by representing the root on a separate level of representation segregated from vowels and affixes. Fig.7.2 illustrates this representation for the verb kɪtiːb. This representation includes three levels of representation, one for the root consonants, another for vowels, and a third level for consonant and vowel placeholders (the CV skeleton), serving as an anchor for root and vowel phonemes.

It should be noted that a MQ root morpheme is not a stem undergoing vowel modification. Nor can it merge with vowels, or with concatenative affixes (derivational or inflectional). It can only merge with a pattern morpheme: one root morpheme with one pattern morpheme at a time as shown in Figure 7.2 above. As mentioned before that the number of radicals in roots which may constitute a part of verb forms varies from two as a minimum to four as a maximum.

7.2.1.1.1 Bi-Consonantal Roots C1C2

This may be a very limited class which does not show a third radical in any other morphological class e.g.:

√zm	→	/zɛm/	‘give!’
√mt	→	/mɔːt/	‘die’
√hm	→	/hɪm/	‘can’
√ɟɹ	→	/ɟɑːɹ/	‘fall’
√ɬn	→	/ɬɪn/	‘see’
√ks	→	/kuːs/	‘get’
√ɮd	→	/ɮɔːd/	‘take’
√bd	→	/beɪd/	‘lie’
√ɬl	→	/ɬɛl/	‘float’
√bɹ	→	/bæɹ/	‘go by night’

After the morphological analysis of the MQ data at hand, it has been found out that some basic perfective verb forms may have what can be called weak radical roots; that is, they consist of one consonant as their ingredient. But its surface form consists of two weak radicals (glides). Exemplifications of this type of verbs will be provided in the inflected form, the affixes will be between brackets e.g.:

√t’wj	→	/t’eɪw/	‘come at night time’
√twj	→	/(də)-tiːw/	‘I am eating’
√twj	→	/(də)-tuːj/	‘I am eating’
√twj	→	/təʊ(k)/	‘I ate’

√twj	→	/təʊ(ʃ)/	‘I (f.) ate’
√twj	→	/tɔː(kəm)/	‘you (m.pl.) ate’
√t’wj	→	/t’əʊ(k)/	‘I came at night’
√twj	→	/(tə)tiːj/	‘you (f.) are eating’

Like other Semitic languages, some MQ verbs only have one surface consonant, but their roots historically had, or are synchronically assumed to contain, three elements. The second and third root segments are the glides /j/ and /w/. These weak segments fuse with other elements in the verb root, causing palatalization or vowel fronting in the case of /j/, or labialization or vowel rounding in the case of /w/. Some examples of verbs with root semi-vowel, /w/ and /j/ are shown above. But examples like /təʊ(k)/ show that these verbs consist of a monoradical root in addition to a predictable long or diphthong vowel; but all scholars in Modern South Arabian languages adopt the tri-radical root √twj for such a type of verbs (Goldenberg, 2005b) . This consonantal root with a vocalic radical which seems to reveal the fact found in other Semitic languages (Goldenberg, 2005a) too that Semitic roots are not inevitably purely consonantal; they may include semi-vowel radicals (Ibid). It could be stated plainly that semi-vowels in MQ can be radical or radicals can also be vocalic. Tri-radicals, a vocalic radical forming one, in MQ roots are prevalent. Examining the conjugations of weak radical perfective verbs listed in a paradigm below may reveal the type of

recurrent vowel and its interchangeable relation with the glides /w/ and /j/ inserted in some conjugated forms.

Table 7.1: Conjugations of Weak Radical Verbal Perfective Forms √twj

person	**'to eat'**	**'to come by night'**	**Gloss**
1st c.sg.	təʊk	t'əʊk	'I ate / I came'
2nd m.sg.	təʊk	t'əʊk	'you ate / you came'
2nd f.sg	təʊʃ	t'əʊʃ	'you ate / you came'
3rd m.sg.	twʊh	t'wʊh	'he ate / he came'
3rd f.sg.	twuːt	t'wuːt	'she ate / she came'
1st c.pl.	tɔːwən	t'ɔːwən	'we ate / we came'
2nd m.pl.	tɔːkəm	t'ɔːkəm	'you ate / you came'
2nd f.pl.	tɔːkən	t'ɔːkən	'you ate / you came'
3rd m.pl.	twuːm	t'wɔːm	'they ate / they came'
3rd f.pl.	twʊh	t'weɪʔ / t'weɪwuː	'they ate / they came'

Table 7.2: Conjugations of Weak Radical Verbal Imperfective Forms √twj

person	'to eat'	'to come by night'	Gloss
1st c.sg.	dətuːj / dətiːw	dət'eɪw	'I am eating / I am coming'
2nd m.sg.	tətuːj	tət'eɪw	'you are eating / you are coming'
2nd f.sg	tətiː	tət'eɪwiː	'you are eating / you are coming'
3rd m.sg.	dɪtuːj	dɪt'eɪw	'he is eating / he is coming'
3rd f.sg.	dɪtuːjiː	tət'eɪw	'she is eating / she is coming'
1st c.pl.	dəntuːj	dənt'eɪw	'we are eating / we are coming'
2nd m.pl.	tuːjəm	tət'ɔːjəm	'you are eating / you are coming'
2nd f.pl.	tuːjən	tət'ɔːjən	'you are eating / you are coming'
3rd m.pl.	dɪtuːjəm	dɪt'ɔːjəm	'they are eating they are coming'
3rd f.pl.	tuːjən	tət'ɔːjən	'they are eating they are coming'

It can be remarked in conclusion here that in contrast with most other verbs in the language, and in Semitic in general, where verbal roots are typically tri-radical (McCarthy 1982; Yimam 1999). Pluri-, bi- and mono-radicals can be derivatives, according to Fissaha and Haller (2003) and Yimam (2006), which result from a process of extension or reduction of root consonants. The researcher

argues that bi-consonantal roots seem to occur in MQ without a third weak radical on the basis of the different forms they take in their paradigms without the appearance of any palatalisation or labialization. The root √bɪ may be considered the best example as a bi-consonantal root; the Table 7.9 in page 341 of this Chapter portrays clearly this fact.

7.2.1.1.2 Tri-Consonantal Roots C1C2C3

This happens to be the most canonical structure of the root. It may appear in different phonemic shapes:

a) C1w(j)C3 C2 is a semivowel /w/ or /j/ which appears in some verb forms e.g.:

√t'wt	→	/t'wuːt/	'he came'
√twt	→	/twuːt/	'he ate'
√t'jn	→	/t'jjɔːnæ/	'I will come'
√ɬwm	→	/ɬɪwiːm/	'to be bought'
√hwħ	→	/jɪ-hwɛːħ/	'running'

b) C1C2w(j) C3 is a semivowel /w/ or /j/ which appears in some verb forms e.g.:

√χzw	→	/χziːw/	'refuse'

c) C1C2C3 C3 is identical with C2 e.g.:

√ħʃʃ	→	/ħʃuːʃ/	‘cut, injure’
√kɹɹ	→	/kɹuːɹ/	‘attack’
√sʼkʼkʼ	→	/sʼkʼɔːkʼ/	‘scream’
√jɬɬ	→	/jæɬuːɬ/	‘stand up’

d) C1C2C3 This is the most common pattern in MQ.

√bkʼɮ	→	/jɪ-buːkʼəɮ/	‘running’
√ɮhl	→	/ɮhɔːl/	‘pass water’
√ʁsm	→	/ʁsuːm/	‘went early in the morning’
√ʃɟɬ	→	/ʃʊɟiːɬ/	‘went afternoon’
√wkb	→	/wʊkəʊb/	‘entered’
√hnf	→	/hnuːf/	‘wave his hand’
√nʁm	→	/nʁɔːm/	‘get angry’
√ɬɟt	→	/ɬɟuːt/	‘pained’
√ʔɹt	→	/ʔɹuːt/	‘dwelled’
√ɟħh	→	/ɟħɔːh/	‘came from outside’
√ɟhm	→	/ɟhiːm/	‘travelled’
√hdɟ	→	/hæduːɟ/	‘breastfeed’
√χtl	→	/χuːtəl/	‘hunt’
√ɬtɹ	→	/ɬtuːɹ/	‘tore’

√hk'ʔ	→	/huːk'əʔ/	'put'
√ɟɹh	→	/ɟɹʊh/	'passed'
√hlk'	→	/hæluːk'/	'blow on fire'

7.2.1.1.3 Quadri-Consonantal Roots C1C2C3C4

Quadri-consonantal verbs are common in MQ. Some of the radicals may be identical e.g.

a) C1C2C3C3 as in

√nχɹɹ	→	/nχɪɹuːɹ/	'snore'
√jhss	→	/jəhsuːs/	'intend'
√ɬχl	→	/ɬχʊlluːl/	'sit down'
√ʔfɹɹ	→	/ʔəfɛɹuːɹ/	to become red'
√lbnn	→	/ləbɛnuːn/	'to become white'

b) C1C2C1C4

√hk'hb	→	/hɪk'hɔːb/	'bring'

Some quadri-consonantal verbs consist of weak consonants which appear initially wC2C3C4 or medially C1C2wC4 e.g.

√wtχf	→	/wʌtχɛf/	'came'
√hs'wɹ	→	/həs'wɔːɹ/	'to make stand'

√ʃnwħ → /ʃniːwəħ/ ‘fight’

√ħwɹɹ → /ħəwɛɹuːɹ/ ‘to become black’

Other quadri-consonantal verbs have this shape C1C2C3C4 e.g.

√χtls → /ɪχtəluːs/ ‘fall’

7.2.1.2 The Vocalic Pattern Morpheme

In MQ, many verbal inflectional and derivational morphemes are vowels which are inserted between the consonants of the verb roots. The vocalic pattern, which conveys additional syntactic information, can be viewed as an affix, whose position within the stem is determined by prosodic restrictions. This view holds through out all Semitic languages (Ussishkin, 2000).

A verb stem consists of one of the following phonemic shapes of vocalic patterns. These are the most common patterns, which express active perfective verbs e.g.

a) /uː/

/ʁbuːɹ/ ‘attend’

/hluːk’/ ‘put on fire’

/sluːf/ ‘get out’

/ʁsuːm/ ‘went early morning’

b) /ɔː/

/tʼħɔːn/ ‘grind’

/kʼhɔːb/ ‘come’

/ɟhɔːm/ ‘leave’

/χdɔːm/ ‘work’

c) /iː/

/ʔmiːɹ/ ‘say’

/χziːw/ ‘refuse’

d) /ɑː/

/ɟɑːɹ/ ‘fall’

/nħɑːɟ/ ‘dance’

e) /iː.ə/

/biːtəɹ/ ‘catch fish’

/liːkʼəf/ ‘catch’

/ɬiːtəm/ ‘buy’

/liːsʼəkʼ/ ‘stick’

f) /uː.ə/

/χuːtəl/ ‘hunt’

/tuːbəɹ/ ‘break’

/fuːtəħ/ ‘open’

/juːkəb/ ‘enter’

g) /ɔː. ə/

/χɔːbət’/ ‘stir’

/jɔːt’əf/ ‘fold’

/ʔɔːnək’/ ‘embrace’

h) The vocalic pattern /ɪ.iː/ denotes the passive voice in MQ.

/lɪtiːʁ/ ‘to be killed’

/lɪbiːd/ ‘to be shot’

/hɪɹiːk’/ ‘to be stolen’

/ɬɪwiːm/ ‘to be bought’

/k’ɪbiːɮ/ ‘to be caught’

/nɪttiːɹ/ ‘to be untied’

7.2.1.3 The Verb Stem Templates

A template (CV-Skeleton) is a rigid construct where consonants and vowels have to fit into a given shape (Bat-El, 2003). The template coordinates vowel

melodies and consonant positions. The CV-Skeleton in MQ is an abstract prosodic morpheme coding the phonological shape of the surface word and its primary syntactic function, which has no surface phonetic content. Under the morpheme-based approach, the template is viewed as a separate morpheme consisting of syllabic positions to which a root is mapped (McCarthy 1979, 1981), or as a representation containing vowels or information on consonant clustering (Goldenberg, 1994). This approach has also been adopted for many analyses of Ethiopian Semitic languages (Rose, 2003).

Like all Semitic languages, MQ has a verbal basic word pattern comprising of two different types of basic verbs which are called by Johnstone (1981) as types A and B, based on semantic and morphological criteria, derived patterns characterized by internal vocalic modification, infixation (t-) and prefixation (h-, ʃ-), and an internal vocalic passive. A prefixed vowel may occur in the pattern with internal modification. Since the third masculine singular perfective form is inflectionally unmarked, it serves as a good starting point in the following verbal word patterns. In most cases, just the masculine third-person singular citation form is shown; other persons differ only in the affixes. The perfective masculine third-person singular citation form is the traditional citation form stem serving as the base from which the other forms are derived, and the researcher treats it as the base for correspondence as well. This approach is analogous to those approaches by McCarthy (1993) for Arabic and Akkadian, and Ussishkin (2000) for Modern Hebrew.

It should be noted that Johnstone (1981) and Simeone-Senelle (1997) classified their verbal patterns of tri-consonantal and quadric-consonantal roots only. They have not mentioned anything about bi-consonantal roots which form a distinctive verbal class in MQ. For the sake of including all possible actual verbal forms, the number of consonants in the actual form (not the root) and when they are involved with affixes will be taken into consideration in the following classification of word patterns.

7.2.1.3.1 Verbal Word Pattern I

Verbal word pattern I comprises verbs with a bi-consonantal stem. It has the following main subclasses:

C1(ɪ, ɛ, æ)C2 e.g. /ɬɪn/ 'see', /hɛt/ 'bring', /bæɹ/ 'went'

C1u(ɑ, i, ɛ)ːC2 /kuːs/ 'get', /ɟɑːɹ/ 'fall', /kiːb/ 'enter', /hɛːk'/ 'make drink'

C1ɔːC2ɪ /nɔːk'ɪ/ 'choose'

7.2.1.3.2 Verbal Word Pattern II

Verbs in Modern South Arabian languages are divided into lexical types (Johnstone, 1981; Simeone-Senelle, 1997). Verbs in MQ are also divided into two lexical types, type A and type B. They form the verbal word pattern II which includes verbs with a tri-consonantal stem:

a) Type A

C1C2u(ɔ)ːC3

The long vowel is usually the predictable /uː/ and occasionally /ɔː/. Simeone-Senelle (1997) followed Johnstone (1981) in the epenthesis of a vowel in the initial cluster of this word pattern. Both of them adopted this pattern C1əC2vːC3. As far as MQ dialect is concerned and based on the analysis of the actual first hand data of the current study the researcher found out a tow-consonant cluster initiating this word pattern in MQ. This word pattern is found to be regular in this language indicating the active simple perfective form of the verb. Exemplifications of this word pattern are given below:

/hɹuːɟ/ ‘speak’

/sbuːħ/ ‘swim’

/ltuːʁ/ ‘kill’

/ʁluːk’/ ‘look’

/dfɔːn/ ‘bury’

	h ɹ - ɟ	root	
CCuːC	. . uː .	pattern	
	hɹuːɟ	form	‘speak’

Figure 7.3: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Verbal Word Pattern II Type A

b) Type B

C1i(u, ɔ)ːC2əC3

The long vowel is predictably /iː/, /uː/, or /ɔː/, whereas the short vowel is always /ə/. Type B verb is characterized by a disyllabic form, whereby the nucleus of the first syllable is long vowel. This occurs in the perfective forms only while vocalic alternations occur to the other forms e.g.

/biːtəɹ/	‘catch fish’
/ɹiːkəb/	‘ride’
/ɬiːtəm/	‘buy’
/liːk’əf/	‘catch’
/liːs’ək’/	‘stick’
/χuːtəl/	‘hunt’
/tuːbəɹ/	‘break’
/luːbəs/	‘put on’
/ʔɔːnək’/	‘embrace’
/ħɔːɹək/	‘move’
/k’ɔːləd/	‘imitate’

	t - b - ɹ	root	
CuːCəC	. uː . ə .	pattern	
	tuːbəɹ	form	‘break’

Figure 7.4: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Verbal Word Pattern II Type B

The long vowel might predictably be one of these vowels /uː, iː, ɔː/.

7.2.1.3.3 Verbal Word Pattern III

This word pattern expresses the passive voice of MQ verb. It has different phonemic shapes depending on the aspect of the verb perfective or imperfective.

1. An internal vocalic modification may occur in type A and B verbs producing perfective passive form in MQ. It usually has this word pattern:

C1ɪC2iːC3

/lɪtiːʁ/	‘was killed’
/lɪbiːd/	‘was shot’
/hɪʁiːk’/	‘was stolen’
/nɪttiːʁ/	‘was untied’
/sɪbiːt’/	‘was hit’
/k’ɪbiːɮ/	‘was caught’
/łɪwiːm/	‘was bought’
/kɪtiːb/	‘was written’

2. ʃ- is a derivational morpheme which attaches initially to the perfective verb causing some internal stem modification in some verbs; it changes the voice of the verb from active voice into passive entailing vocalic modifications in the stem. It has this pattern ʃɪC1C2i(u)ːC3. Exemplifications of the distribution of this

derivational morpheme are given in the following paradigm of the verb /sɛbt'/ 'to hit':

Table 7.3: Distribution of ʃ- Derivational Morpheme with Perfective Verb /sɛbt'/

person	/sɛbt'/ 'to hit'	Gloss
1st c.sg.	ʃɪsbɛt'k	'I was hit'
2nd m.sg.	ʃɪsbɛt'k	'you were hit'
2nd f.sg	ʃɪsbɛt'ʃ	'you were hit'
3rd m.sg.	ʃɪsbuːt'	'he was hit'
3rd f.sg.	ʃɪsɪbt'ɔːt	'she was hit'
1st c.pl.	ʃɪsbɛt'ən	'we were hit'
2nd m.pl.	ʃɪsbɛt'kəm	'you were hit'
2nd f.pl.	ʃɪsbɛt'kən	'you were hit'
3rd m.pl.	ʃɪsbɔːt'əm	'they were hit'
3rd f.pl.	ʃɪsɪbt'ɔːtən	'they were hit'

Similarity to Soqotri and Jibbali in the non-occurrence of t- person prefix Johnstone (1968, 1980) can be noted too and recorded in MQ which is somewhat different from subjunctive forms in Table 7.8.

3. /d-(ə)(ɪ)/ is a temporal aspectual marker acting as a prefix signaling the passive voice of the imperfective verb and the progressive aspect. It may be followed by the vowel /ə/ with the first and second singular and plural person or /ɪ/ with other persons. It attaches directly to one of the above passive word patterns e.g.

d-(ə)(ɪ)C1ɪC2iːC3

dɪlɪtiːʁ ‘he is killed’ ‘he is being killed’

dɪtɪbiːɪ ‘it is being broken’

d-(ə)(ɪ)ʃɪC1C2i(u)ːC3

d-(ə)(ɪ)ʃɪsbuːt’ ‘he is hit’ ‘he is being hit’

d-(ə)(ɪ)ʃɪhɪɻiːk’ ‘he is stolen’ ‘he is being stolen’

	ɬ - w - m	root	
(də)(ʃɪ)CɪCiːC	(də)(ʃɪ) . ɪ . iː .	pattern	
	(də)(ʃɪ) ɬɪwiːm	form	‘be bought’

Figure 7.5: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Verbal Word Pattern III

7.2.1.4 The Derived Word Patterns

As mentioned repeatedly in this thesis, a typical Semitic verb must have a specific shape, defined in terms of prosodic structure and vocalic patterns plus affixes. The set of prosodic and vocalic restrictions, which delimit the shape of a

verb is the word pattern. Derivational and inflectional relations between words thus amount to alternations in prosodic structure and vocalic pattern as well as affixation. These are the only relevant structural properties of Semitic morphology. Therefore, all the following word patterns are derived themes; either derived by internal modification, <t> infixation, h- prefixation, ʃ- prefixation, or n- prefixation.

7.2.1.4.1 The Derived Word Pattern I d(ɪ)(ə)C1u(ɔ)ːC2əC3

The prefix /d-/ mostly attaches to type A simple verbs, whose pattern is C1C2uːC3, adding aspectual and grammatical features to them and internal modification occur during this affixational process. The initial cluster is divided by the long vowel through metathesis and the monosyllabic word pattern becomes a tri-syllabic; the prefix forming a syllable and the short vowel as the nucleus of the third syllable: C1C2uːC3 → d(ɪ)(ə)C1u(ɔ)ːC2əC3

The type of vowel /ɪ/ or /ə/ following /d-/ depends morphologically on the kind of person indicated in the sentence as pointed out earlier in this chapter. This morphophonemic relationship has been also referred to in chapter 5.

/dɪdɔːfən/ ‘to be burying’

/dəhuːɹək’/ ‘to be stealing’

/dɪhuːɹəɟ/ ‘to be speaking’

/dənɔːħəɟ/ ‘to be playing’

/dɪwuːzəm/ ‘to be giving’

dfɔːn (A)	d - f - n	root	
(dɪ(ə)CɔːCəC	(dɪ(ə) . ɔː . ə .	pattern	
	(dɪ(ə) dɔːfən	form	‘be burying’

Figure 7.6: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Derived Verbal Word Pattern I

7.2.1.4.2 The Derived Word Pattern II dɪ(ə)C1C2i(u, ɔ)ːC3

The derived word pattern appears differently when /d-/ attaches to type B verbs (C1i(u, ɔ)ːC2əC3) forming a medial cluster and deleting the short vowel as illustrated herein: dɪ(ə)C1C2i(u, ɔ)ːC3 .The long vowel is predictably /iː/, /ɔː/ or /uː/. The short vowel is always the schwa /ə/. The word patterns I and II have similar grammatical functions.

/dəhbiːl/	‘to be singing’
/dɪɬtuːm/	‘to be buying’
/dɪχsʼɔːb/	‘to be sending’
/dədħɔːkʼ/	‘to be treading’

ɬiːtəm (B)	ɬ - t - m	root	
(dɪ(ə)CCuːC	(dɪ(ə) . . uː .	pattern	
	(dɪ(ə) ɬtuːm	form	‘be buying’

Figure 7.7: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Derived Verbal Word Pattern II

7.2.1.4.3 The Derived Word Pattern III C1ɛtC2əC3

This derived word pattern with infix /<t>/ derivative morpheme represents an essential verb class in MQ Semitic morphology corresponding to similar word formation in Semitic languages. The infix /<t>/ morpheme can be classified as causative and reflexive. It induces gemination and gemination moves within the word (Simeone-Sennele, 1997). It changes the transitive verb into intransitive. The vowel preceding the infix /<t>/ is mostly /ɛ/; whereby it is followed by /ə/.The infix /<t>/ may make a medial cluster with the second radical.

/liːk'əf/	/lɛ<t>k'əf/	'become caught'
/nfuːχ/	/nɛ<t>fəχ/	'swell, become blown'
/s'eɪməɹ/	/s'ɛ<t>məɹ/	'become troubled'
/ħɔːɹək/	/ħɛ<t>ɹək/	'move, shake, swing'
/ħæɹb/	/ħɛ<t>ɹəb/	'to make war'
/dɪɬəʊk'/	/ɬɛ<t>ək'/	'burns'

(d)əC1təC2ɔːC3

dən<t>əfɔːχ

lɛ<t>k'əf	l - k' - f	root	
Cɛ<t>CəC	. ɛt. ə .	pattern	
	lɛ<t>k'əf	form	'become caught'

Figure 7.8: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Derived Verbal Word Pattern III

7.2.1.4.4 The Derived Word Pattern V (hə-)C1C2ɔːC3

The derivative prefix morpheme (hə-) forms a crucial part of this word pattern. It attaches to type A and B verbs. It has an influence on transitivity / intransitivity of the verb. This word pattern can be classified as causative.

/ʁlɔːkʼ/	‘see’	/həʁlɔːkʼ/	‘to show’
/bɔːdəl/	‘change’	/həbdɔːl/	‘to exchange’
/sʼwɔːɹ/	‘stand’	/həsʼwɔːɹ/	‘to make stand’
/nfɔːχ/	‘blow air’	/hənfɔːχ/	‘to blow fire to’
/kʼɛsʼə/	‘dry’	/həkʼɛsʼə/	‘to make dry’
/kʼɹɔːɹ/	‘go’	/həkʼɹɔːɹ/	‘to go’
/ɹħɛːkʼ/	‘far’	/həɹħɛkʼ/	‘to keep far’
/dɪɬɬəʊkʼ/	‘burn’	/həɬɛkʼ/	‘to get it burnt’
/ʔɛːɖ/	‘return’	/hɛːɖ/	‘repeat’
/ʔeɪs/	‘get up’	/hɛss/	‘to awaken’

həkʼfuːd	kʼ f - d	root	
həCCuːC	hə. . uː .	pattern	
	həkʼfuːd	form	‘bring down’

Figure 7.9: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Derived Verbal Word Pattern V

7.2.1.4.5 The Derived Word Pattern VI ʃəC1C2ɔ(u)ːC3

It should be noted here that this word pattern is considered herein as causative reflexive different from the one in 7.2.1.3.3 which has the most frequent passive value.

/ʃənsʼɔːɹ/	‘to win in war’
/ʃəχbɔːɹ/	‘to inquire’
/ʃəmduːd/	‘to receive’
/ʃəkʼɹuːɮ/	‘to borrow’
/ʃəfkʼɔːt/	‘to get married’
/ʃəɮjuːkʼ/	‘to get tired’

ʃəmduːd	m d - d	root	
ʃəCCuːC	ʃə. . uː .	pattern	
	ʃəmduːd	form	‘receive’

Figure 7.10: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Derived Verbal Word Pattern VI

Table 7.4: Verbal Word Patterns in MQ

Class	Root	Vocalic pattern	Resulting template	Example
Word pattern I	CC-C	. . u(ɑ): .	CCu(ɑ):C (A)	/slu:b/ 'wait' / /nħɑ:ɟ/ 'play'
word pattern II	C-C-C	..i(u, ɔ): . ə .	Ci(u,ɔ):CəC (B)	/χu:təl/ 'hunt' / /bi:təɹ/ 'catch fish'
word pattern III	C-C-C	. ɪ . i: .	CɪCi:C	/tɪbi:ɹ/ 'be broken'
derived word pattern I	də(ɪ)C-C-C	də(ɪ) . ɔ: . ə .	də(ɪ)Cɔ:CəC	/də(ɪ)ʁɔ:ləkʼ/ 'look'
derived word pattern II	də(ɪ)CC-C	də(ɪ) . . u: .	də(ɪ)CCu:C	/dɪɬtu:m/ 'be buying'
derived word pattern III	C-tC-C	. ɛ t. ə .	CɛtCəC	/sʼɛtməɹ/ 'become troubled'
derived word pattern V	həCC-C	hə . . ɔ: .	həCCɔ:C	/hənfɔ:χ/ 'cause to swell'
derived word pattern VI	ʃɪCC-C	ʃɪ . . u: .	ʃɪCCu:C	/ʃɪlbu:d/ 'be shot'

7.2. 2 Verbal Paradigms: The Perfective, Imperfective and Future Forms

MQ, like other languages with rich inflectional morphology, organizes words in paradigms. These paradigms can be described as sets of words built from combinations of stems with inflectional markers, the latter designating various morphosyntactic categories (Halliday et al, 2005). As an example, consider a

fragment of the MQ verbal paradigm in Tables 7.5 and 7.6. The MQ verb can be described as having two major sets of forms or 'Tense/Aspect' categories known as the imperfect and the perfect distinguished by their agreement and mood morphology. The perfective form is exclusively suffixal and is used mainly in the past tense except in so limited bi-consonantal verbs which might be prefixed (see 7.2.3 and table 7.9). The imperfective form is both prefixal and suffixal with the person feature realized as a prefix while the number feature is realized as a suffix, except in the first plural where it is realized as a prefix. The future form can be suffixal and both prefixal and suffixal. The paradigms in Tables 7.4 and 7.5 illustrate the perfective and imperfective forms.

Table 7.5 Perfective Verb (Type A) Paradigm

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix
1	Singular	f / m	-k	ʁɹɛb-k 'know'
2	"	m	-k	ʁɹɛb-k
2	"	f	-ʃ	ʁɹɛb-ʃ
3	"	m	ø	ʁɹuːb
3	"	f	-t	ʁɛɹbuː-t
1	Plural	f / m	-ən	ʁɹuːb-ən
2	"	m	-kəm	ʁɹuːb-kəm
2	"	F	-kən	ʁɹuːb-kən
3	"	m	-əm	ʁɹuːb-əm
3	"	F	ø	ʁɹuːb

The words in Table 7.5 illustrate the past tense of the perfect aspect of the lexeme 'know'. Fully inflected words are formed by suffixing /ʁɹuːb/ with the appropriate suffix. These suffixes consist of /-k, -ʃ, ø, -t, -ən, -kəm, -kən, -əm/ the markers of the morphosyntactic categories of Person (First, Second, Third), Number (Singular, Plural) and Gender (Masculine, Feminine). The sign Null(ø) is

used to refer to the unmarkedness of the third person masculine singular and third person feminine plural, that is they are free from suffixes. The perfect form of the verb takes the shape [CCvC-] and generally refers to past time describing actions conceived of as completed in the past (Johnstone, 1981; Benmamoun, 2003). Fully inflected words based on the perfect appear with suffixes, marking person, gender, and number. In contrast to the imperfect, there are no prefixes in the perfect paradigm.

Table 7.6 Imperfective Verb (Type A) Paradigm

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix
1	Singular	f / m	də-	də-tuːbəɹ 'break'
2	"	m	tə-	tə-tuːbəɹ
2	"	f	tə-	tə-teɪbəɹ
3	"	m	dɪ-	dɪ-tuːbəɹ
3	"	f	tə-	tə-tuːbəɹ
1	Plural	f / m	dən-	dən-tuːbəɹ
2	"	m	tə-əm	tə-tɛbɹ-əm
2	"	F	tə-ən	tə-tɛbɹ-ən
3	"	m	dɪ-əm	dɪ-tɛbɹ-əm
3	"	F	tə-ən	tə-tɛbɹ-ən

The words in Table 7.6 illustrate the mood of the imperfect aspect of the lexeme 'BREAK'. The indicative imperfective describes mainly habitual present actions and with the preverbal /d-/ punctual present actions (Johnstone, 1981).

Fully inflected words are formed either by suffixing /tuːbəɹ/ with the appropriate suffixes consisting of /də-, tə-, dɪ-, dən-/ or by placing /tuːbəɹ/ in the context of the appropriate prefix-suffix pairs consisting of /tə-əm, tə-ən, dɪ-əm/, the markers of the morphosyntactic categories of aspect (imperfective), Person (First, Second, Third), Number (Singular, Plural) and Gender (Masculine, Feminine). The second person feminine singular prefix pronoun causes vocalic change indicating gender which has been elaborated in 7.1.1.5.

Descriptively, as displayed in the tables above, person marking on MQ verbs or, more accurately, verb-words is achieved through a series of word-initial prefixes in the imperfective form or word-final suffixes in the perfective form or through prefix-suffix pairs in the imperfective form. Crucially, the researcher will argue that all the overt members of this set are all person markers. Traditional analyses of Semitic languages generally refer to the person markers as person agreement (Goldenberg, 2005a), though Goldenberg (2005a) noted that they may function as pronouns. The Subsection 5.3 in Chapter 5 on cliticisation showed that an approach to these markers in terms of proclitic and enclitic pronouns is more promising than an approach in terms of agreement morphemes. The verb is marked for perfective or imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect is used to denote completed events, while the imperfective aspect denotes uncompleted actions. In addition to aspect, the MQ verb is marked for person, number, mood (indicative, subjunctive, jussive, and imperative) and voice (active and passive).

The choice of indicative, subjunctive, and jussive mood is regulated largely by grammatical particles. All basic verbal moods, the indicative, the subjunctive, the jussive, and the imperative, are based on the imperfect form [-CCvC-]. Appleyard (1996), Simeone-Senelle (1997), Benmamoun (1999, 2003) and others endorsed the imperfect verbal patterns attested in Semitic languages and which the researcher attests them consistently in MQ. The indicative was shown in Table 7.6. More examples of indicative type B paradigm are given in Table 7.7 below:

Table 7.7: Indicative Imperfective Verb (Type B) Paradigm

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix
1	Singular	f / m	də-	də-tbɔːɹ ‘get broken’
2	“	m	tə-	tə-tbɔːɹ
2	“	f	tə-	tə-tbeɪɹ / tə-tbeɪɹɪ-iː
3	“	m	dɪ-	dɪtbɔːɹ
3	“	f	tə-	tətbɔːɹ
1	Plural	f / m	nə-	nətbɔːɹ
2	“	m	tə-əm	tətbɔːɹəm
2	“	f	tə-ən	tətbɔːɹən
3	“	m	dɪ-əm	dɪ-tbɔːɹ-əm
3	“	f	tə-ən	tətbɔːɹən

The subjunctive mood of the imperfective form is one of the prefix conjugations; in addition to the indicative, jussive and imperative. The vocalic pattern of the subjunctive differs from the imperfect and has a prefix /l-/ as displayed in Table 7.8 below.

Table 7.8 Subjunctive Imperfective Verb (Type A) Paradigm

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix
1	Singular	f / m	lə-	lə-lbuːd ‘shoot’
2	“	m	tə-	tə-lbuːd
2	“	f	tə-	tə-lbeɪdɪ
3	“	m	lə-	lə-lbuːd
3	“	f	tə-	tə-lbuːd
1	Plural	f / m	nə-	nə-lbuːd
2	“	m	tə-əm	tə-lbuːd-əm
2	“	f	tə-ən	tə-lbuːd-ən
3	“	m	lə-əm	lə-lbuːd-əm
3	“	f	tə-ən	tə-lbuːd-ən

It can be noted in the Table 7.8 that the subjunctive pattern is identical to the indicative and the perfective passive which has been shown previously in Table 7.3. The subjunctive form of the first person singular masculine and third person singular masculine are similar. The second and third person feminine singulars and plurals have identical subjunctive forms too. Similar to Jibbali and Soqotri

(Johnstone, 1968, 1980), the non-occurrence of t- person marker in the first and third person singular and plural masculine forms can be noted. Unlike the perfective form, the imperfective verb has a wider distribution. Exemplifications are given below to show the distributions of subjunctive:

hɒh ħɔːm ləfɬɛh	'I want to have lunch'
hɛːt tħɔːm təfɬɛh	'you (m.sg.) want to have lunch'
hɛːt tħiːm təfɬɛhɪ	'you (f.sg.) want to have lunch'
hɛh jɪħɔːm ləfɬɛh	'he wants to have lunch'
sɛh tħɔːm təfɬɛh	'she wants to have lunch'
nhɛh nħɔːm nəfɬɛh	'we want to have lunch'
tɛːm tħeɪm(əm) təfɬɛhkəm	'you (m.pl.) want to have lunch'
tɛːn tħeɪm(ən) təfɬɛhən	'you (f.pl.) want to have lunch'
hɛːm jɪħeɪm ləfɬɛhəm	'they want to have lunch'
sɛːn tħɔːmən təfɬɛhən	'they (f.pl.) want to have lunch'

5. hɛh dɪjəhsuːs ləkʼhɔːb
   3m.sg. prep.-intend prep.-come subj.
   'he intends to come.'

6. hɛh hɪm ləsiːɹ
3m.sg. able prep.-walk subj.
‘he is able to walk.’

7. jɪk’ɔːdəɹ læ ləhɹɛːɟ
3m.sg.-can neg. prep.-speak subj.
‘he can not speak’

The jussive occurs mainly in the context that expresses the meaning of ‘let’ followed by a l- prefixed verb form similar to the subjunctive pattern, and imperatives.

8. tɹæħhɛh lhæk’k’ɛɹ
let-3m.sg. prep.-leave
‘let him leave.’

9. ɟhɔːm fiːsæ!
2.c.leave quickly!
‘leave quickly!.’

The imperative pattern in MQ is identical to type A word pattern; but it differs from it in some imperative conjugated forms, whereby second person singular and plural feminine and plural masculine suffixes attach to the conjugated appropriate imperative forms i.e. /ɪ/, /əm/, and /ən/ respectively. The vocalic content in the imperative pattern varies. The imperative word pattern may be C1C2v(vː)C3. The vowel may be /ɛ/, /ɛː/, /iː/, or /ɔː/. The bi-consonantal imperative has its own pattern.

/ɟɹɛʔ!/ ‘drink!’

/ltɛːʁ!/ ‘kill!’

/ktiːb!/ ‘write!’

/ʃɛkf!/ ‘sleep!’

/hɹɛːɟ!/ ‘speak!’

/lk’ɑːt’!/ ‘collect!’

/ʁlɛːk’!/ ‘look!’

/tɛk’!/ ‘drink!’

/tɛ(h)!/ ‘eat!’

/siːɹ!/ ‘walk!’

/tɔːm!/ ‘hear!’

/hʌk’!/ ‘come! (2m.sg.)’

/hʌk’ɪ!/ ‘come! (2f.sg.)’

/hʌk’əm!/ ‘come! (2m.pl.)’

/hʌk’ən!/ ‘come! (2f.pl.)’

The causative-reflexive may have different imperative forms and may require accusative marker e.g.:

10. həɹħɛk’ mɪnɪ ɟɪðəʔ!
caus.prep.-drag away accus.prep.from-1c.sg. log
‘ drag the log away from me!’

11. ʔɛːɖ ləh dɹiːhəm!
2m.give back for-encl.3m.sg. money
‘give him the money back!’

Exemplifications of the negated imperative sentences are given below to illustrate the distribution of the imperative and negative morphemes:

12. hʌk'k'ɛɹəm læ!
go-2m.pl. negat.part.no
'do not go!'

7.2. 3 The Active and Passive Voice in MQ

Under this subsection, writing on active and passive voice will not be repeated. You may refer to 7.2.2 to look up their patterns and paradigms. But here more examples of active bi-consonantal verb paradigms will be given in table 7.9, in addition to further paradigm examples of active forms providing the reader with clear picture of these paradigm types that have not been available in previous studies.

The bi-consonantal active verb is monosyllabic. After conjugations it becomes disyllabic or trisyllabic with some morphophonological alternations as exemplified below.

Table 7.9: Conjugations of the Bi-Consonantal Active Perfective Verb /bæɹ/

Person	**Number**	**Gender**	**Affix**	**Verb+Affix**
1	Singular	f / m	-ək	bʌɹ-ək ‘went at night’
2	“	m	-ək	bʌɹ-ək
2	“	f	-əʃ	bʌɹ-əʃ
3	“	m	də-	də-bɑːɹ
3	“	f	-uːt	bæɹ-uːt
1	Plural	f / m	də-ən	də-bæɹən
2	“	m	-kəm	bæɪɪ-kəm
2	“	f	-kən	bæɹɪ-kən
3	“	m	də-əm	də-bæɹ-əm
3	“	f	də-	də-bɑːɹ

The Table 7.9 shows an interesting and irregular set of conjugations of the bi-consonantal perfective verb /bæɹ/ ‘went at night’ as compound forms which comprise a tense/aspect prefixed "modifier" [d-] + the prefix-conjugation verb-forms, which together make the independent verbal. There are analogous

elements in Neo-Arabic (most spoken dialects), where the Imperfect with prefixed "verb-modifiers" (like b-, ku:-, qa-, &amma-, la:-.) make the independent indicative (Goldenberg, 2005c). Goldenberg (2005c) treated forms in Ethiopian languages, where independent indicative forms require a suffixed element copular in nature, but the process in general is not totally different. The imperfective is not the only form capable of making an indicative form in independent affirmative sentences. This leaves the perfect as the only indicative verb-form in this position (Goldenberg, 2005c). The MQ perfect, which might be said to be the only genuine verb-form marking the independent-affirmative-indicative, and the unknown origin of Modern South Arabian prefix [d-], but known as prefixed to the inflectional person indexes with some modifications, still need some clarification which is beyond the available data of the current research. The third person singular masculine and third person plural masculine and feminine, in addition to the first person common gender plural, unusually have the conjugated form of the imperfective which is frequently marked by prefixes and their prefix d- is differently followed by /ə/ which is selected morphologically by the imperfective first person verbal forms. All the inflected forms have preserved all the two consonants within all conjugations. Each inflected form is closed by a CVC syllable.

Table 7.10: Conjugations of the Bi-Consonantal Active Imperfective Verb

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix
1	Singular	f / m	də-	də-bɑːɹ 'be going at night'
2	"	m	tə-	tə-bɑːɹ
2	"	f	tə-	tə-beɪɹ / tə-bɑːɹɪ
3	"	m	dɪ-	dɪ-bɑːɹ
3	"	f	tə-	tə-bɑːɹ
1	Plural	f / m	dən-	dən-bæɹ
2	"	m	tə-əm	tə-bæɹ-əm
2	"	f	tə-ən	tə-bæɹ-ən
3	"	m	dɪ-əm	dɪ-bæɹ-əm
3	"	f	tə-ən	tə-bæɹ-əm

In the imperfective conjugations, the bi-consonantal active imperfective behaves identically as the tri-consonantal imperfective forms.

It should be mentioned here that a semantic differentiation between /bæɹ/ and /bɛɹ/ has to be done. The later when conjugated gives the adjectival meaning ‘ready’ e.g.:

/bɛɹɪk/ ‘I / you am / are ready’

7.2. 4 The Future Verb

Like other Modern South Arabian languages, the imperfective form in MQ is only used for the present tense, not the future. The future is expressed by several allomorphs of future marker morpheme either attached at the end of the verb stem followed by subject or at the beginning of the verb. Simeone-Senelle (1997) pointed out that the future is expressed by means of a verbo-nominal form, the active participle, which only has a predicative function. It varies in gender and number. The future word pattern in the basic form in MQ is characterized by the future suffix markers that it may take different shapes according to number and gender.

Table 7.11: Conjugations of the Suffixed Future Active Verb

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix
1	Singular	m	-æ	sɛlbɔːnæ 'I will wait'
1	Singular	f	-æ	sɛlbiːtæ
2	"	m	-æ	sɛlbɔːnæ
2	"	f	-æ	sɛlbiːtæ
3	"	m	-æ	sɛlbɔːnæ
3	"	f	-æ	sɛlbiːtæ
1	Plural	m	-æ	sɛlbɛːjæ
1	Plural	f	-tən	sɛlbuːtən
2	"	m	-æ	sɛlbɛːjæ
2	"	f	-tən	sɛlbuːtən
3	"	m	-æ	sɛlbɛːjæ
3	"	f	-tən	sɛlbuːtən

Table 7.11 displays different future suffix conjugations which may be grouped into pattern classes according to gender and number. The word pattern (template) CɛCCɔːnæ (Fig.7.11) expresses the first, second and third person singular masculine future tense. It is remarked in this future paradigm that gender, number, and person, may be distinguished by the suffix -n. Hence denoting the singular and masculine features, the suffix -n occurs with the first, second and third persons only. The vocalic content is predictable in all templates. The first nucleus is always the short vowel /ɛ/ and the second long vowel preceding the future suffix is /ɔː/. It may be noted that the future suffix -æ causes stem modification i.e. vocalic change, consonant clustering, and syllable structure in the basic form /sluːb/ as illustrated in Fig. 7.11. Epenthesis of the short vowel in the initial cluster and setting up a mid-cluster instead occur plainly. The basic form is monosyllabic and the derived form surfaces as tri-syllabic in which the future and gender-number-person suffixes form a minimal syllable CV itself. The second syllable, as being heavy, carries the stress.

sluːb	s - l b -	root	
CɛCCɔːnæ	. ɛ . . ɔː næ	pattern	
	sɛlbɔːnæ	form	‘will wait’

Figure 7.11: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Future Verb Type 1

The future form of the first and second and third person singular feminine is provided by the following word pattern CɛCCiːtæ as displayed in Fig. 7.12 below. The same morphophonological processes mentioned above recur in this pattern with the exception of the predictable long vowel which is always /iː/. The suffix -t also has the function of denoting gender, person, and number similar to the suffix -n. It occurs only with the first, second, and third singular feminine persons.

slu:b	s - l b -	root	
CɛCCiːtæ	. ɛ . . iː tæ	pattern	
	sɛlbiːtæ	form	'will wait'

Figure 7.12: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Future Verb Type II

The third future word pattern concerns the first, second and third plural masculine persons; it has the following phonemic shape: CɛCCɛːjæ. The long vowel is always /ɛː/, while sometimes becomes difficult to differentiate it from the diphthong /eɪ/ with some native speakers. Hereby the gender-number-person suffix -j appears too in this pattern to indicate the first, second, and third plural masculine persons. The last future word pattern remains related to the first, second and third plural feminine persons. Its phonemic shape is CɛCCuːtən. The long vowel preceding the suffix is predictably /uː/. It can be noted with this pattern that a deletion of -æ suffix occurs when it comes adjacent to the gender-number-person suffix -tən. This can be attributed to phonotactical constraints that the pattern

should be closed by a CVC syllabic structure to conform to the MQ syllabic structure.

sluːb	s - l b -	root
CɛCCuːtən	. ɛ . . uː tən	pattern
	sɛlbuːtən	form ‘will wait’

Figure 7.13: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Future Verb Type III

In the case of a basic stem form whose root has two identical radicals, particularly the second and third radicals C1C2C2, a process of gemination occurs to meet the requirement of the tri-radical future word pattern structure e.g.:

/k’ɹɔːɹ/	→	/k’ɛɹɹɔːnæ/	‘I will go’
/fɪɬuːɬ/	→	/fɛɬɬɔːnæ/	‘will spread in all directions’

The phonological analysis of MQ data at hand reveals the fact that there are verbs that seem to deviate from the future word patterns like, for instance, some basic stem forms, which have weak radicals in their roots i.e. the glides /w/ and /j/, have surface conjugations similar to the ones in Table 7.11. e.g. √twj after geminating the second radical as shown in Table 7.12; whereas others still conform to the future word patterns e.g. √χzw as in Table 7.13.

Table 7.12: Conjugations of the Suffixed Future Active Verb (√twj)

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix
1	Singular	m	-æ	tɛjjɔːnæ 'I will eat'
1	Singular	f	-æ	tɛjjiːtæ
2	"	m	-æ	tɛjjɔːnæ
2	"	f	-æ	tɛjjiːtæ
3	"	m	-æ	tɛjjɔːnæ
3	"	f	-æ	tɛjjiːtæ
1	Plural	m	-æ	tɛjjɛːjæ
1	Plural	f	-tən	tɛjjuːtən
2	"	m	-æ	tɛjjɛːjæ
2	"	f	-tən	tɛjjuːtən
3	"	m	-æ	tɛjjɛːjæ
3	"	f	-tən	tɛjjuːtən

Table 7.13: Conjugations of the Suffixed Future Active Verb (√χzw)

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix
1	Singular	m	-æ	χɛzjɔːnæ 'I will refuse'
1	Singular	f	-æ	χɛzjiːtæ
2	"	m	-æ	χɛzjɔːnæ
2	"	f	-æ	χɛzjiːtæ
3	"	m	-æ	χɛzjɔːnæ
3	"	f	-æ	χɛzjiːtæ
1	Plural	m	-æ	χɛzjɛːjæ
1	Plural	f	-tən	χɛzjuːtən
2	"	m	-æ	χɛzjɛːjæ
2	"	f	-tən	χɛzjuːtən
3	"	m	-æ	χɛzjɛːjæ
3	"	f	-tən	χɛzjuːtən

The verb stem /ltuːʁ/ ‘kill’ has another different future template either initiated by a cluster or the vowel /ɛ/ as recorded with some Mehri native speakers e.g.:

/ltəʁɔːnæ/ /ɛltəʁɔːnæ/ ‘I will kill’

The researcher does adopt the shape of Simeone-Senelle (1997)’s word patterns. Simeone-Senelle (1997) chose -æ as the future marking auxiliary suffix without giving any argument about the function of the consonantal suffixes -n-, -t-, -j- appearing in the participial paradigms. Once all this is contemplated, triradicality as a minimum requirement for derivation (Goldenberg, 2005b), as illustrated in the paradigms above, is claimed to prove Simeone-Senelle’s separation between -n-, -t-, -j- and -æ and she does not comment on the suffix -tən which lacks the suffix -æ. The portmanteau suffix -tən acts as both gender and future marker. The researcher has made the contribution of bringing a different number of participial paradigms to make them clear and instructive with regard to the future tense in MQ in addition to identifying the person-gender-number marking portmantaeu suffixes inherent in the future pattern. Anyhow the problem may lie in the comparative 40-page-work of Simeone-Senelle (1997) in which she comparatively discusses all Modern South Arabian languages and their dialects (about 20 dialects), leaving the reader unable to comprehend each language’s characteristics.

In addition to the future marking suffixes mentioned above, a prefix /m-/ attaches to the beginning of the verb in the presence or absence of the suffix. This derived form differs from the subjunctive pattern by the addition of this prefix (Simeone-Senelle, 1997). Exemplification of this future marking prefix is provided below:

/mk'ɛɹɪɛːjæ/ 'we will go by midday'

/mɛltəʁɔːnæ/ 'I will kill'

Like other Modern South Arabian languages (Simeone-Senelle, 1997), in MQ the periphrasis: want + a subjunctive verb also has a future value e.g.:

hɒh ħɔːm ləkʼɹɔːɹ 'I will go by midday'

hɛːt tħɔːm ləttɛkʼ ħmɔːh 'you will drink water'

Array of examples will be given below to illustrate the distribution of future verb forms within sentences:

13. hɒh ɬmɔːnæ mæʃɪf
1c. sell-1c.m.sg.-fut.suff. fish
I will sell fish.'

14. fætəməh kʼæɹjiːtæ dɹiːhəms bɹək mɛχbæts
3f.sg. fatema conceal-3f.sg.-fut.suff. money-3f.sg.poss. inside pocket-3f.sg.poss.
'Fatema will conceal her money inside her pocket.'

15. hɛːt sɛbtɛnnəh
2m.sg. hit-2m.sg.-fut.suff.-obj.encl.
'you will hit him.'

16. ʔɛmɹɔːnæ həs tətbæχəh
1c.sg.say-1c.m.sg.-fut.suff. prep.-3f.sg. pref.-cook-3m.sg.encl.
'I will say to her to cook it.'

17. tɛjjɛːjæ təh
2m.pl.eat-1c.m.pl.-fut.suff. prep.-3m.sg.
'we will eat it.'

18. hæd læ mhæk'k'ɛɹ
somebody neg. fut.pref.-go
'no body will go.'

19. ʃək'ɔːnæ bɛħhɔːɹ
3m.sg.become-3m.sg.-fut.suff. fisherman
'he will become a fisherman.'

20. mʃəʊk'æ dɛχtəɹ
fut.pref.-3m.sg become doctor
'he will become a doctor.'

7.2. 5 The Reflexives

Reflexive constructions prototypically reduce the valence operations of a transitive verb by making the subject and the object the same entity (Bhatt, 2004). Reflexive pronouns in MQ are independent pronominal forms that follow the verb. They are composite of the possessive pronouns, preceded by the nominal which is comparable to 'self' in English reflexives. Some degree of phonological change is caused by some pronouns. It occurs in the first singular and first, second, and third person plural reflexive, where vowel lengthening occurs.

21. ʔɛlɪ ltuːʁ ħnɛfəh
Ali kill refl.-3m.sg.poss.
'Ali killed himself.'

22. ʁɛɟɟɛːn ħʃuːʃ ħnɛfəh bʔeɪsəh
boy cut refl.-3m.sg. prep.-knife-3m.sg.
'the boy cut himself with his knife.'

Table 7.14: Conjugations of the Reflexive (ħnɛf ‘self)

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Refl.n.+Affix
1	Singular	f / m	-ɪ	ħnuːf-ɪ ‘myself’
2	“	m	-k	ħnɛf-k
2	“	f	-ʃ	ħnɛf-ʃ
3	“	m	-h	ħnɛf-h
3	“	f	-s	ħnɛf-s
1	Plural	f / m	-jən	ħɛnfeɪ-jən
2	“	m	-kəm	ħɛnfeɪ-kəm
2	“	f	-kən	ħɛnfeɪ-kən
3	“	m	-həm	ħɛnfeɪ-həm
3	“	f	-sən	ħɛnfeɪ-sən

In MQ this reflexive nominal ‘ħnɛf’ is used only with people. It also has an adjectival meaning ‘alone’. As for inanimate usage, the reflexive nominal ‘wɛħɬ’ is used e.g. :

23. hɒh mɪn jɛmən wɛħɬiːs

1c.sg. from Yemen refl.-3f.sg.
'I am from Yemen itself.'

7.2. 6 The Reciprocal Verbs

In the current study many indigenous verbs with <t> infix have been collected which may be categorized as reciprocals. The infix <t> has different grammatical functions in MQ. It may indicate a reciprocal notion. It might be also a mutually gender –reciprocal marking morpheme. There is another derivational process besides affixation producing reciprocity; through the root and pattern morphology as displayed in Fig. 7.14 below. Some patterns are found out during the first-hand fieldwork and others are consistent with Simeone-Senelle (1997). The use of <t> as a verbal morpheme in other Semitic languages, where it is widespread as both prefix and infix, is rather straightforward: it has the uniform function of a voice marker, and indicates passive, reflexive, reciprocal and similar notions (Kouwenberg, 2005). The origin of <t> can be speculated on, but it is certainly one of the oldest formatives of Afroasiatic (Ibid).

The process of forming the MQ reciprocal verb occurs through infixing <t> into the middle of an active perfective verb. <t> infix may indicate feminine gender in addition to its reciprocal function while the infixed verb is either affixless or it is affixed by a gender marking suffix. <t> infixation may cause stem modification i.e. vocalic or consonantal changes. Accordingly, the reciprocal verb has the following patterns in MQ:

CɛtCəC e.g. /k'ɛtbəħ/ 'they quarrel with each other (f)'

The <t> infix is inserted into the simple verb /k'buːħ/ 'to quarrel' to derive the reciprocal verb. It also indicates the feminine gender.

lɛ<t>k'əf e.g. /to be arrested'

(C) (ɛ)Cv<t>CiːC e.g. /ɛk'æ<t>biːħəm/ 'they quarrel with each other (m) in argument'

/tək'æ<t>buːħən/ 'they quarrel with each other (f) in argument'

/ɛk'æ<t>buːħən/ 'we quarrel with each other in argument'

/ɛk'æ<t>biːħkəm/ 'you (2m.pl.) quarrel with each other'

/ɛk'æ<t>biːħkən/ 'you (2f.pl.) quarrel with each other'

ənCəCCuːC e.g. /ənħət'muːl/ 'to be smashed' (Simeone-Sennele, 1997)

ənCəʊCəC e.g. /əntəʊħəm/ 'they fought each other.'

k'buːħ	k' b - ħ	root
(C)(ɛ)CætCiːC	(C)(ɛ). æt. iː .	pattern

ɛk'ætbiːħəm form 'they quarrel with each other (m) in argument'

Figure 7.14: Non-Linear Representation of MQ Reciprocal Verb

7.2.7 The Comparative Verb Formation in MQ

All the languages of the world have at their disposal different means to express comparison. MQ uses the comparative verb to express comparison. The comparative verb formation in MQ can be considered one of the contributions achieved and recorded in the current study. To the best knowledge of the researcher, no previous study described the comparative verb formation process displaying its patterns illustrated with various examples. A sole example might be exceptionally given by and found in Sima (2002). Taken as a grammatical category, comparison is the formal modification of some predicative word – most often an adjective – representing a parameter of gradation or comparison, according to the extent to which it applies to its argument, relative to some standard (Stump, 1998).

The MQ adjective is the lexical category that typically undergoes comparison. According to the root and pattern morphology strategies of MQ, a root is associated with a template; the template coordinates vowel melodies and consonant positions (Bat-El, 2003), the adjectival root, after being interdigitated with the vocalic pattern by the prosodic comparative template, stem modification occurs i.e. syllabic structure, producing a comparative word pattern similar to the imperative pattern and followed or completed by /mɪn/ similar to the English 'than' and the noun which is being compared. The comparative form may be preceded by a prefix ʔə-. The template of the comparative form has the following two comparative phonemic shape CCɛːC and ʔəCCɛC. Rules of the comparative

formation in MQ are illustrated in the following diagrams below, whereby the derivation of all such forms is rather transparent:

	Adjective (Positive Degree)	**Comparative I**
s'- l - ħ	s' l - ħ	root
C ɛː C ɛ C	C C ɛː C	pattern
s' ɛː l ɛ ħ	s'l ɛː ħ	form 'fatter'

Figure 7.15: Comparative I Forms in MQ

	Adjective (Positive Degree)	**Comparative II**
s'- l - ħ	s' l - ħ	root
C ɛː C ɛ C	ʔəC C ɛ C	pattern
s' ɛː l ɛ ħ	ʔəs'l ɛħ	form

Figure 7.16: Comparative II Forms in MQ

	Comparative II	**Comparative I**	
χ -t - m	χ t - m	root	
ʔəCC ɛ C	C C ɛː C	pattern	
ʔəχtɛm	χtɛːm	form	'thinner'

Figure 7.17: Comparative I and II Forms in MQ

Such forms are, as most others, derived directly from the root (which in itself might be extracted from the adjectival and/or verbal forms). It is rather clear

that the two forms of the comparative are derived independently by root and pattern, not one from the other, and neither directly from the adjective in its positive (basic) degree. Comparative I is built on the /C C ɛː C/ pattern, and Comparative II on the / ʔə CC ɛ C/ pattern (probably from the Arabic). The derivation is presented as it comes out recurrently in the morphological processes throughout the language system.

24. Huda χtɛːm mɪn ʁeɪts
Huda comp. degr.thinner than sister-3f.sg.poss.
'Huda is thinner than her sister.'

25. dɛɹɹæt dəh ʔəħwɛɹ mɪn dəʊməh t'ɑːd
shirt demonst.-3m.sg. comp.pref.-blacker than demonst. one
'this shirt is blacker than this one.'

A list of comparative forms with or without the comparative prefix will be given below:

/χtɛːm/	/ʔəχtɛm/	'thinner'
/ɹħɑːm/	/ʔəɹħɛm/	'more beautiful'
/ʔfɛːɹ/	-	'redder'
/lbɛːn/	/ʔəlbɛn/	'whiter'
/k't'ɛːn/	/ʔək't'ɛn/	'thinner'
/fk'ɛːɹ/	/ʔəfk'ɛɹ/	'poorer'

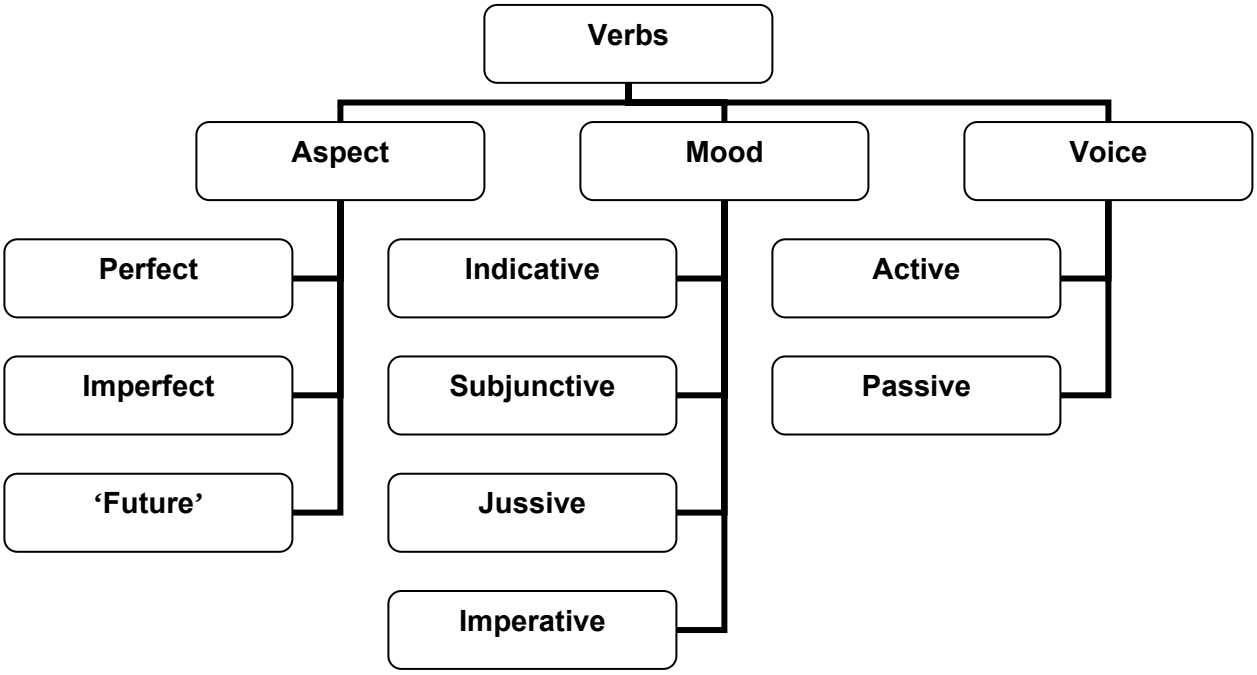


Figure 7.18: MQ Verb Description

7.2. 8 Noun-to-Verb Derivation

Denominal verbs exist in MQ. Examples are found in an old poem and some speech events recorded during the fieldwork investigations done in Qishn region. The data has shown that how a certain noun is put into the root and pattern rules governing MQ verbs by which a denominal verb is derived. The noun root /sɛkʼf/ 'roof' is interdigitated into the MQ verb type A pattern CCuːC to produce the verbal form skʼuːf. This verb becomes transitive necessarily followed by an object accusative marker /l/.A part of the verse in which this denominal verb occurs along with diagrammatic illustration by Fig. 7.19 are given below. Full interpretation of

two MQ classical poems will be provided as an end closure of this chapter. The underlined words in the verses above are examples of denominal verbs in MQ.

wə k'fuːdəm buːk wə kliːl kʌf
and they brought you down (into the grave) by their forearms

wə <u>sk'uːfəm</u> luːk bəs'wɛːɹ kʌf
and made roof on you with put-stand-stones

wə lt'əʊk'əm t'iːn mɪn læ kiːb ʔʌf
and they blocked with soil any opening that dust may enter through

wə <u>kbuːsəm</u> luːk ʁɛɹniːn wə s'ʌf
and people in queues buried you

s-k'f	s k' - f	root	
CɛCC	. . uː .	pattern	
sɛk'f	sk'uːf	form	'make roof'

Figure 7.19: Templatic Representation of MQ Denominal Verb

The above MQ data presented is supported by the option of Arad (2004), taken on multiple interpretations in different environments, which is strictly reserved for roots. As illustrated above that noun-derived verbs share an interpretation with the noun from which they are derived. To illustrate this claim, consider the interpretations assigned to the root sk'f in various verbal and nominal environments. Consider the relation between the noun /sɛk'f/ and the verb derived from it. The verb bears a morphophonological similarity to the noun: it contains the root consonants, kbs. The vowels of the verb, on the other hand, are those typical

of the verbal pattern CCuːC not of the nominal pattern in which the noun appears CɛCC. This is similar to Spencer's (2005) argument about action nominals (see section 6.3.1) which are words derived from verbs and still have some of the morphological and syntactic characteristics of nouns. The researcher assumes that the formation of the verb sk'uːf 'to build or make a roof' is as illustrated in Fig. 7.19 above.

7.2. 9 Adjective-to-Verb Derivation

Adjectives may be turned into verbs by means of copying the final segment of the basic stem into the right edge preceded by a predictable vocalic change. Good examples are found with colour adjectives. As depicted by the data, description of deadjectival verb formation may be based on root and pattern rule in which a quadro-consonantal root CCCC is interdigitated with a vocalic pattern . ɛ . . uː . producing the form CɛCCuːC as illustrated in the Fig. 7.19 below.

ʔ-f-ɹ	ʔ-fɪ-ɹ	root	
CæCəC	. ɛ . . uː .	pattern	
ʔæfəɹ	ʔɛfɪuːɹ	form	'become red'

Figure 7.20: Templatic Representation of MQ Deadjectival Verb

There are different examples in which adjectives change into verbs as in the process of causativisation, the prefix hə- or ʃə- attaches to some adjectival patterns deriving causative or causative-reflexive verbs e.g.:

bhiːl ‘ready cooked’ həbhiːl ‘to cause to be cooked’

‘stand’	s’w-ɪ	s’w-ɪ	root	
	CCɔːC	hə. . ɔː .	pattern	
	s’wɔːɪ	həs’wɔːɪ	form	‘make stand’

Figure 7.21: Templatic Representation of MQ Deadjectival Verb

7.2.10 Temporal Verbs

MQ exhibit a number of temporal (Bhat, 1999) verbs which provide additional information about the location in time of the event they denote. A verb may express the meaning of ‘go’ in early morning; another means ‘go’ at noon, afternoon, or evening. They may be termed temporal verbs by the researcher following Bhat (1999). They were differentiated by Nakano (1986) without designating them or giving their full paradigms. Old MQ native speakers expressed their anger over young speakers’ negligence in adhering to the norms of their language in using these temporal verbs. MQ young native speakers only use one verb form for all times. This can be taken as a sign of Mehri language liability to extinction from generation to generation in addition to the impact of Arabic.

Table 7.15: MQ Temporal Verbs

Verb	morning	Noon	afternoon	evening
go	ʁsuːm	k'ɹuːɹ	ʃɟuːɬ	bæɹ
come	k'hɔːb	nuːkæ	wɛtχəf	t'wʊh

7.3 Auxiliaries and Adverbs

MQ exhibits a number of modals, particle-like grammatical words and adverbs which modify verbs or clauses. These forms can be arranged in the categories of modal auxiliaries, found in pre-verbal position, negation marker found in pre-and-post-verbal position. These are described in 7.3.1-7.3.2. An emphatic particle is described in 7.3.3, adverbs are treated in 7.3.4, and additional adverbial elements are listed in 7.3.5.

7.3.1 Modal Auxiliaries

The modal auxiliaries /k'ɔːdəɹ/ and /hɪm/ 'be able to, can' signal that the agent is able to carry out the action designated by the verb. They occur before the verb and sometimes at the left edge of the clause. The verb takes the form of the subjunctive.

26. hɛh hɪm ləkʼhɔːb
he auxil.able subjun.suff.-3m.sg.come
'he is able to come.'

27. jɪkʼɔːdəɹ læ ləkʼɹɛh, hɛh ʔɛwɛːɹ
3m.sg.procl.-auxil.can neg.marker 3m.sg.read, he 3m.sg.adj.blind
'he can not read, he is blind.'

7.3.2 Negation Marker

Clause negation is expressed with a negative marker /læ/, which is similar to the Arabic /læ/ and its allomorphs. It occurs mostly at the end of the clause, and occasionally precedes the verb.

28. giːd læ
good neg.marker
'it is not good.'

The negative marker /læ/ also works as a prohibitive marker. It is placed after a verb to express negative imperative.

29. tʁɔːnɪ læ! tχɛwwɛl! hæbuː ʃkiːfəm
2m.sg.pref.-sing neg.marker 2m.sg.pref.-imper.2m.sg.sit down people nomin. Sleep-3m.pl.
'don't sing! sit down! People are asleep.'

30. təɟhɔːm læ!
2m.sg.leave neg. marker
'don't leave!

31. təhɛkʼkʼɛɹ læ! ɹɛħmiːt kʼɛhbiːtæ
2m.sg.go neg. marker rain come-3f.marker-fut.marker suf.
'don't go! It's going to rain.'

The negative marker /læ/ may also be used to negate NP's

32. ħæd læ bɹɛħbiːt!
body neg. marker prep.in-village
'nobody is in the village.'

An interesting syntactic distribution of the negation marker has been ever noted by this study. The negation marker has been found out to occur similar to infix splitting the word it modifies into two halves. The best example has only been found in a classical MQ poem as follows; the negated form is underlined:

hɒh **mɪllænɪ** sχæ wə lħfuːn ɹʁʌf
no giving from me and bits of food for poor

wə **mɪllænɪ** təlɛshuːɹ dʌf
and eyelids do not, from me, stay up all night

As it can be noted above, The negation marker /læ/ is inserted into the mid of the inflected particle /mɪnɪ/ 'from me' producing the form /mɪllænɪ/ 'not from me.

7.3.3 Emphasis

An indigenous emphatic particle /ʔəɹ/ (emph.), which has not been noted in any previous study, has been recorded in the current study. It is used for affirmation and emphasis in MQ. It may be placed before the form to be emphasized. Emphatic exemplifications are given below:

33. hɒh ʔəɹsʼlɛːħ mɪnh!
1c.sg. emph. comp.fat than-3m.sg.
'I am fatter than him!'

Consider the use of this emphatic particle in the following two verses from an old classical poem recorded in this study:

ʔəɹksiːs təh mʃæsʼɛħ wə mɛntiːhɪkʼluːtən
surely powerful and strong young guys find him

ʔəɹmtɛχəf bætɪwuːdɪ ɪllɛħɛːm mʊtɪljuːtən
surely he will go by afternoon and meet strong youngs at the valley

An important remark should be given on the word /ʔəɹmtɛχəf/. The verb after the emphatic particle comes from the word /wɛtχəf/. When the future prefix m- attaches to it, a deletion of /w/ occurs. This morphophonological process may be attributed to MCcarthy's (1993) OCP principle in which two identical (homorganic) adjacent consonants do not occur. /m/ and /w/ are bilabials, therefore they do not occur adjacently.

7.3.4 Adverbs

The grammatical words used by MQ natives are meant to express the function of adverbs which may modify other verbs. In this capacity they are dealt with as adverbs that they always follow the verb they modify.

34. ɟhɔːm fiːsæ!
2m.sg.leave quickly!
'leave quickly!'

35. mɔːtəɹ diːməh sjuːɹ bʊbɔːɹ
car demonst. move quickly
'This car moves quickly.'

The examples above do not show any morphological process in forming adverbs based on the data at hand. They look as adjective-like forms but they modify verbs in which case they may be regarded here as adverbs. This is also remarked in the other adverbial elements which will be given below. There are adverbial elements

that function as adverbs in MQ. They occur post-verbally. They include the following set of indigenous forms:

/t'ɔːɹ ʁæhəɹ/ 'again'

/bɛs/ 'only'

/ʔæd/ 'still, yet'

/tɛ/ 'until'

/bəɬɛbt'/ 'exactly, just'

/kæl jɔːm/ 'always'

/mkɔːn/ 'still'

Some of these adverbs also inflect for gender and number as displayed in Chapter 6 for /ʔæd/ and below examples of /mkɔːn/ conjugations.

Table 7.16: The Particle /mkɔːn/ Conjugations with Pronominal Affixes

Person	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	mkɔːnɪ	mkɔːnən
2nd (m.)	mkɔːnk	mkɔːnəkəm
2nd (f.)	mkɔːnəʃ	mkɔːnəkən
3rd (m.)	mkɔːnəh	mkɔːnhəm
3rd (f.)	mkɔːnəs	mkɔːnəsən

7.4 Verbal Interpretation of Two Classical MQ Poems

The following poem is an elegy-like work whereby the poetess mourns the death of the poetess's uncle who has been killed in the beach of Qishn. The researcher does not mean to make a critical study on this poem. The researcher aims at verbally interpreting the poem's words and presents this linguistically rich poem to scholars interested in Modern South Arabian languages so as to give them much understanding of these languages.

The poem is really a cry for revenge of the poetess's uncle killing. This is manifested in the words used in the poem, the feminine-tone of the rhyme while the event occurred in a masculine context i.e. the killers are men and the whole spectators of the crime are men as fishers working in Qishn coast. Before commencing on interpreting the poem, some brief note should be given on the entire scene of the crime so that an evident background of the poem's setting may help the reader to comprehend the theme of the poem.

The poetess's uncle was accompanying, under his custody, a man called Barrak along and far a bit from the coast of Qishn. In the mid of the coastal route Barrack told his custodian that he urgently wanted a /nɪɬk'æt/ 'sniff'. He said that he would try finding a little sniff with any man working near the sea. His fellow warned him that Al-Jidhi tribe looked for him to beat him. But Barrak insisted and went toward the people gathering in the beach while his friend kept waiting for his back. Unfortunately the enemies of Barrak recognized him and tried to catch him

but he fled. They kept running after him until he was caught and beaten. The poetess's uncle heard the noises of the voices and came running with his rifle to rescue his friend. Al-Jidhi tribal men were astonished to have found that Barrak was under the protection of this Al-Suleimi man with whose tribe, Al-Suleimi, had armistice. They expressed their excuse for not knowing that Barrak was under his custody and told him to ask for whatever to fix off this problem. According to the rules of Al-Jidhi tribe chief, guns were not allowed during morning work hours in the beach. Therefore, the poetess's uncle was then the only armed man in the beach. He told them that nothing sufficed him except that coming leader of theirs, the tribal chief, to whom he aimed his gun, shot him dead and fled. They ran after him with some caution due to his weapon. The noise of his shots stopped to the effect that his ammunition might have run short. Then his enemies attacked him and put their daggers into his body till he died.

That was the story of the poetess's uncle death. The poetess got the news of her uncle's killing and got sad and sat in the beach waiting for her father's, Naseeb, return from the sea in order to tell him how her uncle was ruthlessly killed. When Naseeb, the father of Fatemah the poetess, came back and saw his daughter crying, he poetically said to her:

fætməh! dəkɔːh tbeɪkɪ mɪn ɟəʊfəʃ təntɛhiːɬəl?
Oh, Fatema! Why are you crying and gasping from your chest?

ʔeɪnəʃ təɮɔːd ɬəʊləs χeɪləʃ həsɛbiːħ bə k'æɬn
your eye took its full share from what happened to your uncle this morning in Qishn

dɪħɔːɹəs bə dɪħæs'ən nɛfs wə zmiːs ʁəʊt'əs

when they were guarding at the ħæs'ən itself to the extent of being tired like a camel gasping for breath

liːlət dɪ k'ɹiːf ɪʄɔːɹəf wə χɛddəʊmət dɪkdɔːdəm wə dɪχɔːzɪ ləmħɔːɹəs

since the night of the big fish-net sweeping while workers working hard and they refused to take guard

Fatemah, answering her father with blame, said:

ħɛːbɪ! dəkɔːh tɔːməɹ ʃædlɪ fəɹt'əʊt' ħɛlləs bædgeɪlɪ dɪmħɔːməs

Oh father! Why are you saying this as if a coffee was grilled and its time elapsed

ʃək'sˈɔː mbɔːnɪdiːdəh fʌlk ʔiːtæfuːs jɪʁɔːməs

he got short of his cousins as a sea vessel front going deep into the sea and higher up

Then Fatemah went on alone telling her poem trying to instigate her tribe to take revenge. She bestowed glamorous characteristics on the killer's tribe so as to arouse the indignation of her tribe; as related by the natives that after 40 years the poetess's tribe took revenge and managed to kill a man of their enemy tribe.

1. mdiːt ɬʃuːt kælbɪ swuːb mɪntɪkɬuːtən

sea wind blew out the wounds of my heart

2. mdiːt ʔɹuːt bəʄəʊfɪ bɛɹɪ t'iːt' mɪn ħʊluːtən

sea wind dwelled in my chest I am already one of the crazy women

3. ħʌmbɹuː! ɪʃħk'ɛbk siːləm ʔəs fɪʁʁɛːləm ləh k'æluːtən

Oh people! I am so gloomy about seelem when young men crowded on him and did to him what they wanted

4. həs'wɛːɹəm təh bə fəʊtəʁ wə hæbuː mɪftɪɹʄuːtən

they made him stand in the tide-out-beach while the people were watchers

5. læ dmuːhɪ wə lmdəʊɹək wə lħʁɔːɹəm mt'ɛːɹbuːtən

no one of those present tried saving him and kept him under protection

6. əlħʁɛːɹəm təh ʄəhəʊʄəh hæɬəlbuːb məɬɪfjuːtən

if powerful persons attended

7. sɹɛɪw wə ʔɛlɪ wə siːləm wə ħmiːd wə ʃəh ʔæluːtən

men like sreew, Ali, seelem, hameed, and with him Alooten

8. ʃiːhəm səlliːb k’ɔːt’ɛʔ wə ɟɛnɔɪb ʔælfuːtən
they have cutting weapons and sharp daggers

9. ʔəɹksiːs təh mʃæs’ɛħ wə mɛntiːhɪk’luːtən
surely powerful and strong young guys find him

10. ʔəɹmtɛχəf bætɪwuːdɪ ɪllɛħɛːm mʊtɪljuːtən
surely he will go by afternoon and meet strong youngs at the valley

11. dæɹ bəɹ məʊsəm s’ɛwəɹ ɬəʊnəh k’ændɔːl məʃɛɹdfuːtən
the house of the son of Maosem have double rock power

12. dæɹ bəɹ məʊsəm bɛɬɪbəʊɬɛb bə ʁɪɹæf ʔɛljuːtən
the house of the son of Maosem is like high rooms on mountains

13. dæɹ bəɹ məʊsəm bɛɹɪ ʁɔːɹəb bɛɹɪ bɔːɮək kædluːtən
the house of the son of Maosem already know already cut off rope of agreement

14. tχæɹæn zjuːd weɪkəɹ dɪʁɛːɬ mɪn ɟɛdɹuːtən
after a while the tide is so full overflowing from walls

15. wə mɛɹkuːb wə bætɪʁɛːt’əɹ bə k’fuːwwɛl təɹɪtkuːtən
and riders at batigater in subsequent caravans

16. tɔːɟəɹ həɬmʊh ɮmɔːɹəh həsɪliːlɪt dɪ biːɹuːtən
like a trader who lost his capital

17. sæfæ wə ħmɔːh juːkəb beɪn sɛk’f wə ɟɛdɹuːtən
strong wind with water enter between roofs and walls

18. bɛɹɹæk ʃwiːʃ wæɟɛh ɬəʊɹəh kəʁɪɹuːtən
Barrak disgraced his face before all people

19. χeɪlɪ dɪhɛnʃuːʃ bə nʌddɛh t’ɑːd mɪn məkʼɛdɛmuːtən
my uncle got his match fall dead, the tribal chief

Mehri people highly appreciate the following poem. It is one of the best poems said by the well-known Mehri poet, Bin Laateit. It has a religious theme. The poet describes the moment when a dead person is put into a coffin up to being put in his grave and buried.

1. ʔʌwwɛn bælɪ ʔʌwwɛn liːlət dɪ mlʌf
your help Allah, your help at the night of folding into coffin

2. wət ʃʊjiːɬəm buːk wɛstædəm s'ʌf
when they went with you afternoon in regular groups

3. wə k'fuːdəm buːk wə kliːl kʌf
and they brought you down (into the grave) by their forearms

4. wə sk'uːfəm luːk bə s'wɛːɹ k'ʌf
and made roof on you with standing stones

5. wə lt'uːk'əm t'iːn mɪn læ kiːb ʔʌf
and they blocked with soil any opening that dust may enter through

6. wə kbuːsəm luːk ʁɛɹniːn wə s'ʌf
and people in queues buried you

7. wə mħɛsɛbiːn tuːbəʔ sɪɹ ɬɪf
and angels follow after any trace

8. hɒh mɪllɛnɪ sχæ wə lħfuːn ɹʁʌf
no giving from me and bits of food for poor

9. wə mɪllɛnɪ təlɛshuːɹ dʌf
and eyelids do not, from me, stay up all night

10. wə t'wɔːɹ ʁeɪɬ duːɹ bək s'ʌf
and sometimes I badly revolt in poetical session in a queue

11. ʁɔːlək' mɪn ɟwuːb tək'biːl lk'ʌf
I search for a reply that makes you accept to stop

12. ʁeɪɹ nuːdɪ ɹʌb wə t'ɛɹħɪ mχʌf
but I implore Allah to make me free of sin

7.5 Summary

In this Chapter the verbal morphological system of Mehri of Qishn has been conceived of within the framework of the multilinear morphological theory developed by McCarthy (1979, 1981). An interesting sort of nonconcatenative

morphology is found in MQ (this type of nonconcatenative morphology is also referred to as 'root-and-pattern morphology'). Here, a word consists of a combination of two things. Firstly particular combinations of consonants, the so-called root of the word, secondly a particular pattern of vowels that gets inserted into the consonant combination. This root can be morphologically derived or inflected by changing the vowel pattern inside the consonant combination. It has been also shown that MQ, a Semitic language spoken in South-East Yemen, is a pro-drop language in which verbs are heavily inflected for agreement, such as person, number, and gender of the subject and the object. Besides agreement-marking, MQ verbs host prefixes to yield transitivity alternations, passivization, reciprocity and causativization.

Copying with answering the research questions, the scheme done in previous Chapters has been carried out in this Chapter to answer them. The morphemes comprising the MQ verb has been identified and described separately. Each morpheme i.e. root, vocalic melody or word pattern (template), after being identified, has been given an adequate description of its phonemic shape and its internal distribution and formation by means of nonlinear representations of its root-and-pattern structuring processes, various exemplifications and tabulated paradigms applying the eclectic approach, IP & WP models in the analysis and description of MQ word formation rules and inflectional paradigms respectively. Similar presentations of other MQ verbs i.e. future, reciprocal, comparative and derived word patterns have been done on the same line. Finally the processes of verbal derivational morphology have been described showing the rules of

deadjectival and denominal verbs formation in MQ. An end closure of this chapter has been done by a literal interpretation of two classical MQ poems which are linguistically rich and they are presented by the researcher here so that they can be given much consideration by interested scholars of Modern South Arabian languages.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The final Chapter concludes the dissertation and a summary of all Chapters will be presented. In this Chapter, conclusion and original contributions achieved in the current dissertation are highlighted in approaching the grammatical aspects of MQ, particularly morphology. The Chapter also attempts to give pedagogical implications of MQ preservation and suggestions of future research regarding aspects or items which the researcher deduced to be given further research.

8.2 Summary

Chapter 1 of this dissertation outlined the historical background of the Modern South Arabian languages (MSA). Generally, the Chapter introduced the discovery of Modern South Arabian languages, its genetic family and its classification within the Afro-Asiatic superfamily, Mehri language and its speakers. The first writing on Mehri was in Carter (1847), and then followed by the Vienna expedition in 1898. Those efforts were mainly collections of Mehri texts. All the following studies on MSA were based on the Vienna expedition texts without visiting the area or doing fresh fieldworks except (Simeone-Sennele, 1997). Consequently they were inadequate, full of mistakes and came under criticism (Murad, 1968; Stroomer, 1996). The Chapter described the geographic and demographic distribution of MSA within the Arabian Peninsula. MSA belong to the Southern branch of Western Semitic family as the Semitic languages spoken in

Ethiopia and Eritrea. MSA are six languages spread between Yemen, Oman, and Saudi Arabia. The majority is nowadays spoken in Yemen and Oman. They are unwritten languages, related to the pre-Islamic languages spoken in the Arabian Peninsula, and to the so-called Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA), the carved languages on the monuments of the ancient kingdoms of Arabia Felix (Simeone-Sennele, 2003).

Chapter 1 stated clearly the topic of the current dissertation 'morphology of Mehri of Qishn (MQ) dialect in Yemen' and showed clearly the need of documenting this prestigious endangered dialect. The threat and influence of Arabic on MQ became obvious, and it sped up after the 1990-s. It is related to schooling, to modernisation and to the economic development of the Mehri region, without forgetting the role of television in Qishn and its outskirts; many old women heard Arabic for the first time by looking at television. This danger threatens equally all MSA speakers (Simeone-Sennele, 2003). Many young people in Qishn borrow from Arabic, and code-switch with Arabic; they do not remember any piece of literature, they ignore the heroes of traditional texts, and they do not understand any poem.

Chapter 1 also presented the research questions and main objectives of the present study. They are to identify the morphological items (morphemes, morphs, etc.) of Mehri Qishn dialect, to describe the phonemic shapes of Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes, and to describe how Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes are internally formed and distributed. The information gathered from the morphological

data of the study pointed out the relevance of the MQ morphological system to the Semitic root and pattern morphologies.

Chapter 2 presented the review of related literature. The Chapter focused on the following topics: morphology and its basic concepts, overview of approaches to morphological descriptions which comprise traditional approaches, Autosegmental Phonology Theory, Theory of Nonconcatenative Templatic Theory, Fieldwork Synchronic Descriptive Models, and previous empirical linguistic studies on MQ. The Chapter looked on three influential Morphological Models (i.e., Item-and-Arrangement, Item-and-Process and Word-and-Paradigm); whereby the first IA is unsatisfactory in capturing the whole range of morphological phenomena attested in Semitic languages. The Item-and-Arrangement Model cannot accommodate nonconcatenative morphological processes because a word is taken to consist of a sequence of morphemes. On the other hand, the essence of grammatical theory is not the nature of input but the operations stimulated by this or that formation (Ephratt, 2003). This yields a modern, revised, Item-and-Process Model (Ibid) which has been adopted in this study and elaborated in Chapter 2. Its main theme is that grammars are characterized by the operation of their rules: their nature, scope, restrictions, and application and not merely by their ingredients (Ibid). The rule is not one of mere addition but interaction. The outcome of such activation – the lexeme – might be different for different cases of merging of a root morpheme and a pattern morpheme. The review also revealed that the eclectic approach IP + WP was the most practical unified approach solution to meet the description of MQ morphology, the former approaches the processes in Root and

Pattern Morphology of MQ, and the later appropriately describes the inflectional paradigms regularly prevalent in MQ. Previous linguistic studies on MSA and MQ were surveyed and evaluated and the gap left which the current study has filled up.

Chapter 3 presented the methodology and research design. The procedural steps in achieving the fieldwork in the Mehri society and developing the instruments of data collection were presented and outlined. In this dissertation, several instruments were used to gather the data. They were Swadesh list, oral morphology questionnaires, participant observation, and informal interviews in addition to written texts on Mehri. The method of data analysis has also been presented and discussed in this Chapter.

Description and analysis of phonological data (Chapter 4) and morphological data were presented in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7. Chapter 4 has provided an introduction to the contemporary MQ sound system. It gave an inventory of MQ vowels and consonants with exemplifications for each sound. This chapter also provided an original description of phonotactical properties of MQ which have not been considered previously. It described various types of MQ syllables, possible coda and onset consonants, position occurrences of consonant clusters within syllables, some accounts on co-occurrence restrictions on consonantal distributions, and MQ prosodic features. Consonant cluster representation and related well-formedness constraints are studied because they are important for characterizing the phonotactic restrictions of a language. This chapter described the basic properties of the MQ syllable. Even though it has not

been possible to cover all its aspects, the researcher believes to have pointed at least at some basic regularities. These regularities have in all probability not been studied previously by MSA pioneers: there are no reasons to assume that the details of phonological structure were of primary concern to them. The MQ syllable structure is of course very similar to that of Semitic languages, more in particular to that of Arabic dialects.

Chapter 5 considered word formation strategies in MQ. It started by presenting the MQ Semitic morphological units. An introductory survey of inflectional and derivational affixes has been basically presented so as to help the reader to go smoothly through Chapters 6 and 7. MQ clitics have been elaborated in this chapter as the first introductory attempt ever exerted on this essential topic. This chapter tried tracing the possible morphological operations in MQ based on the first-hand-data available. It is the first study which has empirically uncovered some processes e.g. apophony, reduplication, metathesis, etc., never noted previously.

Chapter 6 focused on the MQ nominal word classes e.g. nouns, subject and object pronouns, possessive and demonstrative pronouns, quantifiers and numerals, prepositions, conjunctions, diminutive, deverbal and deadjectival nouns. Each nominal word was described with exemplifications and paradigms if relevant. Any relevant gender, person, and number inflections for any nominal class have been elaborated in tabulated paradigms and with various exemplifications.

Chapter 7 presented the classification of MQ verbal system. A detailed description of possible forms of the morphemic constituents of the MQ verb i.e. the root, the vocalic melody, and the CV pattern. The two main lexical types of MQ verbs A & B and the passive have been described. Their phonemic shapes and exemplifications were presented. Then the chapter surveyed the derived verbal word patterns, the verbal paradigms of the perfective, imperfective, future, the reflexives, the reciprocals, denominal and deadjectival derivations, auxiliaries and adverbs. The chapter was ended by interpretation of two linguistically significant poems.

8.3 Conclusion

The current study on the morphology of MQ set out:

1. to identify the morphological items (morphemes, morphs, etc.) of Mehri Qishn dialect.
2. to describe the phonemic shapes of Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes.
3. to describe how Mehri Qishn dialect morphemes are internally formed and distributed.

With regard to the first objective, it is concerned with the specification of most possible morphemes, morphs, and allomorphs in MQ. Throughout the set of oral morphological questionnaire items intended to elicit such morphemes from their distributions, roots, stems, lexemes, affixes, etc. were identified.

As for the second objective, it is so related to describing the phonemic shapes of these morphemes. A morpheme probably appears phonemically different in certain contexts. This may support the first objective by identifying the possible portmanteau morphs and allomorphs of a relevant morpheme through their phonemic appearance in syntactical contexts. Concerning the third objective, it focuses on the distribution and internal formation of MQ morphemes. This is much related to the first and second objectives. Once morphemes were identified and their phonemic shapes defined, their internal formation and distribution might be traced and described.

Armed with all this clarification, it may be possible now to recapitulate how those research objectives were answered. Consider the independent subject first personal morpheme /hɒh/ 'I' in MQ.

a) hɒh ʁɹɛbk 'I understood'

b) ʁɹɛbk 'I understood'

/hɒh/ is identified as a morpheme which is probably not further analyzable into morphs, relevant to the first objective. This word form may be realized in two phonemic shapes as shown in examples (a) and (b). As shown here that the first person subject morpheme has these two phonemic shapes the independent /hɒh/ and the suffix /-k/, relevant to the second objective. The internal distribution of this morpheme may be distinguished through array of paradigms showing its contextual

occurrences through which other morphs may show up as plural first person subject, relevant to the third objective, e.g.

hɒh	ʁɹɛbk	'I understood'
nhɛh	ʁɹɛbən	'we understood'.

The present work has provided a description of the morphology of contemporary MQ. Certain issues have been dealt with in detail; others have been only briefly introduced. Actually, much of the description is to be regarded as tentative and a basis for further research. Several conclusions may be drawn about the nature of the MQ linguistic system. The available data of the study revealed that MQ is based on a tri-consonantal root system within Root and Pattern Morphology. Roots themselves have no definite meaning, but rather a root's set of three consonants carries a range of potential meanings. A root must be placed into a derivational pattern, which consists of vowels between each consonant and sometimes the addition of affixes, in order for the meaning to be realized. Additionally, MQ has a second word-formation device i.e. the stem-and-suffix structure, which attaches a suffix to a base, usually a word, as in English.

The data reflected the probability that MQ seems to be a highly synthetic Semitic language with a rich morphology. The verbal and nominal systems are highly inflectional, with prefixes and suffixes indicating categories such as person, number, gender and tense for verbs. Derivational morphology is also rich and

varied with a large array of derivational affixes of various structures and with an extremely complex root, stem and affix allomorphy.

MQ nouns were shown as either simplex e.g. /biːt/ ‘house’, /ħmɔːh/ ‘water’, or derived. The latter are derived from verbs, or adjectives. Deverbal and deadjectival nouns are derived by adding suffixes to the root. Nouns are inflected for Number, Gender, Case. Most MQ plural nouns are formed by two processes either by adding a plural marker affix (its distribution is phonologically determined) to the singular form or by broken pluralization i.e. internal change of the singular form. There are two genders in MQ, masculine and feminine in addition to common gender.

MQ pronouns can be free or clitically bound to other word forms. They may come as subject or object pronominal, possessives, demonstratives and inflect for person, number and gender. Adjectives are generally simplex e.g. /ʔæfəɹ/ ‘red’ and may be derived and inflect for number and gender.

MQ verbs exhibit the typical Semitic non–linear word formation with intercalation (interdigitation) of consonantal roots with vocalic patterns. This also applies to deverbal nouns and adjectives. Simple verbs have eight verbal stems that are formed by intercalation of vowels with skeleton patterns of the types CCu(ɑ)ːC, Ci(u,ɔ)ːCəC, CɪCiːC, də(ɪ)Cɔː CəC, də(ɪ)CCuːC, CɛtCəC, həCCɔːC, and ʃɪCCuːC. These stems are perfective, imperfective, passive, progressive, reflexive,

and causative. The verb may be inflected for Person, Number, Gender, mood, and tense.

In summary, MQ has been observed behaving in several important respects like other Semitic languages. In most cases, this typical Semitic behavior was expected; the vowel system which is more varied than its neighbour Arabic, the nasalization of vowels, the distinctive realizations of ejectives, the polysyllabic lexemes, peculiar realizations of initial, medial and final consonant clusters, the rich systems of pronominal, nominal, and verbal distinctions in person, number and gender.

At best, all that linguistic documentation, descriptive or analytical, can do is to record and archive as many grammatical aspects of a language as possible while speakers of the language still remain. It cannot preserve the language in its true, living form with all its rich cultural associations. Language, as a dynamic cultural phenomenon, can only be kept alive through usage—usage that is, moreover, not limited to particular contexts but is of a natural and pervasive sort.

In the case of MQ, the language enjoys somewhat of an advantage in this regard, since its speakers, the Mehris, seem to take a great pride and interest in their language, and are not, as is often the case among speakers of a minority language, blatantly ashamed of it. As it has been seen, however, this attitude alone is not sufficient to halt the increase in the endangered state of the MQ set into motion by societal and demographic factors.

8.4 An Account of the Current Dissertation Contributions

MQ has been poorly and insufficiently described or studied. Any attempted effort to study it may take the initiative in bringing some of its unknown aspects into light. The current study has gained this capacity through this academic and systematic effort in achieving new finds on MQ morphological systems considered as its main original contributions which can be listed as follows:

- This study provided a separate phonological chapter which presented an original description of phonotactical properties of MQ which have not been considered previously. Although this chapter acts as a supporting device for the following main morphological chapters of the dissertation, it described various basic types of MQ syllables, possible coda and onset consonants, position occurrences of consonant clusters within syllables, some accounts on co-occurrence restrictions on consonantal distributions, and MQ prosodic features on the basis of the first-hand data available.

- This study has shed some light on some word formation processes not known before which may add some knowledge on Modern South Arabian languages field. Nominal reduplication, apophony, metathesis, subtractive morphology, replacive morphology, cliticization, denominal and deadjectival verbal derivations, deverbal noun derivations are examples of word formation processes in MQ.

- Some newly-found nominal forms have been captured in the data of the current study not noted previously such as deverbal nouns, deadjectival nouns, diminutive

nouns, the indigenous particle of direction /luːð/ ‘towards’ along with its conjugations, third person suffix forms, pronominal subject and object affixes, the emphasis particle /ʔʌɹ/, the particle /ʔæl/ ‘around’, the multifunctional particle /d/, and a lot of clear and instructive missing paradigms of many nominal and verbal elements.

- An addition of a different lexical verb type A peculiar to the MQ dialect that has the pattern CCvːC. It has an initial two consonant cluster which seemed to be regular phenomenon in MQ.

- Description of the future form types with their full paradigms, denominal verbs, the deadjectival verbs, the reflexives and the comparative forms of adjectives are an important original addition to the knowledge of Modern South Arabian languages.

8.5 Recommendations

Many aspects of MQ remain to be investigated, including the intriguing vocalic and consonantal alternations in root and pattern interdigitations processes. Further study of these and related phenomena in MQ will undoubtedly increase our understanding of morphophonological alternations and their connection to the MQ Semitic morphology. Further research on the possible occurrence of bi-consonantal roots in MQ and MQ cliticisation are recommended. Under the continuous pressure of Arabic influences and the official neglect of MQ as another

main source of threat to the existence of this indigenous language which may trigger language shift in Mehri region (Adegbija, 2001), a language shift is probably at work; thus, by and large, this area of research is further prompted to be exerted.

8.6.1 Pedagogical Implications

Education in Qishn is carried out in Arabic and no opportunities are given to incorporate the Mehri language into the studies of school children. On the contrary, communication in Mehri between Mehri students is strictly forbidden inside school classes. Literacy in Arabic is afforded to those who stay in education long enough. Even those who are highly literate in Arabic may express difficulties in their fluency in MQ. One of the main reasons literacy levels are so low is that teachers and would-be teachers have been given no formal literacy training in Mehri. Therefore, despite the standardization of the Arabic orthography and the introduction of literacy materials under the auspices of the government funded literacy programme, literacy levels remain low. It must be added that this dialect has been undergoing considerable influence from Arabic as a result of geographical proximity.

It is largely for this reason that schools like governmental ones through their capacity as what might be called “passive language classrooms” are supposed or recommended to play an instrumental role in the effort to preserve MQ. That is, since most of the schools’ students speak or at least understand MQ, the schools need not offer formal language classes i.e. Arabic. Rather, by tacitly encouraging the use of MQ, they can contribute to its maintenance. Fishman

(2001, p. 14) placed emphasis on this goal of education. He stated that a very commonly adopted functional goal of threatened languages is “to offer education in which those languages can operate as sole or, at least as co-media.” Janse (2003) and Newman (2003) argued on the same vein that literacy programmes and mother tongue education are essential in language maintenance. Linguistic evidence suggests that a young person’s peers exert a far more powerful influence on his / her speech than that do his / her parents. One sixteen-year old informant of the current research had been born in the MQ community. As a result, he, as the youngest child in his family, was the only one who spoke MQ, since he had grown up in an environment where MQ was spoken not only in the home but also in the outside community.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Oral Morphology Questionnaire

A. The Verb phrase:

1 Present

1.1. I (c.)
1.2. you (m.sg.)
1.3. you (f.sg.)
1.4. he / she / it
1.5. we (c.)
1.6. you (m.pl.)
1.7. you (f.pl.)
1.8. they (m.pl.)
1.9. they (f.pl.)

} is walking / is not walking

1.10. What are you doing? I am crushing the grain.
1.11. He is coming to ask for a pestle.

2 Past

2.1. Did you see my son yesterday? Yes, I saw him. No, I did not see him.
2.2. What were you doing this morning? I was crushing grain.
2.3. What did you kill yesterday? I did not kill anything. I killed a cat.
2.4. Whom did you see in the village? I did not see anyone. I saw only a boy.
2.5. Who saw you going to the village? Nobody saw me. Only a little boy saw m.
2.6. He came just now.
2.7. He came this morning.
2.8. He came yesterday.
2.9. He came last year.
2.10. He came with his friend { yesterday. / just now. / last year.

2.11. I walked along there yesterday
2.12. She did not sing.

3. Future

3.1. I shall not do anything.
3.2. My cow is dead. What shall I do?.
3.3. Will he arrive tomorrow? Yes, he will arrive tomorrow. No, he will not arrive tomorrow, but the day after.
3.4. Who will go? I will go. Nobody will go.
3.5. He will come this evening.
3.6. He will come tomorrow.
3.7. He will come next year.
3.8. He is going to leave any moment now.
3.9. I will go soon.

4. Indicative

4.1. He is going. He is coming. He is running.
4.2. He is eating.
4.3. He is eating gruel.
4.4. He is opening.
4.5. He is opening the door.

5. Narrative

5.1. Yesterday I went to a grocery shop, I bought some grain, I brought it home to my wife, I told her to cook it, she cooked it and we ate it.
5.2. tomorrow I will go to a grocery shop, I will buy some grain, I will bring it home to my wife, I will tell her to cook it, and we will eat it.

6. Subjunctive

6.1. I want to beat you.
6.2. We do not want to die.
6.3. He intends to come.
6.4. He intended to come and see us.
6.5. He tried to jump and fell.

7. Potential

7.1. He is able to come.
7.2. He is not able to come.
7.3. He is able to walk in spite of his illness.
7.4. He cannot read; he is blind.
7.5. He cannot speak; he is dumb.

8. Permissive

8.1. May I come tomorrow?
8.2. May I come and play with you?

9. Obligative

9.1. You must eat in order to grow.
9.2. There is nothing to do but to go and look for him.
9.3. You must do it.

10. Imperative

10.1. Sing! Don't sing!
10.2. Let him sing! Let him not sing!
10.3. Don't sing, be quiet; people are sleeping.
10.4. Go right away; you are going to be late.
10.5. Don't go; it's going to rain.
10.6. Let him leave; I don't want to see him again.
10.7. Leave quickly!
10.8. Don't leave!
10.9. Let them go; they weary me.

11. Purposive

11.1 He went to have a drink of water. I came to see my sister.
11.2 He took your spear to kill some dog.
11.3 I will give you a knife to kill the chicken.
11.4 The old woman gave her son poison so that he would die.

12. Interrogative

12.1. Is he coming?
12.2. Has anyone seen him?
12.3. What are you doing?
12.4. What is he doing?
12.5. What is he eating?
12.6. Who gave you that garment?
12.7. Who is coming here?
12.8. Who told you that the chief had left?
12.9. How did you catch it?
12.10. How do you say it?
12.11. Which one did you catch?
12.12. which one of the two do you want?
12.13. Where did you catch it?
12.14. Where did he go buy?
12.15. Where is he going?

12.16. Where is he coming from?
12.17. How many of them did you catch?
12.18. How long did you stay?
12.19. Why did you go to the village?
12.20. Why are you crying?
12.21. Why did you leave?
12.22. When are you coming?
12.23. When did you catch it?
12.24. Until when are you staying?
12.25. Whose child is smaller than mine?

13. Passive

13.1. Why is the child screaming? Because he is being beaten.
13.2. Where is the meat? It has been eaten.
13.3. Where is the dog? It's dead. How did it die? It was killed by a blow from a spear. It was caught by a man.
13.4. The pot broke. The water spilled. The rope came untied. This pot was broken by the child. The water was spilled. The rope was untied.

14. Reciprocal

14.1. The two men killed each other.
14.2. We will kill each other.
14.3. The children are fighting against one another.
14.4. They love each other.

15. Reflexive

15.1. The man killed himself. The two men (each) killed themselves.
15.2. We shall kill ourselves.
15.3. The children are (each) beating themselves.
15.4. The child wounded himself with his knife.

16. Transitive – Intransitive

16.1. What are you doing? I'm not doing anything.
16.2. What are you (pl.) doing? We are not doing anything.
16.3. I am sitting down. I am walking.
16.4. I am cooking.
16.5. We are Mehris.
16.6. What are the people doing? The people are dancing, moving about, quarrelling.
16.7. What are you cooking? I am cooking meat.
16.8. Are you (pl.) sleeping? No, we are just lying down.
16.9. He is drinking - He is eating - He is running.

17. Causative

17.1. The man woke up. The child woke the man up.
17.2. The baby is feeding at the breast. The mother is making the baby feed (at her breast).
17.3. The boy is drinking some water. I made the boy drink some water. I let the boy drink some water.

18. Habitual

18.1. What do the Mehri men do?
18.2. The Mehri men do the hunting, fishing.
18.3. What do the Mehri women do? The Mehri women prepare the food.
18.4. The child has fallen asleep. The child is asleep now. The child sleeps everyday.
18.5. It is the men who hunt.
18.6. She sees her brother on weekends.
18.7. She does not sing for us.

19. Simultaneous

19.1. She sings while grinding the grain.
19.2. She laughs while preparing the food.
19.3. He weaves a mat while telling me a story.

20. Completive – incompletive

20.1 Do you see a car over there? Yes, I see it. No, I don't see it.
20.2 Can you see something inside? Yes, I can. No. I can't.
20.3 I have finished the work.
20.4 She has finished grinding the grain.
20.5 He has arrived.
20.6 I am finishing the work.
20.7 I have not finished the work

21. Conditional

21.1. He will not come if it rains.
21.2. If the child loses the sheep, his father will beat him.
21.3. If you stay here, you will be killed.
21.4. If you had stayed here, you would have been killed.

22. Directional

22.1. Go (2m.sg.) away. Go (2m.pl.) away!
22.2. Go (2f.sg.) away. Go (2f.pl.) away!
22.3. Run (2m.sg.)! Run (2m.pl.)! (away from me)

22.4. Drag the log away from me!
22.5. Go down into the well over there!
22.6. Climb up that tree over there!
22.7. Come (2m.sg.) here! Come (2m.pl.) here!
22.8. Come (2f.sg.) here! Come (2f.pl.) here!
22.9. Run (2m.sg.)! Run (2m.pl.)! (toward me)
22.10. Run (2f.sg.)! Run (2f.pl.)! (toward me)
22.11. Drag the log toward me!
22.12. Come down from the tree and come here!
22.13. Come out of the well!
22.14. Give me the money back!
22.15. Give him the money back!
22.16. Give them the money back!

23. Reference to source and goal

23.1. He will become a fisherman.
23.2. He will become a harvester.

24. Progressive

24.1. He is getting dressed.
24.2. He is getting undressed so that he can wash.
24.3. She is tying up the goat.
24.4. She is untying the goat.
24.5. She is not singing.
24.6. Nothing's happening.
24.7. His mother is calling him.

B. The Noun and Noun Phrase

1. Nominal word classes: The noun and its modifiers

1.1. a man
1.2. some men
1.3. the two men
1.4. the three men
1.5. my man
1.6. my men
1.7. my two men
1.8. my three men
1.9. this man from here
1.10. these men
1.11. these two men
1.12. these three men
1.13. a woman (follow the above 1.1. – 1.12.)

1.14. a child (follow the above 1.1. – 1.12.)
1.15. a father (follow the above 1.1. – 1.12.)
1.16. a mother (follow the above 1.1. – 1.12.)
1.17. Their car.
1.18. My father's house
1.19. Three of his friends were there.

2. Nominal word classes: Adjectives and nominal derivation

2.1. I saw the white loincloth.
2.2. The small loincloth is torn.
2.3. The whiteness of the loincloth.
2.4. The dog is black.
2.5. The blackness of the dog.
2.6. The tree is big.
2.7. The bigness of the tree.
2.8. The path is narrow.
2.9. The narrowness of the path.
2.10. The woman is fat.
2.11. The fatness of the woman.
2.12. The honey is sweet.
2.13. The sweetness of the honey.

3. Comparison

3.1. He ran like a hare.
3.2. He swam like a fish.
3.3. He cried like a child.
3.4. Your loincloths are red like mine.
3.5. He ran like me.
3.6. He bought a knife like this one.

4. Privation

4.1. He came without the chief.
4.2. He sleeps without a mat.
4.3. He came without anybody.
4.4. He ate without me.

5. Repetition

5.1 He saw another bird.
5.2 He caught another fish.
5.3 She bought herself another loincloth.
5.4 He took three more papayas.
5.5 She continually does it.

6. Location (prepositions)

6.1. He was sitting among (in the middle of) the children.
6.2. He put the meat in the middle of the plate.
6.3. He was sitting among some of them.
6.4. He was sitting among us.
6.5. He was sitting in the midst of them all.
6.6. He sat down in the middle.
6.7. The bird is in the tree
6.8. He has a wound on his leg.
6.9. He put the garment on me, you, etc.
6.10. The child fell asleep under the tree.
6.11. He crushed an insect under his foot.
6.12. He lit the fire under the cooking-pot.
6.13. She put her garment beside the tree.
6.14. The men gathered around the chief.
6.15. The children are playing around the house.
6.16. The cows are drinking around the well.
6.17. She put a necklace around her neck.
6.18. The rat stopped in front of the hole.
6.19. He came back before dark.
6.20. The woman sat down in front of the cooking-pot.
6.21. The child is walking in front of his mother.
6.22. The child is not walking in front of his mother; the child is walking in front of mine.
6.23. The child is walking in front of me.
6.24. The child is walking in front of everyone.
6.25. They left; the child is walking in front.
6.26. The woman hid behind a tree.
6.27. The dog stopped behind the cow.
6.28. He is walking behind me, you, etc.
6.29. He is walking behind this one.
6.30. He is walking behind everybody.
6.31. The fly fell on the edge of the glass.

APPENDIX B

Swadesh List of MQ

The list below shows 100 items on the Swadesh list of MQ:

No.	English	MQ
1	I, me	hɒh
2	you	hɛːt
3	we	nhɛh
4	this	dɛh, dəʊməh
5	that	dɛːk
6	who	mɔːn
7	what	həh, hiːɬən
8	not	læ
9	all	kæl, kællæ
10	many	meɪkən
11	one	t’ɑːd
12	two	tɹɒh
13	big	ɬɔːχ
14	long	t’wiːl
15	small	k’ænnuːn
16	woman	ħɛɹmɛːt

17	man	ʁɛːɟ
18	person	ʁɛːɟ
19	fish	mæʃɪf
20	bird	ʔækbiːt
21	dog	mbeɪl
22	louse	kɪnmiːt
23	tree	ɬɪɟɹɛːt
24	seed	dɛɹɪ
25	leaf	ɬɛʁfiːt
26	root	ʔɛɹək’
27	bark	k’æɬiːɹ
28	skin	bɛɬɹiːt
29	flesh	tɛːwɪ
30	blood	ðuːɹə
31	bone	ʔæʗʗeɪʗ
32	grease / oil	ɬæbɦ
33	egg	biːʗət
34	horn	k’ɔːn
35	tail	ðənuːb
36	feather	ɬɪf

37	hair	ɬəfiːt
38	head	ħɛɹɒh
39	ear	hɛːðən
40	eye	ʔeɪn
41	nose	ʔɛnχəɹ
42	mouth	χɒh
43	tooth	mɛɮɹæħ
44	tongue	lɬiːn
45	claw	teɪfiːɹ
46	foot	ɬɹɛːn
47	knee	bæɹk
48	hand	ħɛːd
49	belly	huːfəl
50	neck	ɹɛkʼbiːt
51	breast(s)	tɔːdɪ (tɪdeɪtən)
52	heart	hælbiːb
53	liver	ʃɛbdɛːt
54	to drink	ʔəttɛkʼ
55	to eat	dətiːw
56	to bite	ntʼɔːwək

57	to see	ʁluːkʼ
58	to hear	hiːmə
59	to know	ʁɹuːb
60	to sleep	ʃkuːf
61	to die	mɔːt
62	to kill	ltuːʁ
63	to swim	sbuːħ
64	to fly	fɛɹ
65	to walk	sjuːɹ
66	to come	nɔːkæ
67	to lie (as on a bid)	ʁjuːb
68	to sit	ɬχʊlluːl
69	to stand	sʼɑːɹ
70	to fall	ɟɑːɹ
71	to say	ʔmuːɹ
72	sun	hjuːm
73	moon	wæɹχ
74	star	kɛbkɛb
75	water	ħmɔːh
76	rain	ɹɛħmiːt

77	stone	s’ɔːwəɹ
78	sand	ħɛbɹiːɹ
79	earth	ʔɑːɻʒ
80	cloud	ʔæfɔːɹ
81	smoke	nədiːχ
82	fire	ɬɪwɔːt’
83	ash	ɹmiːd
84	burn	ɬtɔːk’
85	path	ħɔːɹəm
86	mountain	ɟbeɪl
87	red	ʔɔːfəɹ
88	green	ħɟɔːɹ
89	yellow	kɛɹkɛmɪ
90	white	lbɔːn
91	black	ħɔːwəɹ
92	night	həlliːw
93	hot, warm	hʌɹk’ / huːb
94	cold	k’æs’əm
95	full	miːlæ
96	new	hɛːdiːn

97	good	gi:d
98	round	mdæwwɛɹ
99	dry	k’ɛːs’æ
100	name	hæmm

APPENDIX C

Plate 8.1: Scenes from Qishn District

Plate 8.2: The Ancient Part of Qishn

APPENDIX D

Part of Prof. Goldenberg's personal communication via email with the researcher

Dear Hassan

Your description of the comparative forms of adjectives is an important original addition to our knowledge of Modern South Arabian … Such forms are, as most others, derived directly from the root (which in itself might be extracted from the adjectival and/or verbal forms) … It is incorrect to place /v: / (i.e. positing in this position any vowel), because the specific vowel here defines the pattern. You can use /C/, as you did, instead of my /•/, but then you involve syllabic structure, which in the case of w or y, which non-consonantal radicals (glides like have also been termed "semi-vowels") may prove misleading … I just hope that my comments may be helpful to you in developing your own critical approach. The Modern South Arabian languages are highly interesting and hitherto insufficiently studied. Your work as I have been convinced is important to all interested scholars and your linguistic analysis sagacious, thoughtful and open-minded. I wish you a successful completion of your dissertation soon and success in all your doings.

Gideon Goldenberg
msgidgol@mscc.huji.ac.il
3 September 2006

Dear Hasan,

I hope you have made good progress since our last correspondence. Here I wish to send you the passage in my survey of the Semitic languages referring to the study of Modern South Arabian languages. In my chapter I report briefly on the study of each language or group according to the special conditions. I do not pretend to give full information, but for languages not fully described, it was found necessary to give some basic facts, though very briefly. Here is the relevant passage in the introduction about general information (transcriptions of names slightly simplified [and inexact] because of the limits of my mail program):

"The Modern South Arabian (MSA) languages are the non-Arabic languages spoken in the south of the Arabian Peninsula in the region around the border of Yemen and Oman and on the Island of Soqotra. The six MSA languages are Mehri, Harsusi, Bat'hari, Hobyo:t, Jibba:li (al. S-heri etc.), and Soqotri. For a general description and a grammatical outline v. Simeone-Senelle 1997, cf. id. 2002. A thorough investigation of MSA languages based on extensive fieldwork was first conducted in the beginning of the twentieth century by the 'Süd-arabische Expedition' of the Viennese Academy ('Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenshaften'), mainly connected with the names of David Heinrich Müller, Alfred Jahn, and Wilhelm Hein. Some detailed studies were then made, based on the materials collected by the Viennese Expedition, by M. Bittner, W. Leslau, and others. A bibliography of MSA studies until the 1940's is Leslau 1946. Wagner 1953 will be singled out as the only comprehensive syntax of MSA ever written. Fieldwork on

MSA was renewed about sixty years after the Viennese expedition by T. M. Johnstone, M.-Cl. Simeone-Senelle & A. Lonnet, and V. Naumkin. A detailed study of the Mehri dialect of Qishn, based on original fieldwork, is at present in progress, conducted by Hasan Alfadly of the University of Malaysia."

Since I mention your name, I wish to know whether you approve what is brought here as far as it concerns you. I thought it was useful for the interested readers that their attention should be attracted to information not given elsewhere.

You remember that you can always turn to me with whatever question, query or request. Wishing you again success, Gideon Goldenberg.

Dear Hassan,

The paradigm you sent me last time, of 3rd sg. verb-form with object suffixes is very important. Full paradigms of verbs with object suffixes have, in fact, not been presented in previous studies. They were partly treated in the old literature, e.g. by Maximilian Bittner, but full conjugation was missing. I do not know how much of the relevant literature has been available to you. There is Harry Stroomer's book "Mehri Texts from Oman. Based on the Field Materials of T. M. Johnstone" [Semitica Viva 22] (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag,1999). Directly relating to your dialect is the collection of texts recorded 100 years ago: "Mehri- und Hadrami-Texte gesammelt im Jahre 1902 in Gischin" by Wilhelm Hein, ed. D. H. Müller (Viennese Academy of Sciences 1909). You will probably not need the German translation, and the parallel texts in Hadrami are also given. If you do not have acess to some important Material, it is legitimate that you mention it and say it was unavailable to you. Morphological derivation by root and pattern, especially when "weak" phonemes (glides) are involved, may look complicated, but once you see its logic, it comes out rather systematic and beautiful. From what I see, your dissertation will certainly enrich our knowledge of MSA languages, and an analysis coming from a scholar with a non-Western linguistic background will be revealing in spite of all possible difficulties.

Wishing you success in all you do, Gideon Goldenberg.