?b? 'to allot': no etymology detected. **édof** 'to take': no etymology detected.

dah 'to put': no etymology detected. Notwithstanding the semantic proximity, hardly related to Arb. wds' 'to leave, to let' (Lane 3051) in view of the phonological irregularity (contra LS 125).

éfog 'to be full': no etymology detected. ékše 'tree': no etymology detected. ?kh 'to test, to try': no etymology detected. aks 'wind with pebbles': no etymology detected. aķŝ 'ziziphus': no etymology detected. álah 'to call': no etymology detected. érem 'to be': no etymology detected. erat 'to set a bone': no etymology detected. ésas 'to spatter': no etymology detected. šek 'to whisper': no etymology detected. tef 'to ask for God's help': no etymology detected. **2ff** 'to sharpen': no etymology detected. átah 'to moan': no etymology detected. *teš* 'to suckle': no etymology detected. eyhen 'love': no etymology detected. Salyémo 'top': no etymology detected. *aSrhíyeb* 'дерево': no etymology detected. **Pas** 'goat': no etymology detected' *Seo* 'to release to pasture': no etymology detected. žer 'to run': no etymology detected.

?bd 'to lie flat': tentatively compared to PS **?bd* 'to be lost, to perish' in Naumkin et al. 2016:57.

ded 'to send': directly comparable to Mhr. $\partial wd\bar{\imath}d$ 'to assign tasks' (ML 421), Jib. $ebd\acute{e}d$ 'to assign tasks' (JL 286), probably Sab. (minuscule) h-wdd 'to entrust' (Stein 2010:234, 733). The semantic relationship "to send" – "(to assign) a task" is copiously attested, cf. Akk. $\delta ipru$, Hbr. $m\partial l\bar{a}(?)k\bar{a}$, Lat. missio. A more remote connection may be seen in Gez. wadda 'to put into, to join together, to insert' (CDG 604), all eventually from PS *wdd 'to love' (= 'to be attached to each other, to stay together').

idha? 'dragon-blood': the word is well known from classical Arabic sources as ?ayda?- (LA 8 490), but no further etymology is at hand.

édok 'to knock': with Leslau (LS 53), probably related to the biconsonantal element *dk 'to beat'. Johnstone (ML 421) compares Mhr. $w = d\bar{u}k$ 'to rub', semantically problematic.

édaķ 'to be heavy': perhaps related to Arb. wdq 'to fall in drops' (LA 10 449), Sab. wdķ 'to fall, to collapse' (SD 156), Gez. wadķa 'to fall down, to collapse, to sink' (CDG 604). The semantic shift 'to be heavy' > 'to fall' is conceivable. Leslau (LS 54) compares Targum Aramaic ?dķ 'to be fastened, to stick' (Jastrow 17), semantically rather remote.

idi 'to be close to giving birth': tentatively compared to Tgr. ?əǯǯot 'young cow that has calved' (WTS 386) in Naumkin et al. 2016:75.

fe 'to pay' < PS *wpy: Mhr. $h \partial w f \bar{u}$ 'to settle, to pay in full' (ML 423), Jib. $\bar{o} f i$ 'to settle a debt' (JL 287)

2fd 'to be vexed': cf. perhaps Arb. **2fd** 'to be in a hurry' (LA 3 88).

ʔgm 'to block': cf. perhaps PWS *wgm/ʔgm 'to be sad, depressed': Hbr. *ʔāgēm* 'grieved' (HALOT 11), Arb. wǯm 'to be very sad' (LA 12 750), Tgr. *ʔagmä* 'to be grieved' (WTS 386), perhaps Akk. agāmu 'to be angry' (CAD A₁ 142). For the semantic development cf. Tigre täʔagämä 'to hesitate', mətʔagämi 'stumbling-block' (WTS 386), Tna. aggämä 'to be hard, difficult for someone' (TED 1537).

gem 'to accumulate': comes close to Arb. *jmm* 'to be abundant, to be full, filled; to be collected (water in a well)' (Lane 448).

ége 'to beat': < PWS *wgy/wg?: Hbr. ygy (hip.) 'to torment, to grieve' (HALOT 385), Syr. ?awgi 'depulit; prohibuit, defendit' (LSyr. 295), Arb wǯ? 'to beat, to smite' (Lane 2921), Qat. ?gw 'to struggle', s₁-?gy 'to reprimand, to vex' (LIQ 4), Gez. wag?a 'to pierce, to beat, to hit' (CDG 607), Tgr. mogə? 'mortar' (WTS 448).

?hr 'to repel': Jib. $2\bar{o}h\bar{\partial}r$ 'to take away' (JL 5) < PS *?hr. As for Jib. $2\bar{o}h\bar{\partial}r$ 'to delay, to cancel' (JL 5) and Mhr. $aw\bar{o}h\bar{\partial}r$ 'to postpone' (ML 9), they are likely Arabisms and cannot be directly compared to the Soqotri verbs. In Yemeni Arabic, cf., however, ?hr (II) 'verhindern, abhalten, aufhalten' (Behnstedt 14)

ékod 'to be afraid': only Jib. *ékod* 'to be startled' (JL 289), no further cognates detected. Hardly related to Akk. *ekdu* 'fierce' (CAD E 62).

ókil 'to entrust': not unlike Mhr. *awōkəl* 'to entrust' (ML 426), Jib. *ōkəl* 'to trust' (JL 290), an early borrowing from Arb. *wkl* (II) < PS **wkl*.

ker 'to add': to be compared to Arb. wkr 'to fill a vessel' (LA 5 342), Jib. ékər 'to give more water or milk than expected' (JL 290).

ékre 'sheath': cf. perhaps Arb. waqr- 'cleft in a hoof' (LA 5 340).

kes 'to hide': probably to be compared to Arb. wks 'to be less, to diminish' and especially waks-'lunar eclipse' (LA 6310). An eventual relationship to PS *ksw 'to cover, to hide' is conceivable.

ékar 'to come in the evening': only Jib. ?ék · r 'to come home (cattle)' (JL 2), no further cognates detected.

21k 'to chew': only in other MSA: Mhr. awōlək 'to chew cud' (ML 428), Jib. ōlək 'to chew cud' (JL 291).

élel 'kid': etymologically uncertain, for a tentative comparison with PS **la?la?*- 'kid' see Naumkin et al. 2016:58.

sed 'to put on fire': < PS *wsd 'to found, to fix'. Contra LS 282, certainly unrelated to Arb. sdd 'to close up, to stop' (Lane 1328), for which see Soq. yhed 'to block' (LS 141).

sef 'to add' < PS *wsp.

 $e\hat{s}$ 'to lead': etymologically obscure. Cf. perhaps Mhr. $h\bar{o}\hat{s}$ 'to steal by force' (ML 162), Jib. $ho\hat{s}$ 'to take by force' (JL 100), compatible semantically but implying an irregular loss of h in Soqotri.

ted 'to wait': to be compared to Arb. *wtd* 'to be permanent, steadfast' (LA 3 544), Tgr. *wättä* 'to fix into the ground', *wətud* 'firm, steadfast' (WTS 439–440).

?tm 'to share' < PS **?tm*.

iti 'to be weak': As admitted by Leslau (CDG 46), his earlier comparison to Gez. *?tt* 'to be removed, taken away; to withdraw' (LS 77) is hardly appealing. Cf. perhaps Arb. *wat?*- 'a breaking of the flesh without separation of the parts, not reaching the bone; a bruising of the bone without its breaking' (Lane 2919).

é aḥ 'to pain' (LS 70) < PWS *w'ḥ: Jib. é aḥ 'to be fed up, depressed' (JL 296), Gez. waḍḍaḥa 'to distress, to make suffer' (CDG 606).

nfnf 'махать' < PWS *nwp: Mhr. hənwūf 'to beckon' (ML 306), Jib. enif 'to beckon' (JL 198).

Pafóri 'double wall' < PWS *¹pr: Mhr. $\mathfrak{P} = f \overline{u} r$ 'to plait the hair' (ML 473), Jib. $\mathfrak{P} \cdot f \cdot r$ 'to plait the hair' (JL 324).

žedher 'brown': with Johnstone (JL 59), likely related to Jib. *gədrét* 'soil, earth' (see further Naumkin et al. 2015:59).

éraḥ 'to come': Presumably an early denominative formation from a non-attested reflex of PS *?urḥ- 'road' (Kogan 2015:392). The closest approximation is Hbr. ?rḥ 'to be on the road, to wander' (HALOT 86).

eş 'to be afraid': directly comparable to Mhr. yəş 'to be afraid' (ML 462). With Leslau (LS 55), probably related to Arb. ?aṣīṣ- 'trembling' (LA 7 4).

Pas 'to catch up': no etymology detected.

der 'to stay': with Leslau (LS 124), likely represents PS *dwr 'to turn', which came to mean 'to stay, to dwell, to leave' in a number of other WS languages – but not in continental MSA, cf. Mhr. $d\bar{o}r$ 'to wander around' (ML 76), Jib. dcr 'to wander around' (JL 42). If this etymology is correct, this is a clear-cut example of a "hollow" root (a type otherwise practically extint in Soqotri) secondarily adopted to the morphological pattern of a Iw root in the causative stem.

ékob 'to enter': directly comparable to Mhr. *wəkūb* 'to enter' (ML 425), possibly also Arb. *wkb* 'to move slowly, step by step' (LA 1 947). In the wake of Bittner (1913:129), one is inclined to compare Gez. *kabkāb* 'wedding feast' (CDG 273), originally "(day of the groom's) "entering" (the bride)", cf. *laylatu d-daḥlati* in Arabic. Note also Sab. *wkb* 'to receive, to gain; to find, to encounter' (SD 159), perhaps from 'to come upon'? In Behnstedt 1316, Yem. Arb. *wakab* 'Grenzstein' is tentatively compared (implying an original meaning 'to insert').

?ķs 'to guess a riddle': directly comparable to Jib. *ékas* 'to find; to guess rightly' (JL 290). In Yemeni Arabic, note *wqs* (II) 'to hit the target' (Piamenta 530), (III) 'to set right, to push to the right place'. It is tempting to suppose an eventual relationship to Arb. *wqs* 'to fall; to take place, to happen', Mhr. *wīkas* 'to be, to become; to come upon, to happen' (ML 426, probably an early Arabism).

?km 'to hit, to affect': to be compared to Arb. *wqm* 'to humble, to subdue; to sadden' (LA 12 765–766), Sab. *wkm* 'to be submissive; to render submissive' (SD 161). Johnstone compares the Soqotri verb to Jib. *ekúhm* 'to take upon oneself all the responsibility; to be interferring, officious' (JL 291) without specifying the hypothetic semantic development.

šékem 'ugly': in all probability related to 2km 'to hit, to affect' ('to be ugly' < 'to be affected, humbled, subdued').

?ks 'to bump': Cf. perhaps Gez. wakasa 'to reproach, to accuse, to condemn; to strive, to quarrel' (CDG 616).

ésas 'to meet': no etymology detected.

?ŝħ 'to open one's mouth': with Leslau (LS 427), to be compared to Arb. šħw 'to open one's mouth' (Lane 1514), Tgr. säħa 'to yawn' (WTS 172).