Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic

Alexander Borg

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 well-known 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 Beduin 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 tanwîn in poetry. Observe also the incidence of infinitives on the fāʿāl scheme, apparently typical of nomadic vernaculars and in parts of Arabia:

**Negev Beduin**:
- ʾakāl ‘remuneration paid to a person who supplies information on a murderer’s identity’
- sadād ‘implementation of blood vengeance’
- wakād ‘certainty’
- wakād u harj ʾirkād ‘a certain and well established fact’
- kafān – gillt al-laban ‘hunger, that is, shortage of milk’

**Rwala Beduin**
- raṣāṣ ‘inflammation of a camel’s hoof’ (Musil 1928:369)
- ḫāy 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)
- ḫasāsu(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 stratum 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:


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:


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,’ ballāṣ, pl balālīṣ ‘enemy spy’ (Kurpershoek 1999:335) ~ Dathīna ballas ‘délat,’ tabīlis ‘délation’ (Landberg 204) ~ Kuwait bilasa ‘payment to a spy to trace a stolen camel’ (Dickson 1949:625) ~ Sudan ballāṣ ‘spy; paid informant’ (Qasim 2002:112) ~ Jewish Aramblaš ‘suchen, aufsuchen, durchsuchen,’ Hebrew ballešet/bōlešet ~ Jewish Aramballāšā ‘Spionentrupp’ (Levy I, 237–38) || Negev Ar mīṣ ‘whey; Milchwasser, Molken (also maṣl, Dalman VI, 303)’ ~ Yemen miyyāṣ, imiyyāṣ ‘faire tourner en eau; se transformer en petit-lait’ (Piamenta II, 475) ~ Marazīg Beduin (S.Tunisia) mīṣ ‘sérum de lait,’ mayyiś ‘exprimer, par pression, le petit lait du fromage non pressuré (żebna)’ (Boris 1958:595), mēṣ/mais ‘sérum, partie liquide qui se sépare de la caséine du petit-lait; sérosité du lait caillé; toute matière sale et fétide,’ mmiyyāṣ ‘aliment liquide refroidi, coagulé et imman-geable (dont la sauce ne paraît être faite que d’eau, sans corps gras)’ (De Prémare XI, 287) ~ Andalusī Ar mays, pl muyūṣ ‘whey,’ mays maṭbūx ‘second curds’
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 millennium 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
Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic

derives from a form like Syriac šaʿūdā ‘wax, sealing-wax, a wax light’ (J. Payne Smith 1903:588).

4. Summing up
In view of the well-known 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 bālōšān ‘Untersucher, Spion, Polizeidiener’ (Dalman 1938:56);

ballās ‘liar; slanderer, detractor’: māni min al-ballāsin ‘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 bilūsīy (poet.) ‘I’m not a gossip!’ ~ **Utaybah beduin** bilūs ‘one who spies on people and divulges their secrets’ (Kurpershoek 1995:328) ~ **Kuwait** bilāsa ‘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-
individual, 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 messager 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 gādy 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” (Jaussen 1907: 194, 195). Musil (1928:645) notes a different term for ‘spy’ in the Rwala Beduin vernacular: *hāda nudeyse ǧazw* ‘spy of a raiding troop.’]

b-l-§

**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’: ‘ʾillī šāsto ‘akbar min šāštak la-tbāšo u-la-ybāšak’ (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 liċ ‘all who come near you get into a real mess,’ *ibtalaš* ‘get into a mess, get lumbered with something,’ *bīša* ‘calamity, misfortune’ (Holes 2001: 52) || Syriac *bīš* ‘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** *gba* ‘hochrückig, bücklig sein’ (Levy I, 295) || **Hebrew** *gibʿāh* ‘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 ħōr ‘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 ‘écrire au tableau noir avec de la craie,’ hawlwar ‘terre blanche, marne,’ huwâr ‘bâton de craie’ (Denizeau 1960:128) ~ Aleppo ħûr ‘peuplier,’ huwwâra ‘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 ħûr ‘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,’ ħûr ‘indigo of Yemen’ (Piamenta 1990:112) ~ Dathîna hûr ‘purity,’ ħûri ‘of fair complexion,’ ħûr ‘indigo of Yemen,’ huwar ‘indigo used for dyeing black clothes’ (Landberg 1920:510) || Classical Ar ḥawira ‘have its white and its black strongly delineated,’ ihwarra ‘be intensely white’ (Hava 1982: 148) || Biblical Aram ḥîwwar ‘white’ (Daniel 7, 9), ħûr ‘white’ (Esther 1, 6; 8, 15) ‘weißer Stoff; gut gebleichtes Linnen’ (Dalman V, 168), ḥwar ‘weiss sein’ (Gesenius & Buhl 1915:219) || Syriac ḥwâra ‘white, silvery, clear, bright,’ ḥwār ‘the white poplar,’ ḥwār ‘be or become white,’ ḥwûrā ‘white, silvery, clear, bright’ (J.Payne-Smith 1903:134) || Neo-Aramaic: Ṭûroyo ḥworo ‘white’ (own obs.); Mandaic hiwâra & huwâra ‘white’ (Drower & Macuch 1963:142) || Classical Ar ḥawira ‘have its white and its black strongly delineated,’ ihwarra ‘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 ‘azaq, initially encoding a brightness category, later becoming a basic term for BLUE. Residual traces of this brightness category survive right across the Arabic}
Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin 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’ | ḥūrī ‘of fair complexion’ | ḥūr ‘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.]

---

**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/subrah/subrā ‘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’ (Muisil 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), eṯḥabbar ‘be intimate, be a companion, ally oneself with’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:125) ¶ Hebrew ḥābēr ‘associate, friend’ (M.Jastrow 1903:421).

---

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

---

**Negev Beduin** ʾaxlāf, yixlif ‘change’: ʾaxlaf al-ḥiḍwih & al-mīʿād ‘He changed his shoes & the time of an appointment.’
mixlif ‘prone to change’: ḥāδa jaza mixlif an-niyyih (poet.) ‘This is a just retribution for one who dilly-dallies!’ || Syriac ḥallelef ‘change, exchange, renew’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:144) || Jewish Aram 〈ḥlīf〉 ‘exchange,’ 〈ḥlīfāh〉 ‘replacement, substitution’; 〈mī māḥī lanū ḥlīfātō〉 ‘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 ḥlīfā.]

z-b-n

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

z-r-n-q


z-l-m

**Negev Beduin** zalāmīh, dim. zlāmīh, pl zlām ‘man’: az-ṣilim taḍāk ‘men will harm you’: zlām ‘my agnates’ ~ **Rwala beduin** šānam ‘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** zalāmīh, 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,’ zlīmah ‘an unknown man’ (Kurpershoek 1995:376) || Classical Ar zalma / zulma & zalama ‘exterior appearance,’ šānam, pl aşnām ‘idol,’ şanım ‘strong, robust,’ šalam & šalama ‘gallant, dauntless men’ (Hava 294, 407, 404) || Syriac şlem & șlāma ‘simulacrum, imago, persona’ (R.Payne Smith 1879:3408) || Hebrew șlelem ‘plastisches Bild,’ șalme zākār ‘Mannsbilder’ (Gesenius & Buhl 1915: 684) || Babylonian Aram šalma & șilma, pl șalme & șalmānayyā & șalmātā ‘idol,
Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic


z-w-m


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 ʿarbaʾ jmāl ‘he deserves a compensation equivalent to four camels’;

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

Negev Beduin satta, ysatti ‘cope, manage (se debrouiller); arrange, regulate, put in order’: xayyāl maʾ miyyih ma ysatti ḥāl (poet.) ‘One warrior against a hundred cannot cope’ || Classical Ar astā l-θawba ‘he set, or disposed, the warp of the garment, or piece of cloth (said of a weaver)’ (Lane 1306) || Galilean Aram štā II, pt. štāy ‘weben; Pa. spulen, Kette machen, Aph. 1. dass.; 2. befestigen,’ šth II h. Ho. ‘gegründet werden’ (Dalman 1938:436); Af. ʾēštēy ‘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 sədda, 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 etoffe’ (Boris 1958: 269).


s-r-b-t

Negev Beduin sarbūṭ ‘pestle for pounding coffee’ ~ sarbūṭ ‘coffee pestle’ (Doughty 1888:246) || Jewish Aram šarbūṭ ‘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).
Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic

Yemen safax, yisfax 'wegwischen, mit Wasser wegspülen' | sāfax 'starker Regen' (Behnstedt II, 560) ~ Şan‘ā‘ safax, yisfax 'gettare alla rinfusa' (Rossi 1939:211) ~ Yemen (Jew) safax (u) 'sprinkle; flood, wash away; throw at random' (Piamента I, 223) ~ Dathīna safax 'éclabousser' (Landberg 1942) || Classical Ar safaha (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).


Negev Beduin saffar, isaffir, (vn) tasfir, (pp) msaffar 'shear': ar-rā‘iy saffar ál-mi‘ziy 'The shepherd sheared the goat’s hair' ~ Yemen (Jew) sifar & sfār 'fleece' (Piamenta I, 224) || Syriac sappar 'totondit; tonsus est' (Brockelman 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).

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

Negev Beduin šaḥat, pl yišḥat 'schlachten' (Behnstedt, Glossar II, 625) ~ Dathīna šḥṭ 'egorger' (Landberg III, 142) ~ Syrian desert tasahḥat < tasahḥat (Wetzstein 1868:158) || Jewish Aram šḥat 'schlachten, schächtken' (Levy IV, 531).

Negev Beduin šarā‘ 'small goatskin container for storing butter'; mīn ḥattniy yōm al-ḥaṣīdīh 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);
Negev Beduin šarra‘ ‘clean wheat; separate wheat from chaff by throwing it up in the air and letting it fall; winnowing.’
št-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’ ‹dwwl āw-zarnūqa› ‘buckets and hose (for irrigation)’ (M.Jastrow 1903:414).]
št-’-w


[Sozin’s vain attempt at relating this form to šl overlooks the factor of language contact with Aramaic.]
št-l-l

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

Negev Beduin šalaf, yišlif‘ ‘take by force (sheep, woman)’ ∥ Classical Ar salab (u) ‘carry by force’ (Lane 1398);
Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic

\[ \text{XVIII} \]


Negev Beduin šalîḥ ‘Lanzenspitze’ (Littmann 1908:24) ‖ Syriac šelpâ ‘knife’ (Brockelmann 1928:784);


Negev Beduin šlāfiy ‘money changer’: itgûl ḍähab maʿadūd ʿa-šlāfi ‘like money counted out by a moneychanger’ ‖ nonclass Ar šîlfâ ‘wallet’ (Hava IV, 375) ‖ Jewish Aram šlaf ‘ausziehen, herausziehen, abziehen’ (Levy 565) ‖ Hebrew š̄ēlaf ‘ausziehen’ (Gesenius & Buhl 1915:838).

ṣ-r-f


ṣ-f-r³

Rwala Beduin šaffarna ‘[we slept] at sunrise’ (Musil 1928:413) ‖ Jewish Aram šafrah ‘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 šôr ‘collum’ (Brockelmann 1928: 624).

†-w-r

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-liyāliy hēdiy ‘during this time’ (Stewart 1990:196) ~ Dathina ‘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 ʿeb (Āzax, Kandērīb), ḥobb (Daragözū), pl ḥbūb (Ḥalanze) ‘Brusttasche’ (Vocke & Waldner 1982:107) || Syriac ‘ubbā ‘the bosom, lap, womb’ (J.Payne Smith 1903:403) || Mandaic ʿumbā ‘bosom’ (Drower & Macuch 1963:344).

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

Negev Beduin ʿabaṭ, yu ṣibuṭ, (vn) ʿabiṭ ‘embrace’: ʿabūh sallam ʿalēh u ʿabṯah u wāṣāh ʿala xwānāh ‘His father shook his hand and embraced him charging him with the care of his brothers’ | ṭabbu fī baʾaḏhum ʿabiṭ ‘they began to embrace one another’ | ʿābṭa šantitha ‘hugging her bag’ || Classical Ar ʿabaṭa (u) ‘hold fast’ (Hava 413) || Jewish Aram ʿabīṭ ‘fastening, pressing’ (M.Jastrow 1903:1037).

ʿabṭa (fi) ‘embrace repeatedly’: lamma l-ḥuṣjāj jaw min Makkah šārū n-nāṣ yṣallmu ʿalēhum u yʾabbtu fīḥum ‘When the pilgrims returned from Mecca the people clasped each other’s hands and started embracing one another.’

taʾabbaṭ aḥ-dūf ʿif ‘he hugged the (small) children.’

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

Rwala Beduin maʾāder ‘pastures reserved for horses exclusively’ (Musil 1928:309) || Jewish Aram ʿadrā ‘fold, pen; herd, flock’ || Hebrew ʿēder ‘enclosure, pen, fold; herd, flock’ (M.Jastrow 1903:1046).

Negev Beduin ʿadaf, yaʾāḍaf (jur.); ʿāḍif (ap) ‘take his preferred judge’ ~ Sinai Beduin gult: ana ʿāḍif ibin jimʾih. gāʾlaw: hum yaʾāḍuwa bin ʿāyid …
(Stewart 1990:22), "ma'adīf (pp & jur.) 'lit., favored (a judge preferred by a claimant & defendant) exclusively’ || Jewish Aram 'ādaf & 'ādīf 'vorzüglich sein’ (Levy III, 623).

'-'-b

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

g-m-r

Negev Beduin ǧammar 'heap sheaves’ || Jewish Aram ʿwmr ‘sheaf’ (Sokoloff 2003:69);

~ 'Anazeh Beduin ǧammar ‘mettre en tas, engerber’ (Landberg 1940) ~ Najd beduin muğammir 'Ährenleser’ (Socin 1901:297);

Negev ǧimir ‘sheaf’ || subclassical Ar ǧimir 'sheaf, armful, bosom’ (Hava 535).


f-r-š-x

Dathīna farsax / tfaršax ‘écarter les jambes’ (Landberg 1942:2407, 2408) ~ Malta ʿferčah ‘part one’s legs’ || subclassical Ar fašax ‘open the legs’ (Hava 563) || Jewish Aram psaḥ ‘leap over’ (Sokoloff 1990:439).

q-š-š

Arabia gušša ‘pasture bushes’ (Doughty 1888 I 303; II 615) ~ Awlād ʿAli el-gešš = elhašš (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 (Urmī) kaš ‘stubble’ (Garbell 1965:314).]

q-t-r

Negev Beduin ǧaṭṭar, ygaṭṭir ‘tie camels in a line’: w-ihyāt imaṭṭir al-maṭar w-as-saḥābih ‘by Him who joins the clouds and the rain’ || ‘inniyy bariyiyih; 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)’; gaṭṭir ‘my younger brother’ || Jewish Aram qṭar ‘binden, zusammenfassen,’ qṭṭār ‘Gurt, Band’ (Levy

[ XX ]
Syriac qṭar ‘tie, bind, knot, interlace, adjust’ (J. Payne Smith 1903:502).

q-n-n

Sinai Beduin γᾶνην ‘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 κανών ‘straight rod, bar, weaver’s rod; (metaph.) rule, standard’ (Liddell & Scott 1996:875).

k-f-n

Negev Beduin kafīn ‘bread eaten without seasoning (ḡmūs), also called xubz ḥāfiy; kafān ‘hunger; shortage of food’: maʾindina wala ḥājiḥ, yaʾniy kafān ‘We have absolutely nothing [in the pantry], [we’re in] dire shortage’; uḡafan lih: ya flān, ahnawlādna—katalhum al-kafān,’ yaʿni 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: Ṭuroyo kafno ‘hunger’ (own observ.) || Hebrew ṣōḵd u ṣō-kāfān tishaq ‘At destruction and famine thou shalt laugh,’ ṣō-ḥesed u ṣō-kāfān ‘For want and famine’ (Job 5, 22; 30:3)

m-w-ṣ

Negev Beduin māṣ, ymūṣ, (vn) mayṣ ‘dissolving ‘afīg 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 māṣṣa (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 mayyas, ymayyiṣ ‘extract whey from milk by letting it drip out of a cloth bag (sometimes under the pressure of a stone)’ ~ Yemen miyyās,
Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic

imīyyās ‘faire tourner en eau; se transformer en petit-lait’ (Piamenta II, 475) [< *myṣ < mṣṣ] || 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 mṣṣa (u) ‘he sucked & sipped & drank it’ (Lane 2717);

[Develarization of historical [ṣ] in contact with a high front vowel in Yemen (Jew) ite and Andalusian Ar is well attested in other dialects: Aleppine sār, yṣīr & šār, yṣīr (Barthélemy, Dict., 370, 452), Jerusalem bīṣr mā bīṣr ‘geht es oder nicht—kurz’ (Bauer 1957:174) || JBaghdadi sāḡ, yṣīḡ ‘become’ (Mansour 1983:153) || Marazig Beduin (S.Tunisia) sīni ‘cuivre jaune,’ sīniyya ‘plateau en cuivre’ (Boris 1958: 300) < ṣīnī, ṣīniyya.]
Negev Beduin n̄īr ‘yoke’ ~ Palestinian Ar n̄īr, pl anyār & nīrān ‘Joch’ (Bauer 1957:167), nayyār (Dalman II, 81, 30) ~ Lebanon n̄īr ‘yoke’ (Baskinta: Abu-Haidar 1979:18) II Classical Ar n̄īra ‘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) II Jewish Aram n̄īrā ‘yoke’ (Sokoloff 1990:350), ʾnyr ʾto plow’ (Sokoloff 2003:65) II Neo-Aramaic Maʿlula n̄īr ‘Joch’ (Arnold 1990:320), Ṭuroyo nīro (O.Jastrow 1985:179).

n̄īrīh ‘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) II Jewish Aram nīrā ‘yoke; part of the loom’ (Sokoloff 1990:350) || Jewish Aram ʾnyr ʾto plow’ (Sokoloff 2003:65) II 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);


h-j-n

Negev Beduin hijīn, pl hijin ‘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 hijin (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) II Biblical Hebrew hōdō wā-hōgō mil-lēb dibrē-šāqaer ‘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
Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic


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

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

Sources Cited

Arnold, 1990
Arnold, Werner (1990), Das Neuestaramäische V. Grammatik. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Badawi & Hinds 1986

Bailey, 1991

Barthélemy, 1935-54

Bartoli, 1945
Bartoli, Matteo (1945), Saggi di linguistica spaziale, Torino: Rosenberg e Sellier.

Bauer, 1933

Behnstedt,
Behnstedt, Peter, Glossar der jemenitischen Dialektwörter in Eduard

[ xxv ]
Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic


Berlin & Kay, 1969

Black, 1964

Blanc, 1964

Borg, 1999

Borg, 2004

Borg, 2009

[ XXVI ]
Borg, 2008


Boris, 1958


Brockelmann, 1928


Canaan, 1929a

Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic

Corriente, 1997  

Dalman, 1928-39  

Dalman, 1938  

Denizeau, 1960  

Dickson, 1949  

Dozy, 1881  

Drower & Macuch, 1963  

[ XXVIII ]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s), Year</th>
<th>Title and Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hess, 1915</td>
<td>Hess, Johann Jacob (1915), <em>Beduinisches xum alten und neuen Testament</em>, <em>Zeitschrift</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic

Hess, 1920
Hess, Johann Jacob (1920), Die Farbenbezeichnungen bei innerarabischen Beduinenstamen, Der Islam 10:74–86.

Holes, 1990
Holes, Clive (1990), Gulf Arabic, London.

Holes, 2001


Jastrow, 1886
Jastrow, Marcus (1886), Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature, London: Luzac [reprint., 1903, Philadelphia].

Jastrow, 1985

Jaussen, 1907

Khan, 2004
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Title and Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author, Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socin, 1901</td>
<td>Socin, Albert (1901), <em>Diwan aus Centralarabien</em>, herausgegeben von Hans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sokoloff, 1990


Sokoloff, 2002


Sokoloff, 2003


Spiro, 1897


Stewart, 1988


Stewart, 1990

Stewart, Frank Henderson (1990), *Texts in Sinai Beduin Law*, pt. II (The texts in
Towards a Comparative Dictionary of Beduin Arabic

Arabic and Glossary), Mediterranean Language and Culture Monograph Series 5, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.


[ XXXIV ]