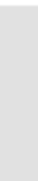




AL-MAJALLA

Haifa, Vol. 3, 2012



Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic

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1. Preliminaries

Comparative lexicology remains to this day one of the least studied domains within the discipline of Arabic dialectology. Systematic research on the word stock of regionally significant dialectal varieties in the Arabic-speaking world focusing on historical and comparative aspects of the language has yet to address this longstanding lacuna. Given the long history of human settlement and the concomitant complex linguistic stratification in the Middle East and North Africa, a preliminary attempt at portraying lexical isoglosses characterizing the contemporary Arabic vernaculars would be an innovative contribution to the cultural and linguistic history of this region. The following remarks are intended to report on ongoing historical and comparative research relating to the word stock of Beduin Arabic vernaculars, and to demonstrate the significance of this pioneer project for a global diachrony of Arabic and other Semitic languages.

The feasibility of a project on historical lexicography in relation to Arabic at the present time has been enhanced by the appearance, during the last few decades, of major dictionaries of Arabic vernaculars spoken in Yemen, Upper Egypt, Syria, Eastern Arabia, and S.E. Anatolia (see bibliography). While there can be no doubt that the extensive synchronic data base now accessible to the dialectologist has inaugurated a new stage in the history of research on the Arabic dialects spoken by sedentaries, the fact remains that (i) the accessibility of new lexical data on Arabic vernaculars that were, until fairly recently, poorly attested or not at all, invites a serious engagement with general aspects of Arabic language history from a specifically lexical perspective that also takes within its ambit other relevant Semitic languages, especially Aramaic, since several varieties of this language are still spoken in different parts of the Arabic-speaking Middle East and beyond; (ii) the lexicography of Beduin vernaculars has yet to attract the scientific attention it deserves.

Research on Beduin vernaculars constitutes, at the present time, a scientific objective vested with a certain urgency given the advanced state of sedentarization of Beduin communities and the concomitant erosion of their

traditional speech patterns. A compelling factor highlighting the need for diachronic research on Beduin Arabic is the wellknown linguistic conservatism of nomadic vernaculars, and their consequent utility for comparative diachronic research. A recent study of colour categorization among the Negev Bedouin in Borg (1999) has, for instance, shown that urban vernaculars of Arabic display a more evolved colour system encoding the eleven colour categories of the Berlin & Kay (1968) sequence, as opposed to the six categories typified among tent-dwelling Bedouin in the Negev. Significantly, Fischer (1965) has shown that the Pre-Islamic Arabic colour paradigm comprised only five basic colour terms. In the realm of morphology, Bedouin Arabic often retains the use of *tanwīn* in poetry. Observe also the incidence of infinitives on the *fa'āl* scheme, apparently typical of nomadic vernaculars and in parts of Arabia:

Negev Beduin: *'akāl* 'remuneration paid to a person who supplies information on a murderer's identity' | *sadād* 'implementation of blood vengeance' | *wakād* 'certainty': *wakād u harj irkād* 'a certain and well established fact' | *kaḥān – gillī al-laban* 'hunger, that is, shortage of milk' || **Rwala Beduin** *raṣāṣ* 'inflammation of a camel's hoof' (Musil 1928:369) | **E.Arabian** *hāy luḡiz?—la wakād* 'Is this a riddle—No, it really happened' (Holes 2001:13), etc.

It is here suggested that this morphophonemic pattern and its grammatical function evoke continuity with the Akkadian infinitive scheme as in:

Akkadian (Black *et al.*, 2000): *akālu(m)* 'to eat' (p. 9) | *barāqu(m)* 'lighten, shine, flash (eyes)' (p. 38) | *ḥasāsu(m)* 'be conscious, remember' (p. 109), etc.

The scientific proposition of a comparative lexicon of spoken Arabic recommends itself on several grounds. The Arabic *Sprachraum* is characterized by a great deal of linguistic variation that has interested Arabic scholars in the West, at least, since the early decades of the 19th century. In view of the fact that lexical variation in certain regions of this extensive linguistic continuum can be shown to represent the outcome of substratal or adstratal contact with Semitic or other languages (Aramaic, Coptic, Berber, Greek etc.), a systematic lexicon of colloquial Arabic would be an indispensable research instrument in a reconstruction of Arabic language history. Reconstructing the cultural and linguistic history of a community through its language requires the research to exemplify several types of discourse: spontaneous speech reflecting everyday usage, texts in various genres of unwritten literature: traditional poetry and narratives, different categories of wisdom literature (proverbs, legal maxims, etc.). This classification is of particular significance in relation to the Beduin since these retain a formal distinction between every day speech and higher

speech registers that finds expression in grammatical differentiation between the two stylistic levels.

Suggestive formal traits of historical interest in Beduin vernaculars have yet to be systematically probed on a scale rendering possible the development of a theoretical and documentary framework for integrating field data gleaned from the Arabic dialects into a coherent historical model recapitulating the evolutionary process that yielded the present-day linguistic continuum ranging between sedentary and nomadic Arabic vernaculars and, at the same time, clarifying the relationship of Proto-Arabic with Proto-Semitic.

The state of the art in Arabic dialectology, as it is conducted at the present time, has adopted a distinctly synchronic orientation consistent with the laudable endeavor of mapping out dialect areas that have not yet been studied. Clearly, a comparative lexicon of colloquial Arabic would introduce an important diachronic dimension that is liable to radically change our entire perception of evolutionary aspects of the Arabic *koinê* as visualized, for instance, in Ferguson (1959). It could potentially also motivate further fieldwork with a distinctly diachronic agenda.

2. The aim and scope of the proposed research

The present remarks set out to illustrate the eminent and so far untapped utility of Beduin Arabic vernaculars in the discipline of comparative Semitic linguistics; for this purpose, the focus of my comments will be directed to the incidence of lexical Aramaisms in different Beduin vernaculars, here presented along with pertinent comparative data from different varieties of this Semitic language. The incidence of an Aramaic adstrate in Beduin Arabic vernaculars was indicated and exemplified in Borg (2008). A useful by-product of this linguistic focus on Aramaisms in Beduin vernaculars is the identification of potential diachronic tracer elements in a reconstruction of the internal history of Arabic. Thus, for instance, an Aramaism that is shared by both sedentary and nomadic varieties of Arabic can be reasonably assigned to the earliest stratum in the Arabic word stock.

The latter point is of particular interest inasmuch as it also raises important questions relating to the composition of earlier forms of spoken Arabic in the Arabian Peninsula. It may even be possible to argue that the largely independent evolutionary character of Beduin Arabic justifies its classification as a virtually distinct variety of Semitic.

3. *The significance of Aramaisms in the Beduin lexicon*

The historically divergent character of Beduin Arabic vernaculars is particularly evident in the lexical domain; thus, perusal of the selective glossary exemplified in this paper shows that a sizeable component in the word stock of Negev Arabic and of other Beduin vernaculars cited here, has no obvious parallel in sedentary Arabic or in the classical language, either because it refers to realia of desert life irrelevant to settled groups, or because it continues lineally acquired Semitic *Sprachgut* foreign to both literary and sedentary forms of colloquial Arabic, such as highly distinctive Aramaic lexical strata. Observe, for instance, the following lexical correspondences between Beduin vernaculars and two different varieties of ancient Aramaic:

Awlād ‘Ali (Libya) ‹hagwah› ‘Rat’ (= ‹ra’y›; Hartmann 1899:237) ~ Jewish Aram *hāgā* ‘nachsinen, nachdenken’ (Levy I, 450) ~ Syriac *hegā* ‘meditate,’ *hegyānā* ‘meditation, study’ ~ Tigre *te-haga* ‘speak,’ Ugaritic *hg* ‘count, reckon’ (TDOT 3:321) || **Negev Arma’adūf** (jur.) ‘(referring to) a judge preferred by a claimant and defendant’ (own observ.) ~ Jewish Aram ‘*ādaf* and ‘*ādīf* ‘vorzüglich sein’ (Levy III, 623) || **Negev Ar sātyih**, pl *sawātiy* and **Sinai Beduin sādīyih**, pl *sawādiy* ‘legal precedent’ (own observ.) ~ Syriac ‘*eštā* ‘fundus (sepulcri)’ (Brockelmann 1928:810–11) ~ Jewish Aram *štiyyāh* ‘foundation’ (Jastrow 1886:1638) ~ Postbiblical Hebrew *štiyyāh*, *mašīt* ‘foundation, basis’ (Klein 1987:685).

Certain elements in the Aramaic lexical component of Beduin Arabic are patently very old since they are sometimes shared by Arabian and N.African varieties of Beduin Arabic, e.g., the already cited Aramaism *haga* ‘imagine, surmise’ in Negev Arabic, which invites comparison with:

Najd Beduin *haga*, *tihagwa b-* ‘reckon, presume, imagine,’ *haga* ‘fancy, expect, believe that s.th. can be done, achieved, obtained’ (cf Kurpershoek II 459; III 474) ~ **Sinai Beduin** *hāgī* (= ‘*ārīf*) ‘know, imagine,’ *hagwa* ‘thought’ (Bailey 1991:455) ~ **Eastern Arabia** *haga/haka* ‘think, ponder,’ *tihāga* (v/i) ‘think, believe’ (Holes 2001:544).

The existence of an Aramaic substratum in the colloquial Arabic lexicon has been remarked upon in a number of linguistic studies, especially those addressing the Eastern Arabic vernaculars spoken by urban and rural communities in Greater Syria (Feghali 1918) and Iraq (Blanc 1964), though Aramaic substrata are not limited to the Eastern continuum of dialectal Arabic (cf. Borg 2009).

Oddly the incidence of Aramaisms in the speech patterns of Beduin is hardly mentioned in the technical literature on Arabic and Semitics, possibly, because it is often gratuitously assumed that these nomads' alleged geographical isolation from settled communities has tended to protect them from the potential effects of language contact.

Two factors suggest that this view rests on an unrealistic idealization of the nomadic aspect of Beduin communities (i) the recurring trend of Arab nomads settling on the periphery of sedentary centres; (ii) the linguistic consequences of interaction between nomads and sedentary speech communities in the history of the Arab world — often culminating in extensive beduinization of sedentary speech patterns (cf. Blanc 1964). The focus of the present research is on the opposite historical process whereby Beduin communities become linguistically acculturated to sedentary speech patterns.

The practical objective of the present research on the lexicon of Beduin Arabic is to focus attention on internal historical and comparative aspects of nomadic Arabic emerging from a field survey of the vernaculars of settled Beduin spoken in the Negev, collated with available data from other Beduin colloquials as attested in major works undertaken by past scholars, like Socin (1901) and Boris (1958).

As will be shown below, lexical stratification in Beduin Arabic lends itself to suggestive interpretative hypotheses; thus the extensive geographical distribution of lexical Aramaisms in Beduin vernaculars clearly shows that they hark back to an early historical stage antedating the exodus of Arabic-speaking nomads from the Arabian Peninsula:

'**Utaybah Beduin** (Central Arabia) *balas* 'spy on,' *ballās*, pl *balālīs* 'enemy spy' (Kurpershoek 1999:335) ~ **Dathīna** *ballas* 'délater,' *tablīs* 'délation' (Landberg 204) ~ **Kuwait** *bilasa* 'payment to a spy to trace a stolen camel' (Dickson 1949:625) ~ **Sudan** *ballās* 'spy; paid informant' (Qasim 2002:112) ~ Jewish Aram *blaš* 'suchen, aufsuchen, durchsuchen,' Hebrew *ballešet/bōlešet* ~ Jewish Aram *ballāšā* 'Spionentrupp' (Levy I, 237–38) || **Negev Ar** *mīš* 'whey; Milchwasser, Molken (also *mašl*, Dalman VI, 303)' ~ **Yemen** *miyyās*, *imiyyās* 'faire tourner en eau; se transformer en petit-lait' (Piamenta II, 475) ~ **Marazig Beduin** (S.Tunisia) *mīš* 'sérum de lait,' *māyyiṣ* 'exprimer, par pression, le petit lait du fromage non pressuré (*žebna*)' (Boris 1958:595), *mēš/maiš* 'sérum, partie liquide qui se sépare de la caséine du petit-lait; sérosité du lait caillé; toute matière sale et fétide,' *mmiyyās* 'aliment liquide refroidi, coagulé et immangeable (dont la sauce ne parait être faite que d'eau, sans corps gras)' (De Prémare XI, 287) ~ **Andalusī Ar** *mays*, pl *muyūs* 'whey,' *mays maṭbūx* 'second curds'

(Corriente 1997:517) ~ Galilean Aram *mšy* ‘wring out, be settled’ (Sokoloff 1990:325) ~ Hebrew *mīšāh*, ‘that which is squeezed in,’ *mīš*, *mīššūy* ‘squeezing, wringing out (of the blood of the sacrifice)’ (M.Jastrow 1903: 778): *mīš hālāb yōšī* ‘hem’āh ‘Surely the wringing of milk brings forth curd’ (Proverbs 30, 33).

The existence of an Aramaic substratum in the colloquial Arabic lexicon has been remarked upon in a number of linguistic studies, especially those addressing the Eastern Arabic vernaculars spoken by urban and rural communities in Greater Syria (Feghali 1918) and Iraq (Blanc 1964). Casual reference to non-Arabic lexical elements, especially Aramaic loans, outside the historical heartland of Aramaic, for instance, in Peninsular Arabic, also occur in random fashion (e.g., Landberg 1920, Holes 2001); the topic has, nevertheless, yet to receive adequate coverage. Highly desirable in this regard would be some attempt at probing the nature and extent of borrowing entailed, and reconstructing of a relative chronology for these loans, with suggestions for their likely diffusional channels.

Interpreting the areal distribution of lexical Aramaisms can be insightfully treated by adopting some key concepts of the Age-and-Area hypothesis, such as the notions of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery.’ In relation to the diffusional strategy of Aramaic actualized in the early centuries of the first millenium of our era, the Arabian Peninsula distinctly constitutes, at the present time, a peripheral area. In the same study, I highlighted the presence of Aramaisms in the central and western Mediterranean, completely overlooked in the conventional literature.

The incidence of Aramaisms in the speech patterns of Beduin is hardly mentioned in the technical literature on Arabic and Semitics, possibly, because it is often gratuitously assumed that their alleged geographical isolation from settled communities has tended to protect them from the potential effects of language contact.

Urheimat studies into the word-stock of language families tend to stress the significance of the earliest lexical heritage for reconstructing cultural aspects of the human groups concerned. Some Aramaic loans noted in this study are of particular interest in this respect; intended here are the two aforementioned Aramaic terms lexifying central concepts in the Beduin’s customary law (*urf*): *sātyih* ‘legal precedent,’ and the derivatives of the root ‘-d-f ‘to prefer.’ Significantly, neither term is attested in the sedentary Arabic lexicons or, for that matter, in contemporary Neo-Aramaic. Note also, in this connection, the term ⟨ša’wā’⟩ f, pl *še’ū* ‘goldfarbig (von Kamel)’ recorded in Socin (1901:280) for Central Arabia; this colour term referring specifically to camel colours clearly

derives from a form like Syriac *šā 'ūθā* 'wax, sealing-wax, a wax light' (J.Payne Smith 1903:588).

4. *Summing up*

In view of the wellknown fact that Arab nomads wandered outside Arabia in various parts of the Fertile Crescent throughout the first millennium B.C., it is very probable that the integration of non-Arabic Semitic elements in the indigenous vernaculars of the Arabian Peninsula have a long history. At all events, contact between Arabic and Aramaic represents an important diachronic stage in the linguistic evolution of Arabic inasmuch as the Aramaic component obtaining in literary and spoken forms of Arabic constitutes, without doubt, the most extensive foreign lexical layer of Semitic origin in the language, sometimes mediating earlier Semitic strata (Canaanite, Akkadian, etc.).

My own recent research on Aramaisms in vernacular Arabic has suggested that the distributional profile of Aramaic lexical residues in this language is best determined not on a one-to-one lexical basis but rather by reference to the notion of semantic domains or discourse schemas. Thus, within Eastern Arabic as a whole, discourse on agriculture appears to have enjoyed a fairly stable character since several terms of Aramaic origin in this semantic domain have been retained.

The present remarks arose in relation to striking Aramaisms in the Arabic dialect spoken by the Negev Beduin represents an interim report on ongoing research towards a comparative and historical glossary of Beduin Arabic, whose ultimate objective is to portray the culture of present-day Arab nomads through their language.

As in my lexical study of the Cypriot Maronites (Borg 2004), one assumption underlying the aforementioned Beduin Arabic glossary is that the word stock of a particular language embodies an evolutionary narrative that the language historian could ideally endeavour to reconstruct with the help of comparative data from related languages and dialects with the aim of (i) identifying the *Urheimat* of the speaker community in question, and (ii) elucidating its relationship with other members of the language family in question.

These scientific objectives are of particular relevance to present-day Beduin communities for the following reasons:

(a) The unfavourable state-of-the-art in research on Beduin Arabic presents a major obstacle to our understanding of Arabic language history since their

development in virtual isolation from those spoken by sedentaries renders Beduin dialects a unique source for the reconstruction of the earliest diachronic stages of spoken Arabic;

(c) Authentic Beduin dialects (that is, spoken without the influence of urban and literary forms of Arabic) are generally incomprehensible to co-territorial sedentaries and can therefore be characterized as an autonomous linguistic tradition that takes the researcher back to the earliest accessible stage of spoken Arabic. It is probably no exaggeration to claim that Beduin Arabic constitutes, in essence, a fairly autonomous Semitic language within the Arabic linguistic domain;

(d) Beduin Arabic is the medium of an impressive oral literature comprising a wealth of poetic and legal discourse whose content is of considerable interest to a reconstruction of the culture of ancient Arabia.

5. Selective glossary of Aramaisms in contemporary Beduin Arabic vernaculars

b-l-s

Negev beduin *balas*, *yiblis* ‘inform on people’ ~ ‘**Utaybah beduin** *balas* ‘inform,’ *balāyis* ‘treachery, information given to the enemy, spying’ (Kurpershoek 1995:328) ~ **Dawāsir beduin** *balas* ‘spy on’ (Kurpershoek 1999:335) || Jewish Aram *blaš* ‘suchen, aufsuchen, durchsuchen’ (Levy I, 237–38), *bālōšā* ‘Untersuchung,’ *bālōšā*, pl *bālōšīn* ‘Untersucher, Spion, Polizeidiener’ (Dalman 1938:56);

ballās ‘liar; slanderer, detractor’: *māni min al-ballāsīn* ‘I’m not a telltale’ ~ **Dawāsir** *ballās*, pl *balālīs* ‘enemy spy’ (Kurpershoek 1999:335) ~ **Sudan** *ballās* ‘spy; paid informant’ (Qasim 2002:112).

Dathīna *ballas* ‘délater,’ *tablīs* ‘délation’ (Landberg 1920: 204).

Negev beduin *bilūs* ‘spy; informer’: *māniy bilūsiy* (poet.) ‘I’m not a gossip!’ ~ ‘**Utaybah beduin** *bilūs* ‘one who spies on people and divulges their secrets’ (Kurpershoek 1995:328) ~ **Kuwait** *bilasa* ‘payment to a spy to trace a stolen camel’ (Dickson 1949:625).

[“A Badawin’s passion is his camel, and if he has lost one by raid, or by simple theft, he will not rest till he has discovered where it is and what shaikh, indi-

vidual, or tribe has got it in his possession. He has many methods of finding this out, the most common being by the system of *bilasa*, i.e. payment of money to a neutral to go and spy out the land and locate his animal” (Kuwait: Dickson 1949:342). “Faire connaître à un propriétaire inquiet de la perte de son bœuf ou de son chameau l’endroit où il se trouve est une action louable, surtout si le détenteur actuel est un voleur. Dans ce dernier cas cependant, le messenger qui dévoile la conduite et la mauvaise foi du voleur, est flétri, chez quelques bédouins, du nom de “délateur” (*ballās*) et son action est stigmatisée de l’épithète de délation (*tablīs*). Cette délation est soumise chez les Šarārāt à une sanction particulière ... Le *qāḏy* prononça la sentence suivante: “le *ballās* donnera au voleur le quadruple de ce que la délation lui a fait perdre, c’est-à-dire huit chameaux dans le cas présent; de plus, le délateur sera privé du bakchîch que lui a donné Ṭalāl, et aura l’index de la main droite coupé” (Jausen 1907: 194, 195). Musil (1928:645) notes a different term for ‘spy’ in the Rwala Beduin vernacular: *hāḏa nudeyse ǧazw* ‘spy of a raiding troop.’]

b-l-š

Sinai Beduin *balšān* ‘confused, embarrassed’ (Bailey 1991:431) ~ **Baghdadi Ar** *ballaš* ‘mettre dans l’embarras, verwickeln’: *ḥillaštā ballaštā bizwij-innšāra* ‘Verwickelt hast du sie in eine christliche Heirat’ (Yahuda 1906:409) ~ **Palestinian Ar** *bālaš, ybāleš* ‘se disputer’: <‘illi šāšto ‘akbar min šāštak la-tbālšo u-la-ybālšak> (Abboud 1933:30) ‘Wessen Turban grosser ist als der deine, mit dem zanke nicht, und er wird mit dir nicht zanken’ (Thilo 1937:35) ~ **Eastern Arabia** *bilaš (a)* ‘get into a mess, get a bad deal’: *yiblaš kil min wiṣal lič* ‘all who come near you get into a real mess,’ *ibtalaš* ‘get into a mess, get lumbered with something,’ *bilša* ‘calamity, misfortune’ (Holes 2001: 52) || Syriac *blš* ‘try, experience, endure’ (Margoliouth 1927).

b-w-r

Rwala beduin *būra* ‘a narrow, deep trench in which a fire is kindled for roasting locusts’ (Musil 1928:93) || Jewish Aram *bōrā* ‘Grübchen’ (Levy I, 202).

j-b-‘

Sinai Beduin *ja‘ba*, pl *ja‘āb* ‘buttocks, posteriors’ (Bailey 1991: 432) || Jewish Aram *ǧba* ‘hochrückig, bücklig sein’ (Levy I, 295) || Hebrew *gib‘āh* ‘Hügel’ (Gesenius & Buhl 1915:127).

[The extension of body part designations to topographic terms is not uncommon in Beduin Arabic: Rwala *rijle* ‘a shallow valley,’ *xašm* ‘steep spur of a ridge’ (Musil 1928: 679); cf. also Hebrew *šad* ‘breast’ ~ Assyrian *šadū* & *šaddu* ‘mountain’ (CAD XVII, pt 1: 49, 43).]

h-w-r

Negev beduin *hawr* ‘kidskin’ ~ **Palestinian Ar** *hōr* ‘Pappelholz; Schafleder (weiß); Leder (gelb, rot)’ | *hawar* & *huwwar* ‘Kalkstein (mehlig, gelblich-weiss)’ (Dalman VI, 123; Bauer 1957:169, 191); *huwar* ‘weißer Senonstein’ (Dalman VII, 115), *hawwar* ‘écriture au tableau noir avec de la craie,’ *hawwāra* ‘terre blanche, marne,’ *hawwāre* ‘bâton de craie’ (Denizeau 1960:128) ~ **Aleppo** *hōr* ‘peuplier,’ *huwwāra* ‘pierre blanche et friable comme la craie ou le blanc d’Espagne, employée comme blocage dans les murs des maisons’ (Barthélemy 1935–54:183) ~ **Cairo** *hūr* ‘poplars, kidskin,’ *hawar* ‘intense contrast between the white of the eye and the darkness of the iris (regarded as a sign of beauty)’ (Badawi & Hinds 1986:231) ~ **Jewish Yemeni** *hawwar* ‘dye with indigo,’ *hōr* ‘indigo of Yemen’ (Piamenta 1990:112) ~ **Dathīna** *hūr* ‘purity,’ *hūri* ‘of fair complexion,’ *hōr* ‘indigo of Yemen,’ *huwār* ‘indigo used for dyeing black clothes’ (Landberg 1920:510) || Classical Ar *hawira* ‘have its white and its black strongly delineated,’ *iḥwarra* ‘be intensely white’ (Hava 1982: 148) || Biblical Aram *hiwwār* ‘white’ (Daniel 7, 9), *hūr* ‘white’ (Esther 1, 6; 8, 15) ‘weißer Stoff; gut gebleichtes Linnen’ (Dalman V, 168), *hwar* ‘weiss sein’ (Gesenius & Buhl 1915:219) || Syriac *hewārā* ‘white, silvery, clear, bright,’ *hwar* ‘the white poplar,’ *hwar* ‘be or become white,’ *hewōrō* ‘white, silvery, clear, bright’ (J.Payne-Smith 1903:134) || Neo-Aramaic: Ṭuroyo *ḥworo* ‘white’ (own obs.); Mandaic *hiuara* & *hauara* ‘white’ (Drower & Macuch 1963:142) || Classical Ar *hawira* ‘have its white and its black strongly delineated,’ *iḥwarra* ‘be intensely white’ (Hava 1982:148).

[The diffuse semantic pattern conveyed by OA *wr*—emphasizing the contrast between ‘bright, white’ and ‘dark, black’ rather than one specific hue category—is a significant formal indicator of an early stage in the development of the five-term basic color system of the Arabic color system since “broad categories of brightness merge with the hue sequence at any of Stages I through V” (MacLaury 1997:46) of the B&K evolutionary model (Berlin & Kay 1969:17f.). Fischer (1965:50f.) has insightfully outlined an analogous development for Ar *’azraq*, initially encoding a brightness category, later becoming a basic term for BLUE. Residual traces of this brightness category survive right across the Arabic

dialect, for instance, in Southern Arabia, where the denotations of the root *ḥwr* strikingly range over both light and dark semantic values.]

~ **Yemen** *ḥūr* ‘purity’ | *ḥūri* ‘of fair complexion’ | *ḥōr* ‘indigo of Yemen’ | *ḥuwār* ‘indigo used for dyeing black clothes’ | *ḥawwar* ‘dye with indigo’ (Piamenta 1990:112) || **Mehri** *ḥōwer* ‘noir’ (Landberg 510).

[These data invite interpretation in the light of MacLaury’s aforementioned 1992 seminal paper postulating a shift from brightness to hue in the evolution of color systems. Significantly, several Arabic dialects exemplified in fig. 1—for instance, Palestinian—retain highly archaic residual categorizations of brightness & whiteness such as the term *ḥawar* & *ḥuwar* ‘Kalkstein (mehlig, gelblich-weiss); gelb, rot (Leder)’ (Bauer 1957:169, 191, 253), denoting a light-warm category as at Stage I in the B&K sequence. MacLaury (1997:53-54) has pertinently noted that a brightness category is not “constrained by universal hue perception of fixed elemental points” and can therefore fluctuate more widely than a hue category.]

x-b-r

Sinai Beduin *xibra*, pl *xabāriy* ‘an area inhabited by Beduin’ (Bailey 1991:435) ~ **Dathīna** *xabīr* ‘compagnon de route’ (Landberg I, 551) ~ **Dawāsir** (Najd) *xubra* ‘group, one’s own group’ (Kurpershoek 1999:351) ~ **Yemen** *xabīr*, pl *xubr* ‘comrade, companion’ (Piamenta I, 119), *xabīrin/xabīr/xubrah/xubrā* ‘Freund’ (Behnstedt 1987: 247) ~ **Rwala beduin** *xabra*, pl *xabāri* ‘a large or small depression in a plain where rain water gathers and camels are watered’ (Musil 1928: 340, 584) ~ **Lebanon** *txābar* ‘s’associer’ (Landberg 549) || Classical Ar *xubrah* ‘sheep bought for being slaughtered’ (Hava 155) || Syriac *ḥabrā* ‘socius’ (Brockelmann 1928:212), *eḥḥabbar* ‘be intimate, be a companion, ally oneself with’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:125) || Hebrew *ḥābēr* ‘associate, friend’ (M.Jastrow 1903:421).

x-ṭ-r

Rwala beduin *muxṭar* ‘iron rod holding the wooden roller of a water hoist’ (Musil 1928:339) ~ Malta *ḥatar* ‘cudgel’ || Syriac *ḥuṭrā* ‘virga, baculus’ (Brockelmann 1928: 228) || Jewish Aram *ḥuṭrā*, Assyrian *xuṭaru* & *xuṭartu* ‘Stab, Szepter’ (Gesenius & Buhl 1915:225).

x-l-f

Negev Beduin *’axlaf*, *yixlif* ‘change’: *’axlaf al-ḥiḏwih* & *al-mī’ād* ‘He changed his shoes & the time of an appointment.’

mixlif ‘prone to change’: *hāda jaza mixlif an-niyyih* (poet.) ‘This is a just retribution for one who dilly-dallies!’ || Syriac *hallelf* ‘change, exchange, renew’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:144) || Jewish Aram <ḥlīfīn> ‘exchange,’ <ḥālīfāh> ‘replacement, substitution’: <mī mēbī lanū ḥālīfātō> ‘who will get us one to take his place?’ (M.Jastrow 1903:469); cf. Ar *xalīfa* ‘Vicar, Caliph’ (Hava 183).

[The meaning ‘to change’ in Arabic would seem to be a case of contamination of the basic Arabic meaning via contact with Aramaic. Note especially the Classical Arabic term *xalīfa* which replicates that of Aramaic *ḥālīfā*.]

z-b-n

Rwala Beduin *zebūn* (and *zeben*) ‘shelter, protector,’ *zabban* ‘protect a refugee,’ *mzabbīn*, pl. *mzabīnah* ‘protector’ (Musil 1928: 503, 490, 80) || Jewish Aram *zban* & *zbēn* ‘kaufen, erwerben, gewinnen’ (Levy I, 510) || Syriac *zban* ‘buy, buy off; ransom, redeem’ (J.Payne Smith).

z-r-n-q

Gulf Ar *zarnūg*, pl *zarānīg* ‘back street, alley; water-furrow, rivulet’ (Holes 2001:221) ~ **Bdūl** *zarnūq* ‘water furrow, rivulet; a deep and short gorge’ (Canaan 1929:141) ~ **Rwala beduin** *zerānīž* ‘short pegs’ (Musil 1928:571) || subclassical Ar *zanaqa* (*i*) ‘straighten, squeeze,’ *zanqa* ‘lane, by-street’ (Hava 298) || Jewish Aram *zarnūqā* ‘leather bag, hose’ (M.Jastrow 1903:414) || Modern Hebrew *zarnūq* ‘hose, tube’ (Klein 1987:204).

z-l-m

Negev Beduin *zalamih*, dim. *zīmīh*, pl *zlām* ‘man’: *az-zilīm taḏāk* ‘men will harm you’: *zlām* ‘my agnates’ ~ **Rwala beduin** *šanam* ‘fighters, warriors,’ *zilm u ḥarīm* ‘men and women’ (Musil 77, 472, 573, 601), *zulm* ‘infanterie’ (Dozy I, 600) ~ **Yemen** (Jew) *šalam* ‘idol’ (Piamenta I, 283) ~ **Aleppo** *zalamih*, pl *zlām* ‘homme, individu; piéton; homme viril, un brave’: ... usité aussi en Mésopotamie, dans le désert de Syrie et l’Arabie centrale; est emprunté à la langue des Nomades’ (Barth 318) ~ **Najd beduin** *zilm* men,’ *zlimah* ‘an unknown man’ (Kurpershoek 1995:376) || Classical Ar *zalma* / *zulma* & *zalama* ‘exterior appearance,’ *šanam*, pl *ašnām* ‘idol,’ *šanīm* ‘strong, robust,’ *šalam* & *šalama* ‘gallant, dauntless men’ (Hava 294, 407, 404) || Syriac *šlem* & *šalmā* ‘simulacrum, imago, persona’ (R.Payne Smith 1879:3408) || Hebrew *šelem* ‘plastisches Bild,’ *šalmē zākār* ‘Mannsbilder’ (Gesenius & Buhl 1915: 684) || Babylonian Aram *šalma* & *šīlma*, pl *šalmey* & *šalmānāyā* & *šalmātā* ‘idol,

form, figure, picture' (Sokoloff 1990:966) || Neo-Aram: Sulemaniyya *šalma* 'face; honour' (Khan 2004:614).

z-w-m

Gulf Ar *zayyam* (vt) 'water, give crops a measured amount of water' (Holes 2001: 226) ~ **Lebanese Ar** *zawwəm* 'rendre du jus' (Denizeau 1960:231) ~ **Aleppo** *zūm*, pl *zwām* 'chacune des eaux de lessive chaudes dans lesquelles on lave le linge; suc, jus d'un fruit' (Barth 324) ~ **Çukurova** *zūm* 'Saft von Gemüsen (etc.), *zūm il-flayfli* 'scharfe Pfefferschotenpaste, typisch für die Çukurova' (Procházka 2002:172) ~ **Palestinian Ar** *zūm*, pl *azwām* 'Saft (von Früchten, Fleisch)' (Kampffmeyer 1936:30), 'meistens *māyy* und '*ašīr*' (Bauer 1957:250), 'syrup' (Spoer & Haddad 1909:218) ~ **North Yemen** *zōm* 'eine Buttermilch Zubereitung als Zugabe zum '*ašīd* (besteht aus saurer Buttermilch, die mit Mehl gekocht und geschlagen wird (Behnstedt 1996:519) || nonclass Ar *zūm*, pl *azwām* 'juice of fruits, meat; washing' (Hava 302), 'le suc qui s'exprime des plantes; l'eau dans laquelle on laisse tremper des raisins secs, ...' (Dozy I, 615); "*az-zawm (bil-fath), ṭa'ām li ahl al-yaman*" (al-Bustān I, 1029; cf. Piamenta (1990: I, 209) || Syriac *zūmā* 'jusculum' < Gk ζουμι 'juice, sap, broth' < ζουμιον dim of ζουμος 'Brühe, ausgedrückter oder ausgezogener Saft' (Fleischer II, 546) || Late Hebrew *zōm* & *zōmīt* 'broth, gravy' (Klein 1987:196) ~ Jewish Aram *zōmā* 'broth, pulp' (M.Jastrow 1903: 387).

s-t-y & s-d-y

Negev Beduin *sata, yāsta* (jur.) 'be due to (*l-*) s.o. in accordance with a legal precedent': *yasta lih 'arba 'jmāl* 'he deserves a compensation equivalent to four camels';

~ **Sinai Beduin** *yasda lak ēš f-ar-ribḥ* 'What sort of a profit do you make?' (Stewart 1990:156, fn 5).

Negev Beduin *satta, ysatti* 'cope, manage (se débrouiller); arrange, regulate, put in order': *xayyāl ma' miyyih ma ysatti ḥāl* (poet.) 'One warrior against a hundred cannot cope' || Classical Ar *astā l-ḥawba* 'he set, or disposed, the warp of the garment, or piece of cloth (said of a weaver)' (Lane 1306) || Galilean Aram *štā* II, pt. *šatēy* 'weben; Pa. spulen, Kette machen, Aph. 1. dass.; 2. befestigen,' *sth* II *h. Ho.* 'gegründet werden' (Dalman 1938:436); Af. '*ēštēy* 'to weave; to found, establish' (Targ. Ps. VIII, 3; M.Jastrow 1903:1637).

[WNID defines 'warp' as "(a) threads which are extended lengthwise in the loom, and crossed by the woof, or filling threads. The warp is usually stouter and harder-twisted than the woof; (b) one of the threads whether used alone or with

others in a strand” (p. 2876). The centrality of the warp in the weaver’s trade may account for the transfer of the weaving metaphor to the legal sphere! Note, however, that only the Aramaic lexeme conveys a meaning close to the technical Beduin usage.]

~ **Andalusī Ar** *msaddi tasdiya* ‘make the warp of cloth’ (Corriente 1997:247) ~ **Moroccan Ar** *sadda, isaddi* ‘ourdir, monter la chaîne du métier à tisser’ (Prémare VI, 61) ~ Marazig Beduin (S.Tunisia) *sadda, isaddi* ‘aligner, tendre les fils de la chaîne sur le métier; faire la chaîne d’une étoffe’ (Boris 1958: 269).

Negev Beduin *sātyih*, pl *sawātiy* ‘legal precedent’ || Syriac *’eštā* ‘fundus (sepulcri)’ (Brockelmann 1928:810–11) ~ **Sinai beduin** *sādyih* ‘precedent, ruling,’ *kull sādyyih b-sāditha* ‘each ruling according to its precedent,’ *suwādiy* ‘name given to judges (drawn from the usual pool) who are called on to decide a case for which there seems to be no precedent’ (Stewart 1990: 156, fn 5; 1988:173) ~ **Andalusī Ar** *sadā* ‘benefit, usefulness’ (Corriente 247) ~ **Palestinian Ar** *satwe* ‘Aufzug in der Weberei’ (Bauer 1957:31) ~ **Kuwait** *sadu* ‘hand-loom’ (Dickson 1949: 648) ~ **Zaire** *sədwa* ‘chaîne (de métier à tisser) (De Prémare 61) || Jewish Aram *štiyyāh* ‘foundation’ (Jastrow 1886:1638) || Syriac *šetyā* ‘thread, warp’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:600) || Classical Ar *astā l-θawba & sattāhu* ~ *asdāhu* ‘he set, or disposed, the warp of a garment, or piece of cloth’ || Bibl Hebrew *štiy* ‘warp’ (Leviticus 13:48, 51, 53, 56-59): *haš-štiy ’ō hā-’ēreb* ‘the warp or the woof’; Postbiblical Hebrew *štiyyāh, maštīt* ‘foundation, basis,’ Mod Hebrew *taštīt* ‘subsoil’ (Klein:1987:685) || Mandaic *šta* ‘weave’ (Drower & Macuch 1963:477) || Samaritan Aram *šty* ‘warp’ (Tal 2000) || Qaraqosh *šty* ‘weave,’ *sudya* ‘warp (in weaving),’ *suda-w lahma* ‘warp and weft’ (Khan 2002:721, 743).

s-r-b-ṭ

Negev Beduin *sarbūṭ* ‘pestle for pounding coffee’ ~ *sarbūṭ* ‘coffee pestle’ (Doughty 1888:246) || Jewish Aram *šarbūt* ‘staff, sceptre, rod’ (M.Jastrow 1903:1628).

s-r-w-l

Utaybah Beduin *sirwāl*, pl *sarāwīl* ‘trousers worn under the *θōb*; the white shirt reaching to the heels’ (Hess 1938:127) || Jewish Aram *šarwāl* ‘workingman’s leather sleeve’ (M.Jastrow 1903:1628).

s-f-x

Yemen *safax*, *yisfax* ‘wegwischen, mit Wasser wegspülen’ | *sāfix* ‘starker Regen’ (Behnstedt II, 560) ~ **Şan‘ā** *sfax*, *yisfax* ‘gettare alla rinfusa’ (Rossi 1939:211) ~ **Yemen** (Jew) *safax* (*u*) ‘sprinkle; flood, wash away; throw at random’ (Piamenta I, 223) ~ **Dathīna** *safax* ‘éclabousser’ (Landberg 1942) || Classical Ar *safaḥa* (*a*) ‘shed tears’ & *safaka* (*i*) ‘pour (blood, tears)’ (Hava 323, 324) || Syriac *špak* ‘pour from one vessel into another, empty out’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:591).

[On the shift of spirantized Aram *k* > **x* > Ar *ḥ* entailed in this lexeme, cf. Borg (2004: 39, 298).]

s-f-r

Negev Beduin *saffar*, *isaffir*, (vn) *tasfīr*, (pp) *msaffar* ‘shear’: *ar-rā‘iy saffar al-mi‘ziy* ‘The shepherd sheared the goat’s hair’ ~ **Yemen** (Jew) *sifar* & *sfār* ‘fleece’ (Piamenta I, 224) || Syriac *sappār* ‘totondit; tonsus est’ (Brockelmann 1928:492) || Hebrew *sippēr* ‘cut, shear’ || Jewish Aram *sappēr* ‘cut, shear, shave,’ *sappār* & *sappārā* ‘hair-cutter’ (M.Jastrow 1903:1017) || cf. Classical Ar *šufr* ‘border, edge,’ *šafra* ‘side of a spearhead; edge of a sword; broad knife’ (Hava 369).

s-l-b

Negev Beduin *salābah* ‘two cords attaching the plough to a draught animal’ ~ **Yemen** *salab* ‘Strick,’ *sallāb* ‘Seiler’ (Behnstedt, *Glossar* II, 571) || Jewish Aram *šlab* ‘mit einander binden, vereinigen’ (Levy 556) || Mishnaic Hebrew *šālāb* ‘joined, combined, attached’ (Klein1987: 659) || Assyrian *šulbū* ‘Band, Verschuß; a lock or part of a lock’ (CAD 1992:239).

š-ḥ-ṭ

Yemen *šahaṭ*, pl *yišḥaṭ* ‘schlachten’ (Behnstedt, *Glossar* II, 625) ~ Dathīna <ṣḥṭ> ‘egorger’ (Landberg III, 142) ~ **Syrian desert** <tašahḥaṭ> <tašahḥaṭ> (Wetzstein 1868:158) || Jewish Aram *šḥaṭ* ‘schlachten, schächten’ (Levy IV, 531).

š-r-‘

Negev Beduin *šarā‘* ‘small goatskin container for storing butter’; *mīn ḥaṭṭniy yōm al-ḥašīdih rā‘iy* & *u ‘azabbid fiš-šarā‘iy?* ‘How I wish I were a

shepherd at harvest-time & churning milk into butter!’ || Syriac *ašra* ‘shake’ (J.Payne-Smith 1903:599);

~ **Palestinian Ar** *šrā* ‘Butterfaß, Buttergestell (klein)’ (Bauer 1957:69) ~ **Najd Beduin** <šrā’> ‘Schlauch für frische Milch’ (Socin 1901:279).

Negev Beduin *šarra* ‘clean wheat; separate wheat from chaff by throwing it up in the air and letting it fall; winnowing.’

š-r-‘

Negev Beduin *šara* ‘, *yišra* ‘drink without the lips touching the bottle or vessel’; Syriac *šra* ‘slip, slip away, slide, glide,’ *ašra* ‘make ready to fall’ (J.Payne-Smith 1903:599) || Galilean Aram *šra* ‘herabhängen, herabfallen; niederlegen; ablassen’ (Dalman 1938: 435)

[Interestingly, the sedentary Palestinian term for this action is also an Aramaism: *zarnaq* ‘trinken ohne den Krug an den Mund zu bringen’ (Bauer 307) ~ Jewish Aram *zarnūqā* ‘leather bag, hose’ <dwwlā w-zarnūqa> ‘buckets and hose (for irrigation)’ (M.Jastrow 1903:414).]

š-‘-w

Najd Beduin <ša‘wā’> f, pl *še‘ū* ‘goldfarbig (von Kamel)’ (Socin 1901:280) || Classical Ar *sa‘wah* ‘candle, wax’ (Hava 322) || Syriac *ša‘ūthā* ‘wax, sealing-wax, a wax light’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:588) || Hebrew *ša‘āwāh* ‘etwas Glattes, Geschmeidiges, daher Wachs, cera’ (Levy 589) || Neo-Aramaic (Ṭuroyo) *ša‘uθo* ‘yellow’ (own observation).

[Socin’s vain attempt at relating this form to *š‘l* overlooks the factor of language contact with Aramaic.]

š-l-l

Dathīna *šall* ‘prendre, enlever, exporter, apporter’ (Landberg III:2073) ~ **Rwala Beduin** *yešillha* ‘he drive them (clouds) before him’ (Musil 1928:5) || Hebrew *šālal* ‘herausziehen; plündern, ausplündern’ (Gesenius & Buhl 1915:835) || Assyrian *šalālu* ‘take (goods, animals, gods, etc.) as booty’ (CAD XVII, pt. 1:196).

š-l-f

Negev Beduin *šalaf*, *yišlif* ‘take by force (sheep, woman)’ || Classical Ar *salab (u)* ‘carry by force’ (Lane 1398);

~ **S.E. Anatolia** *yāšlāb* ‘herausbrechen’ (Vocke & Waldner 1982:230) ~ **Dathīna** *šlb* ‘pousser, chasser, wegjagen’ (Landberg 1942:2075) < conflation of Aram *šlf* and Ar *slb*.

Negev Beduin *šalfih* ‘Lanzenspitze’ (Littmann 1908:24) || Syriac *šelpā* ‘knife’ (Brockelmann 1928:784);

~ **Rwala Beduin** *w-šilfen talāla* ‘*fowq rūš ar-rumāḥi* (poet.) ‘And sharp blades glisten on our spearheads’ (Musil 1928:576) ~ **Aleppo** *šalfe* ‘stylet’ (Barthélemy 405) ~ **Syrian Ar** *šilf* ‘Pflugschar’ (Behnstedt 1993:119).

Negev Beduin *šlāfiy* ‘money changer’: *itgūl ḍahab ma ‘adūd ‘a-šlāfi* ‘like money counted out by a moneychanger’ || nonclass Ar *šilfa* ‘wallet’ (Hava IV, 375) || Jewish Aram *šlaf* ‘ausziehen, herausziehen, abziehen’ (Levy 565) || Hebrew *šālaf* ‘ausziehen’ (Gesenius & Buhl 1915:838).

ṣ-r-f

Najd Beduin *šarīfa* ‘Rohrhütte’ (Socin 1901:283) ~ **Dathīna** *šarīfa* ‘cabane en roseau’ (Landberg III, 2127) || Hebrew *šrīfīn* ‘Hütten aus Rohrgeflecht’ (M.Jastrow 1903:1265).

ṣ-f-r³

Rwala Beduin *šaffarna* ‘[we slept] at sunrise’ (Musil 1928:413) || Jewish Aram *šafṛā* ‘die Frühe, Tagesanbruch’ (Levy IV, 213).

[“Sleep during the hot midday, *qayyalna*, or at sunrise, *šaffarna*, is preferred to the night sleep” (Musil 1928:413).]

ṣ-w-r

Rwala Beduin *šōra* ‘the back part of the head up to the ears’ (Musil 1928:115) || Jewish Aram *šawrā* ‘neck’ (M.Jastrow 1903:1265) || Syriac *šōr* ‘collum’ (Brockelmann 1928: 624).

ṭ-w-r

Negev Beduin *ṭawr* ‘overhanging cliff-side affording shelter’ ~ Sinai beduin *ṭawr* ‘cliff that offers protection from the elements’ (Stewart 1990:274) ~ **Dathīna** *ṭūr* ‘Bergspitze’ (Landberg 1920) ~ **Ḥwēṭāṭ Beduin** *ṭawr* (Hess 1917), *at-Ṭōr* (top.), *ṭōr* ‘abrupt cliff’ (Palva 2003:201) ~ **Rwala Beduin** *ṭār* ‘a long, high, and steep escarpment’ (Musil 1928:286) || Biblical Aram *ṭūr raḥ* ‘a great mountain’ (*Daniel* 2:35) || Syriac *ṭūrā* ‘mountain’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:170) || Neo-Aram (Qaraqosh) *ṭura* ‘mountain’ (Khan 2002:747).

‘-b-b

Negev Beduin ‘*ibb*, pl ‘*būb* ‘space between the chest and the front of the *ṭawb*’ ~ **Sinai Beduin** ‘*ibb* ‘the region inside the front part of one’s garment, above the belt’: *fī ‘ibb al-liyāliyy hēdiy* ‘during this time’ (Stewart 1990:196) ~ **Dathīna** ‘*ubb* ‘la place entre le caftan et la poitrine, au dessus de la ceinture et dont on se sert comme poche’ (Landberg III, 2258) ~ **Baghdad** ‘*ibb*, pl ‘*būb* ‘the ‘front of the *dišdāša*, above the belt (where objects may be carried), shirt front’ (Woodhead & Beene 299) ~ **S.E. Anatolia** ‘*abb* (Āzəx, Kəndērīb), *ḥəbb* (Daragözü), pl *ḥbūb* (Ḥalanze) ‘Brusttasche’ (Vocke & Waldner 1982:107) || Syriac ‘*ubbā* ‘the bosom, lap, womb’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:403) || Mandaic ‘*umba* ‘bosom’ (Drower & Macuch 1963:344).

[Reflexes of this Aramaic lexeme occur in most Eastern Arabic dialects and in Maltese (cf. Borg 2004:329).]

‘-b-ṭ

Negev Beduin ‘*abaṭ*, *yu‘buṭ*, (vn) ‘*abiṭ* ‘embrace’: ‘*abūh sallam ‘alēh u ‘abaṭah u waššāh ‘ala xwānah* ‘His father shook his hand and embraced him charging him with the care of his brothers’ | ‘*ṭabbu fī ba ‘aḏhum ‘abiṭ* ‘they began to embrace one another’ | ‘*ābṭa šanṭiṭha* ‘hugging her bag’ || Classical Ar *dabaṭa (u)* ‘hold fast’ (Hava 413) || Jewish Aram ‘*abiṭ* ‘fastening, pressing’ (M.Jastrow 1903:1037).

‘*abbaṭ (fī)* ‘embrace repeatedly’: *lamma l-ḥujjāj jaw min Makkah šāru n-nās ysallmu ‘alēhum u y‘abbṭu fihum* ‘When the pilgrims returned from Mecca the people clasped each other’s hands and started embracing one another.’

ta‘abbaṭ aḏ-ḏ‘ūf ‘he hugged the (small) children.’

bil-‘abāṭa ‘forcibly; violently’ | ‘*abiṭ* ‘unyielding (person)’ || Jewish Aram ‘*abiṭ* ‘fastening, pressing’ (M.Jastrow 1903:1037).

‘-d-r

Rwala Beduin *ma ‘āder* ‘pastures reserved for horses exclusively’ (Musil 1928:309) || Jewish Aram ‘*adrā* ‘fold, pen; herd, flock’ || Hebrew ‘*ēder* ‘enclosure, pen, fold; herd, flock’ (M.Jastrow 1903:1046).

‘-d-f

Negev Beduin ‘*adaf*, *ya ‘adaf* (jur.); ‘*ādif* (ap) ‘take his preferred judge’ ~ Sinai Beduin *gult*: *ana ‘ādif ibin jim ih. gāḷaw: hum ya ‘adfuw bin ‘āyid ...*

(Stewart 1990:22), *ma'adūf* (pp & jur.) 'lit., favored (a judge preferred by a claimant & defendant) exclusively' || Jewish Aram 'ādaf & 'ādīf 'vorzüglich sein' (Levy III, 623).

'-r-b

Yemen 'arab, yi 'rub 'coire' (Behnstedt, *Glossar* II, 814) || Syriac 'et 'areb 'be mingled' (J. Payne Smith 1903:427).

ġ-m-r

Negev Beduin *ġammar* 'heap sheaves' || Jewish Aram <'wmr> 'sheaf' (Sokoloff 2003:69);

~ 'Anazeh Beduin *ġammar* 'mettre en tas, engerber' (Landberg 1940) ~ **Najd beduin** *muġammir* 'Ährenleser' (Socin 1901:297);

Negev *ġimir* 'sheaf' || subclassical Ar *ġimir* 'sheaf, armful, bosom' (Hava 535).

Negev Beduin *ġmārah* 'mound of sheaves': *ya 'īšt al-'azāra, 'ugb al-ḥašīdih ġmāra* 'What a hard life! After the harvest there still remains a mound of sheaves [to be bound] || Jewish Aram 'omrā ~ Hebrew 'ōmēr 'Garbe' (Levy III, 665).

f-r-š-x

Dathīna *farsax / t'faršax* 'écarter les jambes' (Landberg 1942:2407, 2408) ~ Malta <ferčaħ> 'part one's legs' || subclassical Ar *fašax* 'open the legs' (Hava 563) || Jewish Aram *psaħ* 'leap over' (Sokoloff 1990:439).

q-š-š

Arabia *gušša* 'pasture bushes' (Doughty 1888 I 303; II 615) ~ **Awlād** 'Ali *el-gešš = elḥašš* (Hartmann 74) ~ Aleppo *qašš* 'brins de paille, chaume' (Barth 658) ~ **Palestinian Ar** *qašš* 'Stroh' (Bauer 1957:293) || subclassical Ar *gašš* (Hava 606) || Jewish Aram *qaššā* (det) 'straw' (Sokoloff 1990:507) || nonclass Ar *qašš* 'stubble, straw' (Hava 606) || Neo-Aramaic (Urmi) *kaš* 'stubble' (Garbell 1965:314).]

q-ṭ-r

Negev Beduin *gaṭṭar, ygaṭṭir* 'tie camels in a line': *w-ihyāt imgaṭṭir al-maṭar w-as-saḥābih* 'by Him who joins the clouds and the rain' | 'inniy bariyyih; *ma šalaq 'alayya dīb* 'I'm innocent, and no wolf has bitten me' | *gaṭṭir* 'the next one (e.g., in chrono-logical or serial order)'; *gaṭṭiriy* 'my younger brother' || Jewish Aram *qṭar* 'binden, zusammenfassen,' *qṭōrā* 'Gurt, Band' (Levy

IV 289) || Syriac *q̄tar* ‘tie, bind, knot, interlace, adjust’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:502).

q-n-n

Sinai Beduin *gānūn* ‘award, amends; the law litigation, legal process, judicial decision,’ *gann* ‘legal due, award’ as in the expression ‘*a-gann*’ ‘lawfully, justifiably’ (Stewart 1990:221) || Syriac *qānūnā* ‘a rule of life; a canon, rule of the Church’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:510) || Gk *κατόν* ‘straight rod, bar, weaver’s rod; (*metaph.*) rule, standard’ (Liddell & Scott 1996:875).

k-f-n

Negev Beduin *kafin* ‘bread eaten without seasoning (*ḡmūs*), also called *xubz ḥāfiy*;

kafān ‘hunger; shortage of food’: *ma* ‘*indina wala ḥājih*, *ya* ‘*niy kafān* ‘We have absolutely nothing [in the pantry], [we’re in] dire shortage’; *ugālan lih: ya flān*, *aḥna wlādna – katalhum al-kafān*,” *ya* ‘*ni al-kafān – gillt al-laban* ‘They told him: Hunger is killing our children; hunger, that is, shortage of milk’ || Syriac *kafnō* & *kfen* ‘hunger, scarcity, famine’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:222) || Neo-Aramic: Turoyo *kafno* ‘hunger’ (own observ.) || Hebrew *lā-šōd ū lā-kāfān tishaq* ‘At destruction and famine thou shalt laugh,’ *bā-ḥesed ū bā-kāfān* ‘For want and famine’ (Job 5, 22; 30:3)

m-w-ṣ

Negev Beduin *māṣ*, *ymūṣ*, (vn) *mays* ‘dissolving ‘*aḥg* for use in cooking by crumbling it between the fingers and mixing it with water; crush with the hands and moisten’; denom. verb derived from Ar *mīṣ* ‘whey < Aram *mīṣ* (see below) || Jewish Aram *mṣaṣ* ‘suck, drain; wring, press’ (M.Jastrow 1903:778, 827) || Galilean Aram *mṣy* ‘wring out, be settled’ (Sokoloff 1990:325) || Syriac *mṣā* ‘suck, draw out’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:293) || Babylonian Aram *mṣy* ‘wring out, suck’ (Sokoloff 1990:699) || Classical Ar *maṣṣa (u)* ‘he sucked & sipped & drank it’ | *māṣ (u)* ‘press (Lane 2717);

~ **Rwala Beduin** *temūṣah* ‘press it thoroughly’ | *ymūṣūn mreyreh bel-moye* ‘They drip it (the contents of a porcupine’s gall bladder) into the nostrils of the sick person’ (Musil 1928:408).

Negev Beduin *mayyaṣ*, *ymayyiṣ* ‘extract whey from milk by letting it drip out of a cloth bag (sometimes under the pressure of a stone)’ ~ **Yemen** *miyyaṣ*,

imiyyās ‘faire tourner en eau; se transformer en petit-lait’ (Pimenta II, 475) [< **mys* < *mšš*] || Jewish Aram *mšaş* ‘suck, drain; wring, press’ (M.Jastrow 1903:778, 827) || Galilean Aram *mšy* ‘wring out, be settled’ (Sokoloff 1990:325) || Syriac *mšā* ‘suck, draw out’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:293) || Babylonian Aram *mšy* ‘wring out, suck’ (Sokoloff 1990:699) || Classical Ar *mašša* (*u*) ‘he sucked & sipped & drank it’ (Lane 2717);

mīš ‘whey; Milchwasser, Molken (also *mašl*, Dalm VI, 303)’ ~ **Marazig beduin** (S.Tunisia) *mīš* ‘sérum de lait,’ *mayyiš* ‘exprimer, par pression, le petit lait du fromage non pressuré (*žebna*)’ (Boris 1958:595), *mēš* & *maiš* ‘sérum, partie liquide qui se sépare de la caséine du petit-lait; sérosité du lait caillé; toute matière sale et fétide,’ *mmiyyās* ‘aliment liquide refroidi, coagulé et immangeable (*dont la sauce ne parait être faite que d’eau, sans corps gras*)’ (De Prémare XI, 287) ~ **Andalusi Ar** *mays*, pl *muyūs* ‘whey,’ *mays maṭbūx* ‘second curds’ (Corriente 1997:517) [> Port *almece*, *almice*, *almiça* ‘petit-lait’ (Dozy II, 629)] || Jewish Neo-Aram *myš* ‘suck,’ IV ‘nurse’ (Sabar 2002:217), *myšāh* ‘suck, suckle’ (Jona 1999:252) | Neo-Aramaic: Urmi *mā-iš* ‘suck’ (Maclean 1901:152) | Qaraqosh *myš* ‘suck’ (Khan 2002: 718); Mandaic *mša* II ‘press, suck out, suckle’ *ainak mišit ušinak hargit* ‘thou didst close (lit. press) thine eyes and gnash thy teeth’ (Drower & Macuch 1963:277) || Hebrew *mīšāh* ‘that which is squeezed in,’ *mīš, mīššūy* ‘squeezing, wringing out (of the blood of the sacrifice)’ (M.Jastrow 1903:778): *ky mīš ḥālāb yōšī’ ḥem’āh* ‘Surely the wringing of milk brings forth curd’ (Prov 30, 33); “Das hebr. *mīš* hängt ... zusammen mit syr. *mā*’, dem Schütteln der Milch beim Buttermachen (Payne Smith s.v.), und die syrische Übersetzung bezeichnet Spr. 30, 33 das Fett der Milch (*šumneh de ḥalbā*) als den Ursprung der Butter (*ḥēwtā*)... Im Targum ist *mīš* mit *majša* wiedergegeben, das wohl ‘saugen’ bedeutet und auch bildlich vom Entstehen der Butter gemeint sein muß” (Dalman VI, 308, 309).] || Galilean Aram *mšy* ‘wring out, be settled’ (Sokoloff 1990:325).

[Develarization of historical [s] in contact with a high front vowel in Yemen (Jew) ite and Andalusi Ar is well attested in other dialects: Aleppine *sār, ysīr* & *šār, yšīr* (Barthélemy, *Dict.*, 370, 452), Jerusalem *bisīr mā bisīr* ‘geht es oder nicht—kurz’ (Bauer 1957:174) | JBaghdadi *sāḡ, ysīḡ* ‘become’ (Mansour 1983:153) | Marazig Beduin (S.Tunisia) *sīni* ‘cuivre jaune,’ *sīniyya* ‘plateau en cuivre’ (Boris 1958: 300) < *šīni, šīniyya*.]

n-y-r

Negev Beduin *nīr* ‘yoke’ ~ **Palestinian Ar** *nīr*, pl *anyār* & *nīrān* ‘Joch’ (Bauer 1957:167), *nayyār* (Dalman II, 81, 30) ~ **Lebanon** *nīr* ‘yoke’ (Baskinta: Abu-Haidar 1979:18) || Classical Ar *nīra* ‘yoke of a bull; the piece of wood that is upon the neck of the bull ... or the piece of wood that is placed transversely upon the necks of the two bulls yoked together for ploughing’ (Lane 2871) || Jewish Aram *nīrā* ‘yoke’ (Sokoloff 1990:350), ⟨nyr⟩ ‘to plow’ (Sokoloff 2003:65) || Neo-Aramaic Ma‘lula *nīr* ‘Joch’ (Arnold 1990:320), Ṭuroyo *nīro* (O.Jastrow 1985:179).

nīrih ‘the transverse wooden stick of the loom’ || Syriac *nīrā* ‘a yoke of oxen; the beam of the weaver’s loom, the weft’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:339) || Jewish Aram *nīrā* ‘yoke; part of the loom’ (Sokoloff 1990:350) || Jewish Aram ⟨nyr⟩ ‘to plow’ (Sokoloff 2003:65) || Classical Ar *nīra* ‘ornamental border of a piece of cloth; ... the woof of a piece of cloth; cane-roll on which the warp is rolled when put into the loom’ (Lane 2870–71);

~ **Rwala Beduin** *nīra* (Musil 1928:68) ~ **Kuwait** *minyar* ‘wooden rod holding up threads (of loom)’ (Dickson 1949:98) ~ **Palmyra** *nīre* ‘joug (du métier à tisser)’ (Cantineau II, 29, 25).

h-j-n

Negev Beduin *hijīn*, pl *hijn* ‘riding camel with a known lineage (*xams*)’ || nonclass Ar *hajīn* ‘dromedary’ (Hava 818) || cf. Syriac *hūgōnō* & *gamlō hūgōnō* ‘dromedary, a strong camel’ (R.Payne Smith 101) ~ Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *hwgn* ‘young camel, dromedary’ (Sokoloff 1990:160); cf. Levy I, 451;

~ Najd *hijn* (pl) ‘Dromedare; [scheint als Singular behandelt]’ (Socin 1901:317), *hijin* ‘excellent riding camel(s),’ *hajīn* (sg.) (Kurpershoek II, 457).

h-g-y & h-j-y

Negev Beduin *haga*, [---] (ap) *hāgiy* ‘imagine; surmise; speak’: *zayy ma hagēna lagēna* ‘we found what we surmised’ || Classical Ar *hajā* (*u*) ‘satirise, censure a.o. (poet.); scoff, rail at s.o.’ (Hava 818) || Jewish Aram *hāgā* ‘nach-sinnen, nachdenken’ (Levy I, 450) || Syriac *hegā* ‘meditate,’ *hegyānā* ‘meditation, study; submissa voce recitavit, cogitavit, meditatus est’ (Brockelmann 1928:170) ~ Tigre *te-haga* ‘speak,’ Ugaritic *hg* ‘count, reckon’ (TDOT 3:321) || Biblical Hebrew *hōdō wə-hōgō mil-lēh dibrē-šāqer* ‘conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood’ (Isaiah 59, 13);

~ **Najd Beduin** *haga*, *tihagwa b-* ‘reckon, presume, imagine,’ *haga* ‘fancy, expect, believe that s.th. can be done, achieved, obtained’ (cf. Kurpershoek

1995:, 459; III, 474) ~ Sinai Beduin *hāgiy* (= *‘ārīf*) ‘know, imagine’ (Bailey 1991:455) ~ **Gulf Ar** *haga* & *haka* ‘think, ponder,’ *tihāga* (v & i) ‘think, believe’ (Holes 2001:544).

Negev Beduin *hagga*, *yhagga* ‘expect’: *‘alli bithaggāh raṭīl bijī ‘ugiyyih* ‘One is sometimes disappointed in one’s expectations.’

hagwa ‘thought, opinion’: *hēdi hagūtiy fīk* ‘this is what I think of you’ || Biblical Hebrew *hagūt* ‘thinking, meditation’ (Ps. 49:4), *hāgiyyāh* ‘meditation, pronunciation, musing, reading, logic’ (Klein:1987138);

~ **Sinai Beduin** *hagwa* ‘thought’ (Bailey 1991:455) ~ **Awlād ‘Ali** (Libya) ⟨*hagwah*⟩ ‘Rat’ (= ⟨*ra’y*⟩; Hartmann 1899:237).

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