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Articles

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Zu einer motivgeschichtlichen Parallele zwischen dem koptisch-manichäischen Psalter und dem ugaritischen Aqhat-Epos: Der Geier am Himmel als schlechtes Vorzeichen

On a Motif-Historical Parallel between the Coptic-Manichaean Psalter
and the Ugaritic Aqhat Epic: The Vulture in the Sky as a Bad Omen

Abstract In this contribution, new light is thrown on a detail in the Ugaritic KTU 1.18 IV 20ff. The bird motive will be of crucial importance. The birds are designated as vultures and taken as a bad omen. The explanation can be supported by a rough parallel in the Coptic-Manichaean book of Psalms.

Keywords Ugaritic philology, KTU 1.18 IV 20ff, Coptic philology, Manichaean Psalter, vultures as bad omen

In diesem Beitrag wird über das Vogelmotiv in KTU 1.18 IV 20ff gehandelt.¹ Die Stelle ist im ugaritischen Aqhat-Epos zu finden, das zu den drei längsten je in der Stadt entdeckten Texten gehört. Die Abfassung der Dichtung kann in das späte 13. Jhdt. v. Chr. datiert werden². Der Inhalt der Komposition kreist u. a. um das brennende Verlangen, welches die Göttin Anat nach dem Bogen des Aqhat empfindet³. Die Beschreibung der

¹ Der Dank geht an die beiden anonymen Gutachter für einige wichtige Hinweise.

² Wyatt 2015: 403–404.

³ Zum Namen des Aqhat vgl. Margalit (1988: 211–214).

später im Text bei einem ähnlichen Objekt genannten Bestandteile deutet unmissverständlich auf einen Kompositbogen hin. Der Titelheld wird die Weigerung zur Herausgabe der Waffe am Ende mit dem eigenen Leben teuer bezahlen.

Die Hauptbeachtung verdient im hiesigen Kontext der Abschnitt, der davon berichtet, wie sich die „nšr“-Vögel am Himmel über dem beim Mahl sitzenden Aqhat versammeln (KTU 1.18 IV 18–22). Die Szene wird durch folgende Worte plastisch vor Augen geführt:

Aqhat will sit down to eat,
The son of Danael to dine.
[Above him], hawks (nšr) will fly,
[A band of b]irds will surveille.
Among hawks I personally will fly,
Over Aqhat will I release you⁴

Als sich Aqhatu zum Es[sen] setzte,
der Sohn des Danilu zum Speisen,
da schwebten über ihm Adler (nšr),
späte eine Schar Falken.
[Zwischen] den Vögeln schwebte Anat.
Über [Aqhatu] platzierte sie ihn⁵

Die angesprochene Person im letzten Satz bildet der Handlanger Ytpn, mit dessen Hilfe der spätere Mord an Aqhat ausgeführt wird. Die Sprecherin der Worte ist in der Göttin Anat zu sehen. Das Vogelmotiv gilt es im Folgenden also genauer zu untersuchen. In der Forschung wurden bereits mehrere Entwürfe zur ornithologischen Bestimmung der fraglichen Vogelart ausgearbeitet. Die Entscheidung ist wegen der besonderen Konturschwäche, unter welcher das Wort „nšr“ leidet, nicht ganz einfach zu fällen. Die gleiche Situation trifft auf diese Wurzel in mehreren anderen Zweigen der semitischen Sprachfamilie zu⁶. Das (Proto-)Aramäische⁷, Hebräische⁸ und Äthiopische⁹ können dafür als konkrete Beispiele genannt werden. Die Bildung semitischer Tierbezeichnungen war bekanntlich allgemein mit notorischen Schwierigkeiten behaftet¹⁰. Das Spektrum der

⁴ Margalit 1989: 155.

⁵ Niehr 2015: 285.

⁶ Kogan und Militarev 2005: 220–221, § 166.

⁷ Weippert 1991: 157; zum Protoaramäischen vgl. Knauff (1988: 64ff).

⁸ Donner 2007: 857–858.

⁹ Leslau 1987: 403.

¹⁰ von Soden 1974: 11ff.

Vorschläge für „nšr“ in KTU 1.18 IV 20ff hatte zwischen den Polen „Adler“, „Falke“ und „Geier“ oszilliert. Der anschließende Überblick fasst die bisherige Diskussion in aller gebotenen Kürze zusammen.

Die Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Stelle fing offenbar durch Jirku¹¹ an, der sich bei „nšr“ für die Bedeutung „Adler“ entschieden hatte.

Der Aspekt wurde danach von Caquot/Szynycer/Herdner¹² aufgegriffen, die bei „nšr“ für die Bedeutung „Geier“ eintreten.

Die Diskussion wurde danach von Watson¹³ fortgesetzt, nach dessen Meinung die Vögel durch den Fleischgeruch angelockt werden. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit der Bedeutung „Falke/Adler“ für „nšr“ schätzt er am größten ein. Die hierbei vor Augen schwebende Falknerei kommt aber nach Reiter¹⁴ in Ugarit vermutlich gar nicht vor. Die Falkenthese hat vor diesem Hintergrund als spekulativ zu gelten.

Die Bestimmung der Vogelart als Falke hatte, wie oben gesehen, auch Margalit für die beste aller Lösungen gehalten. Die Problematik der Deutung wurde gerade eben schon erläutert.

Das Thema wurde auch von Schroer¹⁵ berührt, die mit der Szene die Assoziation von Tod und Verderben in Verbindung bringt. Die Vögel am Himmel werden getreu dieser Linie als schlechtes Omen aufgefasst. Das Wort „nšr“ kann an dieser Stelle ihrer Ansicht nach nur Geier bezeichnen, da Adler nicht im Schwarm jagen.

Die Frage nach der Bedeutung des Wortes hat auch Dietrich/Loretz¹⁶ beschäftigt, deren Antwort zugunsten von „Adler“ ausfiel.

Der Ansatz von Smith¹⁷ zielt darauf ab, dass sich die Göttin Anat quasi zur Tarnung unter die Vögel gemischt hat. Die offenbar bewusst weit gefasste Wiedergabe des Wortes „nšr“ durch „raptor“ findet er am überzeugendsten.

Der Aspekt wurde auch von Niehr¹⁸ behandelt, der sich, wie oben gezeigt, bei „nšr“ für die Bedeutung „Adler“ ausspricht.

Die Deutung von Schroer läuft m. E. am ehesten auf das Richtige hinaus. Der Sinn wird demnach mit der Erklärung der Vögel als Unheilboten am besten getroffen. Die anderen Interpretationen scheiden wegen mangelnder Tiefgründigkeit aus. Das Konzept von Schroer wird daher in diesem Rahmen übernommen. Die Tragfähigkeit des Gedankens wird anschließend mit Hilfe einer Stelle im koptisch-manichäischen Psalter erhöht.

¹¹ Jirku 1962: 127.

¹² Caquot, Szynycer und Herdner 1974: D I 114–154; D III vol. 4 20–35.

¹³ Watson 1977: 70.

¹⁴ Reiter 1990: 278.

¹⁵ Schroer 1995: 68 n. 57.

¹⁶ Dietrich und Loretz 1997: 1281.

¹⁷ Smith 2014: 117.

¹⁸ Niehr 2015: 285.

Der Papyruskodex mit den manichäischen Psalmen wurde im Jahr 1930 durch C. Schmidt auf dem ägyptischen Markt entdeckt. Der Fund stammt ursprünglich aus dem Keller eines Hauses im fajumischen Medinet Madi, der jahrhundertlang unter Wasser gestanden hatte. Die einzelnen Seiten des Konvolutes hatten dadurch mehr oder weniger großen Schaden gelitten. Dass überhaupt etwas gerettet werden konnte, ist der meisterhaften Konservierung durch H. Ibscher zu verdanken. Die im subachmimischen Dialekt abgefassten Dokumente haben den Weg in die Chester Beatty-Sammlung gefunden. Das koptische Psalmenbuch dürfte ca. 340 n. Chr. geschrieben worden sein¹⁹. Das besondere Gewicht liegt für die hier interessierenden Zwecke auf den folgenden Zeilen:

Do not forsake me, even me thy slave, in the presence of the sons of Matter:
do not allow any of the demons to prevail over me as I come unto thee.
I see a merciless crowd like vultures (noure) surrounding me: Jesus, reveal
thyself to me in the day of my need.²⁰

Das sich zusammenbrauende Unheil wird auch dieses Mal durch das Geiermotiv deutlich gemacht. Die übergeordnete Handlung spielt sich im Zusammenhang mit der akuten Bedrohung des Beters durch dunkle Mächte ab. Im Gegensatz zum ugaritischen „nšr“ herrschen beim koptischen Wort „noure“ sehr viel klarere Verhältnisse, da dort die ausschließliche Bedeutung „Geier“ unverrückbar feststeht²¹. Der Adler und Falke pflegen im Koptischen mit ganz anderen Wörtern bezeichnet zu werden. In der Interpretation der Stelle kann es daher keine seriösen Zweifel geben.

In der Auswertung lässt sich zu folgendem Ergebnis kommen: Die Parallele dürfte sich klar und deutlich gezeigt haben. Die Geier kündigen in beiden Fällen düstere Ereignisse an. Die Eigenschaft der Vögel als Aasfresser hat dabei wohl eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt. In der koptischen Literatur sind durchaus Reminiszenzen an dieses charakteristische Merkmal zu finden²². Das Phänomen darf darüber hinaus bereits im alten Ägypten als bekannt gelten. Der Hinweis auf den „Verkommenen Harfenspieler“ bietet sich in diesem Kontext zur Illustration an²³. Die ausgeprägte Fähigkeit der orientalischen

¹⁹ Zum koptischen Psalter vgl. Drijvers (1981: 117–130); Krause (1991: 177–190); Lattke (1991: 196–223); Lieu (1994: 61–105); zu den koptischen Manichaica vgl. zuletzt Fuchs (2021: 408 Fußnote 79).

²⁰ Allbery 1938: 61, 22/23.

²¹ Zu diesem Wort vgl. Vycichl (1983: 144); Westendorf (1965–1977: 125); Crum (1939: 228).

²² Müller und Uljas 2019: 53 § 96; Chassinat 1921: 56; zu diesem Text generell zuletzt vgl. Richter (2017: 516–517).

²³ Thissen 1989: 231.

Völker zur exakten Naturbeobachtung wurde bereits bei mehreren Gelegenheiten positiv hervorgehoben. Was jedoch die hier untersuchte Gemeinsamkeit betrifft, so braucht sie nicht durch eine direkte oder indirekte Abhängigkeit erklärt zu werden. Der Lehrsatz von der getrennten Entstehung gleicher Motive beginnt sich in der neueren Forschung immer mehr durchzusetzen²⁴. Der große Zeitabstand zwischen den beiden Texten von rund anderthalb Jahrtausenden stellt ebenfalls kein massives Hindernis dar. Die Vorstellung eines im ganzen Ostmittelmeerraum beheimateten Reservoirs an Symbolen und Metaphern erweist sich hierbei als überaus fruchtbar, die insbesondere von Nissinen²⁵ propagiert wird. Der Fundus setzt sich seiner Meinung nach aus mesopotamischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, ugaritischen und griechischen Schriftdokumenten zusammen. Die Dauer dieses Reservoirs kann nach Nissinen durchaus auf mehrere tausend Jahre berechnet werden. Die Idee wurde zuletzt auch von Fox²⁶ aufgegriffen. In die gleiche Richtung sind auch Waltke²⁷ und Hagedorn²⁸ grundsätzlich zu gehen bereit. Das Konzept ist damit so gut abgesichert, dass es auch in diesem Rahmen bedenkenlos übernommen werden kann. Die Herangehensweise lehnt sich außerdem an eine gewisse Tendenz in jüngeren Arbeiten zum Thema an. Die gleiche Entwicklung zeichnet sich z. B. bei Kottsieper²⁹ ab, der in anderem Kontext ebenfalls die „nšr“-Vögel in Geier umdefiniert. Der koptisch-manichäische Psalter wird zudem von der Mehrheit der Forschung auf ein syrisches Original zurückgeführt, so dass die beiden hier behandelten Texte zumindest über gewisse Umwege zum gleichen semitischen Kulturkreis gehören. Der spätere Religionsstifter wuchs bekanntlich nach der Überlieferung des Kölner Mani-Kodex in einer südbabylonischen Täuferbewegung auf. Das Verständnis komplexer ugaritischer Sachverhalte wird hier im Übrigen nicht zum ersten Mal durch exotische Vergleiche gefördert. Der von Horwitz³⁰ immerhin für möglich gehaltene Zusammenhang zwischen den ugaritischen rḫm und iranischen Fravashis mag dafür als ein anderes Beispiel dienen. Der hier verfochtene Ansatz sollte vor diesem Hintergrund über das nötige Maß an Legitimität verfügen. Die Interpretation schließt nicht aus, dass das Wort im Text davor und danach andere Bedeutungen hat. Das breit gefächerte semantische Spektrum des Wortes, von dem eingangs die Rede war, lässt diese Möglichkeit durchaus zu. Das Wort muss nicht überall gleich wiedergegeben werden.

²⁴ Smith 2014: 45; Zima 2008: 372.

²⁵ Nissinen 1998: 624.

²⁶ Fox 2016: 12.

²⁷ Waltke 1979: 211.

²⁸ Hagedorn 2016: 92.

²⁹ Kottsieper 2021: 80.

³⁰ Horwitz 1979: 42–43; zu den Rephaim vgl. jetzt Yorev (2021: passim).

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A Journey Across the UAE Culture through the Voices of Young Emirati Women: Texts in Northern Emirati Arabic (Dubai, Ajman, and Sharjah)

Abstract Although some Gulf varieties, such as Emirati Arabic, have been gaining more attention in recent years, further investigation and resources need to be made available to the scientific community. The aim of this article is to offer the Gulf Arabic studies a contribution by presenting a selection of texts in the spoken varieties of Dubai, Sharjah and Ajman, which were recorded between 2015 and 2017, during fieldworks in the United Arab Emirates. The speakers are young women between the age of 21 and 31 and the topics regard the Emirati heritage, in order to add cultural value to the linguistic subject. The transcribed texts can provide further bases for comparison in the Emirati Arabic studies.

Keywords Ajman, Arabic dialectology, Dubai, Emirati Arabic, Gulf Arabic, Sharjah

1 Introduction and state of the art

The United Arab Emirates¹ strategic position, on the eastern coastal region of Arabian Peninsula and on the way between today's Europe and the Far East, has been attracting merchants, over the last centuries, all the way from Europe to China. The lands on which the present-day UAE exist were prized or exploited by the European peoples (namely the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British) for a long time before being able to gain their independence from the British Crown on December 2nd, 1971² (Heard-Bey 2004: 367–370).

¹ Henceforth UAE. The federation includes the Emirates of Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm al-Quwain, Fujairah, and Ras al-Khaimah.

² The Emirate of Ras Al-Khaimah joined this union in early 1972.

Although the UAE is considered a young state and is mostly known worldwide for its ultra-modern aesthetic, a fascinating history and some traces of age-old civilisation are still present in the country and in its traditions.

This study presents texts about some aspects of the Emirati culture and environment, based on the northern spoken varieties of the business hub Dubai, which follows in importance the one of Abu Dhabi, and other two northern emirates, Sharjah and Ajman. Sharjah is usually considered as the cultural centre of the UAE, while Ajman is the smallest emirate, even though, in recent years, its urban and tourist sectors have developed.

According to the Gulf Arabic literature (Johnstone 1967; Holes 1990; 2011; 2016; Ingham 1982) modern Emirati Arabic belongs to Gulf Arabic koine, which also includes the varieties of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, part of Oman and southern Iraq and Iran. In fact, Leung et al. (2021: 3) highlight that ‘The term “Emirati Arabic” is occasionally used in the linguistic literature as a reference to a set of specific varieties of the people living within the confines of the UAE.’ Nevertheless, there are differences between the varieties of Abu Dhabi and the ones of northern Emirates. The EA provided in the texts belongs to the subvariety of northern Emirati which includes ‘Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm al-Quwain, and part of Ras al-Khaimah’ (Leung et al. 2021: 3–4).

The studies which focus only on Emirati Arabic³ still require more investigation, although it is worth mentioning the studies which describe the main features of Gulf Arabic that represent the pioneering starting point of the Arabic dialectological studies of the region. To name just a few: Johnstone (1967), Qafisheh (1977; 1997), Ingham (1982), Al-Rawi (1990), as well as the works of Holes which include also recent publications (1990; 2001; 2005; 2006; 2011; 2016; 2018).

After the 2000s, further studies focused on EA were published in English⁴: Blodgett et al. (2007: 1137–1140) investigated the intonation of EA, Jarad (2017: 742–760) wrote about grammaticalisation in EA; al-Kaabi and Ntelitheos in 2019 issued an article about a syntactic analysis of verbal morphology in EA, while Wilmsen and Al Muhairi (2022) investigated the infixed *-nn-* in Northern Emirati Arabic.⁵ In addition, a comprehensive grammar of EA was published by Leung et al. in 2021 and a study regarding the subject expression and discourse embedded-

³ Henceforth EA.

⁴ The list of studies published in English and Arabic is illustrative only and does not aim to be comprehensive.

⁵ In 2019, the author of this article published a study about the Dubai variety.

ness in EA was published in 2013 by Owens et al. It is important to highlight the works in Arabic on Emirati varieties by ʿAbīd (2006; 2013) and also the two books by al-Maṭrūšī (2013; 2019).

2 Methodology and objectives

No transcribed texts of Sharjah and Ajman have ever been published, and the texts from Dubai date back to Johnstone⁶ (1967: 228–239). Therefore, the aim of this research is to present a collection of eight texts of northern Emirati Arabic in order to provide further bases for comparison in the field of Gulf Arabic studies. The texts derive from a selection of recordings by young women of spontaneous conversations and interviews⁷, that were personally gathered by the author of the article during research fieldworks in the UAE between 2015 and 2017. The recordings were transcribed and then translated into English⁸, and linguistic notes mainly compared to the available Gulf literature studies were added.

The transcription used in this article follows the system conventionally applied in the Arabic dialectology's field. The consonants are the following: ʔ, b, t, ṭ, ǧ, ḥ, x, d, ḍ, r, z, s, š, ʃ, ʈ, ɗ, ʕ, ġ, q/g, k/č, l⁹, m, n, h, w, and y. The glottal stop at the beginning of words is not indicated. The vowel system consists of three short vowels¹⁰ /a/, /i/, /u/ and five long vowels, namely /ā/, /ī/, /ū/, /ē/, /ō/¹¹.

Informants did not prepare any previous speech and they were free to choose their topic, but it was suggested¹² to talk about the Emirati environment and traditions in order to add cultural value to the texts, besides the linguistic one. In fact, outside the Arabian Peninsula, Gulf tradition often remains little known, despite being fundamental to better understand the linguistic background. The five informants are young women, educated or

⁶ It is also worth mentioning the PhD thesis by Hoffiz (1995) about the morphology of UAE, focusing on the Dubai variety that, however, does not include transcribed texts.

⁷ A few other short recordings were collected, but the topics were not suitable with the purpose of this article, which presents recent texts from the Northern Emirates regarding local environment and traditions.

⁸ The English translation is sometimes rather literal because the texts have been translated into English so that the English syntax corresponds as closely as possible to the Arabic syntax, in order to facilitate the comparison to the readers.

⁹ It occurs also the emphatic variant ʕ in certain words.

¹⁰ The three short vowels could shift to the neutral mid-central vowel [ə] (Leung et al. 2021: 16).

¹¹ The phonemes /ē/ and /ō/ correspond to the diphthongs ay and aw in MSA (Johnstone 1967: 25).

¹² Questions or short comments asked by the author of the article are not included in the texts.

semi-educated, born in the UAE and aged between 19 and 31 at the moment of recording. In order to protect the speakers' privacy and encourage spontaneity, it was decided not to mention their full names, but only their first name, age, level of education (when possible) and Emirate of origin. Since there is no prior preparation, on some occasions the translations can include repetitions and the narration might seem fragmented. The eight selected texts (three from Dubai, three from Ajman and two from Sharjah) are arranged as follows:

Speaker 1, Texts 1, 2, 3: Hanan, 30 years old, Master's degree, Dubai.

Speaker 2, Texts 4 and 5: Ghalya, 30 years old, level of education (not mentioned), Ajman.

Speaker 3, Text 6: Sara, 31 years old, level of education (not mentioned), Ajman.

Speaker 4, Text 7: Elounoud, 21 years old, attending Bachelor's degree, Sharjah.

Speaker 5, Text 8: Sara, 21 years old, attending Bachelor's degree, Sharjah.

The three texts from Dubai are from the same informant, and as I was invited to her house twice to record them, they form the longest speech. The two texts from Sharjah were recorded by two students at the American University of Sharjah, at the Department of Biotechnologies. The three texts from Ajman were recorded during a visit to the tourist attraction¹³ 'Global Village' of Ajman, with the purpose of asking Emirati young women whether they would agree to be questioned about their local language for academic research. Most of them declined, expressing embarrassment. However, I was able to acquire and transcribe three short recordings by two speakers that were working there and who are originally from Ajman: Ghalya (speaker 2) is the owner of a clothes shop, and Sara (speaker 3) works in an Arabian essence shop.

It should be considered that the variety of the texts might be modified or influenced by contact with the other Arabic varieties such as Shami, Iraqi, and/or Egyptian. Moreover, the triglossic situation in UAE (MSA, EA and English¹⁴) emerges in the recordings of the graduate speakers and the college students at American University of Sharjah, even though the informants know that the purpose of the research was the investigation of EA, thus they tried to use only their own local language. Concerning

¹³ Despite being a tourist attraction, it is very popular among the local people, and it is also suitable for recordings.

¹⁴ See Hopkyns et al. (2021), 'The use of English and linguistic hybridity among Emirati millennials.'

the texts of Ajman, no English words were found. The definition of the code-mixing and switching in the Gulf, thus applied also in the UAE, is clearly explained by Holes (2011: 139) as follows:

This kind of Arabic-English mixing, however, has now been overtaken by a new and seemingly more invasive phenomenon. What one now hears in the Gulf is code-switching: the unpredictable to-ing and fro-ing between two languages, where a speaker might say three or four sentences in Arabic, then three or four in English. Sometimes a language switch will occur in the middle of a sentence. It is even commonplace nowadays to hear Gulf Arabs, in particular young women, talking to each other entirely in English, face to face or on their mobile phones.

In conclusion, this study would represent another step forward in the investigation of northern EA, by providing transcribed texts in the spoken varieties of Dubai, Ajman and Sharjah by young women. For future studies, the texts can be both phonologically and morpho-syntactically further investigated, in order to extend the linguistic description of northern EA; moreover, the texts can be used in drawing comparisons with the texts of Abu Dhabi variety published in the works Qafisheh (1977) and Al-Rawi (1990).

3 Transcribed texts

Text 1: *il-kandōra u l-ṣabāya fi-l-imārāt* ‘The kandoora and the abaya in the Emirates’

1. *Ṣādatan niḥna dāʔiman yisʔalū-l-nā yaʔni lēš ir-rayyāl yilbis kandōra bēḍa u l-ḥurma tilbis ṣabāya soda*, 2. *fa-š-šaxš il-ağnabi maṭalan yōm iyi l-imārāt yišūf ṣala ṭūl hāḍa*¹⁵ *l-lōnēn, il-abyaḍ u l-aswad fa-dāʔiman hāḍa s-suʔāl yi-takarrar: lēš il-abyaḍ u lēš il-ʔaswad b-ha-ṭ-ṭariqa?* 3. *maʔ anna tārixīyyan fi-l-imārāt mā kānat il-alwān b-ha-ṭ-ṭariqa*. 4. *kān ir-rayyāl yilbis aṣlan alwān tiṣābah alwān ir-rimāl yaʔni ṣa-l-bēğ, ṣa-l-aṣfar, tadarruğāt il-aṣfar yaʔni b-šikil ṣāmm*, 5. *fa-kān hāḍa tārix-na yaʔni ḥatta hni ysawwūn musalsalāt tārixīyya aw l-ašyāʔ il-qadīma*, 6. *kān dāʔiman ir-rayyāl yilbis b-ha-ṭ-ṭariqa, mā yilbis lōn il-ʔabyaḍ* 7. *u aṣlan mā kān lōn il-abyaḍ bikūn mufīd* 8. *liʔanna taṣrifīn niḥna bīʔat-na ṣaḥrāwiyya fa-lībs il-abyaḍ maʔnat-ha lāzim yiğsil*

¹⁵ It is quite common in Gulf varieties to find a feminine singular demonstrative used with a masculine singular noun. In Holes (2005) some examples were found in Bahraini Arabic, such as *hāḍi l-baḥr* ‘this sea’ (2005: 23), *il-xatf hāḍi* ‘this setting of the sail’ (2005: 31).

ʕala ʔul ʔāni yōm, yitwassax b-surʕa, 9. ʕaʕān ʕi lōn il-aʕfar naʕs ilōn il-biʔa, 10. ʔatta aḡul-l-iʕ¹⁶ li-aḡraḡ il-ḥarb u ha-l-aʕyāʔ, fa-yilbisūn nifs ilōn il-biʔa u r-rimāl mā yibayinūn¹⁷, 11. fa-ḡuzʔ kān min il-ixtibāʔ aw ʔatta ḡuzʔ min an-naḡāfa, 12. taʕrifīn sābiqan mumkin ʔatta il-mawād li-l-ḡaṣil kānat aqall u l-prōcess kān mumkin aḡtar... 13. u l-nisāʔ¹⁸ kānaw yilbisūn il-ḡallābiyya aw l-kandōra illi hī tikūn šwayy mʔarraza min fōḡ u ʕa-l-id u tikūn mulawwana, 14. bas dāʔiman yilbisūn ʔabʕan iʕ-šila u l-burḡaʕ, illi hū nifs il-mask ʕala wayh¹⁹ il-marʔa²⁰, fa-hāy lli kān iʕ-šāʔiʕ, 15. baʕadēn ʔalʕat il-ʕabāya fa-ʔatta yigūlūn ḡuzʔ min it-tāriḡ... 16. fi il-baʕḡ yigūlūn maʔalan anna aḡlab iʕ-suwar it-tāriḡiyya illi fi-ha šurat il-marʔa mā lābsa fi-ha ʕabāya, lābsa fi-ha l-ḡallābiyya u iʕ-šila u l-burḡaʕ. 17. bas maʕ il-iiyyām šār maʔalan il-ʕabāya tikūn astar, fa-ayy šay nilbis dāxil mā yibayyin, 18. fa-ʔalʕat il-ʕabāya, fa-ʔatta awwal mā ʔalʕat il-ʕabāya, ʔalʕat il-ʕabāya il-hī ysammūn-ha swēʕiyya aw ʕabāt ir-rās illi tilbis min fōḡ ir-rās 19. itikūn ʕa-ḡaʕa waḥḡa ḥarīr, 20. bas maʕ il-iiyyām ʔabʕan mā kānat marina ḡiddan xuṣūsan fi-l-ḥaraka fa-ʔṭawwarat ŕuḡub nizlat ʕa-l-ʕitf u xallēna š-šila fōḡ 21. u šār il-aswad hū l-lōn id-dāriḡ u xuṣūsan liʔanna yigāʔti fa-nilbis ayy lōn taḥt mā yibayyin 22. u šār maʕ il-iiyyām ʔatta il-lōn il-abyaḡ hū š-šāʔiʕ ʕand iʕ-šabāb fa-ʔṭarraw yilbisūn kull iʕay abyāḡ, ʔatta hum il-malābis id-dāxiliyya yilbisūn lōn il-abyaḡ ʕaʕān mā fi šay yišif, 23. fa-šār inna-h hū l-lōn il-abyaḡ u l-ḥurma l-hīn b-il-lōn il-aswad maʕ anna l-hīn il-fatra hāḡi taqriban min ḥawāli sina ʔalʕat mōḡat l-ʕabāya li-mlawwana 24. u l-hīn l-ʕabāya tikūn wardiyya, xadra, bēḡa, sōda, fi-ha kull²¹ il-alwān yaʕni, 25. fa-atwaqqaʕ ʔatta il-ʕabāya fi-l-xaliḡ b-šikil ʕāmm il-hīn il-ʕabāya mōḡūda fi-l-imārāt u fi-ḡaṭar u s-saʕūdiyya u ŕumān, 26. il-ʕabāya ixtaḡit fi umam il-kuwēt u l-baḥrēn, šarat faḡaṭ l-il-ḥarīm li-kbār... mā fi... miš b-šikil ikbīr yaʕni, mub²² nifs ihni, 27. hni kaʔann-ha ḡuzʔ min il-haw-

¹⁶ The affricate form of /k/ > /č/ according to Holes (2018: 15) 'is found today throughout north-eastern and eastern Arabia, southern Iraq and parts of the UAE'.

¹⁷ Consonant elision since the double consonant in *yibayyinūn* is reduced to a single consonant *yibayinūn* (Qafisheh 1977: 29; Leung et al 2021: 28).

¹⁸ In EA, it is more common to use *ḥrim* 'women' instead of *nisāʔ*. This is thus a borrowing from MSA.

¹⁹ According to Johnstone (Johnstone 1965: 241; 1967: 37) in EA, as well as other Gulf varieties, ḡ > y and it is not conditioned by phonetic context. Holes (1980: 88) concluded that in Bahraini Arabic 'variation between the [j] and [y] allophones of /j/ is not free but constrained in a way which reveals both the linguistic dominance of the Sunni sect over the Shiʕi sect and the supra-dialectal influence of Literary Arabic in the speech of those who have been exposed to it in the course of their education.'

²⁰ Borrowing from MSA, in EA 'woman' mainly *ḥurma*.

²¹ The informant alternates *kull* and *kill*.

²² The negative particles before nouns and adjectives/active participles found in the texts of speaker 1 are *mub* which occurs everywhere in the Gulf, and *miš* which is not a local form. Concerning verbs, all speakers negate verbs with *mā*.

iyya l-waṭaniyya, 28. fa-maṭalan ḥatta baṣḍ il-ḡihāt tiṭlub min il-muwaḍḍafin ida kānat muwāṭna tilbis il-ṣabāya, 29. ṣala rāḥit-ha tilbis iṣ-šila aw mā tilbis iṣ-šila ṣala kēf-ha bas tiḥuṭṭ il-ṣabāya li?anna tibayyin ḡuz? min il-hawiyya l-waṭaniyya, 30. fa-dā?iman yaṣni it-tārīx badā b-hādi t-ṭariqa u maṣ il-iyyām ṭabṣan dā?iman il-malābis tiṭawwar, 31. fa-l-ḥin dā?iman nitsā?al hal²³ il-ṣabāya tistamirr fi-l-imārāt baṣḍ ṣašra sanawāt? 32. aṣūf ḥāliyyan il-aḡyāl il-ydida aqall maṭalan istixdām il-ṣabāya, 33. yaṣni šāru yiṭlasūn bas b-iṣ-šila u yilbisūn malābis ṭwila u sātra u kil šay bass yaṣni miš istixdām il-ṣabāya. taḥt iṣ-šila niḥuṭṭ niḥna šabbāša, il-hadaḍ il-asāsi ṣādatan min ha-l-style inna tiṭabbīt iṣ-šila, 34. li?anna š-šila ṣādatan tikūn xafifa u b-surṣa ṭṭih²⁴ 35. u maṣ iṣ-šaṣr in-nāṣim ṭṭih aḡtar fa-nuba šay yaṣni ka-stand tūḡaf ṣalē-ha, 36. bas maṣ il-iyyām niḥna ṣādatan lāzim itšir aṣyā? fi-ha taṭawwur fa-ṣaṣan niṭabbīt-ha hi b-imkān, b-ṭariqa baṣiṭa, 37. bass il-ḥin šār ḡuz? yaṣni inna tikūn fi-ha nafs it-tasriḥa u niḥuṭṭ-ha niṭabbīt iṣ-šila ṣalē-ha 38. fa-dā?iman fi taṣliqāt min iṣ-šabāb yigūlūn ‘lēš ṭḥuṭṭūn burḡ xalifa fōḡ rās-kum?’ 39. u atḍakkar ḥatta kānaw fi mudarrisin fi-l-ḡāmṣa yigūlūn ‘you are so beautiful but you look like an alien’ 40. yaṣni ḥarām hum yiṣtaqidūn anna hāda rās-na, ḡuz? min rās-na yaṣni mā yadrūn inna hādi muḡarrad šabbāša yaṣni tinḥaṭṭ!

41. u r-riyyāl ṭabṣan il-kanādīr ṭalṣat fi-ha mōḍā u mumkin kil dawla xaliḡiyya la-ha stayil-ha l-xāṣṣ, 42. mumkin aṣrif anā maṭalan min il-kandōra ida hāda kān gaṭri aw sṣūdi aw ṣumāni... 43. il-ṣumāni yikūn ṣādatan fi-ha taṭriṣ, il-gaṭri maṭalan yikūn fi-ha colour u ṣigab u s-sṣūdi yikūn wāyid mx-aṣṣar ṣala l-xaṣr yaṣni dayyig wāyid, 44. il-kuwēti id-ḍahr yikūn sāda yaṣni mā fi ay bizim ay šay, 45. il-imārāti yaṣni ṣindna niḥna maṭalan uxwān-i yirūḥūn ṣand il-xayyāt yigūlūn maṭalan nuba mōḍel ṣumāni, 46. fa-yilbisūn hum kull il-anwās baṣḍ il-aḡyān, bass hāda šā?iṣ aḡtar šay l-ṣumāni, il-imārāti baṣad šā?iṣ. [inaudible²⁵] 47. fa-ḥatta š-šabāb baṣad... šār lōn il-abyaḍ yilbisūn-ah fi ḡamiṣ il-munāsabāt 48. fa-hum baṣad yabūn taḡyīr, fa-yilbisūn yaṣni mōḍelāt ṣumāniyya aḡtar šay šā?iṣa baṣadēn il-mōḍelāt il-imārātiyya u l-ḡutra baṣad nafs iṣ-šay, 49. il-ḡutra, tariqat libis-ha ṭabṣan tixtilif, il-alwān baṣḍ il-aḡyān tixtilif: 50. il-abyaḍ ṣādatan fi-š-šēf, il-aḡmar ṣādatan fi-li-štā? li?anna yikūn iṣwayy aḡlaḍ, yikūn min šūf. 51. maṭalan is-saṣūdiyyin maṣrufin b-il-lōn il-aḡmar, ṣumāniṣ mulawwan fi-l-kuwēt baṣad il-lōn il-aḡmar šā?iṣ, yaṣni yilbisūn alwān ṭānya baṣad, 52. il-yōm ḥatta tiṣūfin inti iṣ-šēx mumkin Muḥammad bin Rāṣid yilbis alwān, ḥatta lōn azrag ḡāmiḡ, aw lōn aṣfar yaṣni ḡi zaṣfarāni, yaṣni aḡiss alwān muš mutadāwila yaṣni 53. fa-hū baṣad

²³ Interrogative stem borrowed from MSA to underline the main question.

²⁴ Assimilation of t as prefix of imperfective tense with ṭ > ṭṭih (Qafisheh 1977: 26–27). Another example in this text is ṭṭawwarat (it evolved).

²⁵ The term ‘inaudible’ is used in the transcribed texts every time the author was not able to understand a word in the recordings.

ʕala fikra wāyid yihtimm b-il-mōḏā, hū lli yiṭallaʕ il-mōḏā marrāt, 54. fa-ida libis-ah š-šēx baʕadēn kul-hum yilbisūn nafs il-lōn u nafs id-daraḡa u nafs il-ašyā? min ha-l-qabil.

55. *yaʕni faʕlan nigdir nʕarif iʕ-šaxʕ yaʕni min ʕariqat libs-ah sawā? kān li-l-raḡul u ʕatta l-ḡurma* 56. *agdir aʕrif inna hāy maṭalan saʕūdiyya min hāy il-ʕabāya aw hāy maṭalan gaṭriyya, 57. maʕ anna yaʕni l-ḡin maʕ il-iyyām ʕirna niṭābah bass gabil fiʕlan kinna niʕarrig.*

1. We are often asked why men wear the white *kandoora* and women wear the black *abaya*. 2. Every stranger who comes to the Emirates always notices these two colours, black and white, 3. so it's a common question: why black and white are worn in this way? Although historically, colours weren't always like that: 4. men clothes used to be the colours of the sand, that is to say beige, yellow or shades of yellow. 5. This was our history, if you happen to see a history soap-opera or old things, 6. the man always dressed this way, he didn't use to dress in white. 7. It simply wasn't a suitable colour: 8. you know, we are surrounded by the desert and that means we need to wash our clothes almost every day, they get dirty very quickly: 9. that's why yellow clothes, the same colour as the environment, were more convenient. 10. Also, for war equipment and so on, they wear the same colour as the surroundings in war, so they can't be seen. 11. The main reason was to keep a low profile, or basically it was a question of neatness, 12. you know in the past there were fewer cleaning materials, and the process was a little ... 13. Women instead used to wear the *jallabiyah* or the *kandoora*, a little more embroidered both in the upper part and at the wrists and it was colourful. 14. They used to wear it together with a veil obviously and the *burgaʕ*, a kind of mask on the women's face: this was very common. 15. Then the *abaya* came out and it is said to have become part of our history. 16. Some people claim that most of the old pictures show women not wearing the *abaya*, but the *jallabiyah*, the veil and the *burgaʕ*. 17. With time the *abaya* has become more and more opaque, making the whatever is worn underneath invisible. 18. So, *abaya* came out and at the beginning was called *shweʕiyya*, the so-called 'top cloak', because it was placed over the head, 19. it was a single cut of silk. 20. However, body movements were uncomfortable, so we shifted it onto the shoulders and covered our heads with a veil 21. and black became the most popular colour also because in doing so, it could hide whatever was worn underneath. 22. With time, white became the most popular colour among young men. In fact, they have to wear everything in white, even their underclothes, which would be visible otherwise. 23. So, men's clothes are white, and women's are black, even though the *abaya* for about a year started changing its traditional colours, becoming coloured.

24. So, it's available now in pink, green, white, black, basically any colour. 25. You can find the *abaya* in the Emirates, in Qatar, in Saudi Arabia, in Oman. 26. The *abaya* disappeared in the states of Kuwait and Bahrain, because only adult women wear it, it's not as popular as it is here. 27. Here the *abaya* is part of the national identity: 28. for example, in some places, (women) employees are asked to wear the *abaya* if they are locals. 29. They are free to decide whether to wear the veil or not, but wearing the *abaya* is essential, because of its importance as a part of the national identity. 30. This is in short how the story began but of course clothing has changed with time. 31. Today we ask ourselves: will the *abaya* still be worn in the Emirates in ten years? 32. I can see new generations in the Emirates wearing the *abaya* less frequently: 33. they wear the veil and long covering dresses, but they don't wear the *abaya*. Under the veil we put the *shabbasa* on, a piece of clothing with the aim of keeping the veil still, 34. because it is very light sometimes and it may fall. 35. This happens mostly to women with straight hair, so they need something to keep it steady. 36. Sometimes we need an evolution of some things, so to fix the veil when we found an easy way to secure it overtime. 37. Nowadays it has become an essential part, it is as if it's used to make a hairstyle and in addition, we put it to fasten the veil. 38. We are subjected to the boys' comments: 'Why did you put the Burj Khalifa on your heads?' 39. I recall the professors at university saying: 'You are so beautiful, but you look like an alien.' 40. Too bad they believe those were our heads and not just a *shabbasa* which can be put on!

41. Men are used to wear the *kandoora*, which has now become a real fashion: every Gulf state has its peculiar *kandoora* style. 42. I can tell where a man comes from by his *kandoora*: from Qatar, from Saudi Arabia or from Oman. 43. The Omani style is usually embroidered, the Qatar one is a little colourful and it has the *igab*. Then there are the Saudi ones, which are a little more cinched, tighter at the waist; 44. then the Kuwaiti one is smooth at the front, very simple, with no clasps. 45. The Emirati one, my brothers go to a tailor, for example, and they ask for an Omani style. 46. They can wear every style they want, but the most fashionable of the moment is the Omani or the Emirati one. 47. So, boys have changed their style, too: they wear white clothes on every occasion, 48. but they also want change, so sometimes they put on more common Oman or Emirati or Qatar models and also the *ghutra*, 49. The styles of wearing *ghutra* is obviously different and sometimes the colours are also different: 50. white in summer and red in winter, the latter made in wool and therefore being a little thicker. 51. For example, you can recognize a Saudi thanks to the red colour. The ones of Oman people are colourful and Kuwaiti people dress mainly in red, but other colours are also common. 52. Today

you can see the Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid wearing different colours, even blue or saffron yellow and many other uncommon colours. 53. He cares a lot for fashion, sometimes he is the real trendsetter 54. so when he wears a colour, then everybody wants the same style, the same nuance, or the same clothes in this regard.

55. We can really distinguish a person based on what he or she wears, 56. thanks to her *abaya*, for example, we are able to tell whether a woman is Saudi or Qatari. 57. Now we are getting more and more similar, but in the past, we used to be really different.

Text 2: *il-imārāt* ‘The Emirates’

1. *bitkallim*²⁶ *il-yōm* *ʕan il-imārāt*: 2. *il-imārāt hī dawla ittiḥādiyya fī-ha sabiʕ imārāt*, 3. *fī imārāt abu ḍabi u hī akbar imāra u fī-ha akbar ʕadad sukkān aw akbar ʕadad muwāṭṭnīn fī imārat abu ḍabi*, 4. *atwaqqaʕ hī tašmal fī-ḥdūd iṭmānīn b-il-miya min sāḥat arāḍi l-imārāt u hī l-ʕāšma*. 5. *u ʕindna ṭāni il-imāra, imārat idbayy u hī ṭabʕan ṭāni akbar madīna fī-l-imārāt aw ṭāni akbar imāra fī-l-imārāt* 6. *u tuṣṭabar hiyya yaʕni ašlan il-madīna l-iqtisādiyya aw il-quwwa l-iqtisādiyya li-dawlat il-imārāt*, 7. *naḥin niṣṭabar ṭabʕan idbayy aḡmal madīna fī-l-ʕālam u ʕindna niḥna maṭal b-il-imārāti anna ‘dbayy dār il-ḥayy’*, 8. *atwaqqaʕ fī baʕḍ il-ašxāš zādaw fī-ha-l-maṭal ‘dbayy dār il-ḥayy illi yirūḥ fī-ha šāyib yirḡaʕ šābb aw yirḡaʕ ḥayy’ ʕašan fī-ha wāyid ašyā? ḡamīla u wāyid ašyā? ḥilwa*²⁷. 9. *il-madīna ṭ-ṭālṭa lli hī madīnat iš-šāriqa, aw b-il-imārāti naḥna nigūl iš-šārḡa*²⁸, 10. *ṭabʕan tuṣṭabar hī nafs il-madīna ṭ-taqāfiyya li-dawlat il-imārāt* 11. *u fī-ha wāyid mataḥīf* 12. *u fī-ha wāyid ašyā? li-ha ʕalāqa b-it-turāt u b-il-funūn u fī-ha maʕraḍ iktāb iš-šārḡa illi yiṣīr sanawīyyan atwaqqaʕ yaʕni ʕād akṭar min ṭlāṭīn sana* 13. *u gabiḷ fī-ha kān awwal maṭār fī-l-imārāt, šār fī imārat iš-šārḡa, kān mōḡūd fī-imārat iš-šārḡa* 14. *u baʕadēn ʕindna imārat ʕaḡmān u umm il-ḡewīn u rās il-xēma u li-fḡera*; 15. *ana lēn il-ḥīn mā ruḥt umm il-ḡewīn, kul mā afakkir asīr il-ha yigūlūn mā fī-ha šay* 16. *u sirt rās il-xēma atawaqqaʕ min ṭalāt aw arbaʕ sanawāt. rās il-xēma baʕad madīna ḡamīla u fī-ha ḡbāl u fī-ha wāyid imārātiyyīn ḡom iš-šāḥḥi*²⁹ 17.

²⁶ Persson (2009: 26) suggests that ‘the *b*-prefix is used a marker of irrealis mood rather than being limited to function as a future/intentive marker’. Holes (2016: 290–291; 301–302) agrees with Persson considering the *b*-prefix as a general marker of irrealis meanings in Gulf Arabic along with its future and intention meanings.

²⁷ Within the same sentence, the speaker alternates MSA and Shami *ḡamīla* > *ḥilwa* ‘nice, beautiful’.

²⁸ In EA *q* is realised as *ḡ* in the contiguity of front vowels, for example *qāl* > *ḡāl* ‘he said’ or *ḡ* as in *qarīb* > *ḡarīb* ‘close’, thus the informant explains why Emiratis call the Emirate *aš-šārḡa* (Johnstone 1967: 2; Qafisheh 1977: 6–7; Leung et al. 2021: 14).

²⁹ The *šihūḥ* speak several varieties of Arabic.

u haḍēla yaʕni maʕrūfīn inna li-hum, u ʕādāt-hum il-xāṣṣa u ḥatta laḥḡāt-hum il-xāṣṣa u maʕrūfīn yaʕni li-šḥūḥ li-hum karam xāṣṣ ayḍan fa-fi ʕind-hum ha-l-ašyāʔ kil-ha. 18. il-fuḡēra yaʕni mumkin ruḥt il-ha martēn [inaudible] 19. hi ḡarība min ʕumān u atawaqqaʕ min il-baḥr il-hindi u b-šikil ʕāmm baʕad-ha hi manṭiqa ḥādiya u manṭiqa yaʕni wagt aṣir il-fuḡēra aḥiss mā asmaʕ šay, asmaʕ bas hudūʔ, asmaʕ ṭanīn fi-idni 20. fa-aḡūl yā rabb-i mā aʕrif il-muškila wēn? fi-l-ḡaww wa-lā fi-idni-i? 21. liʔanna mumkin fi dbayy dāʔiman fi ašwāt u šōt sayyāra, šōt šāriʕ, šōt ʕašāfir amma il-hudūʔ illi hnāk yikūn... 22. yaʕni aḥiss ḥilwa il-manṭiqa ḥagg il-istiḡmām u ḥagg ir-rāḥa u b-šikil ʕāmm yaʕni fi-l-ašyād u l-munāsabāt u xuṣūsan fi-fatrat li-štā. 23. aḡlab illi fi dbayy yrūḥūn il-manātiq iṣ-šamāliyya yaʕni rās il-xēma u li-fḡēra u ʕādatan ahl li-fḡēra u rās il-xēma iyūn dbayy fa-yikūn fi tawāzun!

24. dbayy aḡmal šay fi-ha anna kil marra fi maʕrūf, yaʕni ʕādi kul³⁰ šahr bināya ḡadida... ydida ʕala šāriʕ šayx Zāyid aw maʕrūf ydid 25. u taqriban xuṣūsan il-fatra l-aḡira šēx Mḥammad bin Rāšid aṭlaq ʕiddat maʕārīʕ, 26. min il-amākin il-ydida illi li-l-ḥīn mā riḥt il-ha hi qanāt idbayy il-māʔiyya, 27. sawwēna-h u axīran ʕindna nahr fi-nuṣṣ il-balad u ḥāḍa il-baḥr mimtidd min il-xōr lēn burḡ xalīfa u hni ḡarīb min bēt-na, ḡumērah. 28. ḥāḍa il-maʕrūf kān mafrūḍ yšir min arbaʕ aw xams sanawāt bass il-ḥamdillāh u axīran tamm il-iftitāḥ, šibih kāmīl il-ḥīn. 29. il-makān it-ṭani ḥāliyyan baʕad atawaqqaʕ makān ism-ah Dubai Parks u fi ʕibāra ʕan muḡammaṣāt alʕāb sakaniyya, alʕāb kaḥrabāʔiyya 30. u fi Lego Land u fi ḥadāʔiq māʔiyya u fi yaʕni ʕālam ṭāni u fi atawaqqaʕ maḍīnat Bollywood xāṣṣa bi-t-tamṭīl, 31. yaʕni fi-ha ha³¹-l-ašyāʔ kil-ha baʕad mā šār-li aṣir-ha 32. u fi manṭiqa ydida u fi manṭiqat alʕāb isim-ha IMG baʕad alʕāb tikūn dāʔiman ṭabʕan ʕašān ʕindna l-ḡaww ḥārr fa-yikūn makān msakkar, miṭl il-mōlāt. 33. ašhar mōl ṭabʕan mōl idbayy 34. u ana mā aḥibb aṣir mōl idbayy aḥiss... 35. yaʕni šaḥḥ hū ḡarīb min bēt-na taqriban masāfat ʕašra dagāyig, bass marrāt ʕašān il-zaḥma baxtār marākiz abʕad u natrik il-markaz ḥāḍa ḥagg is-suwwāḥ illi ḥābbīn yišūfūn mōl idbayy. 36. mōl idbayy fi-h aquarium u fi sinamā, fi manṭiqat alʕāb ḥagg il-atfāl... 37. u dbayy bi-šikil ʕāmm dāʔiman šiṣār-ha tiḥibb il-akbar, tiḥibb il-aṭwal, tiḥibb iṣ-šay illi muṣ mōḡūd fi-ayy makān ṭāni, 38. fa-dāʔiman ḥāḍa mumkin ʕallamet-na naḥna dāʔiman nikūn raqam wāḥid, u ḥāḍa šiṣār li-šēx Mḥammad bin Rāšid inna ‘ana u šaʕb-i niḥibb il-markaz l-awwal’ 39. fa-baʕḍ il-aḥyān šaʕb ann-ah nsawwi šay baṣīṭ, aḥiss lāzim yikūn ʕala mustawa min il-miṭāliyya u l-kamāliyya 40. u marrāt aḥiss mi-l-ašyāʔ illi faʕlan šaʕba inna fi wāyid ašyāʔ ydida tinzil u b-it-tāli mā ʕindna wagt nilaḥḥig, yaʕni mā ʕindna wagt aṣlan li-niṣūf ha-l-makān 41. anna maʕrūf ṭāni ṭilaʕ aw maʕrūf ṭāliṭ

³⁰ Reduction from double consonant to single consonant in kull (Qafisheh 1977: 29).

³¹ The invariable demonstrative, also used in Shami varieties, occurs in EA proximal singular and plural demonstratives (Leung et al. 2021: 173).

aw marrāt ḥatta nuba nibtikir šay ydīd yikūn šaṣb li?anna kul šay xalaṣ ṭālīf fi-s-sūg, kul šay mōğūd, 42. zamīl-i lli min abu ḍabi yigūl-li maṭalan ‘xātr-i nsawwi maktaba šala l-baḥr tikūn naḥs il-kabīna u niḥuṭṭ fi-ha kitub’, 43. agūl gilt l-ah xalaṣ hādī sawwēnā-ha, mōğūda, yigūl ‘zēn insawwi šaraba fi-ha kitub tikūn mōğūda fi-l-mōlāt ?aw baṣḍ il-amākin is-siyāḥiyya’, 44. agūl hāḍa baṣad mōğūda xalaṣ! 45. aḡlab il-afkār tikūn mōğūda xalaṣ u ṭurḥat, mōğūda u n-nās yistaxdim-ha yaṣni. 46. fa-hāḍa b-šikil baṣīṭ šan idbayy.

1. I’m going to speak about the Emirates. 2. It is a federation of 7 Emirates: 3. the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, which is the largest Emirate with the highest population, and with the highest number of locals. 4. I guess it covers 80% of the Emirates territories and it’s their capital city. 5. The second is Dubai, the second largest city of the Emirates or the second largest Emirate, 6. and it’s considered to be the UAE’s economic city or powerhouse. 7. We consider it the most beautiful city in the world, obviously, and there’s an expression in Emirati Arabic saying: ‘Dubai is the home of the living.’ 8. Some people like adding: ‘... and the home of youth: those who go to Dubai with white hair, become young again’ and this is because it’s full of beautiful things. There are many good things. 9. The third city is al-Shariqa: we call it ‘Sharjah’ in Emirati Arabic, 10. and it is considered UAE’s city of culture 11. and there are many museums. It’s full of traditions and arts: here the festival of books has taken place every year for more than 30 years, 13. and it housed the first airport ever built in the Emirates. 14. Then there are the Emirate of Ajman, Umm al-Quwain, Ras al-Khaimah, and Fujairah. 15. I still haven’t had the chance to visit Umm al-Quwain: every time I think about going, I’m told there’s nothing to see there. 16. I went to Ras al-Khaimah, three or four years ago I think, and it is also a beautiful city, with the mountains and many Emiratis who are the Shihuh: 17. they are well-known not only for their own traditions and for their own dialects, but also for their generosity and hospitality, for all those things. 18. I’ve been to Fujairah maybe twice, 19. it’s near Oman and the Indian Ocean, I think. That’s a very quiet area: when I go to Fujairah I don’t hear anything, just stillness. I can feel the stillness ringing in my ears. 20. So, I say ‘Oh my God, where’s the problem here? In the environment or in my ears?’. 21. Maybe it’s because it’s always so noisy in Dubai: noises come from the streets, cars, from the birds in the sky, but this city is so quiet; 22. I think it’s the perfect place to relax a bit during holidays or a special occasion, especially in winter. 23. Most people in Dubai leave for the Northern areas, that is to say Ras al-Khaimah and Fujairah, and the people move to Dubai from there, so there’s a balance!

24. The most beautiful thing in Dubai is the constant designing: it’s normal that every month there’s a new building on the Sheikh Zayed road, or

a new project. 25. Especially in the last few years the Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid has given the go-ahead for many construction sites in new places, 26. among the places I haven't gone yet there is the Dubai Water Canal. 27. Finally, we have a real river in the middle of the city, flowing through the Khor until the Burj Khalifa or here close to our home, Jumeirah. 28. This project was supposed to be completed about four or five years ago, and thank God it has been finally opened now, it's almost completed. 29. The other place, I think it's called Dubai Parks, is made up of a series of amusement parks; 30. and then there's Legoland, water parks, and this is another world, I think there's Bollywood, mainly dedicated to acting. 31. There are so many things there that, but I haven't visited yet. 32. Then there's another new place, another amusement park called IMG, and since we have hot weather, they built it indoor, just like a shopping centre. 33. The most famous shopping centre is the Dubai Mall. 34. I don't like going there, 35. even though it's very close to where I live, only 10 minutes away, more or less, but traffic makes it much longer to reach so we leave it to tourists. 36. In the Dubai Mall you can find a huge aquarium, a cinema, and a playground for children. 37. Generally speaking, in Dubai we like magnificence: basically, what is big, tall and long. We like having things nobody else has, 38. we have been taught to be the number one, just like the Sheikh's motto: 'My people and I like the top spot.' 39. Sometimes it is difficult to get to create something simple, because we tend to raise everything to new heights, to excessive levels. 40. Sometimes I find this hard because every time a new building comes up, we can't catch up with the sightseeing. 41. As soon as we visit a brand-new place, there's another one right after, and then another one. We also would like to be the creators of something very original, but it's difficult because everything seems to have already been invented on the market. Everything exists already. 42. A colleague of mine from Abu Dhabi told me: 'We would like to make a library on the beach: we are going to build beach huts filled with books.' 43. I replied: 'We have that, already.' 'Ok, so let's go around the malls or other touristic places with a cart containing books to sell.' 44. 'We have that one, too.' 45. Most ideas have been realised and people use them. 46. This is Dubai in a nutshell.

Text 3: *iz-zawāğ fi-l-imārāt* 'The wedding in the Emirates'

1. *il-sīrs fi-l-imārāt min akṭar il-mawāḍiʿ il-iḡtimāsiyya illi tikūn muhimma ḡiddan ʿand il-muḡtamaʿ il-imārāti*, 2. *ṭabʿan atwaqqaʿ inna aḡlab iz-zawāğ yikūn min zawāğ taqlidi akṭar min annu hū zawāğ ḡubb* 3. *u atwaqqaʿ min-i-l-ašyāʾ illi mumkin fi dbayy aw fi-l-imārāt wāyid ašyāʾ tḡayyarat: il-muwāṣalāt, is-sakn, il-ḡayā, is-sayyāra* 4. *bass iz-zawāğ aṣṭaqid anna mā zāl yiḡtafaḍ*

yaʕni b-naʕs rūḥ il-māḍi fī-h. 5. ʕand-i uxt, uxt-i mitzawǵa u xū-y mitzawwiǵ u ha-l-iṭnēn taqriban zawāǵ-hum taqlidi, 6. inna il-umm, umm il-walad šāfat il-bint u šāfat-ha ǵamīla mabdaʔiyyan u baʕadēn saʔlaw ʕan-ha u aʕrfaw ʕan-ha aḳtar 7. u ʕugub šār tabādol iʕ-ʕuwar u ʕugub tabādol iʕ-ʕuwar 8. in šār fī muwāfaqa min iṭ-ṭarafēn ʕugub kān šār naʕs il-liqāʔ, il-interview aw l-muqābala, wa law inna mā šār fī ayy kalam, 9. illi hū naḥna mumkin ninsammī-ha b-šikil sām̄m ʕind-na ‘maʕrūf in-naḍra š-šaraʕiyya’ inna r-rayyāl yṭalliʕ l-ḥurma u l-ḥurma ṭalliʕ ir-rayyāl, yišūfūn okkēh, 10. ʕugub yikammilūn il-xuṭwa illi baʕd, illi hī tikūn il-xuṭba, 11. fa-yūn ir-riyāyil yixṭubūn il-bint min ubū-ha u l-abb yikūn ʕādatan yaʕni mōǵūd fi-l-māyis maʕ axwān-ah, 12. maʕ ʕa-l-ʔaqaḷ yaʕni yišhadūn fi-ḥdūd arbaʕin šāxʕ iḍa aqaḷ marrāt aw marrāt aḳtar ʕala ḥasab il-ʕāyla 13. bas yimkin liʔanna ʕāylat-na kbīra, ʕind-na naḥna sabiʕ aʕmām u ṭamān ʕammāt fa-maʕ azwāǵ-hum u maʕ ʕayyāl-hum fa-niṭlaʕ yaʕni ʕadad ikbīr 14. u yittafqūn fī-h ʕala l-mahar u maʕārīf il-ʕirs u z-zahba, ubū-y b-šikil sām̄m mā yitšarraṭ 15. bass iḳṭir min il-abāʔ yaʕni mā zālāw yiṭlubūn šurūṭ muʕayyana, mahar muʕayyan, il-ʕirs lāzim yikūn fi-funduq muʕayyan 16. u aǵlab šurūṭ il-muwāṭnīn inna maṭalan il-bint itikammil dirāsāt-ha iḍa kān baʕad-ha fi-l-ǵāmʕa 17. aw inna l-bint tiṣṭiǵil iḍa mitxārǵa u mā ʕand-ha šuǵl, 18. aw ʕādatan yikūn ʕand-ha bēt b-rūḥ-ha u hāḍa šiʕb yumkin fi-l-bidāya 19. bass yaʕni maṭalan maʕ uxū-y hum šarṭaw ha-š-šarṭ fa-il-wālid ǵāl-l-ha il-walad il-ḥin mā yigdir yiʕiʕ b-rūḥ-ah fi-sakan 20. fa-hū by-iʕiʕ maʕanna awwal sina sintēn u lēn mā Allāh yifarriǵ-ha 21. xuṣūsan liʔanna xū-y ʕand-ah arḍ u ʕādatan ʕašān umūr il-bināʔ tiṭsahhal 22. il-wāḥid lāzim yikūn mitzawwiǵ fa-ʕugub iz-zawāǵ il-mōḍūʕ byiṭsahhal u wāfagat il-ḥurma u ahal-ha.

23. u baʕadēn ṭabʕan baʕd ha-l-fatra, fatrat il-xuṭba, yšir ha-l-fatra ṭ-ṭarafēn yitšarraṭūn ʕala baʕd, 24. fa-yitkallim maʕ-ha b-it-taliṭfōn, hī titkallim maʕ-ah b-it-taliṭfōn, b-ʔimkān-ah hū yizūr-ha fi-l-bēt bas b-wuǵūd ahl-ha aw hī tiyi l-bēt 25. u hāy nādiran mā tšir, nādiran itišir yaʕni bas yaʕni dāʔiman maʕ wuǵūd il-ahl, 26. ʕugub-ha min kamm iʕahr yikūn il-milča aw ʕaqd in-niqāḥ u tikūn zōǵt-ah baʕadēn b-šikil rasmi, 27. bass baʕad-ha tikūn hī ʕāyša fi-bēt-ha u iz-zōǵ ʕāyis fi-bēt-ah, bēt ahl-ah, 28. fa-bass b-imkān-hum ʕugub ʔinna yiṭlaʕūn maʕ baʕd, ḥatta yikūnūn maṭalan maʕ baʕd b-rūḥ-hum fi-l-ǵirfa, yaʕni mā yikūn fī ʔiškāliyya, 29. u ʕugub-ha baʕd b-kam iʕahr ʕugub bišir iz-zawāǵ b-šikil rasmi aw min naḥya iǵtimāʕiyya, yōm hī tilbis xalaʕ il-fustān il-abyaḍ, 30. ʕugub tigdir tiʕiʕ maʕ-ah fi ay bēt... 31. u xū-y tzawwaǵ taqriban tāriḥ wāḥid u ṭlāṭin sabʕa alfēn u xamuṣʕaʕ u l-ḥin ʕand-ah ban-nūta zǵira, ʕumr-ha ṭalāt iʕḥūr. 32. fa-dāʔiman yikūn yaʕni iz-zōǵ u z-zōǵa muǵāḍaran mitzawwiǵūn³², baʕd šahr ʔaw šahrēn ʔaw ṭalāt iʕḥūr in-nās tiʕal:

³² The suffix *-in* is the one used in EA for the plural masculine while in *mitzawwiǵūn* ‘married’, the suffix *-ūn* is borrowed from MSA (Leung et al. 2021: 50).

‘zōğt-ah hāmīl? zōğt-ah hāmīl?’ 33. fa-mumkin hni yidḡaḡtaw il-ḥurma innu lāzim taḥmal, 34. fa-ḥatta law ḥabbat ūgub tāxoḡ break xams sitt sanawāt mā yikūn fī muškila, bass muš innu yit?axxar il-mawlūd il-awwal fatra ṭwila.

35. fa-iz-zawāḡ, ṭabṣan ḥafalāt iz-zawāḡ hāy ḥafalāt inna ḥawalaw, ḥāwalat il-ḥukūma kaṭīran yaṣni wāyid an itḡayyar mawḡūf ḥafalāt iz-zawāḡ u l-maṣārīf illa ṭṣīr 36. yaṣni ḥatta yitwaqqaṣūn dā?iman innu muṣaddal iṣ-ṣarf fi-ḥafalāt iz-zawāḡ lā³³ yaqall ṣan mītēn u xamsin alf u yiṣal ila l-milyōn u kil ḥāda yiṣīr ḥagg lēla aw lēltēn faqaṭ. 37. fa-ḥāwalat il-ḥukūma mubādarāt taxṭif mabāḥar iz-zawāḡ u ha-l-aṣyā?, 38. lākin ṣala ḡulit uxt-i il-ḥin il-mōḡūf mā ṣād mawḡūf iz-zawāḡ bēn ṣaxṣēn, il-ḥin yimaṭṭil it-ṭabaqa il-iḡtimāṣiyya la-l-ṣaxṣ, 39. fa-yaṣni yimkin ṣādi hū yākil ay ṣay fi-l-bēt mā ḥad³⁴ yadri, 40. bass iz-zawāḡ kil ḥad yadri, lāzim il-wāḥid yaṣni yibayyin innu hū miš aqall ṣan in-nās u inna-h ṣand-ah mabāliḡ kāfya yigdir yiṣraf fi-ha u ṣand-ah il-umūr kil-ha yaṣni inna-h yidfaṣ aqsāt iz-zawāḡ ḥāda! 41. ḥafat iz-zawāḡ ṣādatan b-ṣikil ṣām yikūn... ḥafalāt il-ḥarīm ḡēr ṣan ḥafalāt... yaṣni mub mawṣūla ṣan ḥafalāt ir-riḡāl³⁵, fa-mā tikūn muxtalat 42. u ṣādatan il-ḥarīm yikūn ṣadad il-maṣāzīm taqriban fi-ḥdūd xamsimiyyat ṣaxṣ, xamsimiyyat ḥurma taqriban, u yikūn bass li-l-ḥarīm mā yikūn fī atṭāl wāyid illa mā ṣada min ahl il-maṣāzīm aw min ahl il-miṣris ?aw l-ṣarūs 43. u ḥafat il-ṣirs tibda? taqriban min is-sāṣa ṭmān u nuṣṣ u tintiḥi ṣala s-sāṣa tintēn il-faḡr, 44. ṭabṣan min is- sāṣa ṭmān u nuṣṣ yibḡūn il-ahil awwal ṣay yikūnūn mitwāḡḡdīn, baṣadēn il-maṣāzīm taqriban līn is-sāṣa ṣaṣra, ṣaṣra u nuṣṣ... 45. ūgub tiṭlaṣ il-ṣarūs ṣala in-nās b-rūḥ-a biḡūn zōḡ-ha, bas hī la-wāḥid-ha, tiṭlaṣ min il-ḡurfa tirkab līn il-masrah, 46. baṣadēn yibda?ūn in-nās yirkabūn u yihannūn-ha u yitṣawwrūn maṣ-ha, illi yiḥibb it-taṣwīr ṭabṣan, 47. u kull it-ṭāqa min il-mōḡūd kil-hum ṭāqa nisā?i min il-muṣawwirīn, min illi yiḥuṭṭūn il-ṣaṣā, min il-waiters, kil-hum kil-hum yaṣni ḥarīm. 48. u ṭabṣan dā?iman yikūnūn il-ḥarīm lābsin ṣabāyāt, il-maṣāzīm xuṣūṣan 49. u fī nās mā yikūnūn lābsin ṣabāya, yikūnūn lābsin maṭalan faṣātīn u ḥaṭṭīn makyāḡ u msawwīn tasriḥa, ha-n-nās yikūn ṣādatan ahl il-ṣarūs aw ahl il-miṣris, 50. fa-il-yōm iḡa ana ruḥt maṭalan ṣirs u mā lābsa ṣabāya yaṣni hū axlāḡiyyan ṣādi innu b-imkān-i mā albis ṣabāya ḡiddam il-ḥarīm 51. bass yaṣni baṣadēn kul ḥad yistaṭsir šū ana aṣīr ḥagg il-ṣarūs aw šū aṣīr ḥagg il-miṣris, xuṣūṣan iḡa kint lābsa u kint amṣi u aṭḥarrak yaṣni... 52. fa-atḡakkar marra sawwēt nafs iṣ-ṣay fi-ṣirs ṣadiḡt-i, yaṣni ana miš min ahal-hum ka-ahl bass yaṣni hī ṣadiḡt-i u rabiṣti³⁶, fa-kil ḥad kān yis?al ‘mnu ḥāḡi?’, 53. fa-ḥatta law mā kānaw yis?alūn ḡiddām-i kān yis?alūn il-ahil ‘mnu ḥāḡi?’: ‘ḥāḡi ṣadiḡat Faṭma’ u ?āḥ okkēh! 54. fa-kānat il-ṣabāya hī

³³ The negator *lā* is a borrowing from MSA.

³⁴ It is also possible to transcript as *maḥḡad* ‘nobody’, as in Qafishesh (1977: 21).

³⁵ MSA borrowing: *riḡāl* > *riyāyil* ‘men’.

³⁶ In order to refer to ‘a friend’ is EA is common *ṣadiḡ* or *rabiṣ* (Qafishesh 1997: 253).

l-fāšla yaʿni bēn mnu l-ahal u mnu l-ḡarīb. 55. u baʿadēn taqrīban ʿala s-sāfa tṇāšš iyi il-miʿris maʿ ubū-h yiṣuffūn-ah lēn il-ʿarūs 56. u ʿugub tibda? il-marāsim it-tānya, min-ha gaṣṣ il-cake, yiṣrabūn il-ʿaṣīr aw marrāt ḥatta ʿasal maʿ baʿd 57. u yitammūn maʿ baʿd fi-ḥdūd sāfa, wagt it-tatbrikāt u ʿ-ṣu-war u ʿugub xalaṣ yirūhūn ḡurfat-hum baʿd takmil it-taṣwīr, baʿd taṣwīr šaxṣi u baʿadēn xalaṣ yirūhūn il-funduq. 58. gabiḷ kān lāzim maṭalan tikūn lēlat id-daxla fi-bēt il-ʿarūs bass il-ḥin lā, xalaṣ yaʿni mā ʿād ḥāy iṣ-šay mōḡūd, 59. il-ḥin tikūn aḡlab fi-l-fanādiq. 60. fa-gabiḷ ḥatta maṭalan ʿala gabiḷ sitt sabaʿ sanawāt kānat ‘iṣ-ṣabāhiyya’ šay muhim, tāni yōm ysawwūn ḥafḷa zḡira, ṣabāhiyya, 61. bass il-ḥin atwaqqaf ha-š-šay miš mhim wāyid u [inaudible] istaṣbat badāl-ha ḥaflat il-istiqbāl illi tikūn ʿugub mā rāḡṣin min šahr il-ʿasal b-usbūf aw usbūfēn, 62. yaʿni dāʿiman yikūn fi-ḥdūd šahr aw šahrēn ka-ḥadd aqṣa, fa-ḥaflat il-istiqbāl ḥagg il-ahil.

63. ʿādatan naḥna fi yōm il-ʿirs mā naṣṭi ḥadāya l-ʿarūs aw l-miʿris, mā šay, 64. bass naḥin insīr u nitʿašša u niṭlaṣ, mā yikūn fi ayy ḥadāya, 65. mā yikūn fi wurūd min il-maʿāzīm li-l-ʿarūs, mā fi šay no, bass yaʿni il-ḥadāya tikūn min il-ahal fi-ḥaflat il-istiqbāl. 66. il-ḥadāya ʿādatan tikūn ʿibāra ʿan ḍahab aw itkūn maṭalan ašyā? qad taḥtāḡ-ha il-ʿarūs, maṭalan ašyā? la-ha ʿalāqa b-il-manzil u t-taṣḍīf, xallāta... 67. ʿala ḥasab ṭabʿan kul šaxṣ u mizānit-ah, kul mā kān iṣ-šaxṣ qarīb min il-ʿarūs kul mā ʿaṭā-ha ḥadiyya ʿaḡla, 68. ṭabʿan id-ḍahab yikūn dāʿiman šāʿiṣ lākin fi ahal yaṣṭūn maṭalan maknasa, xallāta, ḡassāla, furn, ha-l-ašyā? illi qad³⁷ taḥtaḡūn-ha aw mablaḡ māli, yaʿni ʿala rāḥit-hum yisawwūn fi-h il-ašyā? illi yabūn-ha, 69. fa-il-ḥadāya tikūn dāʿiman muxtaṣra faqat ʿala il-ahal u l-aṣdiqā? illi yikūnūn ʿādatan mōḡūdīn fi-yōm il-reception 70. u mā nʿizim il-ḡurb, dāʿiman nʿizim il-ahal u ay šaxṣ maṭalan iyi l-istiqbāl maṣrūf innu lāzim iyīb maʿ-ah šay, amma l-ʿirs lā?! 71. fa-baʿd il-aḡyān il-aḡānib iyūn aṣrās-na yibūn ḥadāya ḥatta mā ʿindna makān niḥuṭṭ il-ḥadiyya ‘wēn niḥuṭṭ-ha il-ḥin? wēn niwuddi-ha?’, 72fa-yaʿni mumkin ḥāy iṣ-šay aṣhal, yimkin axaff ʿa-l-ḡamīṣ, yaʿni xamsimiyyat šaxṣ... 73. fa-atḍakkar fi šaxṣ marra ḡāl-li ‘inzēn Ḥanān lēš tʿizumūn in-nās tāklūn-hum u (y)irūhūn? mā fi šay, yaʿni yāklūn akil for free u yirūhūn!’

74. yikūn dāʿiman ir-radd il-ḡamīl inna naḥḍar naḥna ʿiris-hum, fa-yiṣīr ka-mā dām hum ḥaḍḍru³⁸ ʿiris-na fa-kaʿanna yiṣīr wāḡib tilqāʿi inna lāzim ana aṣīr aḥḍar ʿiris-hum 75. ‘la ḥarām, la faḍiḥa, hum yāw ʿiris-na, naḥna kif mā nsīr ʿiris-hum’ aw marrāt il-ʿaks: 76. naḥna sirna ʿiris-hum fa-ʿiris-na mā yāw fa-umm-i tigūl ‘kif yaʿni mā yāw? naḥin fi-ʿiris-hum ruḥna, ʿirs binit-hum, ʿirs walad-hum u binit-hum it-tānya u hum fi-ʿirs walad-na mā yāw?’ 77. fa-ḥatta ixtiyār yōm il-ʿirs baʿad šay wāyid mhim, fa-ʿaṣān ʿi aḡlab in-

³⁷ The particle *qad* is preserved in many Gulf varieties as Qatari and Emirati (Johnstone 1967: 15; Durand 2009: 173).

³⁸ The 3 m.pl. ending -aw can occur as the variants -o or -u (Johnstone 1967: 42).

nās taxtār il-weekend u taxtār ayyām il-iğāzāt maʿ anna ayyām il-iğāzāt fi-ha safar, fi nās itsāfar, 78. fi nās tikūn mōğūda, bass yaʿni ʿašān ʿi yiḥubbūn tikūn ayyām il-usbūʿ, 79. qāṣda ayyām id-dawāmāt yaʿni fi-l-fuṣūl il-ʿādiyya bass tikūn fi-l-weekend, fi-iğāzat il-usbūʿ.

1. The wedding in the Emirates is the most important social topic in the Emirati community. 2. I expect that most marriages would be traditional marriages more than they are marriages of love 3. and I expect that among the things that ... maybe in Dubai or in the Emirates many things have changed, such as the means of transport, the houses, life in general, cars, 4. but I believe that marriage still keep the spirit of the past. 5. I have a sister; my sister is married, my brother is married, and they both had a traditional marriage, more or less. 6. The boy's mother sees the girl, she finds her nice at the beginning and then she starts asking to know more about her, 7. and then they exchange photographs, and they get to know each other; after the photo's exchanging, 8. then if there is agreement on both sides, afterwards, there is the same meeting, the interview, even though no word is given. 9. We generally call it 'Shariatic legitimate meeting': the man sees the woman, the woman sees the man, they see each other ok, 10. and then they take the next step which is the engagement. 11. So, all the male members of the groom's family ask the bride's father for permission, and he usually is at the *majlis* together with the male members of his family, 12. so who witness (this event) can sometimes be more than forty people: sometimes less, sometimes more, it depends on the families. 13. Our family is very large: we have seven uncles and eight aunts by my father's family, with their wives, husbands, and children we are many of us! 14. Then they reach an agreement about the dowry, the wedding expense, and arrangements. My father doesn't generally have unusual requests, 15. but many fathers have specific requests, they still ask for specific request, for example a defined dowry or that the wedding has to take place at a specific hotel, 16. and among the most common locals' requests there is that of the bride to finish university first 17. or to have a job if she's already graduated but she doesn't have a job, 18. or often that she can have an house and this could be difficult at the beginning, 19. for example for my brother they reached an agreement: my father said to her that they couldn't live alone now, 20. so they live with us the first one or two years until God's will, 21. even because my brother has a plot and building is easier when someone is married, he has to be married so the matter becomes easy, 22. so her family and she agreed. 23. After this period, the engagement period the couple know each other better, 24. he speaks to her on the phone and she speaks to him on the phone, he can pay her a visit, at the presence of her family though.

25. In the very rare cases that she visits him, the family has to be always present of course, 26. and then after few months there is the marriage, they sign the contract (*ṣaqd an-niqāḥ*), and she becomes his full-fledged wife. 27. Even though she still has to live a period in her own family house, and he still has to live a period in his own family house, 28. but they can go out together or be alone in a room when they come for a visit, no problems anymore. 29. Then, after a few more months, the wedding takes place officially or from the social point of view: the day she wears the white dress, 30. and she can live together with him at no matter what place. 31. My brother got married on July 31st 2015 and has now a 3-month-old girl. 32. Just after they got married, after one, two, three months people start asking: 'Is his wife pregnant? Is she?', 33. as if they insist that she must get pregnant. 34. Actually, she can then have a break five or six years later, but not to let too much time pass before the first delivery.

35. Regarding weddings, I mean wedding parties, the government has been trying to change the traditions of wedding parties, as far as the expenses are concerned. 36. It is expected that wedding party usually costs between 250,000 and 1,000,000 (Dirham), all that for one or two nights only. 37. The government tried to reduce this squandering, 38. even though, as my sister says, a wedding is no longer a question between two people, but it shows the social class of a person. 39. You may eat whatever you want when you are at home, because nobody will ever see you. 40. But at weddings everyone knows, so you're supposed to show you're not outdone, that you have enough money to spend in the wedding party. 41. Wedding parties usually are ... women parties are different from ... women celebrate separately from men. There are no mixed celebrations, 42. and the female guests are generally no less than 500, no kids, only kids by the groom's and the bride's families. 43. The party starts at around 8.30 in the evening and finishes at 2 am. 44. The relatives arrive first at around 8.30 pm, and then all the other guests can show up, at around 10–10.30 pm. 45. Then the bride arrives alone, without her husband: she enters the hall and takes the stage. 46. She is followed by all the people who take turn to say hi and to take a picture with her (those who like to). 47. The whole staff is female: female photographers, waitresses and servants, they are all women. 48. Women all wear the *abaya*, especially the guests, 49. but some people don't: they wear evening dresses, make up and a hairdo, and we're generally speaking of the groom's and the bride's relatives. 50. If I went to a wedding today without my *abaya* is ethically accepted 51. but everybody (among all the women) would wonder if I was part of the family or not, especially when I wear a particularly nice dress or when I walk, when I move around. 52. I remember experiencing it once, at a friend's

wedding. I wasn't part of the family, but she is a very close friend of mine, and everybody was like: 'Who's that woman?', 53. of course not at my presence but they ask the family 'Who's that woman?' The family would then answer I was a friend of Fatima's. 54. So, the *abaya* identifies who is a relative and who isn't. 55. At around midnight the groom and his father arrive, and the groom reached the bride. 56. Then the second part of the party begins with the cutting of the cake. The newlyweds drink fruit juice or honey sometimes, 57. and they stay there around an hour for the congratulations and the photoshoot, and then they go to the hotel room after the photoshoot. 58. The wedding night used to be at the groom's house. But now it isn't anymore. 59. It usually takes place at hotels, nowadays. 60. Around six or seven years ago the *sabahiyya* (the morning feast) was very important, in fact the day after the party they used to celebrate a little during the morning. 61. However, I believe that this event has now been replaced by the welcoming feast, which normally takes place when the newlyweds return home from the honeymoon, let's say after a week or two. 62. The welcoming feast has to be celebrated within a month or two of the wedding. It is a family celebration.

63. We usually don't give the newlyweds the wedding presents on the very wedding day. 64. We attend the celebration; no presents, we eat and then we leave. 65. The presents and the flowers are not given by the guests, nothing no. Presents are from the family only, on the welcoming feast day. 66. They usually give golden jewellery or things that can be used by the bride, for example appliances, cleaning products, a faucet: 67. it all depends on the guests and on their budget. The closer to the bride they are, the more precious is the present. 68. Giving gold is widespread, but some relatives also give a broom, a faucet, a washing machine, an oven, other useful things or even money, so they can buy whatever they need. 69. So, presents are basically given by the relatives and by those friends who attend the reception. 70. We never invite strangers; we always invite the family and whoever takes part in the welcoming feast must bring something. They don't bring anything on the wedding day, though. 71. Some strangers happen to bring some presents on the wedding day, but we don't have enough room, so we say: 'Where shall we put them, now?'. 72. It is easier with no presents, it makes things more bearable, you know ... 500 people! 73. I remember once somebody told me: 'Hanan, why do you invite all these people, give them food and dismiss them? I mean, there's nothing. They come over, they eat for free and then they leave.'

74. It is common decency to attend people's weddings: if they attend yours, it becomes a mutual spontaneous duty. 75. 'No, it's a shame, what a shame! They came to our wedding, so aren't we going to theirs?'

76. Sometimes it is the other way round: we attend their wedding, but they don't return the favour. So, my mother says: 'Why didn't they come? We participated in their daughter's wedding, their son's, their second daughter's and they didn't show up at our son's wedding!'. 77. The wedding date is also an important issue. Most of the people choose to marry at weekends, or on holidays, even though people normally travel, or leave for a while. 78. Some people stay; anyway, people prefer to marry during weekdays, 79. I mean working days ... during working seasons but during weekends, weekend's holiday.

Text 4: *Ṣādāt il-Ṣid* 'Eid traditions'

1. *bitkallam Ṣan awwal yōm Ṣid: awwal yōm Ṣid, naḥna awwal mā nnišš*³⁹ *awwal ṣay nsawwi-h nisallim Ṣa-l-wālid, 2. nisallim Ṣa-l-wālda Ṣugub nisallim Ṣala yiddo, nisallim Ṣala li-ḥrīm li-kbār, Ṣa-l-aḥālīn il-kbār, 3. baṣd-ha nikšaxx: nilbis it-tōb il-imārāti aw illi ysammūn-ah il-muxawwar*⁴⁰, 4. *ida fi aksiswārāt turāṭiyya miṭl il-murtaṣiṣa, yaṣni... marriyya*⁴¹, *hāy is-suwālif. 5. niddaxxan duxūn, Ṣūd, daxn Ṣūd u Ṣugub xalaṣ niṭlaṣ ziyārāt, niṭlaṣ maṭalan naḥin il-banāt iṣ-ḡār maṣ baṣḍ, 6. nzūr ṣadiqāt-na maṭalan fi byūthum, bēt, bēt, bēt, lēn mā yixalliṣ il-yōm! 7. ningaḍḍi-h yaṣni kill-ah ziyārāt, xalaṣ.*

1. I'm going to talk about the first day of the Eid (feast). On the first day of Eid as soon as we get up, we say hi to the father in the first place, 2. then we say hi to the mother, to the grandparents, and then we greet the old women, the old relatives. 3. Then we get ready: we put on the traditional Emirati dress, which is called the *mukhawwar*, 4. and if we have them, we also wear traditional accessories like the *murtaṣha* meaning the *marriyya*, things like that. 5. We put some perfume on the clothes, the sandalwood smoke, and that's it, we go to pay visits, for example young ladies like us go out together, 6. we go to pay visits to some friends' houses, from door to door, until the day is over. 7. We basically spend the feast just paying visits to people, that's it.

³⁹ The verb *našš ynišš* means 'to get up', while if it is followed by the particle *min* it means 'to leave' (Qafisheh 1997: 589).

⁴⁰ The *muxawwar* is a traditional dress for Emirati women: it is a gown of different colours and could have embroidery details.

⁴¹ The *marriyya* is a long gold necklace used as traditional jewellery in the Gulf area.

Text 5: *waṣfāt imārātiyya* ‘Emirati recipes’

1. *agūl ism-i? ana ḡālya u* [inaudible] *tlātīn sana, bitkallim ṣan aklit lugēmāt,*
2. *hiyya*⁴² *ṣibāra ṣan ṣaḡīn yistaxdim fi-h iṭ-ṭahīn, ṣaḡīn yihuttūn fi-h xamīra mā*⁴³ *yitxammar taqrīban niṣṣ sāṣa, 3. ṣugub yiṭbuxūn-ah ṣala zēt nafs dawāʔir yaṣni biyīṭlaṣ, 4. ṣugub xalaṣ yḥuttūn fi-h ṣasal ya dibis, id-dibis yikūn ṣasal it-tamar amma l-ṣasal iṭ-ṭāni illi hū yikūn ṣasal in-naḥīl, u bass... b-il-ṣāfyā!*

5. *fi ṣind-na maṭalan il-harīs, waḡbit il-harīs, yiṭbuxūn-ah b-ḥabb il-harīs,*
6. *ṣād kif iṭ-tariqa ana mū*⁴⁴ *aṣarf, okkēh? 7. bass atwaqqaṣ ʔanni yḥuttūn, yaṣni yingafūn ḥabb il-harīs fi may, mā adri mumkin sāṣa, niṣṣ sāṣa, mā aṣarf, 8. ṣugub yiṭbuxūn-ah wiyyā-h diyāy, šū yḥuttūn fih? milḥ... 9. mā adri... yihuttūn ṣann-ah, bass mā adri ṭ-tariqa b-iḍ-ḍabt.*

1. Shall I say my name? I’m Ghalya, I’m 30 years old and I’m going to talk about the *lughemat*, a food. 2. It is sort of a flour dough that has to leaven for about half an hour 3. and then to be fried: it comes in little balls, 4. then that’s it, it is served with honey on top or *dibis* which is date syrup while the other topping I mean the bee honey. That’s it, enjoy!

5. We also have for example the *harees*, *harees* meal, cooked with grains of *harees* 6. but I don’t know exactly how it’s made, alright? 7. I think they soak grains of *harees* in the water, I don’t know maybe for an hour or half an hour, I don’t know, 8. then they bake them with chicken. What else do they put? Salt. 9. I don’t know... They add things but I don’t know what, precisely.

Text 6: *il-ṣuṭūr* ‘Essences’

1. *inti tisʔalīni walla ana lāzim...? 2. fi haḍēla mxammariyāt li-l-ṣaṣr yistaxdim-ha ṣugub mā tiṣabbihīn u ṣaṣr-iḥ mballal iṭḥuttīn-ha ṣala aṭrāf iṣ-ṣaṣr, in-zēn? 3. ṣugb il-buxūr iṭḥuttīn, tiṣlig fi-r-rīḥa yaṣni, timriḥ yōm kāmīl, tamām? 4. fi ṣind-iḥ hāḍa, misk iṭ-ṭahāra, ṣugub is-subūḥ u ḡism-iḥ imballal iṭḥuttīn-ah ṣa-l-baṭṭ u ṣ-ṣadr iḥiḍi.*

1. Are you going to ask me a question or should I ...? 2. Among these are hair products which are used after a shower or a bath when your hair is wet and you can apply them on hair tips, alright? 3. Then the incense smoke: you apply it on the hair and the scent lasts a lot, like a whole day, alright? 4. Then there is also this, it is a musk called *tahara* (musk of puri-

⁴² In the texts only two occurrences of *hiyya* as variant of *hī* were observed.

⁴³ This particle is here used as *lēn* ‘until’.

⁴⁴ The verb is negated here by *mū*.

ty) which you can apply it on wet skin after a shower or a bath, under our armpits or on our chest so.

Text 7: *iğ-ğaww fi-l-imārāt* ‘UAE weather’

1. *agūl is-salām šalē-kum? okkēh, is-salām šalē-kum, ism-i ilṣunūd, mi-l-im-ārāt, ṣumr-i wāḥid u fiṣrīn*. 2. *il-yōm birammis-kum*⁴⁵ *ṣan il-ğaww. il-ğaww fi-l-imārāt aḵṭar šay yaṣni yikūn ḥārr, aḵṭar šay ḥārr u ruṭūba bas fi-š-šita l-ḥamdulillah yikūn il-ğaww zēn*. 3. *fi-l-ḥārr wāyid nās yigdirūn yisīrūn il-baḥr aw muṣḍam in-nās yisāfrūn yaṣni fi-š-šēf. bas fi-š-šita ṣan-na*⁴⁶ *wāyid activities, 4. maṭalan ṣan-na lli yisīrūn il-barr wa yixaymūn barra, ṣārfa? yaṣni ṣan-na activities, fanādiq maṭalan fi rās il-xēma u abu ḍabi... 5. u fi-l-ḥārr baṣad tigdirūn tisawwūn water sports u ḥāḍa... bass. ḥāḍi ṭalaṣū-li! 6. okkēh, fi-š-šēf baṣad nigdir insīr mōlāt, ṣan-na wāyid mōlāt fi-l-imārāt u amākin siyāḥiyya, maṭalan ṣan-na GPR, ṣan-na City Walk, ṣan-na wāyid amākin u ṣan-na wāyid maṭāṣim ḥilwa, 7. nigdir insīr maṭalan Dubai Mall which is... okkēh mā lāzim agūl... mā irmis English, 8. inzēn, illi hū akbar mōl fi-š-šarq il-awsaṭ, fi wāyid maḥallāt yaṣni fi wāyid aṣyā? tarfihiyya nigdir nistamtaṣ fi-ha fi-š-šēf u baṣad... 9. iṣ-šēf illi ṭāf*⁴⁷ *maṭalan mā kint fi-li-blād, sāfart, sirt ṭlāt amākin illi hum*⁴⁸ *Salzburg, Vienna u Munich, 10. aḵṭar makān aṣyab-ni hū Vienna, aṣyab-ni wāyid iṭ-ṭabiṣa u ḥatta Salzburg kān il-ğaww wāyid ḥilu 11. bass Munich mā aṣyab-ni wāyid lianna kān wāyid ḥārr, fa-kaʔn-ni mā ṭalṣit min li-blād, nafs iṣ-šay. 12. il-muḥimm, fa-aḥla šay fi-s-safar yaṣyabni aḥibb azūr il-amākin is-siyāḥiyya u aḥibb ataṣarraḡ ṣa-maṣālim li-blād u aḥibb sir il-matāḥif illi ṣand-hum 13. u šūf šū ṣand-hum min taqāfāt u maṣālim u aḥabb asīr il-mōlāt illi ṣand-hum, aḥibb atsawwag ṣand-hum 14. u aḥibb aḡarrib aklāt-hum, aḥibb aḡarrib aklāt ydida, aḥibb aḡarrib šū ṣand-hum, aḥibb yaṣni asōlif wi-n-nās illi hnāk. 15. il-ḥin ana ṣala abwāb it-taxarruḡ min il-ḡāmṣa, ḡarib inṣāllah atxarraḡ mi-l-ḡāmṣa, baṣad-i mā afakkir ni*⁴⁹ *twaddaf wa-la-ni afakkir anna akammil Master’s, 16. ḥāliyan aba āxuḍ iḡāza awwāl šay u baṣadēn afakkir inṣāllah yā akammil master’s aw atwaddaf aw asawwī-hum li-ṭnēn fi nafs il-wagt, 17. bass li-l-ḥin maḥtāra yaṣni wēn akammil Master’s aw wēn aṣṭaḡil b-iḍ-ḍabt, 18. aba makān yihtimm wāyid fi-l-sci-ence u l-technology u mā yikūn šuḡl yaṣni routine, mumill.*

⁴⁵ The imperfective marker *b-* here expresses volition.

⁴⁶ In the variety of Sharjah, to express possession for the 1st pl. person the informants use *ṣan-na* ‘we have’ while in Dubai and Ajman varieties it is used the variant *ṣind-na* ‘we have’.

⁴⁷ To express ‘last’ in EA it is used ‘that passed’ *illi ṭāf* while to express ‘next’ it is common *al-yāy*, for example *iṣ-šahr il-yāy* ‘next month’.

⁴⁸ The agreement with inanimate pl. referred to the cities as *hum* is here pl. m.

⁴⁹ *ni* as abbreviation of *ʔan-ni* ‘that I’.

1. Shall I say hi? Ok. Hi everyone, my name is Elounoud I'm from the Emirates, I'm 21 and 2. today I'm going to talk to you about the weather. It's almost hot in the Emirates, it is mostly sunny and humid but in winter, thank God, it's nice. 3. In summer people can go to the beach, or travel, most people leave in summer, but in winter we can do a lot of activities: 4. for example trips so you can camp in the desert, do you know? We have activities, for example there are hotels in Ras al-Khaimah and in Abu Dhabi ... 5. In summer you can also practise water sports, and that's it. This is what I can think of. 6. Ok, in summer we can also go to the malls; there are many in the Emirates and we have many tourist sites, for example GPR, City Walk, we actually have many beautiful places and beautiful restaurants. 7. we can visit the Dubai Mall *which is*, oops sorry I shouldn't say ... speak in English ... 8. well, that's the largest Middle Eastern shopping centre: there are so many shops, attractions, so much leisure, and we can have fun in summer. 9. Last summer, for example, I didn't stay in my country; I visited 3 places: Vienna, Salzburg and Munich. 10. I liked Vienna the most, for its natural surroundings, and Salzburg. The weather was nice. 11. I didn't like Munich much, because it was too hot, it felt like not having left my country at all, same thing! 12. What I love doing the most during trips is visiting sightseeing places, watching the monuments of the country, and going to museums. 13. I like getting to know the culture, and monuments, but I also like going shopping in their malls, 14. I like trying their food, tasting new food and what they have, speaking with the locals. 15. I'm about to graduate, *inshallah* I will graduate soon, I don't think I'll start working soon, or complete a master's degree: 16. I want to take a break first, and then, *inshallah*, I'll finish my studies and find a job, or maybe both at the same time. 17. I still don't know where to get my Master's degree or where to work. 18. I would like it to be in an interesting position which deals with science and technology, and it shouldn't be a routine or boring work.

Text 8: *aklāt imārātiyya* 'Emirati food'

1. *is-salām šalē-kum, ana ism-i Sāra, ſumr-i wāḥid u ſiṣrīn. bgūt⁵⁰ itkallam ſan il-ḡāmſa*: 2. *taxaṣṣus-i taqniyyāt ḥayawiyya, istuwa-li⁵¹ arbaſ snīn fi-l-ḡāmſa*, 3. *awwal sina ṭabſan kānat ſaſba u kānat general, yaſni basics, aſyā? yaſni ſāmm, yaſni ſan kil ſī, maṭalan id-dīn, il-aſyā? il-ſādiyya yaſni* 4. *u baſadēn ibdēna nitxaṣṣaſ fi-l-maḡālāt illi hū maḡāl taxaṣṣus-na u bass, hā ſan il-ḡāmſa.*

⁵⁰ This is the only occurrence of the verb *baḡa yabḡi* 'to want' in the whole texts. In fact, the verb *aba yabi* prevails in the Dubai texts, while informants do not use it in Ajman texts.

⁵¹ The verb *istuwa* 'to become'.

5. u bitkallim *ʕan aklāt-i l-mufaḍḍala*. 6. fī wāyid aklāt *ʕan-na fi-l-imārāt*, *ʕan-na*⁵² *l-briyāni*, *ʕan-na l-mačbūs*, *ʕanna l-harīs*, *ʕan-na l-maḍrūba*, *ʕan-na l-ʕursiyya*, *ʕan-na l-ğišid*, kill akla ġera: 7. iğ-ğāšid hū yikūn či nafs simač bass powder u ġ-ğāšif⁵³ yikūn nafs il-ğāšid bass yikūn yābis, ʕala šikil yābis, inzēn? 8. u il-maḍrūba... maḍrūba, ʕursiyya u hrīs, tlatit-hum. il-maḍrūba tikūn di yāy wiyyā-ha qamiḥ, 9. il-ʕursiyya tikūn diyāy maf il-ʕēš u l-hrīs yikūn qamiḥ wiyyā-h laḥam, 10. hāy min abraz il-aklāt illi *ʕan-na fi-l-imārāt*. 11. u taḅʕan *ʕan-na l-briyāni* u *l-mačbūs*: 12. *l-briyāni* u *l-mačbūs tninaṭ-hum taqrīban nafs iš-šay* bass id-diyāy yintabax wi-l-ʕēš u it-tāni id-diyāy yintabax rūḥ-ah, u il-ʕēš yintabax rūḥ-ah. 13. inzēn, wa šū baʕad... šū baʕad? *ʕan-na l-mšāwā*, hū min il-aklāt it-turātīyya *ʕan-na yāklūn wiyyā-h xibz* 14. hū tikūn či tašriba bass ysawwūn-ha b-is-simač, yaʕni hē... 15. actually b-is-simič ysawwūn-ha u yāklūn-ha wiyyā-l-xibz u či u tkūn yaʕni ḥilwa.

16. aw min il-aklāt il-ḥilwa lli *ʕan-na*, maṭalan, ḥagg wagt il-ḥiṭūr yāklūn tamar u harda lli hī taḥiniyya aw yāklūn tamar rūḥ-ah aw... šū baʕad? 17. *ʕanna l-xamiṛ*, il-xamiṛ hū yikūn xubz, yaʕni nafs il-xubz il-ʕādi bas wiyyā-h tamar. 18. u min il-aklāt il-wāyid mašhūra *ʕan-na baḷālīt* illi tikūn či nafs noodles bass sweet, inzēn? 19. u šū baʕad *ʕan-na*? hāy min aḡlab il-aklāt illi aʕrif-ha mōḡūda *ʕan-na l-ḥin*, u šū baʕad... 20. u šū baʕad... hāy hī aḡlab il-aklāt illi aʕrif-ha u... bass, hā hū, šukran.

1. Hi, my name is Sara, I'm 21 and I like to talk about university. 2. I have a specialisation in biotechnology. I am attending university for four years. 3. My first year at university was certainly hard: it was a general year, 'basics', let's say 'general topics', like religion and so on, common topics. 4. Then we started our specialisation in the field, meaning the field of our specialisation. And that's all about my study.

5. Now I'm going to talk to you about my favourite foods. 6. We have lots of typical dishes here in the Emirates, we have *biryani*, *majboos*, *harees*, *madhrooba*, *ursiyya*, *jasheed*. Each food is different. 7. The *jasheed* is like fish but in powder. The other one is just like the *jasheed* but it's dry, it has been dried out, alright? 8. Then the *madhrooba*: the *madhrooba*, the *ursiyya* and the *harees*. Those three. The *madhrooba* is chicken with wheat, 9. the *ursiyya* is chicken with rice, and the *harees* is wheat with meat: 10. those are among the well-known foods we have in the Emirates. 11. Then of course we have the *biryani* and the *majboos*. They are quite the same thing. 12. The *biryani* is chicken is cooked with rice, while in the latter chicken and rice are cooked separately. 13. Well, what else ... what else do we have ... so we have the *mshawwa* which is one of the traditional

⁵² Speaker 5 from Sharjah always says *ʕan-na* 'we have', like speaker 4.

⁵³ The *ğāšif* is small dried fish.

foods served with bread: 14. it's like broth but made out of fish. 15. Yes, it is so: with fish, and it's served with bread and it's somehow sweet.

16. We have some nice desserts, for example, for breakfast, like dates with *harda*, which is a creamy dessert. Dates can also be eaten plain. What else? 17. We have the *khameer* which is just like common bread, but with dates inside. 18. Among the most famous desserts the *balaleet* is very popular, that is just like noodle, but sweet. Alright? 19. What else have we got? Aw, yes, those are the foods we have today. 20. What else? Let me think ... yeah those are the foods I know best. That's all, thank you.

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Flora in Beja Lexicon

Abstract In the present contribution the Beja botanical terminology is analyzed from the point of view of semantic motivation. The study is limited only to the unborrowed part of the botanical lexicon (with some exceptions), together 76 terms. First 51 terms are etymologized with help of external comparisons with probable cognates in other Cushitic or Afroasiatic languages. The last 25 terms are understandable from the point of view of internal etymology and their semantic motivation is more transparent than in the preceding cases.

Keywords botanical terminology, semantic motivation, etymology, borrowing, Beja, Cushitic, Afroasiatic

There are only two special studies devoted explicitly to the Beja botanic terminology. The author of the first collection of the Beja phytonyms was the German botanist and palaeontologist Georg August Schweinfurth (Riga 1836 – Berlin 1925). Its title is ‘Pflanzennamen der Bega-Sprache zwischen Suekin und Berber’, published in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 4: 334–339, 1869. It contains 146 phytonyms in a very imperfect transcription with corresponding Latin botanic counterparts. The second scholar operating in this field was the Swiss Egyptologist, Assyriologist, Arabist and generally orientalist, Johann Jakob Hess (Fribourg 1866 – Zürich 1949). He is the author of the article ‘Geographische Benennungen und Pflanzennamen in der nördlichen Bishari-Sprache’, *Zeitschrift für Kolonial-Sprachen* 9: 209–225, 1919. Hess had collected 144 phytonyms, all carefully recorded, with sophisticated grammatical and etymological comments. He was able to identify the Arabic counterparts, frequently from dialects of Sudan, Yemen or Central Arabia, which could be the direct sources of some Beja plant names. Occasionally he added the Ethio-Semitic or Egyptian parallels. All his *comparanda* may be seriously accepted till the present time.

The aim of the present study is to classify the etymologizable part of the botanic lexicon of Beja from the point of view of semantic motivation. With exception of several cases, the identified loanwords are excluded.

The remaining part of the etymologizable botanic lexicon was divided into the following sections:

- A. Plant names with probable parallels in other Cushitic and/or Afroasiatic languages (18),
- B. General terms describing vegetation, including parts of plants (27),
- C. Products, materials and instruments made from plants and their parts (6),
- D. Plants whose names are based on the members of a human society (3),
- E. Plant names motivated by human and animal body parts (11),
- F. Plant names motivated by animal names (11).

A. Plant names with probable parallels in other Cushitic and/or Afroasiatic languages

1. *ama* m. 'tamarisk' (Rp) = *amma* m. 'tamarisk tree' (HuB) = *u 'ame^h*, indet. *amaab*, pl. *i 'ame^h* 'Tamarix articulata' (Hs) = *ama* m. 'Tamariske' (Re) = *o'ama* id. (Mu)

Cu: (E) Afar *amayto* f. 'species of tree (?Delonix elata)' and/or *ṣàmay* m., sgl. *ṣamayto* 'species of tree (?Delonix elata)' (PaHy), ?Saho *amadoo* 'eine Baumsorte (Croton macrostachys)' (Re) ||| Be: (N) Ntifa *amay* 'tamarix', Zwawa *amemmai*, Zemmur *tamimait* id. (Laoust 1920: 484) || ?Eg (Pyr) *im3* 'Baumart' (Wb. I: 79).

Lit.: Hess (1918–1919: 218) Beja + Eg.

2. *ayaak* 'Balsamodendron opobalsamum' (HuB) = *ayookt* id. (Schw)

?Cu: (E) Som *yaaq* 'baobab' (Ce) = 'type of large tree' (Luling), Boni **jáàq* id. (He) ||| Om: (N) Kafa *yaago* 'specie do grande albero' (Cerulli 1951: 520 Kafa + Som); Yemsa *yi'o* 'albero' (Ce) ||| Ch: (W) Sura *yoγom* 'tree, wood', Angas *yom* 'wood'; ?Ngizim *wakà* 'tree'; Geji *yokiti* 'mahagony' (Kr); Bokkos *yah* 'wilderness, bush' (Jg).

3. *biir* f., pl. *-a* 'date-palm', m. 'male date-palm' (Rp) = *biir* 'dum palm, used for ropes', def. sg. *oo-biir*, def. pl. *i-biir-a* (Wd) = *too biir*, indet. *biirt*, pl. *ti biire^h* 'Dompalme; Hyphaena thebaica' (Hs) = *biir* f., pl. *-a* 'die Dumpalme und der Dscherid davon, wovon Flechtarbeiten gemacht werden' (Re)

Cu: (E) Som *baar* 'tree top; Commilina spec.' (Ab), Rend *bààr* Hyphaena coracea' (Heine 1981: 183 Sam **bààr* m. 'river palm').

4. *barbarâb* (obj. pl.) 'Rose' (Se) = *berbere^h*, indet. *berberaab* 'ein Pflänzchen in den Bergen mit kleinem gelblichen Blüten' (Hs)

Cu: (E) **birbir*- ‘Juniperus procera’ (Sasse 1982: 36) > Or: Macha and Guji *birbir-sa* ‘juniper’ (LVC), Konso *pirpir-ta* id. (Bl); Harso-Dobase, Gawwada-Gollango *pirpir-ko* ‘Wachholder; Juniperus procera’ (AMS); Burji *birbír-i* ‘juniper-like firtree’ (Sa). Amh *birbirrā* ‘Milletia ferruginea’ quoted by Hess (1918–1919: 218) as the parallel to the Beja word, is probably borrowed from some East Cushitic source.

5. *bires*, *beress* and *embires*, *mberess* m. ‘Sodom apple, Calotropis procera’ (HuB) = *biras* m. ‘tree species, of no particular use’, def. sg. *um-biras*, def. pl. *im-biras-a* (Wd) = *biras*, *beras* m., pl. *biraasa* id., with art. *emberás* (Rp) = *u ’ambires*, indet. *ambiresaab*, pl. *i ’ambirese^h* ‘Calotropis procera’ (Hs) = (*e*)*mberées* m., pl. *embráasa* m. ‘Uscherbaum; Calotropis procera’ (Re) = *im-beh-ress* ‘Oshar Asclepias’ (Kc) = *büirress*, with art. *umberrees* ‘Calotropis procera’ (Schw)

Formally compatible with Se **burāt*- ‘cypress’ > Akk *burāšu*, Hb *bērōš*, Aram: Yudeo- and Christian Palestinian, Syrian *bērōtā* (Cohen 1970f: 88).

6. *dad’a* m. ‘wild olive’ (Rp) = *u dada’*, indet. *dād’aab*, pl. *i dād’ä* ‘Olea europaea’ (Hs) = *dada* ‘wild olive, Olea Europaea (used for hair and carrying sticks)’ (HuB) = *o-dada* ‘large tree in the mountains’ (Bu) = *dāda* ‘Olea europaea’ (Schw)

Cu: (E) Som *cadaad* /*ṣadād*/ ‘Acacia Nilotica’, Rend *ḥadaad* ‘Acacia Seneg.’ (Heine 1981: 200) ||| ?Om: (N) Kafa *diido* ‘specie di albero’ = Amh *qālahe* and/or *dadeddoo* ‘sp. di albero; pianta che somiglia all’ensete, ma dà un frutto che fa inebriare’ (Ce).

7. (*u*) *delaaw*, pl. *i delow* ‘Acacia Ehrenbergiana, Hayne’ (= Ar colloquial *selem*) (Hs) = *daláaw* m. ‘eine Baumsorte’, in Ar *salām/silām* (Re) = *dallau* m. ‘Acacia Ehrenbergia’ (HuB)

Se **dulb*- > Akk *dulbu(m)*, Syr *dūlbā*, Ar *dulb* ‘platane’ (Cohen 1970f: 261).

8. *hiib* m. ‘Salvadora Persica (Arak bush)’ (HuB) = *hiib* m., pl. -a ‘Salvadora persica’ {= Ar *ṯarāk* (Rp)} = *heebt* f. ‘tree Salvadora persica (twig used as toothbrush)’, def. sg. *tooheeb*, def. pl. *tiheeba* (Wd) = *hiib* m., pl. *hīiba* id. (das Holz wird gekant zum Zweck der Reinigung der Zähne) (Re) = *oḡ hiib*, indet. *hiibaab*, pl. *i hiibe^h* ‘Salvadora persica’, in Ar *ṯarāk* (Hs) = *o’hib* ‘der Ādai’ (der Name einer Baumart im Tigre) (Mu) = *hiib* ‘Statice axillaris’, *uhiip* ‘Salvadora persica’ (Schw)

?Cu: (E) Som *hayaab* ‘Limeum viscosum’ (Re).

9. *ham* f. ‘sycamore’, m. ‘fruit of sycamore’ (HuB) = *ham* f. ‘Sykomore’, m. ‘Frucht davon’ (Re) = *ham* ‘Hamtebaum’ (Mu)

(1) Almkvist (1885: 29) identified it with *hant* ‘Odina fruticosa’ (HuB and Schw) and further with Ti *hamte* = ?*həmoṭe* ‘name of a shrub’ (LH 9).
 (2) Reinisch (1895: 118) connected it with Bilin *hamṭa* ‘eine bestimmte Baumsorte’ (Re), Ti *hamṭa* (Re) = *hamṭ* (Mu; see LH 9) = ?*hammat* ‘a climbing plant’ (LH 62) and Ar *hamāṭat*, pl. *himāt* ‘mountain-fig’ (Sg 296).
 (3) Cu: (HE) **hooma* ‘juniper tree’ > Had *hooma*, Kamb *hooma*, *hoon-ca*, Sid *hoomm-icco*, *hoon-co*, pl. *hoomme*, coll. *hoonna* (G. Hudson 1989: 86).

10. *harro* m. ‘millet’ (HuB) = *harrob* m. ‘grain, seed, rye’, def. sg. *wharru* (Wd) = *harroob* ‘durra’ (Tl) = *harri* m. ‘durra (growing plant or grain)’ (Rp) = (*u*) *harre^h*, indet. *harroḡb* ‘Getreide im allgemeinen’ (Hs) = *hár(r)o* m. ‘Büschelmais/Sorghum vulgare’, also ‘Korn, Getreide’ (Re) = *háro*, *héro* m. ‘Durra’ (Al) = *o’herro* id. (Mu) = *hwor-reh* id. (Kc) = [*wu*]*hárro* id. (Se) Reinisch (1887: 44) compared it with Cu: (C) Bilin coll. *ar*, sg. *ara* ‘Getreidekorn, Feldfrüchte überhaupt und speziell die Durra, Sorghum, weil beinahe die einzige und alleinige Feldfrucht welche die Bilin pflanzen’, Khamir, Dembea, Qwara, Awngi *ar* id. (< Proto-Awngi **är-* ‘grain, cereal’ by Appleyard 2006: 277); cf. Bilin *ar* ‘Feldfrüchte einsammeln, ernten’, compared by Reinisch (1887: 44) with Gz *ʔarara* ‘to reap, gather, harvest’ (cf. Leslau 1987: 39) || (E) Or (*h*)*aru* ‘to clean or sweep the floor’ (Gamta).

11. *kunti* ‘Ficus Bengalensis’ (HuB) = (*u*) *kunta*’, pl. (*i*) *kunt’aa^h*, indet. *kunt’aab* ‘ein grosser Baum mit Früchten, wie die vom *ḥarrūb* (Ceratonia siliqua), die aber gelb und bitter sind’ (Hs) = *kū’nte* m. ‘Sykomorenbaum; Ficus bengalensis’ (Re) = *kunteek* and *kuunteeb* ‘Ficus sycomorus, Urostigma glumosum’ (Schw) = [*u*]*künteh* ‘Sycomorbaum’ (Se) Reinisch (1893: §45b; 1895: 144) and Hess (1918–1919: 222) correctly connected it with Copt Bohairic *κεντε* ‘figue(s)’, Dem *knt* ‘Feige’ (Vycichl 1983: 83), Eg (Gr) *kwnṭy* ‘nom d’un arbre sacré’ (Wb. V, 117).

12. (*ḡḡ*) *kʷaḏ*, pl. (*i*) *kʷaḏā^h* ‘Polycarpum prostratum et al. Caryophyllaceae’ = *kwad* m. ‘Crotolaria remotirolia’ (HuB) = *quādd*, [*oh*]*koaāt*, [*oo*]*kot* ‘Crotolaria mikrophylla and senegalensis’ (Schw; Almkvist 1885: 41 **kʷaḏ*) ?Cu: (E) Som *qudhac* /*kuḏaṣ*/ ‘Acacia spirocarpa/stenocarpa’ (Ab).

13. (*ḡḡ*) *nha^h*, indet. *nēheḡeb* ‘ein Strauch 1½ mannshoch’ (Hs) Eg (Pyr) *nh.t* ‘Sykomore; allgemein als Laubbaum’, cf. *nh.t n.t d3b* ‘figuier’ (Wb. II, 283), Demotic *nhy* ‘Sykomore’, Copt Bohairic *νοϣαι* id. (Vycichl 1983: 151; he proposed the vocalisation **nāha.t* or **nāhi.t*).

14. (*ḡḡ*) *roḡḡ*, pl. (*i*) *roḡḡe^h* ‘die beste Art der Gräser oder Kräuter, die *ḡḡe^h* genannt werden’ (Hs)

?Cu: (E) Som *rugumbax* /*rugumbah*/ ‘*Jatropha ferox*/parvifolia, *Loewia glutinosa*, *Pavetta venenata*, *Phyllanthus hildebrandtii*/maderaspatensis’ (Ab).

15. *sui* f. ‘der wilde Balsambaum’ (Mu)

?Cu: (E) **saɣ*- / **siɣ*- ‘acacia’ (Sasse 1976: 127) > Saho *siɣ*, pl. -a, sgl. *siɣ*-(i)to, *saaf*-ito ‘Schirmakazie; *Acacia spirocarpa*’ (Re); Dasanech *sies*, sgl. *see*-c ‘acacia’ (To); Or *faa*-ta ‘albero sacro, dove vengono gettate le posature del caffè e gli avanzi del ciatt’ (Thiene 1939: 130). Reinisch (1887: 167) compared Saho + Bilin *caɣa* ‘Schirmakazia; *Acacia spirocarpa*’ + Ti *čäfa* and Ty *čaɣa* id. (LH 629) ||| Ch: (E) Sokoro *súo* ‘*Acacia albida*’ (Lk) || Se: Ar *sayāf* ‘juniper-tree’ (Sg 520).

16. *sag’a* m. sg. ‘thicket of *sag’aneb* bushes’, where *sag’ane* and *sang’ane* m. (also f. of small size) ‘acacia asak (?)’, a common thorny bush’ (Rp) = *sága* m. ‘eine Sorte Baum (= Ar *samur*)’ (Re) = (*tu*) *seg’ane^h*, indet. *seg’aneet*, pl. (*ti*) *seg’ane^h* ‘*Acacia spirocarpa* (= Ar *samur*)’ (Hs) = *ssanganeeb* id. (Schw; Almkvist 1885: 56 **sángane*) = ?*sanganeb* ‘*Juncillus alopecuroides*’ (HuB) = *s’aganeet* f. ‘tree species’, def. sg. *tus’agani*, def. pl. *tis’agani* (Wd)
Cu: (E) Afar *saàgan*, sgl. *saaganto* ‘tamarisk tree; *Tamarix nilotica*’ (PaHy), Saho *sagan*, pl. *saaguun*, sgl. *sagan-too*, pl. -*tit* ‘*Tamariske*/*Tamarix orientalis*’ (Re); ?Som *sogsog* ‘*Acacia sejai*’ (Re) = ‘*Acacia etbaica*’ (Ab).

17. *sinfaab* m. ‘plant species *Lepidium cress*’, def. sg. *usinfa*, def. pl. *isinfa* (Wd) = *i sāmfa^h*, indet. *sāmfaab* ‘Gartenkresse/*Lepidium sativum*’ (Hess) = *súmfa* m. ‘Gartenkresse/*Lepidium sativum*’ (Re)
Reinisch (1895: 201) collected numerous areal parallels: Cu (C): Bilin *sin-fü* id. || (E) Saho *sunfa* ‘garden cress’ (Vergari), Afar *sinfaay* ||| EtSe: Ti *sənfa*? ‘a plant *Lepidium sativum*’ (LH 190).

18. *šaaf* m. ‘species of tree’, def. sg. *oošaaf*, def. pl. *eešaf* (Wd)
ECu: Gedeo *šafa* ‘leaf’ (G. Hudson 1989: 89), Hadiyya and Kabenna *šäfita* ‘leaf’ (Leslau 1979: 573; he also quoted Ga = Oromo *šäfo*) ||| Ch: (W) Siri *šaapi*, Miya *šepi*; (C) Lame *šapa*, Lame Pewe *šap*, Zime Batua *šab* ‘leaf’.
Lit.: Orel and Stolbova (1995: 126) ECu + Ch.

B. General terms describing vegetation including the plant parts

1. *aḍif* ‘bark (of tree)’ (Be) = *aḍift* f. ‘bark of tree’, def. sg. *tu’aḍif*, def. pl. *ti’aḍfa* (Wd) = *aḍif* f., pl. *áḍfa* ‘bark, rind’ (Rp) = *aḍif* f., pl. *áḍfa* ‘Rinde’ (Re) = *áḍif* f., pl. *áḍfa* ‘Rinde’ (Al) = *aḍif* f., pl. *adfa* ‘bark of tree’ (HuB) = *aḍift* (St) = *te’edf*, pl. *te’edfa*, acc. *eedfat* ‘die Rinde’ (Mu)

Cu: (E) Elmolo *étép-te*, pl. *étep* f. 'bark (of tree)' (He), although one would expect *d* as the reflex of **ḏ*, cf. Elmolo *dâl*- 'to bear children' < pECu **ḏal*- 'to beget, give birth' (Sasse 1979: 61); maybe also Som of Gabiley *jidhif* 'bark (of tree)' (Ehret and Nuuh 1985: 243) = *jídif* and *jílif* 'Rinde, Schale, Hülse' (Re), if we accept a dissimilation from the partial reduplication **ḏidif*, cf. Som *jádi* 'Stachelschwein, Hystrix cristata' (Re) vs. Or Wellega *ḏadee* 'porcupine' (Gg). Lit.: Zaborski (1989: 578) Beja + Elmolo.

2. *aggaab* m. 'stalks, straw', def. sg. *w'agga*, def. pl. *y'agga* (Wd) = *ág(g)a* 'straw, esp. durra stalks' (Rp) = *ag(g)a* m. 'das Stroh von Sorghum vulgare' (Re) = *ága* m. 'Halm, Schilf (von Durra)' (Al) = *o'agga* 'das Durraschilf' (Mu) Reinisch (1895: 10) sought a connection with Tigre 'äge 'sorte d'herbe grosse ou de jonc, dont on revêt les maisons par le côté' (d'Abbadie apud LH 380) and Nubian: Mahas and Kenuzi *agē* 'das Stroh, Durra-Stroh' (Lepsius 1880: 266) ~ Mahas-Fadidja *áge* 'Stengel', Kenuzi-Dongola *háge* 'Stroh' (Reinisch 1879: 5, 64, 229). Murray (1923: 5) added Coptic ⲁⲕⲉ, ⲟⲕⲉ, without translation. It could be Coptic ⲟⲕⲉ 'sesame', Demotic ⲩⲕⲓ id. But there is also Coptic ⲩⲟⲉⲓⲕ, ⲩⲱⲓⲕ 'jonc, roseau', Demotic ⲩⲓⲕⲓ 'Schilf', besides ⲓⲕ(ⲓ)ⲣ 'Schilf, Dickicht' (Vycichl 1983: 155), which agrees better in semantics especially with the Tigre word, but the internal structure of the Coptic and Demotic word 'reed' probably excludes any relation to the Beja-Tigre-Nubian areal isogloss.

3. *allay* f., pl. *allayq* 'flower' (HuB)

Cu: (E) Or Wellega *ililli* 'flower' (Gg; Borello), Harar *ilili* (Cohen), maybe borrowed into Harari (EtSe) *ēlād* 'flower' (Leslau 1963: 25 following Cohen) ||| Be: (S) Ahaggar *élel* 'laurier-rose' (Fc), Taitoq *ilel* (Masqueray); (N) Shilha of Tazerwalt *alīli* 'Oleander' (Stumme), Kabyle *ilili* 'laurier-rose' (Dallet) etc., besides Seghrushen *alillu* 'fleur' (Destaing), cf. also Laoust (1920: 503); Woelfel (1955: 134).

Cohen (1947: n. 118) Or + Be.

4. *áloy* m., pl. *alóya* 'pod, e.g. of senna-mocca', cf. *alo(y)* v. 2 'to seed, fruit' (Rp)

Cu: (E) Afar *àlay* m. 'species of tree with hard spiky edible fruit (?Balanites aegyptiaca)', sgl. *alayto* (PaHy), Saho 'allaa coll., indiv. *allaytoo* 'Halm, Stängel' (Re).

5. *eelaab* m. 'grass', def. sg. *w'eela*, def. pl. *y'eela* (Wd) = *u 'eela*^h, indet. *ēelaab* 'halbvertrocknetes Gras, Heu' → *'Weiße' (Hess) = *ēela* m. 'dürres Gras, Heu' (Al) = *o'ēlab* 'trockenes, liegendes Heu' (Mu) = *ehlā[b]* 'Pan-icum' (Schw)

Originally apparently *'white', cf. *ēla* 'white', as the diminutive to *era*

‘white’ (Roper 1928: 147). Similarly Reinisch (1895: 27): *éela/éera* ‘weiße Farbe; weiß, licht’ = *eerab/eelab* ‘white’ (HuB) = *é:rāb/é:lāb* id. (Starkey) = *eera/dim. eela* id. (Vanhove). The term seems to be of Nilo-Saharan origin: Nubian: Kenuzi-Dongola *arō* ‘white’; Dilling *ori*, Dair *ari*, Kadaru *orru*, Debri *orri*, Garko *ɔ:re*, Gulfan *ori*; Birgid *eele*; Midob *addē* ‘white’ (Reinisch 1911: 93; Murray 1923: 18) < pNubian **aurori* (Bechhaus-Gerst 1984: 71); cf. Surma: Didinga *ora*; Kunama *arā* ‘white’; Nara *erenka* id.; Taman: Tama *ará*: ‘yellow’; Songhay *kàaró* ‘white’ (Greenberg 1963 b: 107, n. 124; Ehret 2001: 542, n. 1288).

6. *īlay* m., pl. *īley* ‘pod, e.g. of acacia’ (Rp)

Cu: (E) Afar *ilo*, pl. *iloola* ‘club, heavy stick, cane’ (PaHy), Saho *iloo*, pl. *ilool* ‘Stock, Stab’ (Re) and/or Elmolo *īlate*, pl. *īlai* ‘dom palm’, *īlat* ‘dom palm branch’ (He); Black (1974: 139) compared the Saho-Afar data with Som *ul*; Elmolo *ûl*; Or *ûl-e*, Konso *ûl-itta* ‘stick, stoff’.

7. *engili* f. ‘Rinde’, cf. *kwahūt éngili* ‘Eierschale’ (Re), plus the variant *néegili* f. ‘Eierschale’ (Re) = *nigiri* f. ‘scale, scab, eggshell’ (Rp)

Cu: (E) Saho *ɛngiro* ‘bark’ (We) = *ɛngiro* (Vergari) = *engiroo*, pl. *engir* ‘Rinde’ (Re), Afar *ɛngir* ‘bark’ (PaHy) = *engiroo*, pl. *engir* ‘Rinde’, *lelim-tii engiroo* ‘Eierschale’ (Re).

8. *angwā* f. ‘dom-palm leaf, unopened, used for making fibre’ (HuB) = *angwaat* f. ‘mat of dum palm leaves’, def. sg. *tu’angwa*, def. pl. *ti’angwa* (Wd) = *angwa* f. ‘palm leaf’ (Rp) = *angwat* ‘palm leaf’ (St) = *tu’ang^wa^h*, indet. *ang^waat* ‘Blattfieder der Dattel- und Dumpalme’ (Hs) = *angwa* f. ‘Dumpalme, Hyphaena thebaica und das Palmenblatt zum flechten von Körben, matten etc.’ (Re) = *ang^wa* f. ‘Palmenblatt’ (Al)

A cultural word widespread in more languages:

Cu: (C) Kemant *anguaa* ‘palmier’ (Conti Rossini 1912: 166 compared it with Bilin *anqwa* ‘der afrikanische Wachholder’ by Reinisch) || (E) Saho *āngaa*, pl. *āngoog*, indiv. *āngaaytoo* ‘Dumpalme; Hyphaena thebaica’ (Re) = *ɛunga* ‘douw-palm’ (Vergari), Afar *ungaa /angwaa/*, pl. *unguug* id. (Re). Cf. also Nubian: Mahas *hambū*, *āmbī*, Kenzi-Dongola *āmbū*, Dair *ab-tē* ‘dôm-palm; Hyphaena thebaica’ – see Murray (1923: 8) who added Kunama *ōmaa* id. (Reinisch 1890: 12 Kunama + Saho).

Lit.: Reinisch (1895: 23) Beja + Saho-Afar + non-existing Bilin *angwa*.

9. **ašrat(t)a*, recorded as *ašratta* ‘eine lange Grasart’ (Mu)

Maybe a compound consisting of **aš-* and *raat*, pl. *rāt* ‘Blatt’ (Al). The first component could be connected with ECu **ɣawš-/ɣayš-* ‘grass’ (< **ɣawiš-* – see Sasse 1979: 44, 45, 47) > Saho *ɣayso* ‘grass’ (We), Afar *ɣayso*

id. (PaHy); Som *caws* /*ɬaws*/ 'dry grass' (Ab), Jiddu *ís* 'grass' (Banti and Ibraaw), Boni *aas*^e id., Rend *hos* id. (He), Bayso *ees* id. (Hy); Dasanech *ʔiiš* id. (Sa; To); Or *ees* 'farro, farraggine, spelta, specie di frumento' (Thiene); Harso, Dobase, Gollango, Gawwada *ɬaš-kó* 'Gras', Harso, Dobase, Gollango *ɬawš-* 'reifen' (AMS); Sidamo *hayso* 'grass', ?Gedeo *anso*, *arso* id. (HG) ||| ?Om: (N) Gimirra: She oš 'cane; Bambusa abyssinica' (CR) ||| Ch: (W) NBAuchi: Miya *awasu*, Jimbin *awaši*, Mburku *wāsə*, Warji *wasəna*, Kariya *wasisi*, Pa'a *wei* 'grass' (Skinner 1977: 24) || ?(C) Ga'anda *ùšinna*; Masa *usna*, Banana *ùsinà* id. (Kr) || (E) Sokoro *ússī* id. (Lk); Bidiyo *ʔàwso* m., pl. *ʔàwás* 'herbe; mouche; saleté' (Alio and Jungrathmayr 1989) ||| ?Se: Ar *ɬawsağ* 'a thorny shrub' (Sg 737). The second component may be identified probably with Beja *raat* ~ *laat* 'Baumblatt' (Re) = *laat* 'leaf, blade of grass; feather' (Rp).

10. *bee* in *hindi bee* 'leaves of tree' (HuB) – see *bäyi*, *beyi* m. 'leaf of the small crisp'

bee is the plural of *bay* 'ribs', cf. Eg (N) *bɣy* 'Palmenrippe' (Wb. I, 446); *hindi* = 'tree' (HuB).

11. *bus* m. 'stalk or stem decayed inside' (HuB) = *buus* m. 'Rohr, Halm, Schilf' (Re, Al)

(1) Almkvist (1885: 11) compared it with SudAr *būš*.

(2) Cu: (E) Burji *baš-aa* 'grass', Had *bass-ó'o* 'hay' (Sasse 1982: 34).

12. *bäyi*, *beyi* m. 'leaf of the small crisp (kind found on thorny acacia)' (Rp) = *u bayä^h*, indet. *bayēeb* = Ar *el ḥabaṭ* 'die zu Futterzwecken mit dem Stocke heruntergeschlagenen Blätter' (Hs) = *báya*, *báye* m. 'Blatt, Baumblatt' (Re) = *báye* m. 'Blatt, Laub' (Al)

(1) Eg (NK) *bɣy* 'tige de la branche du palmier', Dem *bɣy* 'Palmstab, -zweig', Copt Sahidic ⲃⲁⲉⲓ, coll. ⲃⲁⲉⲓⲛ 'branche du palmier (dépouillée de ses feuilles)' (Vycichl 1983: 24 **biɣyaw*). Roquet (1980, 125-126) proposed a borrowing from late Eg into Beja.

(2) ?Cu: (E) Or: Borana, Orma, Waata *buy(y)o* 'grass' (Stroomer 1987: 278); Had *buyya* 'leaf' (Hudson 1989: 89).

13. *dala* m. 'forest' (HuB) = *dáala* m. 'thicket' (Rp)

Cu: (E) Arbore *deel* 'forest' (Hy) || Ch: (C) Zelgwa *dāla* 'brousse' (Mc), Buduma *délii* 'Wald' (Lk).

Lit.: Greenberg (1963 b, 57, n. 33): Beja + Buduma (not Logone!) and Sokoro *dəri* 'forest'. But this word is not cited by Lukas (1937). Newman and Ma (1966: 248) admit a borrowing of 'Logone', i.e. Buduma *délii*, 'forest' from Kanuri *dəli* 'uninhabited country'.

14. *daruur* m. ‘grass’, def. sg. *udaruur*, def. pl. *idaruur* (Wd); Cf. *daroor* m. ‘health, green, freshness’, def. sg. *udaroor* (Wd)

ECu **zaraar-* > Bayso *daraar-a*, Oromo *daraar-a* ‘blossom’, Burji *daráar-a* ‘blossom of fruit of the earth (e.g. beans) or tree’, Sidamo *daraar-o* ‘blossom’, Gedeo *daraar-o*, Kambatta, Kabenna, Alaba, *zaraar-úta*, Timbaro *zúraar-uta* ‘flower’ (Sasse 1982: 53–54, 195; Leslau 1980: 120; G. Hudson 1989: 33, 66).

15. *faar* m. ‘flower, blossom’, def. sg. *oofaar*, def. pl. *ifaara* (Wd) = *faar* m., pl. *fār* ‘flower, blossom, bloom, seed’ = *faar* m., pl. *far* ‘Blüte, Blume, Knospe’ (Re) = *faar* m., pl. *fār* ‘Blüte, Blume’ (Al) = *far* ‘Blüte, Knospe’ (Mu) = **faar* in *hindephâr* ‘Blume’ (Schw), lit. ‘tree’ + ‘flower’

Reinisch (1895: 81) derived it from the verb *firi* ‘gebären, zeugen’ = *firi* ‘to give birth; breed; produce offspring, fruit; lay eggs’ (Rp). Reinisch (1895: 81) and Leslau (1987: 167) collected other areal parallels: CCu: Bilin *frii* ‘to bear fruits’, Khamir and Qwara *fir* ‘fruit’ < Proto-North Awn-gi **fār-* (Appleyard 2006: 73) ||| EtSe: Ge *far(a)ya* ‘to bear fruit, produce fruit, yield fruit, be fruitful’, *färe* ‘fruit, blossom, bud, offering’, Ti *fāra* ‘to bear fruit’, Ty *färäyā*, Amh and Gurage (*a*)*färra* id. |||| further Se: Ugaritic, Phoenician *pr* ‘fruit’, Hb *pārā* (√*p-r-y*) ‘to bear fruit’, *pārī* ‘fruit’, Aram *pārā* ‘to bear fruit’, Syr *pe^(r)rā* ‘fruit’ etc. Other possible comparanda were summarized by Orel and Stolbova (1995: 424, n. 1983): Harsusi-Mehri *ferrāt* ‘unripe fruit’ ||| Eg (OK) *pr.t* ‘fruit, crop, seed’ ||| Guanche *afaro* ‘corn’ ||| ECu: Saho *fire* ‘seeds of the fruits’ (Vergari); Oromo *firi* ‘fruit’.

16. *gabaab* m. ‘acacia fruit’, def. sg. *ugaba*, def. pl. *igaba*; *gabaat* f. ‘small acacia fruit’, def. sg. *tugaba*, def. pl. *tigaba* (Wd) = *gaba* ‘Zizyphus spina Christi’ (tree f./fruit m.) = *gáaba* f. ‘Rhamnus nebeke or Zizyphus spina Christi; die Frucht davon’ (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 87) collected areal parallels in neighboring languages: CCu: Bilin *gúubaa*; EtSe: Ge *gabā*, Tigray *gaba*, Tigre *gäba*, Amh *gäba* ‘sp. tree: Zizyphus spina Christi’ (LH 582; Cohen 1970f: 95; Leslau 1987: 176).

17. *gadum* m., pl. *gadamq* ‘root’ (HuB) = *gadam* m. ‘root’, def. sg. *ugadam*, def. pl. *igadama* (Wd) = *radam* (sic) ‘root of tree’ (St) = *gadam* ‘root’ (Tl) = *gádam* m., pl. -a ‘root, all that part of tree or plant underground; source or head of khor’, prep. ‘near’ (with gen.) (Rp) = *gedám* m., pl. *gádma* ‘Wurzel’ (Re) = *gedem* id. (Mu)

(1) Derived from the verb *gid* v.1 ‘niederwerfen’, *gad* v.2 id., pas. *gad-am* (Re), cf. Or of Wellega *gad(i)* ‘down’, *gadaanuu* ‘lower, under’ (Gg).

(2) Borrowed from Ar *ḡaḍm* and *ḡiḍm*, pl. *ḡuḍūm* and *ṯaḡḍām* ‘root, trunk or stump of a tree, branch’ (Sg 225).

18. *hamaag* m., pl. *hamag* 'fruit of any tree' (HuB) = *háamag* m. 'fruit, i.e. one or many units of fruit' (Rp) = *hamáag* m., pl. *hamág* 'Frucht', *woo-híndi hamáag* 'Baumfrucht' (Re) = *hamáag* m., pl. *hámag* 'Frucht' (Al) = *o'hamag* 'Frucht' (Mu)

Reinisch (1902: 204) connected it with ECu: Som *hamag* 'Fruchtkolben, -büschel, z.B. vom Mais'.

19. *hindi* m. 'tree, wood, firewood' (HuB) = *hindiib* m. 'tree', def. sg. *whindi*, def. pl. *yhindi* (Wd) = *hindib* 'tree, bush, firewood' (Tl) = *hindeeb* 'long piece of wood, pole' (St) = *Indiib* 'tree' (Be) = ('u) *hundi* 'tree, wood' (Do) = *híndi* m., pl. (rare) -a 'tree, plant, wood' (Rp) = *u hindi^h*, indet. *hindiib*, pl. *i hindi^h*, indet. *hindib* 'Baum und Strauch' (Hs) = *híndi*, *hínde* m. 'Holz, Baum' (Re) = *hínde* m. 'Baum', *hindešádíd* m. 'Baumrinde' (Al) = *o'hinde* 'Baum' (Mu) = *uhinde* 'Baum, Holz' (Se)

Cu: (E) Or *hunḁa* 'lower part of tree trunk, origin, principle' (Sa), Welle-ga *hundee* 'root' (Gg), Borana *hunda-ni* 'tronco o fusto d'albero, origine, principio' (Venturiano); Sidamo *hunda* 'root, under', Burji *hín?-a* ~ *hínḁ-a* 'down(ward), under' (Sasse 1982: 97); ?Arbore *hunḁá* 'leg' (Hy) || ?Om: (N) Ganjule *hanṭta* 'root' (Fl).

20. [*o*]kúḁ m., pl. -a 'Ähre' (Se; Almkvist 40 :1885 reconstructed **kuud*) With respect of the imperfect transcription used in the old records, it is tempting to connect it with Cu: (E) **kuḁh-* 'thorn' > Som *qodax*, pl. *qodx-an* id. (Ab), Rend *kudáh/kudáh* sg./pl. id. (Pillinger and Galboran 1999, 203); Arbore *keḁeh* 'thorn' (Hy), Elm *eḁ* 'thorn' (He); Or: Wellega *qorr-ee* and -(a)*attii* id. (Gg), SOr (Borana, Orma, Waata) *koraa-at(t)ii* id. (Stroomer 1987: 354), Dirayta *kuḁḁ-eét*, Konso *qeét-ta*, pl. *qeét-aa*, Mashile *g'uḁḁ-eta* id. (Bl); ?Dobase *qaṭam-accé*, Harso *aṭim-accé*, Gollango *qánṭe* id. (AMS); Had *útt-a* (Black 1974: 180), Gedeo *ucco*, *ute*, Kamb *uta*, -*iccu*, Sid *utá*, -*icco* (HG) and/or Burji *kúw(w)-a* 'thorn'; Sasse (1982: 129).

21. *le'íd* m., pl. -a, with art. *úu-l'íd* 'Ast, Zweig' (Re) = *l'iid* m., def. sg. *ool'iid*, def. pl. *il'iiida* (Wd) = *liid* ~ *liig* m. 'main branch of tree' (HuB) = *to'lad* 'Palmzweig' (Mu), if it does not belong to *laat* 'leaf'

(1) Cu: (E) Afar *lūud* 'thick branches (of trees)' (PaHy).

(2) Almkvist (1885: 42) quoted Beja *laúud* 'Acacia pterocarpa' and colloquial Ar *el'fūd* 'Holz'.

22. *l(ə)'iig* m., pl. *l'íga* 'twig, spring, branch' (Rp) = *ligwoi* ~ *lingoi* 'secondary branch of tree, inlet of sea, pastern of camel's hind leg' (HuB) = *tillingó* 'Zweig' (Schw; Almkvist 1885: 43 **lingo* f.)

Cu: (E) pSam **laʃam* f. 'branch' > Som *laan* f., pl. *láamo* 'Ast, Zweig' (Re), pBoni **låg'án* f., pl. **låg'àm-òòbà* 'branch' > Bireeri *laʔan*, pl. *laʔam-ə*, Baddey *lag'én*, pl. *lag'm-oobə* (He); Rend *liixím* f., pl. *liiximó* 'branch' (He).

23. *libaang* f. 'date (fruit)' (HuB) = *libáana* f. 'date (Sudan produce, hard, dry)' (Rp)

?Cu: (E) Som *lebi* m. 'Gattung Baum; *Caesalpinia elata*' (Re).

24. *lakwi* f. (acc. *lakwot*) 'dom-palm fruit complete with outer husk', m. (acc. *lakwob*) 'kernal of dom-palm fruit' (Rp) = *lakw* f. 'edible covering of dom nut' (HuB) = *lakwoob* m. 'dum palm tree', def. sg. *ulakwu*, def. pl. *ilakwu*; *lakwoot* f. 'dum palm, coconut fruit', def. sg. *tulakwu*, def. pl. *tilakwu* (Wd)

?Cu: (E) Som *luko* f. 'eine Convolvulacea: *Ipomaea marmorata*' or *liqa* m. 'eine Gattung Baum: *Hydnora spec.*' or *lika* m. 'Name eines niedern Gewächses mit roter, essbarer Behrenfrucht' (Re).

25. *rat* ~ *lad* f. 'leaf' (HuB) = *raat* ~ *laat* f., pl. *rat* ~ *lat* 'Baumblatt', cf. *oo-gwadīt laat* 'Augendeckel, Augenlid' (Re) = *lat* ~ *erat* 'leaf' (St); the other scholars have recorded only the *r*- or *l*-variant: *raat* 'leaf', def. sg. *toora*, def. pl. *teera* (Wd) = *raat* f., pl. *rāt* 'Blatt' (Al) = *to'rat* id. (Mu), besides *laat* 'leaf' (Be and Tl) = *laat* f., pl. *lāt(it)* 'leaf, blade of grass; feather' (Rp) = *to lāt* 'Baumblatt' (Se)

Cu: (E) Or: Wellega *lata* v. 'to sprout, bud', n. 'sprout, bud', *latee* 'sprout of plant' (Gg), Macha and Borana *lata* 'to sprout' (LVC), *lata* 'a young shoot of a plant or a tree; a young animal' (Stroemer 1995: 204); ?Had *lat*- 'to sprout from stem' (HG), if it is not borrowed from Or.

Reinisch (1895: 160) Beja + Or + Eg (Pyr) *rd* 'wachsen', (OK) *rd* 'Pflanze' (Wb. II, 462–463), Copt Sahidic and Bohairic ϣωτ, Fayyumic λωτ 'croître', Sahidic and Bohairic ϣωτ, pl. Sahidic ϣατε, Bohairic ϣοτ 'plante, produit'; cf. also Sahidic ϣαετε 'parenté, famille', Dem *ryt.t* 'parents' (Vycichl 1983: 172, 179). But the Beja-Oromo isogloss practically excludes the Egyptian counterpart and vice versa (*t* vs. *d*).

26. *saroob* m. 'fruit of the Capparis tree', def. sg. *usaru*, def. pl. *isaru* (Wd) = *sarób* m., pl. -a 'Capparis aphylla' ~ {Sudan Arabic *tundub*} (Rp) = *u sarqob*, pl. *i sarqobe^h* 'Capparis sodada' (Hess) = *serob* 'Serobbaum' (Mu) = *ssarōb* 'Sodada decidua' (Schw; cf. Almkvist 1885: 58 **sáro*)

Reinisch (1890: 334) mentioned Saho *saraw* coll. 'sp. acacia/Acacia etbaica' (Vergari), and Ty *sārāw* coll., sg. *sārāway* 'sp. tree' (~ Bilin *qarašāa*).

27. *sirdeeb* m. ‘species of grass’, def. sg. *oosirdeeb*, def. pl. *isirdeeba* (Wd) = *sárde* and *sérde* f. ‘eine Raigrassorte an Wasserplätzen vorkommend/ *Panicum ternatum* or *Cynodon dactylon*’ = *serde* ‘Serdetgras’ (Mu; cf. Almkvist 1885: 58)

Reinisch (1895: 204) compared it with Ti *sərdāt* ‘dry grass, straw’, Amh *sārdo* ‘kind of grass’ > Ge *sardo* id. (Leslau 1987: 512; he added Ty *sārdo* ‘tough grass that is difficult to eradicate’ and Kemant *sārdo*). Cf. also ECu: Saho *sirdi* ‘type of grass’ (Vergari).

28. *siyám* m. sg. ‘grass, edible vegetable matter’ (Rp) = *siyaam* m. ‘grass’, def. sg. *oosyaam*, def. pl. *eesyam* (Wd) = (oḡ) *syam* ‘alle Kräuter’ (Hs) = *seyaam*, *siyaam* m., pl. *siyám* ‘Gras’, cf. *siyám bálama* ‘Heu’ (Re) = *siaam* m., pl. *siám* id. (Al) = *o’siam* id. (Mu) = *osyam* (Km) = *o’siàmm* (Kc) = [o]sziâm ‘Klee, Stroh, Gras’ (Se)

?Cu: (E) Or of Wellega *sooyama* and *sooyoma* ‘thin straight bamboo-like plant’ (Gg) ||| Om: (N) Ganjule *saamo* ‘cabbage’ (Fl), Kachama *saamo* id., besides Wolayta *saan-ta* id. (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 498), Bench *sam* id. (Wd) ||| Ch: (E) Sumray *sémdē* ‘Gras’ (Lk), Bidiya *sóomà* ‘herbe sp.’ (Alio and Jungraithmayr 1989), Mokilko *sèemí*, pl. *sèmbàní* ‘foin’ (Jg) ||| Eg (Pyr) *sm.w* ‘Kraut’ (Wb. IV, 119), Copt *сим* ‘herbe’ (Vycichl 1983: 188) ||| Se: Akk *šammu(m)* ‘Pflanze, Kraut; Droge’; maybe Ar *samm*, pl. *simām* and *sumūm* ‘poison’ > Aram *sammā* ‘Gift, Droge’ (AHw 1156).

Lit: Reinisch (1895: 207) Beja + Eg and Copt + Nara *seemaa* ‘grass’ and Kunama *seenaa*; Dolgopolsky (1973: 94–95) Beja + NOm + Eg and Copt + Akk. Orel and Stolbova (1995: n. 395) reconstruct AA **cim-* on the basis of Iraqw *tsamo* ‘kind of grass that puts out runners’ (Ehret 1980: 229) and Dahalo *táámi* ‘grass’, *táám-ine* ‘blade of grass’ (Ehret 1980: 168) = *táámi* and *táámíne* (To).

C. Products, materials and instruments from plants and their parts

1. *’aða* m. ‘pole’, f. ‘long stick or support used by aged and halt’ (Rp) = *’adab* ‘pole’ (St)

Cu: (E) Afar *ḥaða* ‘tree’, *ḥàdda* ‘stick’ (PaHy), Saho *ḥaða* ‘tree’ (Be, We), pl. *ḥoḍit* (We) = *haaḷa*, pl. *hool* ‘Baum, Holz, Stamm, Stab, Stange, Halm’ (Re).

Ch: (C) Wandala *háazà* ‘Brennholz’ (Lk) = *ḥáḥḍa* ‘bois de feu’ (Mc) ||| ?Eg (Med; BD) *ḍḥḥ* ‘Zweig, Ast’ (Wb. V, 535), if it is a result of the partial reduplication and metathesis ||| Se **ḥiṣ-* > Akk *iṣu(m)* ‘Baum, Holz’ (AHw 390–391), Eblaic *i-zu /ḥidu/* id. (Krebernik 1983: 15), Ug, Pun *ḥṣ* ‘Baum, Weinstock’ (Aistleitner 1965: 239), Hb *ḥeṣ* ‘tree, wood’, Aram *āḥ?*, EgAram

ṣq id., EpSAr ṣḍ ‘wood(work)’ (Biella 1982: 378), Ar ṣidd ‘small thorny tree’, ṣiddāh ‘any great trees having thorns’, Saudi Ar ṣuḍ ‘fragrant wood burned before guests’, Daṭina ṣaḍa, ṣuḍah ‘tree’, Gz ṣaḍ ‘tree, shrub, bush, wood, stick, staff (of spear)’, Ti ṣaḍḍāt, Ty ṣ/ṣaṣṣäyti, ṣaḍäy ‘tree, wood’, Amh anḍāt, at, as, Harari inči, Gurage äčä ‘tree’ (Leslau 1987: 57).

Note: One would expect Afar-Saho ṣ-, but the same anomaly occurs in the correspondence between Afar-Saho ḥan ‘milk’ (PaHy/We) vs. Som caano /ṣaano/, Boni aan^e, Rend ḥaanú; Or aannan id. or Afar ḥaad-o (PaHy), Saho ḥad-o ‘meat’ (We) vs. Som cad /ṣad/ ‘piece of meat’ || Eg (OK) ṣḍ ‘Fett’ (Wb. I, 239), Copt ωτ id. (Vycichl 1983: 251). Quoting these examples, Black (1974: 219) introduced for this correspondence the symbol *ṣ₁-.

Lit.: Illič-Svityč (1971: 276–277, n. 141) Afar-Saho + CCh + Eg + Se.

2. *oli* m. ‘geröstetes Getreide’ (Re) = *o’olib* ‘der Brei’ (Mu)

Reinisch (1895: 14) connected it with Saho *alóo*, but it is missing in his Saho Dictionary; the closest safe cognate is Afar *alo* ‘roasted grain’ (PaHy).

3. (*e*)mbaḍ, émbaj and mbáj m., pl. -a ‘(Stroh)matte’ (Re) = *b’aḍ* m. ‘mat, bedding’, def. sg. *oomb’aḍ*, det. pl. *imb’aḍa* (Wd) = *b’aḍ* m., pl. -a ‘birsh matting’, with art. *umb’aḍ* (Rp) = émbaḍ m. ‘Matte’ (Al) = émbadi ‘Matte als Bettteppich’, beda ‘Matte, Teppich’ (Mu) = mbadéh ‘Teppich’, [o]mbaḍ ‘Fussmatte’ (Se)

A cultural term, cf. Eg (N) *nbd* ‘flechten; Flechtwerk, Geflochtenes (Korb, Sieb etc.)’ (Wb. II, 246), Dem *nbt* ‘to wrap; wicker-work’, Copt Bohairic ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲧ ‘to weave’, ⲛⲏⲃⲧⲉ ‘plait, tress’ (Černý 1976: 107) and Nubian: Mahas, Kenzi and Dongola *nébid*, Kenzi also *níbit* ‘mat, bedding’ (Reinisch 1895: 16–17; Murray 1923: 128 Beja + Eg and Copt + Nub).

4. *mokwa[b]* ‘gekrümmte Zeltstange’ (Mu)

Cu: (E) Som *mukoi*, *muki* ‘sicomoro’ (Cerulli 1961: 156); pBoni **múkày* ‘tamarind’ (He); Or: Wellega *muka* ‘tree, wood, bush’ (Gg), Macha *muka*, Guji *mukha* ‘tree, wood’ (LVC), Orma, Waata *muka*, Borana *muka* and *mux^a* ‘tree’ (Stroemer 1987: 370) || Dahalo *múku ná:ḍite* ‘sp. bush with thorns’ (Maddiesson et al.) || (S) Asa *mogengera* ‘rot’; Burunge *muka* ‘chaff’ (Ehret 1980: 324 pRift **muk*-).

Ehret (1987: n. 101) Beja + Or + Rift.

5. *sir* m., pl. -a ‘staff, lance-shaft (if long and slender)’ (Re) = *sir* m. and f., pl. -a ‘Stange, langer Stab, Lanzenschaft’ (Re) = *sir* f. (or m.) ‘lange Stange (für Lanzen)’ (Al) = *to’sirr*, acc. *sirr* ‘Stab, Stange’ (Mu)

?Cu: (E) Som *seeri* ‘Wald, Dickicht, Gebüsch’ (Re)?

6. *tiir* m., pl. -a ‘hooked stick to pull down branches’ (Rp)

There are interesting parallels: EtSe: Ti *tir* ‘stick with a hook (e.g. in order to fetch fruit from the trees)’ (LH 307) and ECu: Som *tiir* ‘Säule, Stützbalken’ (Re).

D. Plants whose names are based on the members of a human society

1. (*u*) *duur* ‘äre^h ‘ein Kraut’ (Hs)

Comparing it with Ar colloquial *betâf wilâd el-ṣamm* ‘das den Vettern gehört’, Hess (1918–1919: 219) concludes that Beja *duur* = Ar *ṣamm* ‘Onkel’.

2. *rabq* m. ‘Trianthema pentandra’ (HuB) = *raabba* id. (Schw; Almkvist 1885: 53 **râaba*)

Cf. *râba* ‘männlich’ (Al).

3. *rabq hindi* f. ‘Moringa arabica’ (HuB) = (*u*) *rbaa-hindi^h*, indet. *ribaa-hindiib* ‘Bergstrauch’ (Hs)

A compound probably consisting of *râba* ‘männlich’ (Al) or (*u*) *rbaay* ‘Berg’ and *hindi^h* ‘Baum’ (Almkvist 1885: 54; Hess 1918–1919: 223).

E. Plant names motivated by human and animal body parts

1. *aboot niwq* m. ‘Crossophora obliqua’ (HuB) = *abóo-t niway* id. (Re) = *abotniuaii* id. (Schw)

Cf. *aboot kwudq* ‘centipede’ and *niwq* ‘tail’ (HuB); see also Reinisch (1895: 5).

2. (*tu*) ‘eeg^wadi^h, pl. eeg^wadiit ‘Ruellia patula, Hedyotis Schimper’ (Hs) = *eguadiit* and *oguaioot* ‘Dipteracanthus patulus, Hedyotis Schimper’ (Schw) = *eegwadiit* ‘flower’ (Tl)

Hess (1918–1919: 217) analyzed it as a compound consisting of *eraab* ‘weiss’ and *g^wad* ‘Auge’ (cf. also Almkvist 1885: 18), cf. colloquial Sudanic Ar *umm fên bêdā*.

3. *ankalay* ‘Zygophyllum Simplex’ (HuB) = *ankaláy* m., pl. -a ‘Pflanzensorte: eine Convolvulus’ (Re) = (*u*) *hank^wl’aay*, indet. *hank^wl’aayt* ‘Zygophyllum simplex’ (Hs) = *ankalaiit* id. (Schw)

Reinisch (1895: 25) connected it with Ti *ʔänqālay* ‘a plant Convolvulus’ (LH 372) and Bilin *anqala* ‘Pflanzensorte: Winde, Convolvulus’ (Re). Hess (1918–1919: 221) derived it from *tu hank^wlä’t* ‘Niere’.

4. *darat niwq* m. 'shrub with white feathery flowers' (HuB) = *deretnioaab* 'Boerhaavia repens' (Schw)

Cf. *niwq* 'tail' (HuB).

5. *hamaš gwod* m. 'Trichodesma Africanum' (HuB) = *hamaaş g^w* ad id. (Hs) = *hamaasch-guood* id. (Schw)

Hess (1918–1919: 221) correctly explained it as 'hellbläuliches Auge', cf. *hamiš* and *hamaaş* 'hellblau, weisslich blau, grau' (Re) = *hamaš* 'dirty yellow, grey' (HuB).

6. *mile* m. 'large ripe berries of *hiib*', *milēyai* f. 'one single berry' (Rp)

Cf. *mile* f. 'tear'?

7. (*u*) *mar miid*, pl. (*i*) *mar miide^h* 'eine ca. 50 cm hohe Staude mit hellgelben Blüten, wächst in tonigem, nassem Gelände' (Hs)

Cf. *u yaas miid* 'eine Orobanchacea', lit. 'Hundepenis', *u haḍḍey miid* 'Cistanche lutea', lit. 'Löwenpenis' (Hess 1918–1919: 220–223), where *miid* 'Penis' (Hs) = 'männliche Schamglied' (Re).

8. *naal* m., pl. *nal* 'Knoten, Glied im Gras-, Strohhalme' (Re) = ?*naal* m., pl. *nāl* 'Bettgestell' (Al)

Could it be related to *n'āli* f. 'groin' (Rp)?

9. **sa* f. (Almkvist 1885: 55), recorded as *ssaāt* 'Premna resinosa' (Schw) It is tempting to identify here the motivation based on the homonym *sa* f. 'Leber' (cf. Almkvist 1885: 55).

10. (*tu*) *sukumti^h*, indet. *sukumtiit* 'Boerhavia repens' (Hs) = *sukumti* id. (Schw) Lit. 'die welche Milch gibt', cf. *oḥ skum*, indet. *sukum* 'die Milch, die die Frau oder die Haustiere in den ersten paar Tagen nach der Geburt geben' (Hess 1918–1919: 224).

11. (*u*) *šaawere^h*, indet. *šaaweraab* 'Avicenna officinalis', in 'Abâbde šōrây, Ma^{cc}âzeh šôre (Hs)

Cf. *šawāarib* pl. 'Schnurbart' < Ar *šawārib*, pl. of *šārib* 'moustache' (Re; Steingass 1988: 528).

12. (*toḥ*) *wle^h*, indet. *wilaat* 'Cucumis prophetarum' (Hs)

Primarily 'Hoden', cf. sg. (*oḥ*) *wle^h*, indet. *wulaab*, pl. (*eḥ*) *wle^h*, indet. *wilaab* (Hess 1918–1919: 225).

F. Plant names motivated by animal names

1. *bokšenák* ‘*Usnea* sp.’ (Schw)

Almkvist (1885: 61) correctly determined the compound consisting of *bok* ‘Ziegenbock’ and *šenak*, *šanak* ‘Kinn, Bart’, i.e. *‘Bockbart’.

2. *ganayhindi* m. ‘*Colostegia integrifolia*, *Oxytenanthea Abyssinica*’ (HuB) = (u) *ganaa hindi^h*, indet. *ganaa hindiib* ‘*Otostegia integrifolia*’ (Hs) = *gan-ahandip* id. (Schw)

Lit. ‘a gazelle-tree’, cf. *gana* ‘Gazelle’ + *hindi* ‘Baum’ (Almkvist 1885: 23) = (u) *ganaay*, pl. (i) *ganey* ‘Gazelle’ + (u) *hindi^h*, indet. *hindiib* ‘Baum, Strauch’ (Hess 1918–1919: 219).

3. (u) *haḍeey miid* ‘*Cistanche lutea*’, lit. ‘Löwenpenis’, cf. (u) *haḍe^h*, indet. *haḍaab* ‘Löwe’ and (oḡ) *miid*, pl. (i) *miide^h*, indet. *miidaab* ‘penis’ (Hs).

4. (ti) *kamteet birik* ‘*Cassia obovata*’ (Hs)

Lit. ‘das *birik* der Kamele’, cf. *amberki* ‘*Cassia acutifolia*’ (HuB) and (oḡ) *kam* ‘camel’ (Hess 1918–1919: 222).

5. *karay hindi* ‘*Buccrosia russelliana*’ (HuB) = *karaii* id., cf. also *karaiib* ‘*Pennisetum* sp.’ (Schw)

Lit. ‘hyaena-tree’ (Almkvist 1885: 38).

6. (u) *k^{wi}ileey miid*, pl. (i) *k^{wi}ileey miide^h*, indet. *k^{wi}ileey miidaab* ‘eine Staude ca. 40 cm hoch mit gelben Blüten’ (Hs)

Hess (1918–1919: 222) explained it as ‘der Penis des kleinem Strausses’, where (u) *k^{wi}ile^h* is a diminutive from (u) *k^{wi}iire^h* ‘Strauss’ and (oḡ) *miid* = ‘penis’. Cf. e.g. *haḍeey miid* ‘*Cistanche lutea*’, lit. ‘Löwenpenis’.

7. **meekanís* ‘*Wathania somnifera*’ (reconstructed by Almkvist 1885: 46 after *mehkaniiss* recorded by Schw)

Almkvist (1885: 46) connected it with *meek* ‘donkey’.

8. (tu) *raay l^e*, indet. *raay l^{ee}* ‘ein Kraut’ (Hs)

Hess (1918–1919: 223) convincingly explains it as ‘das *l^e* (= ‘*Pulicaria undulata*’) der Ariel-Antilope (= oḡ *re^h*, indet. *raab*, ‘*Gazella Soemmeringi*)’.

9. (u) *yas miid* ‘eine Orobanchacea’ (Hs)

Hess (1918–1919: 222) explained it as ‘Hundepenis’, cf. (oḡ) *yaas*, pl. (eḡ) *yes* ‘Hund’ and (oḡ) *miid*, pl. (i) *miide^h*, indet. *miidaab* ‘Penis’, similarly

(u) *haḍēey miid* ‘Cistanche lutea’, lit. ‘Löwenpenis’ etc. (Hess 1918–1919: 220).

10. *yaset-hiit* ‘Euphorbia Thi, Euphorbia triacantha’ (Schw), lit. ‘*hiit* of dog’ (so Almkvist 1885: 3), cf. *ahi* f. ‘Tephrosia apollinea’ (HuB) = (tu) ‘*aahi*^h, indet. *aahiit* ‘Tephrosia apollinea and Convolvulus hystrix’ (Hs) = *ahit* ‘Tephrosia apollinea’ (Schw; Almkvist 1885: 3 **ahi*), and *yaas* c., pl. *yās* ‘dog’ (Rp) = *yaas* c., pl. *yas* id. (Re).

11. (ti) *yaateṭet birik* ‘Cassia obovata’ (Hs)

Hess (1918–1919: 222) explained it as ‘das *birik* der Schafe’, cf. (təṭ) *ye*^h, indet. *yaat*, pl. (təṭ) *ye*^h, indet. *yaat*, and *birik*, see *amberki*.

Abbreviations of languages, dialects and language groups

AA	Afroasiatic	Hdd	Hadandiwa
Akk	Akkadian	Hb	Hebrew
Am	Amar’ar	IE	Indo-European
Amh	Amhara	Kamb	Kambatta
Ar	Arabic (see Hadr)	L	Lowland
Aram	Aramaic	Med	Medical Texts (Egyptian)
BA	Beni Amer	MK	Middle Kingdom (Egyptian)
BD	Book of the Dead (Egyptian)	N	North
Be	Berber	NK	New Kingdom (Egyptian)
Bi	Bisharin	Nub	Nubian
Bib	Biblical	OK	Old Kingdom (Egyptian)
C	Central	Om	Omoti
Ch	Chadic	Or	Oromo
Copt	Coptic	p	proto-
Cu	Cushitic	Pyr	Pyramid Texts (Egyptian)
Dem	Demotic	Rend	Rendille
E	East	S	South
Eg	Egyptian (see BD Gr Med MK NK OK Pyr)	Se	Semitic
EpSAr	Epigraphic South Arabian	Sid	Sidamo
Et	Ethiopic	Som	Somali
Gr	Greek and Roman period (Egyptian)	Sud	Sudan
Gz	Geez	Syr	Syrian
H	Highland	Ti	Tigre
Had	Hadiyya,	Ty	Tigrinya
Hadr	Hadramawt (Arabic dialect)	Ug	Ugaritic
		W	West

Abbreviations of authors

Ab	Abraham	Lb	Lamberti
Al	Almkvist	LH	Littmann and Höfner
AMS	Amborn, Minker and Sasse	Lk	Lukas
Be	Bender	LVC	Leus, Van de Loo and Cotter
Bl	Black	M	Murray
Bu	Burckhardt	Mc	Mouchet
Ce	Cerulli	Mu	Munzinger
CR	Conti Rossini	Pa	Parker
Fc	Foucauld	Re	Reinisch
Fl	Fleming	Rp	Roper
Gg	Gragg	Sa	Sasse
He	Heine	Schw	Schweinfurth
HG	Hudson, Grover	Se	Seetzen
Hs	Hess	Sg	Steingass
HuB	Hudson, Richard via Blench	St	Starkey
Hy	Hayward	Th	Thompson
Ib	Ibriszimow	Tl	Thelwall
Jg	Jungraithmayr	To	Tosco
Kc	Krockow von Wickerode	Wd	Wedekind (Klaus or Charlotte & Klaus)
Km	Kremer	We	Welmers
Kr	Kraft		
La	Laoust		

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Byzantine and Early Islamic Rayed Lamps from South-Eastern Turkey

Abstract In this short paper, nine formerly unpublished rayed lamps from south-eastern Turkey, eight from Mardin and one from Malatya are being presented, belonging to a well-known type, starting from the end of the sixth century A.D., which became particularly widespread in the eighth century A.D. The article adds to a group of ‘rayed’ lamps from the Near East next few examples found in less accessible museums in Turkey and it also includes a useful historical sketch of the region during the Byzantine and Early Islamic period. The publication of these new specimens is valuable as the material from this area of modern Turkey is rarely published. While waiting for research on the many further lamps that are likely to be found in numerous museums to be published, this contribution helps us understand the variety of lamps and their area of diffusion, which stretches from northern Mesopotamia down to Palestine, including south-eastern Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and Israel.

Keywords terracotta oil lamps, rayed lamps, south-eastern Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Byzantine period, Early Islamic period, technological studies

1 Introduction

In several museums of the vast territory comprising the region of south-eastern Turkey¹ and northern Syria,² numerous unpublished terracotta oil lamps,³ especially of Byzantine period, are preserved (Map 1). In this regard, Laurent Chrzanovski used the expression ‘terra (quasi) incognita’ in the title of one of his famous publications.⁴ For a better understanding of at least a small part of their multiple and complex uses at the beginning of the Islamic period in the seventh century A.D.,⁵ we focus our attention on a minor group of mould-made lamps with similar decoration on the shoulder, which are called as ‘Byzantine rayed lamps’.⁶ These lamps fell into the category of the Syro-Palestinian and Hawari type 8 lamps, and were recognised as a distinct lychnological group of Byzantine study with an article by Florence Day published in 1942.⁷ Frederick O. Waagé places these lamps in his ‘type 56’, which he argues to have already had precedents at the end of the fourth century A.D.⁸ both in Egypt and in the Palestinian area. In this way, the above-mentioned type 56 would therefore have replaced the type 53, in its various variants, during the sixth

¹ Local museums in south-eastern Turkey are, from west to east: Gaziantep, Kilis (established in 2012), Adıyaman, Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır, Mardin and Batman (established in 2010). Local museums in the southern part of eastern Turkey are located in Malatya, Elazığ and Ahlat. A new archaeological museum in Siirt, in south-eastern Turkey, is currently under construction. A small archaeological collection is also housed in a museum in Cizre in the province of Şırnak, bordering Iraq and Syria. There are also lamps from south-eastern Turkey found in the museums of Adana, Mersin, Ankara and Istanbul.

² Before 2011, the main archaeological museums in northern Syria were the National Museum of Aleppo and the National Museum of Latakia, alongside local museums in Raqqā, Deir ez-Zor, and Hama (Azm Place), most of which are, today, almost completely destroyed.

³ For a preliminary report of five lamps of this type, cf. Laflı and Buora (2020). For other lamp examples from south-eastern Turkey, cf. Laflı and Buora (2014); as well as Laflı and Buora (Forthcoming).

⁴ Chrzanovski 2015a. On the scarcity of studies relating to the oil lamps of the Near East, see Chrzanovski (2019: 20). For a recent attempt for a clarification of the typologies of Byzantine lamps in the Near East, see Sussman (2017). Our typology, however, lacks in this catalogue.

⁵ Umayyad Caliphate was established by Mu‘awiya I (Mu‘āwiyah ibn. Abī Sufyān) in A.D. 661, i.e., 25 years after the Islamic conquest of the East. Even if the type was created by the end of the sixth century A.D., it continued more than 100 years, during the full Islamic period.

⁶ For the definition see Młynarczyk (2011: 198).

⁷ Day 1942.

⁸ Waagé 1948: 67.

century A.D. According to Waagé, the varieties would be arranged in an unclear order, despite having remained in use for some centuries. Thus, in the sixth century they would have been the definitive oil lamp par excellence. Within this long-lived, widespread and broad group of oil lamps,⁹ we endeavour to analyse several specimens found in different sites and museums in the Byzantine Near East, that all bear a similar decoration on their shoulder. A lamp of this type allegedly of Cypriot manufacture is also found in the Pierides Museum in Larnaca on Cyprus.¹⁰ Alexandria yielded many examples of such lamps, of which a few have been published.¹¹ Those Alexandrian lamps originate from a context dated by the excavator to A.D. 600–615.

The terracotta lamps in question are ovoid, almost round, and decorated with a radial pattern on the rim, surrounding the filling-hole and divided in the middle by a channel. On the wide shoulder, oblique lines form triangles on each side, with lines running parallel to them.¹² All lamps have a carinated body and a conical handle. Typologically, we can distinguish two main forms, the first being substantially roundish and the second more pear-shaped. Of course, between these there are also intermediate forms. We wish to point out two pieces: the first (found during the 1977 excavations at Berytus in Lebanon, in an unfortunately unknown context) of which is almost circular, with a diameter of 10.5 cm (Plate I, no. 1).¹³ A further example of unknown provenance, found in the Bouvier Collection in Switzerland is slightly shorter, i.e. only 9.26 cm, but somewhat higher and tending towards a pear shape.¹⁴ In fact, its width to length ratio is 100:78 (Plate I, no. 3). These two specimens were obviously derived from different matrices; but, in addition to a common decoration on their shoulder, they both have a six-pointed star on their bottom. In her study of lamps from 'Anab al-Safinah in Syria, Iwona Modrzejewska(-Marciniak) inserts a variation of a round lamp in her type VI group,¹⁵ while Shulamit Hadad places three such lamps with elongated bodies, from Beit She'an (the Byzantine Σκυθόπολις) in Israel, in her type 36 (Map 2).¹⁶ This type of lamps was also recognized by F. Day in her studies of Levantine lamps

⁹ For example, in Zeugma they form the most widespread group; cf. Hawari (2013: 180).

¹⁰ E.g. Oziol (1993: no. 115 with further references).

¹¹ Rodziewicz and Michałowski 1984: pl. 63, nos. 277–278, and pl. 64, no. 283.

¹² See Młynarczyk (2011: 198).

¹³ Turquety-Pariset 1982: fig. 11, no. 73.

¹⁴ Chrzanowski 2019: 417, no. 689.

¹⁵ Modrzejewska-Marciniak 1977: 144–146.

¹⁶ Hadad 2002: 94.

as an Early Islamic type dated to the seventh to eighth centuries A.D.¹⁷ In fact, some bear on their shoulders invocations to Allāh (الله), or other type of invocations of a Christian nature¹⁸ which could in fact be written both by the Arabic-speaking Christians and by the Muslims. These lamps belong to the type Hartelius type CH3 variant E1.¹⁹ According to Modrzejewska(-Marciniak), these lamps would appear towards the end of the sixth century A.D. and would continue until the entire eighth century.²⁰

Chrzanowski claims that such lamps were first produced in northern Syria during the sixth century A.D., while other lamps, substantively identical yet coarser, were produced in Palestine in the seventh to eighth centuries, which is particularly inaccurate.²¹ A lamp from the Cesnola Collection now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has a similar shape and two groups of four raised lines with different orientation on the shoulder. It has been dated to the seventh century by Christopher S. Lightfoot who compares it to another lamp from the British Museum²². In Hippos (Ἱππος, modern Sussita) in Israel, two lamps of this type (Plate II, no. 5; Plate III, no. 1)²³ were found in the aisles of two different churches, which evidences of their use by the Christian population.²⁴ These lamps were sealed by the earthquake debris in a church (north-west Church), as the earthquake in question occurred in A.D. 749, a date which constitutes an important benchmark for the chronology of the lamp type in question.

It is interesting that this type of lamps can also be found, among others, in two different local museums in south-eastern Anatolia, namely in Mardin on the Turkish-Syrian border and in Malatya on the south-western border of eastern Turkey. These two cities are 360 km apart from one another, and archaeologically are little-known in Byzantine literature: almost no excavated lamps are known to have originated from these two Turkish provinces.²⁵ Consequently, nine unpublished examples of this type of Byzantine and Early Islamic lamp from south-eastern Anatolia make up the focus of this brief paper.

¹⁷ Day 1942: 69–75.

¹⁸ Młynarczyk 2011: 198.

¹⁹ Hartelius Hartelius 1987: CH3, variant E1.

²⁰ Modrzejewska-Marciniak 1977: 146.

²¹ Chrzanowski 2019: 416.

²² Lightfoot 2021: 337, no. 444; Bailey 1988: 318, Q 2619.

²³ Młynarczyk 2011: fig. 2, nos. 1–3.

²⁴ Młynarczyk 2011.

²⁵ A certain part of the lychnological collection of the museum of Mardin was published by the present authors, see Laflı and Buora (2014: 436–441). On the Byzantine archaeology of the province of Malatya, see Decker (2007: 232, 245–246).

2 The historical context of south-eastern Anatolia during the Byzantine period

In A.D. 224, Shapur II conquered Mardin (Μάρυδις, Marida, Merida or Mardē in Syriac)²⁶ and Şanlıurfa (Ὀσροηνή) in northern Mesopotamia, both of which were important trading centers. Both had been part of the Sassanid empire until A.D. 651. As a Byzantine province, however, Osroene was a part of the Diocese of the East between A.D. 216 and 608. During the Early Islamic conquests, the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (A.D. 610–641) relocated the frontier defences from Tarsus (Ταρσός) to Kahramanmaraş (near Γερμανίκεια) and Malatya (Μελιτηνή). Both sites were abandoned and later rebuilt.²⁷ During the reign of Emperor Justinian I (A.D. 527–565), administrative reforms were carried out in the province of Armenia Secunda, which was renamed ‘Armenia Tertia’ and its capital set at Melitene.²⁸ The city was captured by the Rashidun Caliphate in A.D. 638, whereupon became a base for deeper raids into the Byzantine Empire, a policy continued by the Abbasids. Between A.D. 830–863, under its semi-independent emir ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Marwān, known as ‘‘Αμερ’ or ‘‘Αμβρος’ in Byzantine sources, Malatya rose to become a major opponent of the Byzantine Empire until ‘Umar was defeated and killed at the Battle of Lalakaon (Μάχη τοῦ Λαλακάοντος) in 863.²⁹ Many times did the Byzantines attack the city, but they did not manage to seize it until the campaigns of Ioannes Kourkouas in 927–934. After successively accepting and renouncing vassal status to the Byzantines, the city was finally taken in May 934, its Muslim inhabitants driven out or forced to convert, and replaced by Greek and Armenian settlers.³⁰ As a part of the Byzantine, Arabic and Sassanid administrations, the south-eastern Anatolian landscapes of Mardin and Malatya were recognised as the peripheral areas of Early Byzantine Empire between the fifth and tenth centuries A.D.—a period of over 400 years. This historical reality is reflected both in their Byzantine, Aramaic, Syrian, Arab, Armenian, Jewish etc. population and in their lychnological culture.

²⁶ On Μάρυδις or Μάρδης in Greek sources: Procopius, *De aedificiis* II, 4, 14; on Mardē in Syriac sources, see Chabot (1902: 676).

²⁷ Aydoğan 2016: 32–34.

²⁸ Foss 1991: 1336.

²⁹ Canard 1935: 283.

³⁰ Canard 1935: 283.

3 Nine Byzantine and Early Islamic rayed lamps from Mardin and Malatya

Eight new examples of Byzantine and Early Islamic rayed lamps are housed in the museum of Mardin (Plate III, nos. 4–11) and a further one is preserved in the museum of Malatya (Plate III, no. 3). The fabric of these lamps varies from pink (7.5YR 8.6) to pale brown (2.5Y 8/2) or very pale brown (10YR 7/3). All nine examples are acquisitions by local dealers, but must have originated from local vestige sites in Mardin and Malatya; most probably, they came from Byzantine burial sites of the most important Byzantine cities in the region—Margdis (Marida or Merida), Daras (Anastasiopolis or Iustiniana Nova), Edessa and Carrhae (modern Harran)—all had extensive burial sites between the fourth and eighth centuries A.D.

On the Plate III we present the lamps of Mardin according to what could be the chronological order. No lamp is perfectly identical to another, which means that numerous moulds were used. This is also derived from the great variety of measurements of the lamps themselves. The different moulds have the same circular (or pseudocircular) motif in the lower part, while in the upper part they show some different details, such as the width of the frame around the filling hole, the extension of the decorated surface on the shoulder and the possible limit of the decoration by means of a raised edge. The number and inclination of the dashes in relief also change. The not-perfectly circular foot of oil lamps nos. 9 and 10 reveals that it was produced with low quality moulds. For this reason, we believe that these belong to a later period, perhaps as early as the eighth century. If this is true, then the decoration would become more and more restricted and symbolic, decidedly of a different type than the oil lamps nos. 5 and 6 (seventh century?) which are still very close to oil lamps nos. 3 and 4, probably still from the sixth century and close to a widely diffused type.³¹

It is furthermore apparent that oil lamps in Mardin were locally manufactured from different moulds.³² In fact, three specimens, namely Plate III, nos. 4–5 and 9–10, have four raised fillets on the left, while others (Plate III, nos. 6–7 and 11) have only three. It should also be noted that the Malatya specimen has a different shape of the circular crown around the feeding hole. The hypothesis that this type of lamp was crafted con-

³¹ See fourth class of Oziol (1977: pl. 43, no. 776).

³² For the local lamp production in the area of Mardin during the Roman and Early Byzantine periods, cf. Laflı and Buora (Forthcoming).

tinuously over a long period of time, and perhaps by several different workshops, could also be indicated by the presence of different fabrics.

The lamp from Malatya (Plate III, no. 3) has a fabric of a different colour, i.e. buff, and is devoid of the median triangle. Other typological features of this lamp are also different, such as the width of its wick hole, or the design of the channel towards its nozzle which tapers from narrow to wide in a triangle towards the reservoir. In comparison to the lamp from 'Anab al-Safinah (Plate I, no. 2), which features more dashes (nine instead of three or four), the lamp from Malatya appears to belong to the same type, but crafted in a different manner. A high number of rays and a somewhat dilated handle of this type of lamp are also similar to the specimens reviewed by Chrzanowski (Plate I, nos. 3–6), which also bear similar relief elements such as crosses connected by dots on their channel.³³

This type of lamp appears to be very common and well documented across numerous sites, especially in Palestine and along the coast, up to Antioch-on-the-Orontes.³⁴ It is possible that there were more workshops, some of which must undoubtedly have been located in Palestine. We suggest that the presence of these lamps in Mardin and Malatya documents the close relationship the region had with the coastal area.

4 Conclusions

Our nine Byzantine and Early Islamic lamps from Mardin and Malatya greatly enrich the current meagre corpus of existing rayed lamps, which were previously limited to just over twenty examples from Syria, Lebanon and Israel. Geographically, these areas had traditionally been considered close to the north-eastern limit of the distribution of this type of lamp, and thus these new examples from south-eastern Turkey allow us to broaden the potential diffusion area of this type. Judging by their diffusion map, it would appear that Byzantine and Early Islamic rayed lamps, initially attested to by a central nucleus of round lamps, were dated somewhere between the end of the sixth and the end of the seventh centuries A.D. The timeline of their use was progressively extended to the eighth century in the surrounding territories of the area. Indeed, there is no doubt of their abundance in the area of Galilee in the Byzantine period, where they

³³ Chrzanowski 2015b: 86.

³⁴ The extensive diffusion of the type could also be confirmed by the presence of a bronze (!) lamp from Thrace now found in the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul—unless, as Sümer Atasoy (2005: 29, note 55) supposes, it is a fake lamp; a hypothesis that we would also agree with.

saw use in particular by the local Christian population.³⁵ Between A.D. 661–750, the lamps' decoration appears to also have been appreciated by customers within the territories of the Umayyad Caliphate.³⁶ We cannot rule out the possibility that exponents of the various Jewish communities in the region, such as the one documented in Mardin in the eighth century A.D., may partly be responsible for their diffusion.

Very little, however, is known about the archaeology of the Mardin region in the eighth century A.D., which retained significant Assyrian and Armenian populations, and even saw agitation, especially among the city's Jewish population, by the presence of a false messiah called Serene 'the Syrian'.³⁷ This Christian-born pseudo-messiah preached in the district of Mardin between A.D. 720 and 723. Whether there is a connection between this type of lamps and the presence of Serene 'the Syrian' is a further question for future analysis. Indeed, our current knowledge about the Byzantine presence in Mardin between the fifth to eighth centuries A.D., is mostly based on scattered numismatic evidence.³⁸

In the local museum of Mardin there is a great abundance of oil lamps starting from the sixth century A.D. Some types which are widely represented, appear to be locally manufactured and evidence of a local manufacture also comes from the discovery of a mould valve for the upper part of a lamp.

The analysis we conducted further enriches the sample of Mardin's productions and shows the commercial vitality of the city up to the Early Islamic period.

Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Islamic rayed lamps from the Near East

Plate I

No. 1: from Berytus, Lebanon.

Acc. no. BM, III, 35.

State of preservation: undamaged.

Measurements: l., 10.5 cm; body diam., 9.5 cm; mouth diam., 2.8 cm; base diam., 4.6 cm; h., 4.5 cm.

Fabric: grey orange clay, with degreasing inclusions; rough, without slip.

Description: The filling hole is bordered by a channel surrounded by another channel that extends to surround the hole of the wick; between the

³⁵ Młynarczyk 2011.

³⁶ Młynarczyk 2011: 198.

³⁷ Kohen 2007: 63–64.

³⁸ Cf. Lowick, Bendall and Whitting (1977).

two holes, a cross whose two arms end in a 'V'; the other next to the filling hole, a boss serves as a post. On the crown, on both sides of the axis formed by the two holes, a relief decoration formed of a central stem from which veins radiate, perhaps deriving from the fishbone, a Christian symbol. The background is decorated with seven raised rays encircled by a channel that serves as a base.

Reference. Turquety-Pariset, 1982, fig. 11, 73.

No. 2: from 'Anab al-Safinah, Syria.

State of preservation: undamaged.

Measurements: l., 10.5 cm; body diam., 8.8 cm; mouth diam., 3.2 cm.

Description: Almost oval lamp, with small conical handle. Filling hole defined by a circular channel in relief. On the shoulder, ray decoration around the central hole. Nozzle incorporated in the lamp body. The channel is decorated.

Reference: Modrzejewska-Marciniak 1977: fig. 23, 1

No. 3: in the Collection Bouvier, Switzerland.

Acc. no. B672/1.

State of preservation: undamaged

Measurements: l., 9.26 cm; body diam., 7.21 cm; mouth diam., 2.5 cm; h., 5.15 cm.

Fabric: light orange.

Dating: 5th–6th century A.D.

Description: Ovoid lamp with nozzle incorporated in the lamp body and small conical handle applied to the back. Shoulder slightly convex, decorated with rays in relief. Filling hole defined by a circular channel in relief then by a second, semicircular and oval, surrounding both the filling hole and the wick hole. The channel is decorated with a cross in relief, formed of four circles set with a point. Flat base defined by a circular ring in relief; centre star with eight branches in relief.

Reference: Chrzanovski 2015a: no. 229; Chrzanovski 2019: no. 689.

No. 4: in the Collection Bouvier, Switzerland.

Acc. no. B673/1.

State of preservation: undamaged.

Measurements: l., 8.22 cm; body diam., 6.63 cm; mouth diam., 2.4 cm; base diam., 3.4 cm; h., 4.56 cm.

Fabric: beige-orange.

Dating: 5th–6th century A.D.

Description: Ovoid lamp with nozzle incorporated in the lamp body and small conical handle applied to the back. Shoulder slightly convex, deco-

rated with rays in relief. Filling hole defined by a circular channel in relief then by a second, semicircular and oval, surrounding both the filling hole and the wick hole. The channel is decorated with a cross in relief, formed of four circles set with a point. Flat base defined by a circular ring in relief; under the nozzle, three lines are rendered in relief.

Reference: Chrzanovski 2015a: no. 230; Chrzanovski 2019: no. 690.

No. 5: in the Collection Bouvier, Switzerland.

Acc. no. B766.

State of preservation: undamaged

Measurements: l., 8.03 cm; body diam., 7.11 cm; mouth diam., 2.4 cm; base diam., 3.3 cm; h., 4.81 cm.

Fabric: orange.

Dating: 5th–6th century A.D.

Description: Ovoid lamp with pointed nozzle incorporated in the lamp body and small conical handle applied to the back. Shoulder slightly convex, decorated with rays in relief. Filling hole defined by a circular channel in relief then by a second, semicircular then oval, surrounding both the filling hole and the wick hole. The channel is decorated with a cross in relief, formed of four circles set with a point. Flat base defined by a circular ring in relief, entirely decorated by a palm leaf in relief.

Reference: Chrzanovski 2015a: no. 231; Chrzanovski 2019: no. 691.

No. 6: in the Collection Bouvier, Switzerland.

Acc. no. B671/1.

State of preservation: undamaged.

Measurements: l., 8.13 cm; body diam., 6.80 cm; mouth diam., 2.3 cm; h., 4.13 cm.

Fabric: orange.

Dating: A.D. 650–725.

Description: Ovoid lamp with pointed nozzle embedded in the lamp body and small conical handle applied to the back. Slightly convex shoulder, embellished with an inscription in Greek letters in relief, which runs counter-clockwise to the top right, with an interruption at level of the beak. It writes: Ο ΛΥΧΝΟΣ ΤΑ ΦΩΣ // ΠΙΟΣ ΦΟΤΙΧ 'o, lamp, let your light come to illuminate my steps ahead'. Filling hole defined by a raised circular channel then by a second, semicircular then oval, surrounding both the filling hole and the wick hole. The channel is decorated with a cross in relief, formed of four pointed circles. Flat base defined by a circular ring in relief; centre star with eight branches in relief.

Reference: Chrzanovski 2015a: no. 236; Chrzanovski 2019: no. 688.

Plate II

No. 1: from Beit She'an, Israel.

Acc. no. 091360.

State of preservation: undamaged.

Measurements: l., 8.2 cm; body diam., 5.7 cm; mouth diam., 1.7 cm; base diam., 3.0 cm; h., 3.5 cm.

Fabric: light brown clay.

Description: Elongated, ovoid body; the small conic handle rises on a sort of quadrangular base. On the nozzle, decoration provided by two empty circles. On the base, a circular ring in relief; centre star with eight branches in relief.

Reference: Hadad 2002: no. 417.

No. 2: from Beit She'an, Israel.

Acc. no. 890156.

State of preservation: undamaged.

Measurements: l., 9.6 cm; body diam., 7.0 cm; mouth diam., 2.1 cm; base diam., 3.6 cm; h., 4.2 cm.

Description: Similar to the previous specimen, with the difference that the nozzle is placed at the top and therefore protrudes.

Reference: Hadad 2002: no. 418.

No. 3: from Beit She'an, Israel.

Acc. no. 1033.

State of preservation: damaged; only the upper part remains, without the tip and part of the shoulder and body.

Measurements: body diam., 7.5 cm; mouth diam., 2.2 cm; h., 3.5 cm.

Description: Oval elongated lamp, with shoulder decorated like the previous two lamps. Within the nozzle, decoration in relief (possibly a tree?).

Reference: Hadad 2002: no. 419.

No. 4: from Khirbat al-Karak (Beth Yerah or Philoteria), Israel.

Acc. no. BY 512/A 30329.

Provenance: l. 10:5, Arab building.

State of preservation: undamaged.

Measurements: l., 10.7 cm; body diam., 7.5 cm; mouth diam., 2.8 cm.

Description: Reddish-buff fabric (rather compact and heavy), traces of red slip; elongated oval body, thick walls and base, knob handle. Oval elongated lamp.

Reference: Delougaz and Haines 1960: pl. 44, 15.

No. 5: from Hippos (Sussita), Israel.

Acc. no. La 01 02.

Measurements. l., 8.4 cm; body diam., 6.8 cm; mouth diam., 1.3 cm; h., 3.6 cm.

Fabric: Light reddish-brown (5YR 6/4).

Description: This and the two following lamps have similar characteristics, probably derived from having been produced in the same workshop. The number of rays in the part of the shoulder near the handle is smaller, the channel and the nozzle are smaller, and the mouth has a reduced diameter.

Reference: Młynarczyk 2011: fig. 2, no. 1.

Plate III

No. 1: from Hippos (Sussita), Israel.

Acc. no. La 02 09.

Measurements: l., 9.1 cm; body diam., 7.2 cm; mouth diam., 2.3 cm; h., 3.7 cm.

Fabric: pinkish beige (7.5YR 7/4), with pink surface (5YR 7/4).

Description: see above, Plate II, no. 5.

Reference: Młynarczyk 2011: fig. 2, no. 2.

No. 2: from Hippos (Sussita), Israel.

Acc. no. La 03 08.

State of preservation: damaged, without almost half of the body and the entire nozzle.

Measurements: l., 9.7 cm; body diam., 7.0 cm; mouth diam., 1.3 cm; base diam., 2.3 cm; h., 3.2 cm.

Description: see above, Plate II, no. 5.

Reference. Młynarczyk 2011: fig. 2, no. 3.

No. 3: from the museum of Malatya, Turkey.

Acc. no. 3301.

Provenance: purchased in 1972 from Mr. Orhan Hoşhanlı, a local jeweller in Malatya (d. December 27th, 2015 at the age of 76).

State of preservation: some missing chips and remains of soot.

Measurements: l., 7.9 cm; body diam., 6.1 cm; mouth diam., 2.5 cm; base diam., 3.2 cm; h., 3.2 cm.

Description: Brown fabric, 10YR 7/8 'yellow'. Pointed oval body with a wick hole surrounded by a ring. Grooves extend from the rim to the wick hole. Starting from the cone-shaped pointed handle, lines are used for fishbone decoration around the wick hole.

Dating: 6th to 7th century A.D.

Reference: Laflı and Buora Forthcoming: no. 560.

No. 4: from the museum of Mardin, Turkey.

Acc. no. 2010–2224 (A) (formerly 6086).

Provenance: purchased on March 12th, 2005 from Mr. Salih Örnek for 8 YTL (= 6.3 USD).

State of preservation: some missing chips and remains of soot.

Measurements: l., 8.7 cm; body diam., 6.5 cm; mouth diam., 2.5 cm; h., 3.5 cm.

Description: Greenish-beige fabric, 10YR 8/3 ‘very pale brown’. Pointed oval body with a wick hole surrounded by a ring. Grooves extend from the rim to the wick hole. Cone-shaped handle, lines are used for the fishbone decoration around the wick hole.

Dating: 6th to 7th century A.D.

Reference: Laflı and Buora Forthcoming: no. 565.

No. 5: from the museum of Mardin, Turkey.

Acc. no. 2010–2180 (A) (formerly 7709).

Provenance: Purchased on March 27th, 2008 from Mr Mehmet Reşit Metehan (a lawyer, born in 1953) from the village of Kocasirt in the township of Ömerli, Mardin province, known as ‘Zopeh’ in ancient sources and as ‘Şêxkır’ in Kurdish. The village is 11 km distance from Mardin and 8 km from Ömerli. The most visible archaeological surface evidences are a site on the slopes of Zinzil, south of the village, as well as a ruined church located north-east of the village.

State of preservation: broken in the middle but restored and completed later; remains of soot.

Measurements: l., 8.6 cm; body diam., 6.3 cm; mouth diam., 2.2 cm; base diam., 2.3 x 3.1 cm; h., 3.6 cm; depth, 2.9 cm.

Description: Greenish-beige fabric, 7.5YR 8/4 ‘pink’. Pointed, oval body with a wick hole surrounded by a ring. Grooves extend from the rim to the wick hole. Starting from the cone-shaped pointed handle, lines are used for the fishbone decoration around the wick hole.

Dating: 6th to 7th century A.D.

Reference: Tosun Yıldırım 2019: cat. no. 91; Laflı and Buora Forthcoming: no. 577.

No. 6: from the museum of Mardin, Turkey.

Acc. no. 2010–2196 (A) (formerly 1304).

Provenance: by acquisition.

State of preservation: conservation is required.

Measurements: l., 7.9 cm, body diam., 5.6 cm; mouth diam., 2 cm; bottom diam., 2.3 cm; h., 2.8 cm.

Description: Greenish-beige fabric, 5YR 8/4 'pink'. Elongated, oval body; wick hole surrounded by a ring, with grooves from the rim to the wick hole. Small conic handle; lines are used for fishbone decoration around the wick hole.

Dating: 6th to 7th century A.D.

Reference: Tosun Yıldırım 2019: cat. no. 93; Laflı and Buora Forthcoming: no. 578.

No. 7: from the museum of Mardin, Turkey.

Acc. no. 2010–8659.

Provenance: by acquisition.

Measurements: l., 5.9 cm; w., 2.1 cm; h., 3.9 cm.

Description: Pinkish clay. 10YR 8/3 very pale brown. The decoration on the shoulder is included in a sort of crescent, with a raised edge.

Dating: 7th to 8th century A.D.; 7th century according to Tosun Yıldırım 2019.

Reference: Tosun Yıldırım 2019: cat. no. 94; Laflı and Buora Forthcoming: no. 579.

No. 8: from the museum of Mardin, Turkey.

Acc. no. 2010–2198 (A) (formerly 1482).

Provenance: by acquisition.

State of preservation: conservation is required, due to the calcified surface.

Measurements: l., 8.0 cm; body diam., 6.0 cm; mouth diam., 1.2 cm; wick hole diam., 2.0 cm; h., 3.5 cm.

Description: Greenish-beige fabric, 10YR 8/6 'yellow'. Oval body. Grooves extend from the rim to the wick hole. Starting from the cone-shaped pointed handle, lines are used for the fishbone decoration around the wick hole. Its base is decorated with a cross.

Dating: 7th to 8th century A.D.

Reference: Tosun Yıldırım 2019: cat. no. 92; Laflı and Buora Forthcoming: no. 580.

No. 9: from the museum of Mardin, Turkey.

Acc. no. 2010–2080 (A); former acc. no. 557.

Provenance: by acquisition.

Measurements: l., 10.2 cm; w., 7.6 cm; h., 3.5 cm.

Description: Pinkish clay. 2.5Y 8/2 pale brown. Grooves extend from the rim to the wick hole. Lines starting from the cone-shaped pointed handle.

Dating: 7th to 8th century A.D.

Reference: Tosun Yıldırım 2019: cat. no. 89; Laflı and Buora Forthcoming: no. 575.

No. 10: from the museum of Mardin, Turkey.

Acc. no. 2010–2086 (A); former acc. no. 24.

Provenance: by acquisition.

Measurements: l., 9.4 cm; w., 6.8 cm; h., 3.6 cm.

Description: Pinkish clay. 2.5Y 8/3 pale brown. The decoration on the shoulder is included in a sort of crescent, with a raised edge.

Dating: late 5th to 8th century A.D.; 7th century according to Tosun Yıldırım 2019.

Reference: Tosun Yıldırım 2019: cat. no. 90; Laflı and Buora Forthcoming: no. 576.

No. 11: from the museum of Mardin, Turkey.

Acc. no. 2013–9608.

Measurements: l., 8.9 cm; w., 6.8 cm; h., 3.9 cm.

Findspot: Mardin area (?), purchased.

Description: Pinkish clay. 10YR 7/3 very pale brown. The decoration on the shoulder is included in a sort of crescent, with a raised edge.

Dating: 7th to 8th century A.D.; 7th century according to Tosun Yıldırım 2019.

Reference: Tosun Yıldırım 2019: cat. no. 88; Laflı and Buora Forthcoming: no. 574.

Maps and plates



Map 1. Places referred to in south-eastern Turkey and northern Syria (by S. Pataci, 2021).



Map 2. Places referred to in Israel and Lebanon (by S. Pataci, 2021).

Plate I, no. 1. Byzantine and Early Islamic rayed lamps from Berytus, Lebanon (after Turquety-Pariset [1982: fig. 11, 73]); no. 2. from 'Anab al-Safinah, Syria (after Modrzewska-Marciniak [1977: fig. 23, 1]); nos. 3–6. from the Collection Bouvier, Switzerland (after Chrzanovski [2015a: nos. 229, 230, 231, 236]).



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



231

No. 5



236

No. 6

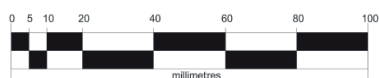
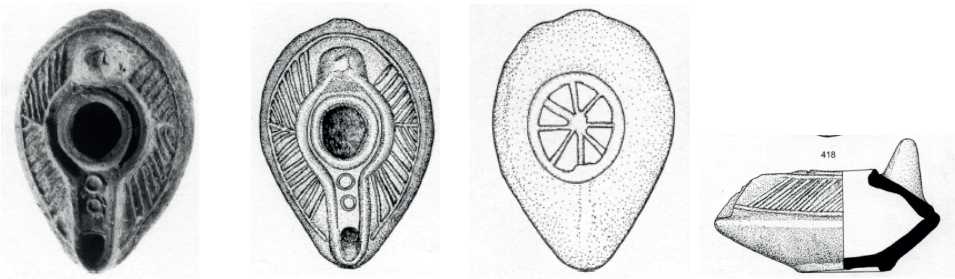
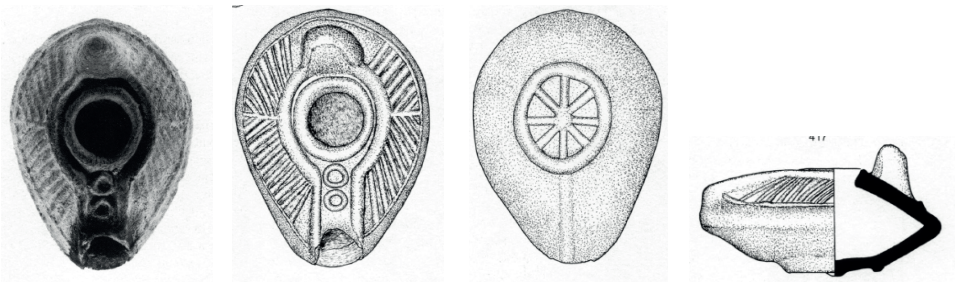


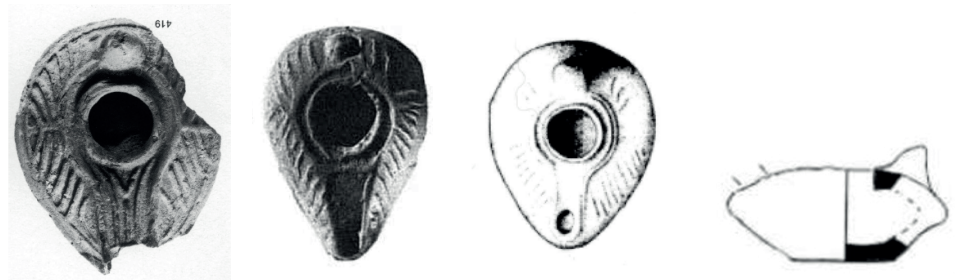
Plate II, nos. 1–3. Byzantine and Early Islamic rayed lamps from Beit She'an, Israel (after Hadad [2002: nos. 417–419]); no. 4. from Khirbat al-Karak (Beth Yerah or Philoteria), Israel (after Delougaz and Haines [1960: pl. 44, 15]); no. 5. from Hippos (Sussita), Israel (after Młynarczyk [2011: fig. 2, no. 1]).



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3

No. 4

No. 5

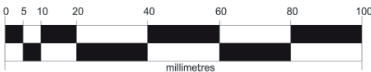
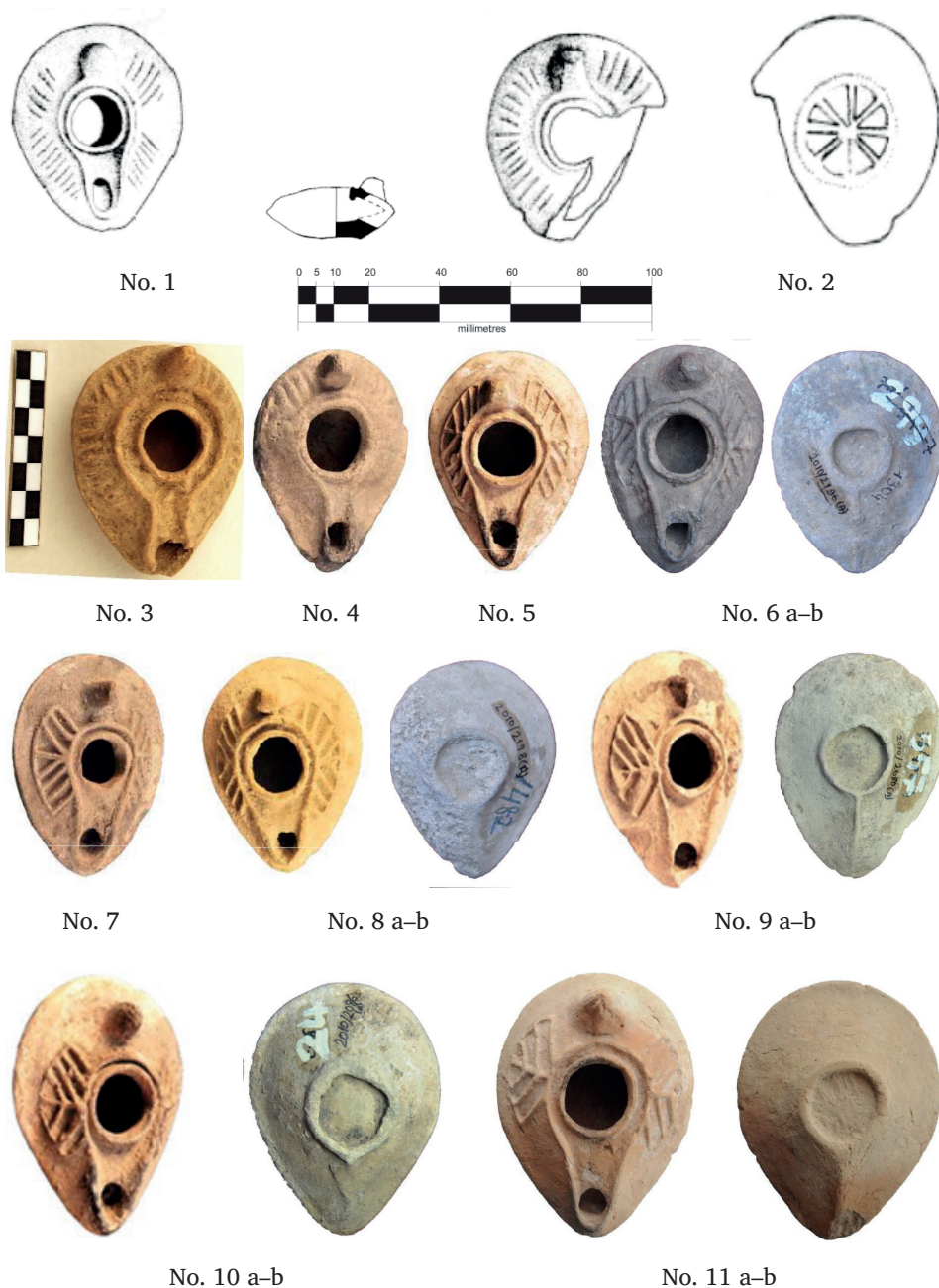


Plate III, nos. 1–2. Byzantine and Early Islamic from Hippos (Sussita), Israel (after Młynarczyk [2011: fig. 2, nos 2–3]); no. 3. from the museum of Malatya, Turkey (photo by T. Yiğit, 2013); nos. 4–11. from the museum of Mardin, Turkey (photos by R. Demir, 2014).



Abbreviations

acc. no.	accession number
diam.	diameter
fig.	figure
h.	height
l.	length
pl.	plate
w.	width

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For the study of Plate III, nos. 4–11 located at the museum of Mardin, authorization was given Ms. Rojin Demir (Mardin/Izmir), in the course of her B.A. thesis at the Dokuz Eylül University in Izmir, by the museum's directors. Documentation was carried out in 2014 by R. Demir herself, who also took the enclosed photographs.

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***Khalilollah par Khalilollah:
On Memoirs of Khalilollah Khalili
as an Autobiographical Text***

Abstract The subject of this research is the *Memoirs* of Khalilollah Khalili with particular reference to the subjectivity and identity of the autobiographical self. The text is divided into nine parts discussing the following issues: (1) Khalilollah Khalili; (2) title; (3) language—its form and style; (4) subject matter; (5) heterogeneity of genres; (6) authenticity and inauthenticity of the memoirs; (7) audience; (8) eventual inspiration; (9) the self; and (10) conclusions.

Keywords Afghanistan, autobiography, Khalilollah Khalili, literature, the self

But are we so certain that autobiography depends on
reference, as a photograph depends on its subject or
a (realistic) picture on its model?
(de Man 1979: 920)

Tout ceci doit être considéré comme dit par
un personnage de roman.
(Barthes 2002: 577)

No one has ever seen the self. It has no visible shape,
nor does it occupy measurable space. It is an abstraction,
like other abstractions equally elusive: the individual,
the mind, the society. Yet it has a history of its own
which informs and draws upon the larger history
of our last two centuries, a time in which the idea
of the self became a great energizing force in politics and culture.
(Howe 1991: 56)

1 Introduction

This article contains some loose comments on the autobiography *sensu largo* that I made while reading *Memoirs of Khalilullah Khalili* (hereafter: *Memoirs*) by the Afghan poet Khalilullah Khalili.¹ As a conceptual framework in which I place these comments, I use texts by Lejeune, especially his *Autobiographical Pact* (1975), and by de Man, primarily his *Autobiography as De-facement* (1986). Nonetheless, I do not treat them as the only methodological basis, but as a starting point for my own reflections on the multidimensionality of the text I am interested in as it escapes simple descriptions or unambiguous evaluations. Such an approach explains some references to the works of other scholars working on similar topics, including a small but inspiring book by Anderson simply entitled *Autobiography* (2001), in which the British researcher emphasises the fact that: '[f]or these critics [Lejeune, Weintraub—MMPK], autobiographies are seen as providing proof of the validity and importance of a certain conception of authorship: authors who have authority over their own texts and whose writings can be read ad forms of direct access to themselves' (Anderson 2001: 3).

The task I have set myself here is twofold—both descriptive and analytical.

Firstly, I focus on a work which, due to its genre hybridity, thematic heterogeneity or the complex issue of authorship, escapes simple descriptions and clear evaluations. It is impossible to avoid an attempt to systematise its classification, so it is worth explaining beforehand that it tends more towards (*quasi*-)journals or (*pseudo*-)diaries than (*auto*)biography *sensu stricto*. The distinction between autobiography, journal or diary that I am using here is borrowed from *Dictionary of Literary Terms* by Shaw (1972), and from *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* by Baldick (1990).

Secondly, I am interested in the very process of constructing the autobiographical self that exists in *Memoirs*. The basic questions that arise while reading them concern their performative character. Who constructs and/or expresses the autobiographical alter ego of self? Is it the author himself or maybe a third person? I refer to this problem in the title, which is a travesty of the title of the autobiography *Roland Barthes par Roland*

¹ The text was originally prepared as a speech to be delivered during the open seminar *Literatura dokumentu osobistego w perspektywie międzykulturowej* [*The (auto)biographical literature in an intercultural perspective*] organised at the University of Warsaw by the Faculty of Oriental Studies and the Institute of Polish Culture between 18th and 19th November 2019.

Barthes (1975) because, as the authors of *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism* notice:

While the disembodied, abstract author of the network of signs does indeed become an embodied and particular author, the body and bibliography are both seen as historical, and both are structured like text. [...] *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes* [*Roland Barthes par Roland Barthes*—MMPK] does not create a person respectively but gives an alphabetically arranged mosaic of the preoccupations of someone who is just like a character in a novel. (Leitch et al. 2001: 1460)

Preceding the facts to which I relate in section 9, throughout the text I use the term ‘(the) self’, following *The Self in Literature* by I. Howe (1991), when referring to the author/autobiographer made present in *Memoirs*.

Memoirs represent the literary tradition in which the autobiographical self is born relatively late and under external influence. For the Afghan literary tradition, like the Islamic tradition as a whole, in pre-industrial times did not encourage writers to focus on the individual—Dale believes that the vector of collective thinking was set to: ‘[d]iscourage evocations or depictions of idiosyncratic personalities in favour of representations of impersonal stereotypes’ (Dale 1990: 37). According to von Grunebaum, social relations and attitudes, religious values, and literary conventions typical of Islamic society in the pre-industrial period or, considering the phenomenon in the spirit of E. Said, in the (pre-)colonial one, favoured the collectiveness of the individual over their individuality. This in turn resulted in autobiographical descriptions using templates aimed at depersonalising the literary subject (von Grunebaum 1953: 221–257, 258–293).² The breakthrough in the approach to the formal side of autobiography and the breakthrough in the hitherto relations between the individual and the work of art came only with the opening of Islamic literatures to the European one through translations, which took place in the 19th century (Anushe 1376/1997–1998: II 544).

2 Khalilollah Khalili

Khalilollah Khalili (Kabul 1907 – Islamabad 1987; hereafter: Khalilollah) was an Afghan, Pashtun by birth, Dari-speaking poet, novelist, academic teacher, government official and diplomat. As a poet, he observed the

² G.E. Von Grunebaum’s theses should be confronted with research on women’s pilgrimage journals currently conducted by P. Bachtin, especially with his *Women’s Writing in Action: On Female-authored Hajj Narratives in Qajar Iran* (2020).

classical Khorasani style,³ and was a merited follower of 11th-century Persian poet Abolhasan Ali ebn-e Juluq Farrokhi Sistani, who is considered as one of the chief representatives of this literary school. Nevertheless, many critics also find some features of the Iraqi style⁴ in his work. The 1980s are considered to be the most important period in his artistic life, when he fought with the pen for Afghanistan's independence and the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, publishing, *inter alia*, a collection of poems entitled *Ashka-vo khunha* [*Tears and Drops of Blood*] in 1985. The poems he composed at that time belong to the broader strand of the Afghan literature of resistance (Dari *adabiyat-e moqavemat*):

In Pakistan, I met leaders of the freedom fighters. My efforts were three-dimensional: 1. To campaign through my pen for the continuation of the Jihad, 2. To bring unity of thought among the mujahideen (freedom fighters), and 3. To unify the mujahideen on the war front. (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 14)

Contrary to his poetry, his prose works are of a much lower level. Although his novels are characterised by a rich and vivid language, they lack well-tailored characters or narrative structures.⁵

Khalilollah's turbulent life mirrors the complex history of the 20th-century Afghanistan. He was born into a respected family of Mohammad-Hoseyn Khan who, being in charge of the finance and taxation of the kingdom, served as the *mostofiyo-l-mamalek* ('chancellor of the realm') of Habibollah Khan (1901–1919). In 1919, shortly after the assassination of the king, Mohammad-Hoseyn Khan, being accused of representing *ancien régime*, was haltered on the order of Amanullah Khan (1919–1929). The father's execution was followed by the confiscation of family's all property. For several years, Khalilollah became the sole breadwinner of the younger siblings. When Habibollah II *vel* Bachche-ye Saqa' (1929) overthrew Amanullah Khan in January 1929, Khalilollah joined the self-proclaimed Tajik ruler, and after his fall in December 1929 he had to seek refuge out-

³ The Khorasani style (Dari *sabk-e khorasani*) was the first period of Persian poetry (9th–12th c.). It was characterised by, *inter alia*, archaic linguistic features and limited use of Arabic loanwords as well as concrete images and metaphors. It was reintroduced during the literary revival (Dari *bazgasht*) period (18th–20th c.) (Anushe 1376/1997–1998: II 792–793).

⁴ The Iraqi style (Dari *sabk-e iraqi*) was the second period of Persian poetry (12th–15th c.). It was characterised by, *inter alia*, greater number of Arabic loanwords as well as more elaborate metaphors and turn towards spiritualism (Anushe 1376/1997–1998: II 794–795).

⁵ More on Khalilollah see, e.g. Ahmadi (2008: 119–120), Bečka (1989), Dvorjankov (1960: 297, 300, 342), Farzad (1377/1998–1999), Gerasimova and Girs (1963: 171–174), Hadi (1365), Hoseynzad (1385), Klimburg (1966: 211) and Mashayekh Feriduni (1366/1987–1988).

side the country, in the Soviet Union. He returned to the country after the amnesty was announced by Mohammad Nader Khan (1929–1933). Soon he also began to slowly build his position as a poet and a government official, although it was neither easy nor quick since in 1944, he was firstly imprisoned and later exiled to Kandahar because of the Safi tribal revolt—Khalilollah belonged to this Pashtun tribe inhabiting western Afghanistan.

Thorough education, which he received as a child, especially in the field of classical Persian literature, made him interested in composing poetry and in becoming an academic teacher. Over time he also began his career as a government official, *inter alia*, an ambassador to Iraq and Saudi Arabia. The turning point in his life was 1978 when the left-wing military *coup d'état* supported by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, called officially the April Revolution (Dari *enqelab-e saur*), took place. That time he served as an ambassador to one of the Middle East countries. In the circumstances he decided not to return to Afghanistan, but rather to go into exile, *inter alia*, to the United States. Towards the end of his life, he settled in Pakistan, where he supported the *émigré* and anti-communist circles. He died there in 1987 and was buried in Peshawar but his remains were reburied in Kabul in 2013.

As above-mentioned, Khalilollah's life reflects the twisted path of Afghan history in the 20th century, a path marked by the struggle to regain full independence from Great Britain in 1919 (The Third Anglo-Afghan War), attempts to modernise the tradition-based multi-ethnic Afghan society (Amanollah Khan's reforms), struggles against dirigiste changes (the 1923 Alizay rebellion, the 1924 Mangal uprising), growing Pashtun nationalism, attempts to build a supra-ethnic society, attempts to build a parliamentary system (the 1964 constitution), painful experiences of the socialist period (1980s). Many of these threads appear in his extensive autobiographical analysed here. Khalilollah was, after all, the living history of Afghanistan:

His memoirs are a living history of Afghanistan. He was an eyewitness to the rule of five of its kings and its first president. (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 11)

3 Title

Khalilollah's memoirs had been originally published in Persian under the title *Yaddashtha-ye ostad Khalilollah Khalili* (Qavi-Kushan 1390/2011–2012), and later translated into English as *Memoirs of Khalilullah Khalili* (Nasiri and Khalili 2013).⁶

⁶ All quotations to be found in the article coming from this English edition.

The editors, i.e. Khalilollah's daughter (Khalili) and his son-in-law (Nasiri), decided to translate the Persian noun *yaddashtha* (sg. *yaddasht*) into English as 'memoirs' which should be regarded as a proper solution although not so precise. The dictionary definition of *yaddasht[ha]* includes such meanings as: (1) 'note, memo, record'; (2) 'annotation, remark'; (3) 'brief comment'; (4) 'remark made in the margin'; (5) 'memorandum' (Anvari 1383/2004–2005: II 2648; Aryanpur Kashani 1382/2003: 1427).⁷ As one can conclude, the semantics of the lexeme *yaddasht[ha]* is modelled by its derivational basis, i.e. the noun *yad* 'memory, recollection, remembrance' (Anvari 1383/2004–2005: II 2647–2648; Aryanpur Kashani 1382/2003: 1426), which determines the shape and direction of the relation between the subject (here: the author) and the object (here: the author's life). Hence *yaddashtha* (always in plural) are rather commentaries on the contents that constitute a life *per se*. In this regard, *Yaddashtha-ye ostad-e Khalilollah Xalili/Memoirs of Khalilullah Khalili* take the form not so much of remarks made in the fictional perspective of a voice from beyond the grave, as de Man (1986: 315) would put it, but of comments on what has already passed, made while living. These are characterised by a considerable temporal distance from the evoked events, which take the form of reworked testimonies of past people, places and events. In this way, the gap between action time and narrative time is highlighted.

Translating the title as 'journal(s)' would be a far-reaching simplification, especially since one of the coherent features of a journal is chronology, present at least in the elementary dating of individual entries. There is no such thing in *Memoirs* and the chronology can be partly reconstructed only thanks to an a priori knowledge of the biography of self.

4 Language

As the editors assure us that the language of *Memoirs* reflects that of Khalilollah: '[w]e have published these memoirs as told by the Ustad keeping intact the authenticity of his words and whatever the poet said about the ups and downs in his life' (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 4), or '[o]ur goal is to honour the integrity of his words, keep his thoughts intact, and preserve his stories and voice for future generations' (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 11).

⁷ The term *yaddasht-e ruzane* '(daily) notes' means 'a journal'. 'Diary writing', on the other hand, is *khaterenevisi*, i.e. verbatim 'writing down memories', where *khater* means a 'memoir'. 'A diary' is *daftar-e khaterat*, i.e. 'a notebook of memoirs', or *sharh-e hal*, whereby *sharh-e hal* is also 'a biography' or 'a resume'. In Persian there is also no uniform term for autobiography, which is called *khodzendeginame*, *khishname*, *sargozasht-e khod* or *hasb-e hal*.

Simultaneously, they emphasise that their edition is not a literal translation of Khalilollah's reminiscence:

The English translation is not verbatim. We have kept the content and the spirit of what Ustad Khalili wanted to convey, intact. (Nasiri, Kahlili 2013: 12)

Unfortunately, the English translation does not allow us to discuss any phonetic traces of the spoken language eventually present in *Memoirs*, which is a pity because it would have given the work a clearer shade of naturalness. Nevertheless, *Memoirs* are clearly realistic in character. On the stylistic level, their matter-of-factness is only rarely adorned with ellipses, hyperboles or metaphors. One cannot say that their language is banal, although one cannot help noticing at the same time certain roughness or dryness resulting from unexpressed need to share all the self's knowledge even if it means overloading with dates, facts, names or other relevant information:

The school had four grades, 120 students and five teachers. My brother, Najibullah, and I were promoted from first grade to fourth grade. I remember very well that in math, literature, and writing I surpassed the teacher. On days when the teacher was absent, I would teach the second and third grades. (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 31)

or:

We were together with Fazal Ahmad Khan, the Minister of Justice, and head of the delegation, Osman Khan Amir, Abdul Rahman Khan Popal, Qasim Sharifi, myself, and a couple of others. We were stuck in the Moqor Hotel for seven days because of bad weather. The nights were very unpleasant. Our clothes were in the cars that were following us and were left behind because of the snow. Unfortunately, I was used to smoking, and my cartons of cigarettes were in the cars behind us. We could not find cigarettes in Moqor. That left us with our only alternative, smoking tobacco the social way, through a hookah or water pipe that is shared by several smokers. (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 165)

Such roughness or dryness is, however, interspersed with a personal perspective that lessens its presence:

I cannot forget the moment I observed a mother whose only son's leg was amputated. The doctor advised him to wait until he could be fitted with an

artificial limb. Her son wanted to go back to the front, however, to fight the infidel Soviet invaders. Neither I, nor the doctor, could convince him not to go. The youth took leave with his mother's blessing and returned to the front where bravery, guns, and death were waiting to welcome him. (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 13).

This can be best seen by juxtaposing *Memoirs* with Khalilollah's pseudo-biographical novel *Ayyar-i az Khorasan. Amir-e Habibollah – khadem-e din-e rasul Allah* [A Vagabond from Khorasan. Emir Habibollah—Servant of the Religion of Messenger of God].⁸ The language of the novel is full of various stylistic devices which not only allow the reader to establish a closer relationship with the main character, but also reflect the author's personal attitude towards his protagonist. The language of the *Memoirs*, meanwhile, is characterised by factuality, informativeness and a well-disguised objectivity.

Several factors influenced the linguistic and stylistic form of *Memoirs*. First of all, the fact that the material was originally composed in two languages—Persian and English. Khalilollah prepared his parts in Persian, while his son-in-law, Nasiri wrote his own comments, short notes and questions in English.⁹ These comments, short notes and questions in English were later translated into Persian by his wife, Khalili, and only then submitted to Khalilollah who delivered some answers. It remains unclear whether Nasiri's English comments and short notes have been incorporated into the English translation of *Memoirs*, or not. As one can see, translation-and-retranslation occupies a crucial position in the crea-

⁸ *Ayyar-i az Khorasan* tells the story of Habibollah Kalakini (?–1929), a poor man who took various jobs over the years and who led the popular revolt against Amanollah Khan (1919–1929) and ruled between January and December 1929 as the self-proclaimed king. It was no coincidence that Khalilollah undertook this topic. Habibollah Kalakini the protagonist was well known to him because, as the author claimed, he was a gardener in the house belonging to the author's father. Moreover, after taking power by Habibollah Kalakini in 1929, the author became his close associate. *Ayyar-i az Khorasan* therefore contains a number of biographical and autobiographical threads, and as such complements some pieces of information contained in *Memoirs*. (And vice versa, these pieces of information contained in *Memoirs* allow for a deeper interpretation of the novel). See Kłagisz (2018) and Parvanta (1999).

⁹ As Nasiri explains himself in the *Introduction*: '[h]aving grown up in India, my educational career was entirely in English [...]. I moved to Afghanistan in 1972, where I began to improve my Persian. While there, I was a young journalist working as a member of the editorial board of the Kabul Times, the only English language daily newspaper of Afghanistan [...]. We began recording Ustad Khalili's memoirs one evening in May 1983. While my initial notes on Khalili's memoirs were in Persian, I soon switched to English, a language with which I was professionally fluent' (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 10).

tive process (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 4, 9–11). The question of translating *Memoirs* into English is even more interesting as the fourth voice, that of the proof-reader of the translation prepared by the editors, appears as well (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 2).

5 Subject matter

The thematic diversity of *Memories* is impressive. They cover personal, cultural as well as social or political issues; surprisingly, the proportion of topics related to literature and literary criticism is rather limited:

We reached Kabul in the evening. I prayed at the Shah-e-do-shamshera mosque and prayed to the soul of my mother on her grave, which is at Shat-e-do-shamshera. (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 111)

I, along with many other poets in Afghanistan, was asked to write a poem or ode for the occasion of welcoming Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani's remains home. The poem would be read at the tomb. As God is my witness, if I had known that my teacher and mentor Hazrat, Poet Laureate, Betab was also participating, or if I had any inkling people would compare my poetry to his, or consider my poetry better than his, I would not have written the ode. Or, if I had written it, I would have given it a different style. I should have asked for his blessing before writing it. Unfortunately, this didn't happen, and I wrote my poem. [...] As soon as Hazrat Ustad Saljoqi saw my poem, which I had written in the stanza style (in poetry, a stanza is a unit within a large poem), he took my poem to his Highness Sardar Mohammad Naim Khan and said, "Wah Wah" (an Afghan expression of praise, similar to "Bravo!"). After reading it, Naim Khan responded, "Poetry cannot be better than this! This is beautiful! Khalili's poem should definitely be read, and the title of Ustad should also be bestowed on him." The Sardar continued, "I wish this had occurred a few days before this, so that the Poet Laureate title could have been bestowed on him, too." When I learned what was said, I abhorred the idea. I did not want to be Poet Laureated. I, to this day, do not like that. (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 248)

or:

[...] the government was busy providing three sets of dress clothes to the civil servants to appear as a progressive nation. Well, this may have been the trend in some other eastern countries also. I have called it "showing off," and I have incorporated this in my poem, which I titled after the one who picks thorns from a field, *Naalai Kharak* (Cries of a Thorn Picker).

If reader hear my poem, they will see why, in the middle of all this government pomp and glamour, I wrote an ode at that time. Even though I was a Director of a Department in the Prime Ministry, a high-ranking official, and I owned a few acres of land in the north, I was still affected by this disparity. One day a friend of mine invited us for dinner. One of my sons, Nejatullah, was with me. It was a winter evening, and I cannot forget it, Nejat wore a coat. The host offered to hang it up, but my son resisted. The house was warm. The more the host insisted, the more my son clung to his clothes, signalling he did not want to take the coat off. Finally, his mother told the host to leave him with the coat. After the dinner, on our way back home, I asked him, “Why didn’t you take off your coat?” He answered, “Dad, every day you are either at the Court or in your office. You never see this. Under this coat, my shirt and my clothes are ripped in several places. I did not want to reveal this for my friends to see in their house, so I did not want to take off my coat. (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 225).

The multitude of issues raised by the self makes it impossible to decide whether they are superimposed on the basis of *Memoirs*, i.e. the personality of the self, or whether they themselves constitute the core of the narrative, around which it is wrapped. An even greater problem is generated by the weak presence of the personal dimension of the self in their content. The reader only occasionally enters the sphere of the intimacy of the self, which in such situations never *de facto* goes beyond generalities—if, as Beaujour writes, autobiography is an attempt to find the order of life, then *Memoirs* do not fulfil this role at all (Beaujour 1979: 317).

Two strictly political dedications testify to the fact that we are dealing with accounts of the world outside the self rather than inside ‘[t]o all those who languished under the oppressive rule of former Afghan leaders’ (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 1), and ‘[t]o the brave nation of Afghanistan’ (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 1), given as a motto. A trace of the more personal nature of *Memoirs*, on the other hand, is the opening sentence: ‘[t]his is for you, my sweet Marie’ (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 13), directing the whole story towards his daughter.

There is no ending in *Memoirs*. The reader is warned of this already in the *Introduction* (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 12), and can also deduce it from the reading and the editors’ comment ‘[t]he *Memoirs* end here abruptly’ (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 480). The time caesura marking the end of *Memoirs* is the visit Khalilollah made to Iran in the 1960s (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 479–480). His unexpected departure for Pakistan and sudden death caused the subject and object of his *Memoirs* to fall silent forever, without completing the entire project. Such an open narrative without an ending leaves the reader with a difficult feeling of disappointment. I mention this because, as Galant

says, in reading a personal document it is not only the author who matters, but also the reader who through reading allows themselves to be entangled in the content of the narrative he/she interprets (Galant 2010: 196).

6 Heterogeneity of genres

Memoirs took the intriguing form of a hybrid which combines various forms of expression—from sparse personal exemplifications on family subjects to dominant *quasi*-scientific lectures on socio-political issues; from a *quasi*-journal devoid of dates (and places), through a loose diary, to a text which tends towards an autobiographical document; from modest confessions of a lyrical subject, through a strong journalistic discourse, to residual philosophical notes:

I asked Nazir Hakim to ask Hashim Khan where I should stay in the night, because my brothers were in prison and I didn't have a house in Kabul. Nazir Hakim brought the message, "Wala Hazrat (His Highness) says, 'Go wherever you want to. If you stay in the Arg, the enemies of the government will say you have been imprisoned.'" (Naziri, Khalili 2013: 112)

Let mi tell you a story about my father's car. After Amir Habibullah Khan, and his sons, the Regent, Amanullah Khan and Inayatullah Khan, I think they had a total of eight to ten cars in the Royal Family. The first person outside of the Royal Family to have a car was my father around 1918. This has been documented in the book based on the notes and letters of A.C. Jewett. The amir had pressed my father to buy a car, and he did. It was a small Fiat convertible with a canvas top. It could not seat more than four or five people. The car horn was like a small balloon outside of the driver's side, which had to be pressed to honk and warn people. [...] My father was very happy to ride in his car" (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 360–361)

During this time the issue of Pashtunistan (Pakhtoonistan) rose to prominence. (Pashtunistan is an historical area populated by indigenous people reaching back to the first millennium. Since it was divided between British India and Afghanistan in 1893—Amir Abdur Rahman Khan—it has been a place of contention). Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan and Sardar Mohammad Naim Khan, who had recently risen to power, (Daoud Khan became Prime Minister 1953–1963 and later first President of Afghanistan, 1973–1978) were not very happy that their uncle, Shah Mahmud Khan, was Prime Minister. In their opinion, Sardar Mohammad Hashim Khan was the rightful Prime Minister. They considered themselves, and no one else, to be heirs of Hashim Khan's legacy. They also held the view that the de-

scendants of Mohammad Yosuf Khan should rule Afghanistan in a bifurcation of power. The sons of one mother, Mohammad Nadir Khan, Shah Wali Khan, and Shah Mahmud Khan, should be content with the rulers of the crown. Thus Mohammad Zahir Shah, the son of Mohammad Nadir Shah, became the king after the death of his father (1933). The owners of the crown and the son of the other wife, who were the sons of Mohammad Aziz Khan, should take executive power of the country. In their thinking, the Prime Ministry should be inherited. (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 399)

or:

The next day we went to the funeral of Sardar Hashim Khan. His body was placed in a coffin in front of Dilkusha Palace in Kabul for viewing by mourners. They used chunam (an Indian plaster made from shell-lime and sand), then marked white lines in front of it for the hight VIPs to stand, with others standing in line behind them. The first line was marked for cabinet ministers the second line or row was for foreign ambassadors from Islamic countries. The third row was for the parliamentarians, and the fourth was for intellectuals and scholars. The fifth and final row was for family, friends, and other close to Hashim Khan. All this was written down. I did not find a place for myself among the kings' advisors, so I stood to the side, in a corner. Abdul Malik Khan, the new Minister of Finance for Daoud Khan, handled most of the arrangements. He was a very active, sincere, and organized man. He approached me, unaware I had been appointed as an adviser to the king. The announcement had not yet been published in the newspaper. He wasn't very friendly to me. He said, "You're also here? Why don't you go and stand in the area marked for general public?" I replied, "I wish I had been allowed to stand with the general public. However, I am here on duty." The Chief Secretary of the King interjected, "Yes, he's the new Media Adviser to the King [...]. Funeral prayers were offered, and the funeral took place at Eid Gah (the congregational mosque). Sardar Hashim Khan was laid to rest near his brothers and his uncles and was left there to answer the Almighty." (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 473–474).

This genre hybridity places *Memoirs* on the borderline between a personal document and other literary genres such as report, and to a much lesser extent essay or column.

The fact *Memoirs* have the subtitle *A Conversation with His Daughter, Marie* may direct the reader's first associations towards works such as *Mój wiek: Pamiętnik mówiony* [*My Century: A Spoken Diary*], which is a record of extensive conversations with the Polish poet, writer and art theoretician, Wat (1900–1967), conducted by the Polish poet, prose writer, trans-

lator and diplomat, Czesław Miłosz, in 1965 (Wat 1990). In fact, *Memoirs* can hardly be called an extended interview *par excellence*, i.e. a genre bordering on journalism and non-fiction. There is no clearly distinguishable, independent second interlocutor because Khalili remains a mute listener—one might even get the impression that she and the reader merge into one, even though phrases addressed to her scattered throughout the text constitute intratextual clasps binding it together:

Yes, my daughter Marie, you have again insisted I continue to write the story of my life. This is not an easy thing to do. A new life is needed to repeat all these stories, incidents, happenings, and anecdotes. (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 252)

or:

Marie, I'm talking to you. You are here again on this rainy day, and you are unnerving my by forcing me to continue. Where were we when we stopped yesterday? (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 288)

The whole thing is rather like an extensive monologue or soliloquy-oriented autobiography (a crucial features amplified by such expressions as: '[l]et me tell you [...]' [Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 360], '[l]et me talk about [...]' [Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 210], or: '[l]et me tell this story too. It is worth listening to [...]' [Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 357]), if we were to accept that the *Memoirs* are some form of autobiography, in which the narration led by the self results from the way in which the ghost writers, i.e. the editors, have worked out their sources. It seems that Khalilollah prepared his material in the form of mini-recordings but, apparently, was not interested in any correction of facts: '[h]e never listened to the tape recordings and as a result, never had the opportunity to tie together disparate stories or correct apparent conflicts regarding dates' (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 11). Finally, one cannot help the impression that the questions and editorial comments were removed during the final editing. Their preservation would have allowed a better understanding of the final character of *Memoirs*. It would also be a living testimony to the entire creative process.

Memoirs are also reminiscent of an extensive narrative divided, for practical reasons, into smaller compositional units sewn together at the intratextual level with braces scattered throughout, e.g. in the form of above-quoted phrases addressed to the daughter. Such braces may also be places, characters or references to earlier paragraphs and signals of future themes. These brackets, in their character, are traces of the originally oral character of *Memoirs*, created largely as a tape recording.

7 Authenticity and inauthenticity

As can be seen from the *Introduction*, Khalilollah never kept a diary nor journal in which he wrote down and/or commented on the more important dates and events of his life. Apparently, he never felt need for documenting his life: '[w]ell, but I have not written any of it down!' (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 10). *Memoirs* thus evoke past, reworked events unearthed from various layers of personal memory. On the one hand, we have to face Lejeune's unwritten autobiographical pact between the self and the reader that the content of the work remains in harmony with reality. On the other hand, it is impossible to ignore the phenomenon of mythologising the past present in diaries or reminiscence.

The latter problem is especially interesting because *Memoirs* also intertwine closely with Connerton's problem of remembering elaborated in his *How Societies Remember* (1989). Khalilollah, as a witness to his times, is eager to give us their testimony—he plays here the role of the author the witness more than the autobiographer the protagonist. In this sense, one of the main objectives of the editors was to show the testimony of the self and to make readers secondary witnesses to Khalilollah's life and activities—writing 'secondary witnesses', I refer to the acceptance by those who listen, here: read, i.e. readers' of *Memoirs*, stories and recognise their truth embodied in the witness, i.e. Khalilollah, granting his accounts the status of a testimony. This feature dominates the entire work as we are not reading the memoirs of Khalilollah the private person but Khalilollah the public figure, poet, writer, lecturer, and finally government official.

8 Audience

From the very beginning, *Memoirs* were written with a wide audience in mind: '[a]s we listened to his stories and his memoirs, it became clear to Marie and I we need to record this oral history for posterity' (Nasiri, Khalili 2013: 10). They are not, therefore, an example of writing which is created in the 'self ↔ self' relation, as here the 'self ↔ you' one, where 'you' is the equivalent of the addressee, becomes clearer. This broad audience includes contemporary and future generations, who need not be characterised by extensive Afghanological knowledge (That explains the *Glossary*, i.e. a list of terms such as *hadis*, *hakim* or *hamam* attached at the end of the book [Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 509–511]). Several cultural facts are continually translated on an ongoing basis by the self itself. At the request of the subject, they were not published until twenty years after his death (Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 4). First in Persian, then in English.

9 Eventual inspiration

It is difficult to know whether, and if so, which of the classical Muslim texts could be used by the self to construct their own *Memoirs*. At first sight, such a candidate could be the most famous autobiography of the Indo-Muslim world, the *Baburname* [*History of Babur*] by Zahiroddin Mohammad Babur (1483–1530), which was a unique work already at the time of its composition. Stylistically different from earlier autobiographies, full of the author's individualism, stylistically attractive and thematically rich, it has become a model worth following. Babur not only shares with his audience information about his own life, but also substantively discusses issues such as history, politics and culture. His *Baburname* is therefore not an autobiography *par excellence*, but a deeper reflection on fate, written by a mature, educated and knowledgeable autobiographer who is not afraid to take a critical look at what is behind him. What *Baburname* and *Memoirs* have in common is the fact that both authors wrote their memoirs as exiles—Babur had to flee his hometown in Ferghana as a young boy, Khalilollah was prevented from returning to the country from a diplomatic post after the 1978 military *coup d'état*. Nevertheless, a few formal features, including the complicated question of the (co)authorship of *Memoirs*, make it difficult to postulate a genetic link between the two texts.

10 The self

In their printed English version, *Memoirs* comprise over four hundred pages divided into four broad chapters (called: sections), each comprising dozens of subchapters, supplemented with two appendixes, twenty six photographs, glossary of Dari lexemes to be found in the text, and the index. This division into shorter subchapters reflects the general character of *yaddashtha* understood as comments in the margins, remarks to or observations on a subject. The individual chapters cover material arranged fairly chronologically, although different themes can, and very often do, recur in different places in *Memoirs*. The adjacent parts do not always have common themes. This partial amorphousness of *Memoirs* is a consequence of the oral character of the evocations of the self and the fact that they present material elaborated only after the death of the self.

The analysis of the autobiographical self must begin by separating the two agents which I conventionally call the self the author and the self the narrator.

The self the author is collective in nature. Not one, but at least three people were involved in the creation of *Memoirs* and, significantly, it was

not Khalilollah who came up with the idea of compiling them. The *spiritus movens* of the whole project (this term appears in the *Introduction* [Nasiri and Khalili 2013: 12]) conducted in the United States are the daughter, Khalili, and his son-in-law, Nasiri. For three years, between 1983 and 1986, they recorded Khalilollah's stories and transcribed them from tape recordings in order to supplement the transcript with his other notes, comments and previously heard stories. The draft text thus prepared was to be reviewed and corrected by Khalilollah himself. Due to his departure for Pakistan in 1986 and his death less than a year later, this did not happen. *Memoirs*, which are now in the hands of readers, therefore take the form of a collage of what he managed to record, write down or tell his loved ones while in America with the comments of those who were asked to help edit them. The collage character of *Memoirs* refers both to their content and to the techniques used in expressing the self the author.

The self the narrator is Khalilollah himself—first and foremost a poet, to a lesser extent a writer, researcher and historian of Persian literature, academic teacher and government official, and finally, ambassador for many years to Saudi Arabia or Iraq. It is this public dimension of his personality that dominates the following pages of *Memoirs*. It is interesting to note the title *ostad* 'master, teacher', often used by others when speaking of Khalilollah, which emphasises the recognition of him as an artist. It turns out that he was awarded this title not for his life's achievements, but as a reward for composing a poem read during the official funeral ceremony of the 19th-century Muslim thinker Seyyed Jamaloddin al-Afqani (1838–1897), whose remains were brought to Kabul from Istanbul in 1944. Khalilollah was thirty-seven at the time and was teaching at Kabul University, which may suggest that the title *ostad* referred more to his professional function—*ostad* also means 'academic teacher'. As said in section 1 his poetry falls within the framework of the Khorasani style, the most important of all classical literary styles in classical Persian literature, although he very familiar with modern poetry (Dari še'r-e nou) that drew on the formal achievements of European or American ones. The themes he discussed in his works revolved around, *inter alia*, people, their relationship to nature, God and transience. Researchers agree that the peak period of his work was in the 1980s, when, as a Sartre-esque committed writer he fought by word and deed for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

In the case of *Memoirs*, the correlation between the two agents—the self the author (or rather the selves the authors) and the self the narrator—remains crucial. The question arises as to how much of the autobiographical self can be traced back to the real Khalilollah, and to what extent his autobiographical self is a projection of those who undertook the task of finally

editing *Memoirs* after the speaker's death. Admittedly, the editors make it clear that their aim was to limit any traces of their own interference with the material left by Khalilollah, but it cannot be overlooked that the final form of *Memoirs* was left without final verification.

The ways in which the self constructs and/or expresses its autobiographical personality is the most interesting aspect of *Memoirs* as, given the disjunction between the self the author and the self the narrator, it would be more appropriate to consider the ways in which its autobiographical personality is made present by ghost authors. The genre hybridity of *Memoirs* and the very process of their creation play an important role in the whole process, highlighting the multidimensionality of the self in an (un)intentional way. The self appears as a passive witness and active participant of various social or political events; as their internal narrator and external commentator; as their perpetrator and reviewer; as their object and subject. This transcends the two-fold narrative, in which the self not only reports what has happened, but also determines its own relation to what has taken place. The reader has the opportunity not only to get to know the self, but also, through the self, to look at events in such a way as to better or wider understand the attitudes and views typical of the self—such an attitude also makes it possible to reconstruct reality as the self saw it, even if the self tries to give it the most objective form possible. It is impossible to overlook the fact that own acts of the self the subject do not become the matter of their deeper reflection, this reflection can only be created by the reader himself/herself, entangled through reading in the content of the narrative they interpret. *Memoirs* as an utterance are therefore directed outside, beyond the self, to the reality that is the object of description or utterance—if we referred to the dictionary of Afghan culture, we would say that the vector of narration is directed towards *zaher* (what is outside the individual), and not *baten* (what is inside the individual). The above-mentioned 'outward' vector of narration results from the adopted form of *Memoirs*, which describe not so much the life of the self against a broader socio-political background, but various socio-political issues against the background of the self's life. It is also reflected in the construction of the self's personality.

The fact that the voice of the self, which reaches us, was filtered through notes, comments and recordings made by the ghost authors supports the argument that its personality was constructed anew rather than de-constructed/re-constructed. For one cannot rid oneself of the impression that the relationship between the real and the autobiographical self is more complicated than a simple one-to-one translation. This can be seen very clearly in the passages concerning the already mentioned Habibollah Kalakani *vel* Bachche-ye Saqa'. *Memoirs* reveal that this was a person close to

Khalilollah. So close, in fact, that Khalilollah accepted offer of a job in the state administration built by the self-proclaimed Tajik king. The decision proved to be a fateful one, because after the fall of Habibollah Kalakani in December 1929, Khalilollah was forced to flee the country for some time. Scattered in several places in *Memoirs*, mentions of Habibollah Kalakani intertwine like no other with Lejeune's autobiographical pact. We give credence to Khalilollah's words because we have no reason not to trust him. What would be his purpose in claiming that Habibollah Kalakani was a gardener in his father's house, when this was not in fact the case? We accept this as true, although virtually nothing is known about Habibollah's father—even his name remains in dispute. The only thing that is certain is that he worked as a water carrier (Dari *saqa'*), i.e. one of the lowest paid and least respected professions. Nor are our doubts aroused by the descriptions of what happened in Kabul in 1929 under Habibollah Kalakani's rule, although other historical sources, such as the memoirs of Fayz Mohammad Kateb (1863–1931) entitled *Tazkirato-l-enqelab* [*Accounts on the Revolution*], urge us to be cautious (McChesney 1999). In fact, from reading both texts, emerge two contradictory images of the same figure—Habibollah Kalakani. Can we say that one of them is not telling the truth when writing about the self-proclaimed king? Khalilullah describes events in retrospect, while Fayz Mohammad Kateb provides us with a journal written *au jour le jour*. Is Khalilullah succumbing to the mythologisation of the memoir writing typical of the past? Or, are we dealing here with the projection of personal, though hidden, sympathies and prejudices towards the individual actors of the events of that time? This personal dimension appears here as very intriguing as it is made present by the reader himself/herself. Again, I have to refer to what I wrote above, that what matters in reading a personal document is not only the self, but also the reader, who allows himself/herself to be entangled, through reading, in the content of the narrative they interpret.

Although the self is both a witness and the main protagonist of *Memoirs*, it does not often focus its attention on its own inner life—parents, childhood, one's own family appear in various places, but they do not become the subject of consideration, perhaps because the self only partially realises its own reflections? Filtered through the performative action of ghost authors, they become absent, and so must be made present by the reader. This element of intimacy scattered throughout *Memoirs*, resulting from the principle of limited retrospectivity applied by the self, is not given to the reader in a direct way. It is rather superimposed on the text, which is why it can be noticed only after a longer reading—and again the motif of the reader entangled in the narrative. However, we cannot deny *Memoirs* that they are in their essence a record of reflections of the self which might be

described as narcissistic. For one can sense in them traces of individualism based on an extensive interest in the experience of the individual. The self does not retreat into the shadows, although its seemingly innate or even false modesty orders it to constantly diminish its position. Despite these efforts, one might be tempted to say that the image of the autobiographical self built in *Memoirs* takes on a rather apologetic form.

When talking about the intimacy of *Memoirs* and the extent to which the personal element is involved in the construction and/or expression of the self, it is necessary to refer to what I have said before, namely that the subjectivity of description is minimised in many places. This is the case, for example, in childhood, when Khalilollah's father, for not entirely clear reasons, was arrested and executed on the order of Amanollah Khan, and all his property confiscated for the benefit of the state. It would seem that in the memories of the eleven-year-old Khalilollah, who overnight became the sole caretaker of his younger siblings, was exiled to the countryside, deprived of his livelihood, some images of deep resentment or even disgust towards his oppressor are preserved. Meanwhile, the passages in which he talks about his father and his *de facto* undeserved death, which he spends over a dozen pages on, are virtually devoid of any emotional element. One might even get the impression that we are not dealing here with memoirs, but with an academic lecture on the fate of an individual in confrontation with authority. Amanollah Khan in Khalilollah's memoirs is neither bad nor good, he remains a neutral figure. The statements about his reforms that led to his eventual downfall are more reminiscent of texts extracted from a school textbook than from a personal document. What could justify this misleadingly neutral attitude? Is it the result of working through the trauma of losing his father? A reworking that took place before the self started recording memories? There are two possible answers to this question—either the self tones down its story because it views it in a mirror of the past, or its form results from the style of expression adopted at the beginning of the project, in which the emotional factor was greatly reduced.

It is impossible to analyse this issue without looking more broadly at how he approached the question of life and death in his work. In one of his quatrains (*Dari roba'i*) he wrote:

We are actors and spectators in the theatre of life,
Perplexed by our own affairs and those of the world.
We are puppets in the hands of time,
We dance as others play us. (Khalilollah 1981: 36)¹⁰

¹⁰ The English and Arabic translation can be found on page 36 and the original in Dari on page 37.

Thus he clearly refers to the work of the master of this genre—Omar Khayyam (11th/12th):

We are puppets, the sky is a juggler,
And that's real, not just figuratively;
We'll jump here for a while, on this board
and then return one by one to the box of non-being.¹¹

In the other, one cannot forget the clear trace of the activity of the editors, who stitched together different texts and different sources.

The complexity of this problem can be better seen when we look at it from a further perspective. By contrasting the information collected in *Memoirs* with the content of the aforementioned novel *Ayyar-i az Khorasan*, we can see the personal relationship of the self to Amanollah Khan. But what if the reader has not read the novel?

Even more interesting is the story of his father against the background of his memories of his mother, who died when Khalilollah was a few years old. These are much more vivid, emotional and personal, though not intimate. His attachment to his mother is best expressed in a poem dedicated to her, which is included in *Memoirs*. In fact, it is one of the few passages in which the self quotes its own work searching for reflections on its own work in *Memoirs*, for any evaluation of its own output, for a confrontation with the artist's personality, is to no avail.

In a similar tone to the recollections of his mother are the reminiscences related to his arrest, which took place in the 1940s. In response to the rebellion of a part of the Safi tribe, the government decided to apply collective responsibility. Khalilollah, who had taken no part in the protests, ended up in prison for several months and then in exile in Kandahar for a few years. The passages in which he recounts his arrest and imprisonment are extremely personal. The most intimate is the passage in which he recalls a failed suicide attempt. As he explains, terrified that his wife and children might also have been sent to prison, he fell into a deep depression. The confrontation of his thoughts at the time with his later reflections, the emotionality confronted with a calm, not to say cool, assessment of his own behaviour, is engaging. This is one of the few places where the self not only recalls facts from memory, but also attempts to reconstruct the emotions accompanying them. More often we are dealing with superimposing a later emotional perspective on earlier events, which must have its source in the form of writing adopted at the beginning. After

¹¹ Own translation based on the Polish version of the quatrain found in Dulęba (1977: 108).

all, the self is persuaded by his daughter to try not so much to summarise his own life, but rather to recount it as a fully public person. Hence the individual pages are dominated by the self of a lecturer or civil servant, rather than a son or father.

The temporal distance or the complex question of authorship make it complicated to trace changes in the inner life and personality of the self. This feature alone distinguishes his *Memoirs* from Babur's diaries, which may even serve as a model for an individualised personal document. If Babur recalls his youth, he does so through the eyes of his young self. The self looks at its youth through the eyes of an old man. It is surprising that the self subdues his emotions and uses a rather limited vocabulary when commenting on its own reflections, although one cannot deny them a certain note of reverie. The self appears here rather like a stoic who tries to achieve happiness through inner discipline, conscientiousness or drawing a line between emotions and external events. Perhaps this shape of the autobiographical self is influenced precisely by the distance separating the time of action from the time of narration, which only reinforces the working through of emotions. The a posteriori knowledge of the effects affects the form in which they are framed.

11 Conclusions

The motto of this text is de Man's question about the relations between autobiography and the self. Are they the same as the relations between a photograph and its subject or an image and its model? As *Memoirs* show, this is highly debatable. The alter ego of the self present in them does not enter into a simple relation with the self. On the contrary, filtered by the unconscious(?) personalities of the ghost authors, it becomes present in the content not as the real self, but as its Baudrillard-esque simulacrum. The reader, who becomes involved in the interpretation of the narrative, plays a significant role in making it present. Therefore, one might be tempted to say that the alter ego of the self, the autobiographical personality of the self takes such a form that can be produced by the receiver of *Memories* thanks to the data provided by the self. In this sense, the autobiographical self ceases to be a mere alter ego of the real self and shifts towards Barthes' *un personnage de roman*.

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M i s c e l l a n e a

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Language Questionnaire for Gozo, Malta

Abstract The questionnaire presented here was designed to collect linguistic data in Gozitan dialects, which are classified as rural dialects of the Maltese language. It consists of three parts: lexical, phonological and morphological. Since a particular feature of the Gozitan dialects are pausal forms involving diphthongisation of etymologically long vowels (**ī* and **ū*), attention is directed towards contextual as well as pausal data acquisition. In the morphological part, the issues concerning verbs are mainly expanded, while in the phonological part, those concerning the realisation of vowels. With minor modifications, the questionnaire can also be used to conduct field research on dialects of the island of Malta.

Keywords dialectology, field research, Gozo, Gozitan dialects, Malta, Maltese, Maltese dialectology, Semitic dialectology

One of the preliminary tasks for dialectological fieldwork is the preparation of a questionnaire according to its purpose. Subsequently, its implementation allows to verify first of all the expected methods of interviewing, data collection and in general the very validity of their design. Usually, the first field research is only a prelude to further improving and revising of the first version of the linguistic questionnaire.

Publication of language questionnaires for Arabic dialect research is not a common practice. Caubet (2000–2001) published a general questionnaire for the research on North African Arabic dialects, based primarily on earlier studies by researchers such as Jean Cantineau, David Cohen, Marcel Cohen, Georges S. Colin, Philippe Marçais and William Marçais. Caubet's questionnaire is a collection of the most important features of North African dialects and a peculiar set of questions which should become a starting point for the design of an individual questionnaire. This one, however, should not omit any of the questions posed by Caubet.

The three questionnaires published in *Arabic Dialectology: Methodology and Field Research* (Arnold and Klimiuk 2019) take a markedly different approach from Caubet's questionnaire. Behnstedt (2019b) implemented the first questionnaire during his research in Syria collecting data for a language atlas. His second questionnaire also has an analogical purpose (Behnstedt 2019a). In the latter case, it was used to prepare a language atlas of northern Morocco, the work on which Behnstedt describes more extensively along with selected maps elsewhere (Behnstedt 2022). The third published questionnaire prepared by Behnstedt and Woidich (2019) is probably the best known to dialectologists of Arabic language. It served to collect lexis that was then used to some extent in their four-volume atlas *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte* (Behnstedt and Woidich 2011; 2012; 2014; 2021). Unfortunately, Behnstedt's other questionnaires known to exist, such as those for the study of Yemeni or Egyptian Arabic dialects, have not been found years later.

In 2018, I prepared the first version of the questionnaire presented here as a preliminary step in the ongoing research on Gozitan dialects conducted with Maria Lipnicka. It was my assumption that the questionnaire would be used during field research in each Gozitan locality in order to collect linguistic data, which would then form the basis for the preparation of a language atlas of Gozo and grammatical descriptions of selected dialects.

For the first version of the questionnaire, in addition to a number of phonological, morphological and lexical issues, I also added all the lexemes from the work *A Survey of Contemporary Dialectal Maltese. Volume I: Gozo*, part 'Summary of Transcriptions of Words in Questionnaire' (Aquilina and Isserlin 1980: 69–99). As we have already found out in the course of our research, the University of Malta also has an original questionnaire, entitled 'Malta-Leeds Dialect Survey: Phonological Questionnaire'. Essentially it is identical to what is shown in Aquilina and Isserlin's survey and consists of 115 lexemes. The differences are only

due to a different way of translating certain words, which it seemed methodologically appropriate to re-check.¹

Subsequently, I implemented the questionnaire with Lipnicka during our first field research in Gozo (2019) within the framework of the project 'GozoDia: Gemeinschaftsorientierte dialektologische Studien zur Sprachdynamik der Insel Gozo (Malta)' ['GozoDia: Community-oriented dialectological studies on the linguistic dynamics of the island of Gozo (Malta)']. The questionnaire, however, turned out to be too extensive. Hence, we decided to use it in its entirety by first questioning speakers in three Gozitan localities, Gharb, Sannat and Ir-Rabat (Wara San Franġisk)

¹ I give here all 115 words from Aquilina and Isserlin's 'Phonological Questionnaire' as they are given in their study (1980: 69–99). However, where additional information appears next to a word in square brackets, this is the original notation from the printed version of the questionnaire used by them (?) during their fieldwork on Gozo in the 1970s. Their questionnaire includes the following lexemes: 1 *fin* 'delicate, fine' ['refined'], 2 *gibs* 'chalk', 3 *sibt* 'I found' (*Sibt* 'Saturday') [*Sibt* 'Saturday'], 4 *gib* 'bring!', 5 *xena* 'scene', 6 *dehra* 'scene, appearance' ['appearance'], 7 *xeghel* 'he lighted, he put on light' ['he lighted'], 8 *elf* 'thousand', 9 *serp* 'snake', 10 *ċar* 'clear', 11 *ċagħaq* 'pebbles', 12 *xahar* 'month', 13 *xagħar* 'hair', 14 *ċatt* 'shallow, plain, flat' ['flat'], 15 *ċass* 'staring fixedly' ['fixed stars'], 16 *kok* 'cook', 17 *soru* 'nun', 18 *xogħol* 'work', 19 *gozz* 'heap' ['pile'], 20 *hoss* 'sound', 21 *sur* 'bastion', 22 *kul* 'eat!', 23 *kull* 'every', 24 *dawl* 'light', 25 *Għawdex* 'Gozo', 26 *għawm* 'swimming', 27 *raw* 'they saw', 28 *rgħaw* 'they grazed', 29 *sew* 'good, well' ['good'], 30 *sewwa* 'good, well' ['good'], 31 *liwja* 'bent' ['a curve'], 32 *kiwja* 'a burn', 33 *ħajt* 'wall', 34 *ħajt* 'a thread' ['thread'], 35 *għajta* 'a shout', 36 *rgħajt* 'I grazed', 37 *rajt* 'I saw', 38 *bejt* 'roof', 39 *xejn* 'nothing', 40 *bghid* 'distant, far' ['sending'], 41 *wied* 'valley', 42 *siegha* 'hour', 43 *triq* 'street', 44 *Qammieħ* 'place-name in Malta', 45 *dqiq* 'flour', 46 *bdl* 'change', 47 *bħajra* 'melon crop' ['melon crops'], 48 *blat* 'rock' ['rocks'], 49 *brija* 'dandruff', 50 *bħar* 'pepper', 51 *ċfuf* 'bows' ['ribbons'], 52 *dhul* 'entry', 53 *fdat* 'trusted', 54 *fhula* 'stallions', 55 *fniek* 'rabbits', 56 *gdid* 'new', 57 *gdiedem* 'chins' ['snouts'], 58 *gżira* 'island', 59 *ħbit* 'attack, striking' ['beating'], 60 *ħkik* 'scratching, grated cheese' ['grating'], 61 *ħquq* 'rights', 62 *ħtija* 'guilt', 63 *kbir* 'big' ['great'], 64 (*il*)*bies* 'clothes' [*lbies* 'dress'], 65 (*il*)*ħit* 'chin' [*lħit*], 66 (*il*)*sien* 'tongue' [*lħit*], 67 *Mdina* 'the old capital of Malta', 68 (*im*)*ħuħ* 'minds' [*mħuħ* 'brains'], 69 (*im*)*mkebbba* 'spinning-wheel' [*mkebbba* 'a reel'], 70 (*im*)*mġieghed* 'placed' [*mġieghed*], 71 (*im*)*mġietgħa* 'work-piece' [*mġietgħa* 'piece work'], 72 (*in*)*nbiet* 'sprouts' [*nbiet*], 73 (*in*)*ngib* 'I bring' [*ngib*], 74 (*in*)*nkejja* 'spite' [*nkejja*], 75 (*in*)*nkwiēt* 'trouble' [*nkwiēt* 'worry'], 76 (*in*)*ntiena* 'stink' [*ntiena* 'stench'], 77 *qbiela* 'land rent' ['rent'], 78 *qliegħ* 'profit', 79 *qsaset* 'round cheese-cakes', 80 *qzieqēz* 'pigs', 81 (*ir*)*dum* 'ruins' [*rdum* 'precipice'], 82 (*ir*)*koppa* 'knee' [*rkoppa*], 83 *skiet* 'silence', 84 *smin* 'fat' ['stout'], 85 *żmerald* 'emerald', 86 *sriep* 'snakes', 87 *tbajja* 'sufferance' ['suffering'], 88 *tkellem* 'he spoke', 89 *tieta* 'three', 90 *tnajn* 'two', 91 *xbiek* 'nets' ['net'], 92 *xmiel* 'North', 93 *xmara* 'river', 94 *żbib* 'raisins', 95 *zgieg* 'glass, pane' ['glass'], 96 *zmarr* 'rough' ['rude'], 97 *bjut* 'roofs', 98 *djar* 'houses', 99 *għwienah* 'wings', 100 *għwerra* 'war', 101 *ħjut* 'threads', 102 (*il*)*ljun* 'lion' [*ljun*], 103 (*il*)*lwien* 'colours' [*lwien*], 104 *mwerreċ* 'squint' ['squint-eyed'], 105 *pjan* 'plan', 106 *qwiēl* 'proverbs' ['sayings'], 107 *saif* 'summer', 108 *seif* 'sword', 109 *tewm* 'garlic', 110 *denb* 'tail', 111 *tarf* 'end', 112 *dell* 'shadow', 113 *dika* 'sorrow' ['anguish'], 114 *ħanaq* 'he throttled, he choked' ['he throttled'], 115 *għamel* 'he made'.

which presumably represent different dialect groups of the island, and only partially in several other localities. The data thus collected in three different dialects were then juxtaposed in order to correct and improve the first version of the questionnaire, as well as to discard some lexemes taken from Aquilina and Isserlin's questionnaire. The latter turned out to be mostly unknown to our speakers in their dialects or do occur, according to them, only in standard Maltese.² This resulted in a second revised version of the questionnaire in 2019, which, after few small corrections, is presented in full length below.

However, it is worth emphasising that the data gathering by means of such an extensive questionnaire enabled us, above all, to highlight some of the most interesting features of the Gozitan dialects as well as to draw major differences between them. Following this, I have prepared another short questionnaire with the sole purpose of data collection for the language atlas of Gozo.

The questionnaire presented here consists of three parts: lexicographic, phonological and morphological. Naturally, some elements in the questionnaire are intertwined, and some may even be repeated. Thus, lexemes collected in the lexical part may later be used to work on phonological or morphological issues. This is the case, for example, with *tafxīm* (*išmām*), which is not covered in the phonology section because forms in which the shift **ā* to *o/u* occurs appear in many other parts of the questionnaire.

Since the main characteristic of Gozitan dialects is diphthongisation in *pausa* (Borg 1977; Klimiuk and Farrugia 2022; Klimiuk and Lipnicka 2022; Lipnicka 2017; 2022a; 2022b), the way speakers are interviewed is therefore particularly relevant. It was therefore crucial to prepare adequately for each recording session in order to register as many forms as

² Rejected words include: 5 *xena* 'scene', 6 *dehra* 'scene, appearance' ['appearance'], 16 *kok* 'cook', 17 *soru* 'nun', 28 *rgħaw* 'they grazed', 31 *liwja* 'bent' ['a curve'], 32 *kiwja* 'a burn', 36 *rgħajt* 'I grazed', 44 *Qammieh* 'place-name in Malta', 46 *bdil* 'change', 49 *brija* 'dandruff', 51 *ċfuf* 'bows' ['ribbons'], 52 *dhul* 'entry', 59 *ħbit* 'attack, striking' ['beating'], 60 *ħkik* 'scratching, grated cheese' ['grating'], 61 *ħquq* 'rights', 62 *ħtija* 'guilt', 67 *Mdina* 'the old capital of Malta', 70 *(i)mqiegħed* 'placed' [*mqiegħed*], 71 *(i)mqietgħa* 'work-piece' [*mqietgħa* 'piece work'], 72 *(i)nbiet* 'sprouts' [*nbiet*], 74 *(i)nkejja* 'spite' [*nkejja*], 75 *(i)nkwiēt* 'trouble' [*nkwiēt* 'worry'], 76 *(i)ntiena* 'stink' [*ntiena* 'stench'], 77 *qbiela* 'land rent' ['rent'], 78 *qliegħ* 'profit', 81 *(i)rdum* 'ruins' [*rdum* 'precipice'], 83 *skiet* 'silence', 85 *żmerald* 'emerald', 87 *ibatija* 'sufferance' ['suffering'], 102 *(i)ljun* 'lion' [*ljun*], 104 *mwerreċ* 'squint' ['squint-eyed'], 105 *pjan* 'plan', 106 *qwiēl* 'proverbs' ['sayings'], 113 *diqa* 'sorrow' ['anguish'].

possible in both context and *pausa* (Klimiuk and Lipnicka 2019). However, this was not always achieved and frequently some words were recorded only in pausal forms.

The following abbreviations appear in the questionnaire:

+	as well as
#	pausal form
>	turns into
→	see
!	imperative
AI	Aquilina and Isserlin's 'Phonological Questionnaire'
coll.	collective noun
dl.	dual
f.	feminine singular
imp.	imperative
imper.	imperfect
m.	masculine singular
pl.	plural
per.	perfect
sg.	singular
sin.	singulative noun

If the abbreviation 'AI' appears next to a word followed by a number, it indicates a word that is found in Aquilina and Isserlin's 'Malta-Leeds Dialect Survey: Phonological Questionnaire'.

If '+' appears next to a word, ask also about the plural (+ pl.), feminine (+ f.) or dual (+ dl.). If there is an abbreviation 'coll.' or/and 'sin.' next to a word, give a collective or/and singulative form of a noun. In general, each verb should be checked for the 3rd person masculine singular in the perfect and/or imperfect. If forms for other persons have to be given as well, they are listed after '+', with an indication if it is the perfect and/or imperfect. Some verbs require the complete conjugation to be checked, hence tables appear next to them. The same applies to some nouns with pronominal suffixes, genitive exponent or personal pronouns.

Additional comments and remarks are in regular brackets. The questionnaire is available in English and standard Maltese, but it is recommended to avoid interviewing speakers in standard Maltese (Klimiuk and Lipnicka 2019).

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Questionnaire

1 Lexicon

1.1 People and family

people, *nies* (ask ‘people say’, ‘people came’, ‘stupid people’)
 father, *missier* (ask ‘my father’)
 mother (+ pl.), *omm* pl. *ommijiet*
 brother (+ pl.), *ħu* pl. *aħwa*
 sister (+ pl.), *oħt* pl. *aħwa* (ask ‘my sister’)
 woman (+ pl.), *mara* pl. *nisa*
 wife (+ pl.), *mara* pl. *nisa* (ask ‘my wife’)
 husband (+ pl.), e.g. *żewġ* pl. *żwieġ*, *raġel* pl. *rġiel*, *raġel tiegħi*, etc.
 grandmother, *nanna*
 grandfather, *nannu*
 maternal uncle, *ziju*
 aunt, *zija*
 partner, companion (+ f., pl.), e.g. *sieħeb*, *ħabib*, *gharus*, etc.

1.2 Body parts

chin (+ pl.), *geddum* pl. *gdiedem* AI 57, *lhit* AI 65
 beard (+ pl.), *leħja* pl. *leħjiet*
 brain, mind (+ pl.), *moħħ* pl. *mħuħ* AI 68
 mouth, *ħalq*
 nose, *mnieher* (ask ‘my nose’, ‘your [sg.] nose’, ‘his nose’, ‘her nose’)
 throat (+ pl.), *gerżuma* pl. *grieżem*
 tooth (+ pl.), *sinna* pl. *snien*
 tongue, *lsien* AI 66
 face (+ pl.), *wicċ* pl. *uċuħ*
 head (+ pl.), *ras* pl. *rjus* (ask ‘my head’, ‘your [sg.] head’, ‘his head’, ‘her head’, ‘our heads’, ‘your [pl.] heads’, ‘their heads’)
 forehead (+ pl.), e.g. *gbin* pl. *gbien/igbna*, *moħħ* pl. *mħuħ*
 eyebrow (+ pl.), e.g. *suf ta’ ghajnejja*, *xagħar ta’ ghajnejja*, *ħaġeb*, etc. (the word *ħaġeb* is probably unknown)
 neck, *ghonq*
 arm, *driegħ*
 elbow, *minkeb*
 knee (+ pl.), *rkoppa* pl. *rkoppiet* AI 82 (is pl. used as pseudodual?)

leg (+ dl., pl.), e.g. *sieq, riġel*
 foot (+ dl., pl.), e.g. *sieq, riġel*
 sole of the foot, *qiegħ*
 heel of the foot, *għarqub*
 anklebone, *għaksa*
 bones (coll., sin.), *għadam* sin. *għadma*
 bump on the head, *gundalla* (is g or k in an onset?)
 finger (+ pl.), *seba'/saba'/suba'* pl. *swaba*
 fingernail (+ pl.), *difer* pl. *dwiefer*

1.3 Plants, fruits, vegetables

fruits (coll., sin.), *frott* sin. *frotta*
 peaches (coll., sin.), *ħawħ* sin. *ħawħa* (is ħ realised as [x] or [ħ]?)
 apricots (coll., sin.), *berquq* sin. *berquqa*
 melon crop, melon field, *bħajra* AI 47
 melons (coll., sin.), *bettieħ* sin. *bettieħa*
 watermelons (coll., sin.), *dullieħ* sin. *dullieħa*
 oranges (coll., sin.), *laring* sin. *laringa*
 lemons (coll., sin.), *lumi* sin. *lumija*
 pears (coll., sin.), *langas* sin. *langasa*
 apples (coll., sin.), *tuffieħ* sin. *tuffieħa*
 grapes (coll., sin.), *għeneb* sin. *għenba*
 dates (coll., sin.), *tamal* sin. *tamla* (*tamal* or *tamar*?)
 carrots (coll., sin., pl.), e.g. *zunnarija, sfunnarija, karrotta* pl. *karrotti*, etc.
 onions (coll., sin.), *basal* sin. *basla*
 (fresh) tomatoes (coll., sin.), *tadam* sin. *tadama*
 (dried) tomatoes (coll., sin.), *tadam imqadded* sin. *tadama mqadda*
 olives (coll., sin.), *żebbuġ* sin. *żebbuġa*
 pumpkins, marrows, courgettes (coll., sin.), *qara'* sin. *qargħa*, e.g. *qargħa ħamra, qarabaghli*, etc.
 lentils (coll., sin.), *għads* sin. *għadsa*
 pepper, *bżar* AI 50
 trees (coll., sin.), *siġar* sin. *siġra*
 raisins, *żbib* AI 94
 walnuts (coll., sin.), *gewż* sin. *gewża*
 almonds (coll., sin.), *lewż* sin. *lewża*
 parsley, *tursin*
 mint, *menta*, *nagħnieħ* sin. *nagħnieħa*

1.4 Animals

cock (+ pl.), *serduq* pl. *sriedaq* (is *q* realised as *ḵ* /k/ also in dialects where *ḵ* is not present?)
 chicken (+ pl.), *tiġieġa* pl. *tiġieġ*, *tiġieġiet*
 hen (+ pl.), *tiġieġa* pl. *tiġieġ*, *tiġieġiet*
 chick (+ pl.), *fellus* pl. *flieles*
 goose pl. geese (coll., sin.), *wiżż* sin. *wiżża* pl. *wiżeż*
 duck (+ pl.), *papra* pl. *papri*
 pigeons, doves (coll., sin.), *ħamiem* sin. *ħamiema*
 rabbit (+ pl.), *fenek* pl. *fniek* AI 55
 pig (+ pl.), *qażquż* pl. *qzieqeż* AI 80
 sheep (coll., sin.), *nagħaġ* sin. *nagħġa*
 goats (coll., sin.), *mogħoż* sin. *mogħża*
 cows (coll., sin.), *baqar* sin. *baqra*; cow's horn, *qarn* pl. *qrun*; cow's udder, *bzieżel*; cow's tail, *denb* → tail; cow's mouth, *ħalq* → mouth
 bull, ox (+ pl.), *barri* pl. *barrin*
 calf (+ f.), *għoġol* f. *għoġla*
 kid (+ f.), *gidi* f. *gidja*
 foal, *felu*
 mule, *baġħal*
 ram, *muntun*, *bodbod*
 lamb (+ f.), *ħaruf* f. *ħarufa*
 donkey (+ f., pl.), *ħmar* f. *ħmara* pl. *ħmir*
 stallion (+ pl.), *faħal* pl. *fħula/fħul/fħal* AI 54 (the word *faħal* is probably unknown)
 horse (+ pl.), *żiemel* pl. *żwiemel*
 dog (+ f., pl.), *kelb* f. *kelba* pl. *klieb*
 rat (+ pl.), *far* pl. *firien*, *gurdien* pl. *grieden*
 turtle, *fekruna*
 fishes (coll., sin.), *ħut* sin. *ħuta*
 bees (coll., sin.), *naħal* sin. *naħla*
 snake (+ pl.), *serp* pl. *sriep* AI 9, 86
 lizards (coll., sin.), *gremxul* sin. *gremxula*
 frog, *żring*

1.5 Days and months

week (+ pl.), *ġimgħa* pl. *ġimgħat*
 Monday, *it-Tnejn*
 Tuesday, *it-Tlieta*
 Wednesday, *l-Erbgħa*

Thursday, *il-Ħamis*
 Friday, *il-Ġimgħa*
 Saturday, *is-Sibt*
 Sunday, *il-Ħadd*
 January, *Jannar*
 February, *Frar*
 March, *Marzu*
 April, *April*
 May, *Mejju*
 June, *Ġunju*
 July, *Lulju*
 August, *Awissu*
 September, *Settembru*
 October, *Ottubru*
 November, *Novembru*
 December, *Dicembru*

1.6 Cardinal directions

(cardinal directions are probably not used on a daily basis; possible interchangeability of names or use of other names, such as winds)

North, e.g. *tramuntana*, *xmiel* AI 92 (the word *xmiel* is probably unknown)

South, e.g. *nofsinhar*

East, e.g. *lvant*

West, e.g. *punent*

1.7 Place names

Gozo, *Għawdex* AI 25

Gozitan (+ f., pl.), *Għawdxi* f. *Għawdxija* pl. *Għawdxin*

Malta, *Malta*

Maltese (+ f., pl.), *Malti* f. *Maltija* pl. *Maltin*

Qala, *Il-Qala*

Għarb, *L-Għarb*

Nadur, *In-Nadur*

Xewkija, *Ix-Xewkija*

Rabat/Victoria, *Ir-Rabat/Victoria*

Fontana, *Il-Fontana*

Għajnsielem, *Għajnsielem*

Għasri, *L-Għasri*

Kerċem, *Ta' Kerċem*

Munxar, *Il-Munxar*

San Lawrenz, *San Lawrenz*
 Sannat, *Ta' Sannat*
 Xagħra, *Ix-Xagħra*
 Żebbuġ, *Iż-Żebbuġ*

1.8 Agriculture and garden tools

rake (+ pl.), e.g. *rixkatur*, *rixketta*, *rixkettun*, *barraxa*, *rixkla*, *fekrun*, *gerriefa*, *rejk*, etc.
 pitchfork, fork, e.g. *midra*, *ferkun*, etc.
 broom, *xkupa*
 sickle, reaping hook, *mingel*
 shovel, *pala*
 hoe, *mgħažqa*
 (wooden) plough, *mohriet*
 axe, *mannara*
 field/land boundary, e.g. *ħajt*, *qasma*, etc.
 basket, e.g. *basket*, *qoffa*, *gewlaq*, etc.
 ear (of corn) (coll., sin.), *sbul* sin. *sbula*

1.9 Varia

tail, *denb* AI 110
 chalk, *gibs* AI 2
 pebbles (coll., sin.), *ċagħaq* sin. *ċagħka* AI 11
 heap, *gozz* AI 19
 sound, *ħoss* AI 20
 bastion, *sur* AI 21
 light, *dawl* AI 24
 swimming, *għawm* AI 26
 wall (+ pl.), *ħajt* pl. *ħitan* AI 33
 thread (+ pl.), *ħajt* pl. *ħjut* AI 34, 101
 valley, *wied* AI 41
 hour (+ pl.), *siegħa* pl. *sagħat/sigħat* AI 42
 flour, *dqiq* AI 45
 rock, *blat* AI 48
 clothes, *ħwejjeg*, *lbies* AI 64
 spinning-wheel, *mkebbā* AI 69 (the word is probably unknown)
 round cheesecakes (+ sg.), *qassata* pl. *qsaset* AI 79
 net (+ pl.), *xibka* pl. *xbiek* AI 91
 river, *xmara* AI 93
 glass, pain, *żgieg* AI 95

wing (+ pl.), *ġewnaħ* pl. *ġwienah* AI 99
 war, *gwerri* AI 100
 colour (+ pl.), *lewn* pl. *lwien* AI 103, *kulur* pl. *kuluri*
 shadow, *dell* AI 112
 salt, *melħ*
 shoemaker, *żarbun*
 key, *ċavetta*
 butter, *butir*
 breakfast, *kolazzjon* (the word is probably not used)
 lunch (midday), *l-ikla ta' nofsinhar* (the word is probably not used)
 dinner (evening), *pranzu* (the word is probably not used)
 morning, *filġhodu*
 midday, *nofsinhar*
 evening, *filġhaxija*
 afternoon, *wara nofsinhar*
 in the afternoon, *wara nofsinhar*
 rain, rainfall, *xita*; to fall (rain), e.g. *ġhamlet*, *kienet*, *nizlet*, etc.
 carpet, *tapit*
 village (+ pl.), *raħal* pl. *rħula*
 enough!, finished!, *daqshekk!*
 watch out!, be careful!, *oqġhod attent!*, *attent!*
 wind, *riħ*
 spring, well, fountain, *bir*
 bread, *ħobż*; one bread, *ħobża*; piece of bread, *biċċa ħobż*
 marble, *rħam*
 cross, *salib*
 milk, *ħalib*
 car (+ pl.), *karożza* pl. *karożzi*
 bunch (+ pl.), *ġħanqud* pl. *ġħenieqed*
 window (+ pl.), *tieqa* pl. *twieqi*
 cup, glass (+ pl.), *tazza* pl. *tazzi*
 honey, *ġħasel*
 country (+ pl.), *pajjiż* pl. *pajjiżi*
 island (+ pl.), *ġżira* pl. *ġzejjer* AI 58
 place, square (+ pl.), e.g. *post* pl. *postijiet*, *mkien* pl. *mkinjiet*, *misraħ* pl. *msierah*
 handle (+ pl.), e.g. *maqbad* pl. *mqabad*, *pun* pl. *punijiet*
 mirror (+ pl.), *mera* pl. *mirja*
 lamp, oil lamp (+ pl.), e.g. *lampa* pl. *lampi*, *musbieħ* pl. *msiebah*
 scales (+ pl.), *mizien* pl. *mwiżen*
 health, *saħħa*
 money, *flus*

shoe (+ pl.), *żarbun* pl. *żraben*
 spike, thorn (coll., sin.), *xewk* sin. *xewka*
 kettle, *kitla*
 spoon (+ pl.), *mgharfa* pl. *mgharef*
 boat, ship, e.g. *dghajsa*, *vapur*
 guest (+ f., pl.), *mistieden* f. *mistiedna* pl. *mistednin*
 room (+ pl.), *kamra* pl. *kmamar*
 silver, *fidda*
 sand (coll., sin.), *ramel* sin. *ramla*
 sea (+ pl.), *baħar* pl. *ibħra*
 blossom, blossoming, *żahar*
 work, *xogħol* AI 18
 scent (+ pl.), *riħa* pl. *rwejjah*

1.10 Verbs

to pick up, *rafa'* – *jirfa'*, *rikkeb* – *jrikkeb*
 to put (down), to put s.th., *poġġa* – *jpogġi*
 to become, e.g. *sar* – *jsir*, *laħaq* – *jilħaq*
 to come closer, *qorob* – *joqrob*
 to ask, *saqsa* – *jsaqsi*
 to hurt, *wagġa'* – *jwegġa'*
 to bake bread, *ħema* – *jaħmi*

1.11 Adjectives

new (+ f., pl.), *ġdid* f. *ġdida* pl. *ġodda* AI 56
 big (+ f., pl.), *kbir* f. *kbira* pl. *kbar* AI 63
 small (+ f., pl.), *żgħir* f. *żgħira* pl. *żgħar*
 corpulent, fat (+ f., pl.), *smin* f. *smina* pl. *smien*
 light (+ f., pl.), *ħafif* f. *ħafifa* pl. *ħfief*
 beautiful (+ f., pl.), *sabieħ* f. *sabieħa* pl. *sbieħ*
 bad, wrong (+ f., pl.), *ħażin* f. *ħażina* pl. *ħżiena*
 tight (+ f., pl.), *dejjaq* f. *dejqa* pl. *dojoq*
 old (+ f., pl.), *qadim* f. *qadima* pl. *qodma*
 short (+ f., pl.), *qasir* f. *qasira* pl. *qosra*
 long (+ f., pl.), *twil* f. *twila* pl. *twal*
 clear (+ f., pl.), *ċar* f. *ċara* pl. *ċari* AI 10
 delicate, fine, of a good quality (+ f., pl.), *fin* f. *fina* pl. *fini* AI 1
 flat, shallow, plain, *ċatt* AI 14
 staring fixedly, *ċass* AI 15
 good, well, sew, *sewwa* AI 29, 30

good, fine, tasty (+ f., pl.), *tajjeb* f. *tajba* pl. *tajbin* (ask ‘this food is good’, ‘this rabbit is tasty’)
 trusted (+ f., pl.), *fdat* f. *fdata* pl. *fdati* AI 53
 angry, *irrabjat* (is there f. and pl.?, ask ‘she is angry’, ‘we were angry’)
 hot (+ f., pl.), *šhun* f. *šhuna* pl. *šhan*
 thirsty, *bil-ġhatx* (ask ‘I am thirsty’)
 hungry, *bil-ġuħ* (ask ‘I am hungry’)
 rough, *żmarr* AI 96
 happy (+ f., pl.), *ferħan* f. *ferħana* pl. *ferħanin*
 poor (+ f., pl.), *fqir* f. *fqira* pl. *fqar*
 rich (+ f., pl.), *ġhani* f. *ġhanja* pl. *ġhonja*, *sinjur* f. *sinjura* pl. *sinjuri*
 high (+ f., pl.), *ġholi* f. *ġholja* pl. *ġholjin*
 expensive (+ f., pl.), *ġhali* f. *ġhalja* pl. *ġhaljin*
 sweet (+ f., pl.), *ħelu* f. *ħelwa* pl. *ħelwin*
 clean (+ f., pl.), *nadif* f. *nadifa* pl. *ndaf/nodfa*

2 Phonology

2.1 Vowels

2.1.1 *Imāla* *ā → ī (*ie*), etymologically long/short vowels *i* ~ ī (*ie*)

*ā ~ *ie*

we saw, *rajna*

we did not see, *ma rajniex*

we saw you, *rajniek*

we found, *sibna*

we did not find, *ma sibniex*

ī ~ *ie*

he did not find me, *ma sabnix*

he did not find us, *ma sabniex*

sell!, *biegħ!*

he sold, *biegħ*

corpulent, fat (m.sg.), *smin* AI 84

corpulent, fat (pl.), *smien*

bring!, *ġib!* AI 4

he brought, *ġieb/ġab*

years, *snin*

tooth, *snien*

i ~ *ie*

dress, *libsa*

dressed, worn (f.), *liebsa*

descent, way down, *nizla*

descending (f.), *niezla*

doors, *bibien*

door, *bieb*

2.1.2 Minimal pairs

a : i/ie

he visited, *zar*

sleepiness, *nghas*

small, *žghir*

people, *nies*

a : e

gathering, collecting, *damm*

blood, *demm*

ie : u

he kissed, *bies*

kiss!, *bus!*

2.1.3 Etymologically short vowel *i*

I found, *sibt* AI 3

Saturday, *is-Sibt*

2.1.4 Shortening of etymologically long vowels

staying (+ pl.), *qieghad* pl. *qeghdin* time (+ pl.), *žmien* pl. *žminijiet*

thief (+ pl.), *ħalliel* pl. *ħallelin*

2.1.5 Realisation of vowels in *CaCC, *CiCC, *CuCC

meat, *laħam*

lifetime, *ghomor* (ask ‘his life’)

hair, *xagħar*

work, *xogħol*

back, *dahar*

boy, *tifel*

food, *ikel*

span, *xiber*

fingernail, *difer*

lap, *ħogor*

voice, *leħen*

man, *raġel*

cheese, *gobon*

name, *isem*

daughter, *bint* (ask ‘my daughter’)

wheat, *qamħ*

leather, *gild*

2.1.6 Realisation of vowels in *CaCaC

city (+ pl.), *belt* pl. *bliet*
 fodder, *għalf*
 joy, *ferħ*
 tail, *denb*
 loss, *telf*
 end, *tarf* AI 111
 sickness, *mard*

2.1.7 Realisation of vowels in *CVCCVC̄ (+ pl.)

killer (+ pl.), *qattiel* pl. *qattiela/qattilin*
 writer (+ pl.), *kittieb* pl. *kittieba*
 worker, employee (+ pl.), *ħaddiem* pl. *ħaddiema*
 vendor, salesman (+ pl.), *bejjiegħ* pl. *bejjiegħa*
 tailor (+ f. pl.), *ħajjat* f. *ħajjata* pl. *ħajjatin* (pl. may be identical to f.)
 thief (+ f., pl.), *ħalliel* f. *ħalliela* pl. *ħallelin/ħalliela*

2.1.8 Realisation of vowels in *CVCVC̄ → Lexicon**2.2 Diphthongs → Lexicon**

aj : *ej*

summer (+ pl.), *sajf* pl. *sjuf* AI 107 sword (+ pl.), *sejf* pl. *sjuf* AI 108
 eggs (coll., sin., dl.), *bajd* sin. *bajda* dl. *badtejn* roof, *bejt*

aj

I saw, *rajt* AI 37
 thread, *ħajt*

wall, *ħajt*

ej

roof, *bejt*

oil, *zejt*

aw

swimming, *għawm*
 light, *dawl*

fasting, *sawm*

ew

garlic, *tewm* AI 109
 colour, *lewn*

death, *mewt*

ay > *i*

old man, *xih* (ask 'he is an old man') how?, *kif*?

aw > *u*

on, over, *fuq*

womb, *ḡuf*

day, *jum* → two days

2.3 Consonants

2.3.1 Realisation of *r* [r ~ ɹ]

-*r*- (inlaut)

Australia, *Awstralja*

America, *Amerika*

Germany, *Ġermanja*

-*r* (coda) → month, hair, back, etc.

r- (onset) → to see, etc.

2.3.2 Realisation of *q* → Lexicon

cat (+ f., pl.), *qattus* f. *qattusa* pl. *qtates*

2.3.3 Realisation of *h*

month (+ pl.), *xahar* pl. *xhur* AI 12

hair (coll., sin.), *xagħar* sin.

xagħra AI 13

back (+ pl.), *dahar* pl. *dhur/dhura/idhra*

gold, *dahab*

so, *hekk*

there, there is, *hemm*

2.3.4 Realisation of *gh*

tool, *ḡhodda*

envy, *ḡhira*

root, *ḡherq*

wooden, *ḡhuda*

bottom (of a vessel), *qieḡh*

taste, *togħma*

shout, *ḡhajta* AI 35

2.3.5 Long consonants → Form II, Form V

eat! (sg.), *kul!* AI 22

he speaks, *jitkellm*

every, *kull* AI 23

they speak, *jitkellmu*

good, tasty (m.), *tajjeb*
his lips, *xuftejh* → Dual

good, tasty (f.), *tajba*

2.4 Stress

(stress on a prefix vowel or on a vowel adjacent to *gh*)

he sends, *jibghat*

they send *jibaghtu*

he plays, *jilghab*

they play, *jilagħbu*

2.5 Assimilation

book (+ pl.), *ktieb* pl. *kotba* [kodba]

wine, *nbid* [mbit] (ask ‘this wine is good’, ‘we drank wine’)

→ to write, *kiteb* – *jikteb* [pt, db, gd]; to go out, to exit, *hareġ* – *joħroġ* [čt];

to cry, *beka* – *jibki* [pk]; to dance, *żifen* – *jizfen* [sf]; bread, one bread [ps]

2.6 Homonyms

cheek – Sunday – someone, *hadd*

clouds – partners, *shab*

feeling, sense – lettuce, *ħass*

sound, *ħoss*

wall – thread, *ħajt*

husband – two, pair, *zewġ*

fire, *nar*

day, daylight, *nhar*

heart, *qalb*

dog, *kelb*

3 Morphology

3.1 Pronouns

3.1.1 Personal pronouns

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

(ask ‘me and you [sg.]’, ‘you [sg.] and me’, ‘him and me’, ‘him and her’, ‘her and him’, ‘us and them’, ‘you [pl.] and us’, ‘them and me’, etc.)

3.1.2 Negation of personal pronouns

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

3 m.sg. *mhuwiex*, *mhux* 3 f.sg. *mhijiex*, *mhix*
(ask ‘I am not good’, ‘you [sg.] are not old’, etc.)

3.1.3 Pronominal suffixes

brother pl. brothers, *ħu* pl. *aħwa* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

mother, *omm* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

brain, *moħħ* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

to have, with s.o., *ghand-* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

not to have, *m'ghand-* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

for s.o., *ghal-* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

lifetime, *ghomor* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

house, *dar* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

meat, flesh, *laham* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

with s.o., *ma'* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

behind s.o., *wara-* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

my soul (+ 2 sg., 3 m.sg., 3 f.sg., 1 pl.), *ruhi*, etc.

my clothes (+ 2 sg., 3 m.sg., 3 f.sg., 1 pl.), *ħwejġi*, etc.

my island, *gżira tiegħi* or *gżiritna*

my life, *ħajti*

my name, *ismi*

my partner, *sieħbi*

my country, e.g. *pajjiż tiegħi*, *pajjiżi*, *arti*, *art twelidi*

my son, e.g. *ibni*, *tifel tiegħi*

3.1.4 Demonstratives

Proximal

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
m.				
f.				

Short forms: *da-*, *di-*, *daw-* (ask ‘this man’, ‘this woman’, ‘these people’, ‘these men’)

Distal

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
m.				
f.				

3.1.5 Demonstrative adverbs

here, *hawn*

now, *issa* (ask ‘I am coming right now’)

there, *hemm*

so, *hekk*

3.1.6 Interrogative pronouns and adverbs

who?, *min?*, *min hu?*, *min hi?*, etc.
(ask ‘who is this?’, ‘who are you [sg.]’, ‘who is he/she?’, ‘who are they?’)
who ... from?, *minn min?*
who ... for?, *ghal min?*
who ... with?, *ma’ min?*
what?, *xi?*, *x’inhū?*, *x’inhī?*, *x’in-hum?*, etc. (ask ‘what are you [sg.] doing?’, ‘what did he say?’, ‘what do you [sg.] want?’, ‘what is this (m., f.)?’, ‘what are these?’)

where?, *fejn?* (ask ‘where is it?’)
where ... to?, *fejn?* (ask ‘where are you [sg.] going?’)
where ... from?, *minn fejn?*
which?, *liema?*
how much?, how many?, *kemm?*
(ask ‘how much time?’)
why?, *ghaliex?*
when?, *meta?*, *xhin?*
how?, *kif?* (ask ‘how is this man?’, ‘how is this woman?’, ‘how are these people?’)

3.1.7 Indefinites

someone, somebody, anybody, *xi hadd* (ask ‘somebody told me’)
some, *xi* (ask ‘some people’, ‘some say it was no accident’)
any, *xi*, *xi wiehed* f. *xi waħda* (ask ‘any book’)

one, *wiehed* f. *waħda ferhana* pl. *uħud ferhanin* (ask ‘a happy one’)
something, *xi haġa* (ask ‘something big’)
nobody, nothing → Negation

3.1.8 Relative pronoun

which, *li* (ask ‘the man who has a house’, ‘the people who killed the rabbit’)

3.1.9 Reflexive pronoun

self, *nnifs-*

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

3.2 Nouns, adjectives and adverbs

3.2.1 Gender

(use with adjectives, e.g. ‘big’, ‘small’, ‘long’, ‘wet’, ‘hot’, ‘beautiful’, ‘sharp’, or pronominal suffixes)

moon, *qamar*

sun, *xemx*

belly, *żaqq*

heart (+ pl.), *qalb* pl. *qlub*

shop (+ pl.), *ħanut* pl. *ħwienet*

earth, *art*

rain, *xita*

death, *mewt*

street, road (+ pl.), *triq* pl. *toroq* AI 43

fire, *nar*

water, *ilma*

door (+ pl.), *bieb* pl. *bibien*

house (+ pl.), *dar* pl. *djar* AI 98

knife (+ pl.), *sikkina* pl. *skieken*

wool, *suf*

oil, *żejt*

roof (+ pl.), *bejt* pl. *bjut* AI 38, 97

leg, *riġel*

car, *karożza*

cup, glass, *tazza*

3.2.2 Dual

two months, *xahrejn*

two years, *sentejn*

two hours, *sagħtejn*

two days, *jumejn*

two women, *żewġ nisa*

two meters, *żewġ metri*

two children, *żewġ itfal*

two carpenters, *żewġ mastrudaxxi*

two kilos, *żewġ kilos*

two sisters, *żewġ aħwa*

two litres, *żewġ litri*

two houses, *żewġ idjar*

lip, two lips, *xoffa* dl. *xofftejn* (ask ‘my

two lips’, ‘your [sg.] two lips’, ‘his two

lips’, ‘her two lips’)

eye, two eyes, *għajn* dl. *għajnejn*

(ask ‘my two eyes’, ‘your [sg.] two

eyes’, ‘his two eyes’, ‘her two eyes’)

leg, two legs, *sieq* dl. *saqajn* (ask

‘my two legs’, ‘your [sg.] two legs’,

‘his two legs’, ‘her two legs’)

hand, two hands, *id* dl. *idejn* (ask

‘my two hands’, ‘your [sg.] two

hands’, ‘his two hands’, ‘her two

hands’)

ear, two ears, *widna* dl. *widnejn* (ask

‘my two ears’, ‘your [sg.] two ears’,

‘his two ears’, ‘her two ears’)

cheek, two cheeks, *ħadd* dl. *ħaddejn*

3.2.3 Plural → Lexicon

-a

teacher (+ f., pl.), *għalliem* f. *għalliema* pl. *għalliema*

3.2.4 Article

l-CC-

the book, *il-ktieb*
 the roofs, *il-bjut*, *is-soqfa*
 the cities, *il-bliet*
 the street, *it-triq*

the children, *it-tfal*
 the marriage, *iż-żwieġ*
 the years, *is-snin*

l-VC-

the son, *l-iben*
 the mother, *l-omm*
 the brothers, *l-aħwa*

l-qV-

the moon, *il-qamar*

l-ghV-

the bird, *l-ghasfur*
 the birds, *l-ghasafar*
 the eye, *l-ghajn*

s-s-, t-t-

the year, *is-sena*
 the garlic, *it-tewm*

l-imC-, l-ilC-, l-irC-, l-inC-

the water, *l-ilma*
 the tongue, *l-ilsien*
 the pillow, *l-imħadda*

the men, *l-irġiel*
 the scents, *l-irwejjah*
 the Christians, *l-insara*

l-ġV-

the cheese, *il-ġobon*
 the camel, *il-ġemel*

3.2.5 Colours

red (+ f., pl.), *aħmar* f. *ħamra* pl. *ħomor*
 yellow (+ f., pl.), *isfar* f. *saфра* pl. *sofor*
 black (+ f., pl.), *iswed* f. *sewda* pl. *suwed*

white (+ f., pl.), *abjad* f. *bajda* pl. *bojod*
 green (+ f., pl.), *aħdar* f. *ħadra* pl. *ħodor*
 blue (+ f., pl.), *blu*, *blun* f. *bluna* pl. *bluni* (ask ‘blue eyes’)

(dark) blue (+ f., pl.), *ikħal* f. *kaħla* dark-skinned (+ f., pl.), *ismar* f.
pl. *koħol* *samra* pl. *somor*
brown, *kannella*

3.2.6 ‘the last’, ‘the other’

(use also with nouns ‘friend’, ‘man’, ‘woman’, ‘people’, ‘building’, ‘church’, etc.)

the last (+ f., pl.), *aħħar* f. *aħħarija* the other (+ f., pl.), *ieħor* f. *oħra* pl.
pl. *aħħarin/aħħarija* *oħrajn/oħra*

3.2.7 Adverbs and function words

outside, <i>barra</i>	always, <i>dejjem</i>
inside, <i>gewwa</i>	ever/never, <i>qatt</i> (ask ‘have you ever seen it?’, ‘I have never seen it’)
yesterday, <i>ilbieraħ</i>	often, <i>spiss</i> , <i>sikwit</i>
last night, <i>il-lejl li għadda</i>	no longer, <i>m’għad...-x</i> (ask ‘she is no longer a child’)
the day before yesterday, <i>il-bieraħt lura</i>	must, <i>irid</i> (ask ‘you [sg.] come here’, ‘he must come tomorrow’)
in three days, <i>fi tlett ijiem</i>	almost, nearly, <i>kwazi</i> (ask ‘I am almost done’)
in four days, <i>f’erbat ijiem</i>	just, <i>għad-</i> (ask ‘he just left’)
today, <i>illum</i> (may be realised in a coda with <i>m</i> or <i>n</i>)	yet, <i>għad-</i> (ask ‘he has not come yet’)
tomorrow, <i>għada</i>	still, <i>għad-</i> (ask ‘he is still sleeping’)
the day after tomorrow, <i>pitgħada</i>	only, <i>biss</i> (ask ‘she has only one child’)
year (+ pl.), <i>sena</i> pl. <i>snin</i>	already, <i>diġà</i> (ask ‘it is already five o’clock’)
last year, <i>is-sena l-oħra</i>	then, afterwards, <i>imbagħad</i> , <i>wara</i> (ask ‘then he goes to church’)
next year, <i>is-sena d-dieħla</i>	also, <i>ukoll</i> (ask ‘me too’)
early, <i>kmieni</i> (ask ‘I usually get up early in the morning’)	maybe, perhaps, <i>forsi</i>
straight ahead, <i>dritt</i>	very, <i>ħafna</i> (ask ‘very good’)
on the left hand, <i>ix-xellug</i>	only, <i>biss</i> (ask ‘only two people came’)
left side, <i>fuq ix-xellug</i>	much, <i>ħafna</i> (ask ‘you [sg.] still have much to learn about life’)
on the right hand, <i>il-lemin</i>	a lot, <i>ħafna</i> (ask ‘a lot of water’, ‘a lot of people’, ‘a lot of girls’)
right side, <i>fuq il-lemin</i>	
above/upstairs, <i>fuq</i> , <i>hawn fuq</i> , <i>hemm fuq</i>	
below/downstairs, <i>isfel</i> , <i>hawn isfel</i> , <i>hemm isfel</i>	
again, e.g. <i>mill-ġdid</i> , <i>darb’oħra</i> , <i>erġa’</i>	
quickly, <i>malajr</i>	
all/everything, <i>kollox</i>	

a little, *ftit* (ask ‘a little water’, yes, *iva* (ask ‘are you Gozitan? yes, I am’)
 ‘a few people’, ‘a few girls’) I am’)
 by force, *bil-forza* no, *le* (ask ‘are you Gozitan? no, I am not’)

3.3 Numerals

3.3.1 Cardinal numerals

1 *wiehed* f. *wahda*

2 *tnejn* AI 90

3 <i>tlieta</i> AI 89	7 <i>sebgħa</i>
4 <i>erba</i>	8 <i>tmienja</i>
5 <i>ħamsa</i>	9 <i>disgħa</i>
6 <i>sitta</i>	10 <i>għaxra</i>

1–10 days, *gurnata* dl. *jumejn* pl. *ijiem*

1	6
2	7
3	8
4	9
5	10

1–10 cats, *qattus* pl. *qtates*

1	6
2 <i>żewġ</i>	7
3	8
4	9
5	10

1–10 houses, *dar* pl. *idjar*

1	6
2 <i>żewġ</i>	7
3	8
4	9
5	10

11–19

11 <i>ħdax</i>	16 <i>sittax</i>
12 <i>tnax</i>	17 <i>sbatax</i>
13 <i>tlettax</i>	18 <i>tmintax</i>
14 <i>erbatax</i>	19 <i>dsatax</i>
15 <i>ħmistax</i>	

11–19 days, *ġurnata*

11 <i>ħdax-il</i>	16
12	17
13	18
14	19
15	

11–19 cats, *qattus*

11 <i>ħdax-il</i>	16
12	17
13	18
14	19
15	

20–90

20 <i>għoxrin</i>	60 <i>sittin</i>
30 <i>tletin</i>	70 <i>sebgħin</i>
40 <i>erbghin</i>	80 <i>tmenin</i>
50 <i>ħamsin</i>	90 <i>disghin</i>

21–29

21 <i>wiehed u għoxrin</i>	26 <i>sitta u għoxrin</i>
22 <i>tnejn u għoxrin</i>	27 <i>sebgħa u għoxrin</i>
23 <i>tlieta u għoxrin</i>	28 <i>tmienja u għoxrin</i>
24 <i>erbgha u għoxrin</i>	29 <i>disgha u għoxrin</i>
25 <i>ħamsa u għoxrin</i>	

100–1000

100 <i>mija</i>	600 <i>sitt mija</i>
200 <i>mitejn</i>	700 <i>seba' mija</i>
300 <i>tliet mija</i>	800 <i>tminn mija</i>
400 <i>erba' mija</i>	900 <i>disa' mija</i>
500 <i>ħames mija</i>	1,000 <i>elf</i> AI 8

100 days, *mitt jum/għurnata*1,000 days, *elf jum/għurnata*5 days, *ħamest ijiem*2 euros, *żewġ ewro*24 days, *erbgha u għoxrin jum/għurnata*12 cows, *tnax-il baqra*5 weeks, *ħames gimghat*5 months, *ħames xhur*13 kgs, *tlettax-il kilo*3 times, *tliet darbiet*

3.3.2 Ordinal numerals

m.	f.
1st	
2nd	
3rd	
4th	
5th	
6th	
7th	
8th	
9th	
10th	
11th	
15th	
19th	

1st year, *l-ewwel sena*2nd year, *it-tieni sena*6th year, *is-sitt sena*8th year, *it-tmien sena*10th year, *l-ghaxar sena*15th year, *il-ħmistax-il sena*1st day, *l-ewwel ġurnata*2nd day, *it-tieni jum*6th day, *is-sitt jum*8th day, *it-tmien jum*

3.4 Genitive exponent/Possession

ta' + pronominal suffixes (ask 'my book', 'your [sg.] book', 'my book is new', 'your [sg.] book is new', etc.)

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

to send (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *bagħat – jibgħat*

to bind (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *rabat – jorbot*

to throttle, to choke (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *ħanaq – joħnoq* AI 114

to catch (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *qabad – jaqbad*

to laugh, *daħak – jidħak*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to close, *għalaq – jagħlaq*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to comb, *maxat* – *jomxot*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to stay, to remain, *qagħhad – joqgħhod*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to enter, *daħal – jidħol*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

3.7.1.1.2 CaCeC

to agree (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *qabel – jaqbel*

to do, to make (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *ghamel – jagħmel* ‘AI 115

to work, *ħadem – jaħdem*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to go out, to exit, *ħareġ – joħroġ*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to kill, *qatel – joqtol*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

3.7.1.1.3 CeCaC

to approach, to get close (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *resaq – jersaq*

to be happy (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *ferah – jifrah*

to skin, to bruise (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *selah – jisloh*

to blow (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *nefah – jonfoh*

to leave (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *telaq – jitlaq*

to open, *fetah – jeftah*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to steal, *seraq – jisraq*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

3.7.1.1.4 CeCeC

to understand, *fehem – jifhem*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to become free, to escape, *heles – jehles*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to sink, *għereq* – *jegħreq*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to kindle, to light, to put on light, *xeghel* – *jixghel* AI 7

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

3.7.1.1.5 CiCeC

to lose (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *tilef – jitlef*

to descend, to go down (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *nizel – jinzel*

to wear (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *libes – jilbes*

to keep silent (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *siket – jiskot*

to write, *kiteb – jikteb*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to dance, *zifen – jizfen*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

3.7.1.1.6 CoCoCto drink, *xorob – jixrob*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to cough, *sogħol – jisgħol*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to dream, *ħolom* – *johłom*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

3.7.1.2 Active participle

sleeping (+ f., pl.), *rieqed* f. *rieqda* pl. *reqdin*entering (+ f., pl.), *dieħel* f. *dieħla* pl. *deħlin*going out (+ f., pl.), *ħiereğ* f. *ħierğa* pl. *ħerğın*going down (+ f., pl.), *niežel* f. *niežla* pl. *nežlin* (cf. *nizel* ‘he went down’)wearing (+ f., pl.), *liebes* f. *liebsa* pl. *lebsin* (cf. *libes* ‘he wore’)

cold (+ f., pl.), *kiesah* f. *kiesha* pl. *keshin*
 free (+ f., pl.), *hieles* f. *hielsa* pl. *helsin*
 wise (+ f., pl.), *gharef* f. *gharfa* pl. *ghorrief*

3.7.1.3 Passive participle

ma- (*ja-*)

burnt (+ f., pl.), *maħruq* f. *maħruqa* pl. *maħruqin*
 known (+ f., pl.), *magħruf* f. *magħrufa* pl. *magħrufin*
 washed (+ f., pl.), *maħsul* f. *maħsula* pl. *maħsulin*
 bound (+ f., pl.), *marbut* f. *marbuta* pl. *marbutin*

mi- (*ji-*)

written (+ f., pl.), *miktub* f. *miktuba* pl. *miktubin*
 sent (+ f., pl.), *mibghut* f. *mibghuta* pl. *mibghutin*
 broken (+ f., pl.), *miksir* f. *miksura* pl. *miksirin*
 understood (+ f., pl.), *mifhum* f. *mifhuma* pl. *mifhumin*
 stolen (+ f., pl.), *misruq* f. *misruqa* pl. *misruqin*

ma-/mi- (*jo-*)

drunk (+ f., pl.), *mixrub* f. *mixruba* pl. *mixrubin*
 killed (+ f., pl.), *maqtul* f. *maqtula* pl. *maqtulin*

me-/mi- (*je-*)

sunk (+ f., pl.), *megħruq* f. *megħruqa* pl. *megħruqin*
 opened (+ f., pl.), *miftuh* f. *miftuha* pl. *miftuhin*
 freed (+ f., pl.), *mehlus* f. *mehlusa* pl. *mehlusin*

3.7.1.4 Negation of regular verbs

not to drink, *ma xorobx* – *ma jixrobx*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

not to write, *ma kitibx* – *ma jiktibx*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

not to open, *ma fetahx* – *ma jeftahx*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

he was not silent, *ma sikitx* [-č]he did not go out, *ma ħariġx* [-č]he did not get dressed, *ma libisx* [-š]

3.7.1.5 Assimilation and helping vowel

we agreed, *qbilna*
 we did, we made, *ghamilna*

we band, *irbatna*
 we came down, *inzilna*

3.7.2 Irregular verbs

3.7.2.1 Hamzated verbs

to take, *ħa – jieħu*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

he took me, *ħadni*
 he took her, *ħadha*
 he takes me, *jehudni*
 he takes her, *jehudha*

take me!, *ħudni*
 take her!, *ħudha*
 he did not take, *ma ħiex*
 she did not take, *ma ħaditx*

we did not take, *ma ħadniex*
 he does not take, *ma jieħux*

she does not take, *ma tieħux*
 we do not take, *ma nieħdux*

Passive participle

taken (+ f., pl.), *meħud* f. *meħuda* pl. *meħudin*

to eat, *kiel/jiekol*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

Passive participle

eaten (+ f., pl.), *mikul* f. *mikula* pl. *mikulin*

3.7.2.2 Weak verbs

to hurt (+ 1 sg., 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *waġa' – juġa'*
 to stand up, to stop (+ 1 sg., 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *waqaf – jieqaf*
 to fall (+ 1 sg., 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *waqa' – jaqa'*
 to arrive (+ 1 sg., 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *wasal – jasal*
 to may contain, to have enough place (+ 1 sg., 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.),
wasal – jasal
 to get stuck (+ 1 sg., 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *wehel – jehel*
 to have a child (+ 1 sg., 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *wiled – jiled*
 to inherit (+ 1 sg., 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *wiret – jiret*
 to weigh (+ 1 sg., 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *wiżen – jiżen*

Active participle

hard (+ f., pl.), *iebes* f. *iebsa* pl. *ibsin*

3.7.2.3 Hollow verbs

(use sentences to get the verb forms in context, e.g. 'I flew to my brother', 'I am flying on a plane', 'I found my old friend', 'I am still finding new friends', 'I kissed my son', 'I am kissing his picture', 'I helped the priest', 'I am helping at the church', etc.)

to sell (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *biegħ – ibiegħ*
 to want (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *ried – irid*
 to add (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *żied – iżid*
 to live (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *għex – jgħix*
 to continue, to take a long time in doing s.th. (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *dam – idum*
 to get up (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *qam – iqum*
 to swim (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *għam – jgħum*
 to visit (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *żar – iżur*
 to be (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *kien – ikun*
 to die (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *miet – imut*
 to taste a dish (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *daq/dieq – iduq*

to find, *sab – isib*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to fly, *tar – itir*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to bring, *gab/gieb – iǫib*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to help, *għen – jgħin*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to fast, *sam – isum*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to kiss, *bies – ibus*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

Active participle

dead (+ f., pl.), *mejjet* f. *mejta* pl. *mejt*

fasting (+ f., pl.), *sajjem* f. *sajma* pl. *sajmin*

excessive (+ f., pl.), *zejjed* f. *zejda* pl. *zejda/zejdin*

going (+ f., pl.), *sejjer* f. *sejra* pl. *sejrin* → 'to go'

Passive participle

found (+ f., pl.), *misjub* f. *misjuba* pl. *misjubin*

brought (+ f., pl.), *miġjub* f. *miġjuba* pl. *miġjubin*

sold (+ f., pl.), *mibjugħ* f. *mibjugħa* pl. *mibjugħin*

Negation

I did not bring, *ma ġibt*

I did not bring him, *ma ġibtu*

I do not bring, *ma ngib*

I do not bring him, *ma ngibu*

we did not bring, *ma ġibni*

we did not bring him, *ma ġibni*

you (pl.) did not bring him, *ma ġibtu*

they did not bring, *ma ġab*

they did not bring him, *ma ġabu*

they did not bring her, *ma ġabuh*

she did not kiss him, *ma bisit*

we did not help him, *ma ġinnih*

they did not help me, *ma ġhenun*

3.7.2.4 Weak verbs

(use example sentences to get the verb forms in context, e.g. ‘I forgot my keys’, ‘I am forgetting my glasses’, ‘I cried a lot’, ‘I am crying’, etc.)

to build (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *bena – jibni*

to walk (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *mexa – jimxi*

to rent (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *kera – jikri*

to run (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *ğera – jigri*

to start, to begin (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *beda – jibda*

to be worth s.th., to cost s.th. (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *sewa – jiswa*

to hide; to keep secret (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *heba – jahbi*

to climb up, to be expensive (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *ğhola – jogħla*

to be sweet (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *hola – johla*

qara – jiqra → to see

to cry, *beka – jibki*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to forget, *nesa – jinsa*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to throw, *rema – jarmi*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to be blind, *għama* – *jagħma*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

Active participle

walking (+ f., pl.), *miexi* f. *miexja* pl. *mixjin*

running (water), *ġieri*

Passive participle

built (+ f., pl.), *mibni* f. *mibnija* pl. *mibnjin*

forgot (+ f., pl.), *minsi* f. *minsija* pl. *minsijin*

thrown away (+ f., pl.), *mormi* f. *mormija* pl. *mormijin*

Negation

he did not cry, *ma bekiex*

he did not forget, *ma nesieix*

he did not forget me, *ma nesinix*

he did not forget him, *ma nesihx*

he did not forget her, *ma nesihieix*

we did not forget, *ma nsejniex*

we did not forget him, *ma nsejnihx*

I do not forget him, *ma ninsihx*

I do not forget her, *ma ninsihieix*

you (pl.) did not forget me, *ma nsejtunex*

you (pl.) did not forget him, *ma nsejtuhx*

you (pl.) did not forget her, *ma nsejtuhieix*

they did not forget, *ma nsewx*

he does not forget, *ma jinsieix*

he does not forget me, *ma jinsinix*

he does not forget him, *ma jinsihx*

he does not forget her, *ma jinsihieix*

3.7.2.5 Doubled verbs

to hold s.o., to stop s.o. (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *żamm* – *iżomm*

to feel (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *ħass* – *iħoss*

to carry, to bear (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *ġarr* – *iġorr*

to finish, to accomplish (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *temm* – *itemm*

to dip, to wet (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *bell* – *ibill*

to love, *ħabb – iħobb*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to touch, *mess – imess*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

Passive participle

loved (+ f., pl.), *maħbub* f. *maħbuba* pl. *maħbubin*

solved (+ f., pl.), *mahlul* f. *mahlula* pl. *mahlulin*

felt (+ f., pl.), *maħsus* f. *maħsusa* pl. *maħsusin*

held, stopped (+ f., pl.), *mizmum* f. *mizmuma* pl. *mizmumin*

accomplished (+ f., pl.), *mitmum* f. *mitmuma* pl. *mitmumin*

3.7.2.6 ‘Pharyngeal’ verbs

can, to be able to (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *sata’ – jista’*

to remain (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *baqa’ – jibqa’*

to meet (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *laqa’ – jilqa’*

to climb, to go uphill (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *tala’ – jitla’*

to come back (+ 3 f.sg. per./imper.), *raġa’ – jerġa’*

to hear, *sema’ – jisma’*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to swallow, *bela'/bala'* – *jibla'*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to lift, *refa'/rafa' – jerfa'*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

3.7.2.7 ‘to come’to come, *gie – jigi*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

Active participle

coming (+ f., pl.), *gej f. gejjja pl. gejjin*

3.7.2.8 'to see' and 'to read'

to see, *ra – jara*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to read, *qara – jaqra*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

3.7.2.9 'to give'

to give, *ta – jaghti*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

Passive participle

given (+ f., pl.), *mogħti* f. *mogħtija* pl. *mogħtijin*

3.7.2.10 'to say'

to say, *qal*, *għed* – *jgħid*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

3.7.2.11 ‘to go’to go, *mar – imur*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

Active participle

going (+ f., pl.), *sejjer* f. *sejra* pl. *sejrin*

3.7.2.12 'to know'

to know, *kien jaf – jaf* + negation

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

+ negation

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

+ negation

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

3.7.3 Form II

to pay (+ 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *ħallas – iħallas*
to teach (+ 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *għallem – jgħallem*
to make s.o. happy (+ 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *ferrrah – iferrah*
to form, to shape (+ 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *sawwar – jsawwar*
to raise, to wake (+ 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *qajjem – jqajjem*
to light, to set on fire (+ 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *qabbad – jqabbad*
to look for s.th., to search (+ 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *fittex – ifittex*
to remind (+ 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *fakkar – jfakkar*
to poison (+ 3 f.sg., 3 pl. per./imper.), *semmem – jsemmem*

Participle

taught (+ f., pl.), *mghallem* f. *mghallma* pl. *mghallmin*
paid (+ f., pl.), *mħallas* f. *mħallsa* pl. *mħallsin*
searched (+ f., pl.), *mfittex* f. *mfittxa* pl. *mfittxin*

Verbal noun

teaching, *tagħlim*
paying, *tahlis* (the word is probably not used)
searching, *tiftix*, *tfittix*

3.7.4 Form III

to promise (+ 3 f.sg., 2 pl. per./imper.), *wieghed – iwieghed*
to watch, to observe (+ 3 f.sg., 2 pl. per./imper.), *ħares – iħares*

to travel, *siefer – isiefer*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

to answer, *wiegeb – iwiegeb*

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

Imperative

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
!				

3.7.5 Form V and VI

to be shortened, *tqassar* – *jitqassar*

to be searched, *tfittex* – *jitfittex*

to speak, *tkellem* – *jitkellem* AI 88

to be explained, *tfiehem* – *jitfiehem* (the word is probably not used)

to be placed, *tqieghed* – *jitqieghed* (the word is probably not used)

3.7.6 Form VII and VIII

be forgotten, *intesa/intnesa* (*nesa*)

to be bent, *iltewa/intlewa* (*lewa*)

to be touched, *intess/intmess* (*mess*)

to be bound, *irtabat/intrabat* (*rabat*)

to be stolen, *inseraq/insteraq* (*seraq*)

to be fed, *nghalef/intghalef* (*ghalef*)

to be built, *inbena* (*bena*)

to be beaten, *indarab* (*darab*)

to be opened, *infetaħ* (*fetaħ*)

to be brought, *ingab/ingieb* (*gab/gieb*)

to be milked, *inhaleb* (*haleb*)

to be rented, *inkera* (*kera*)

to be added, *ždied* (*žied*)

to be shown, *inwera/intwera* (*wera*)

to be inherited, *intiret* (*wiret*)

to be weighed, *intižen* (*wižen*)

3.7.7 IX Form

to turn yellow, to yellow (+ 1 sg. per.), *sfar* – *jisfar*

to turn red, to redden (+ 1 sg. per.), *ħmar* – *jihmar*

to turn beautiful (+ 1 sg. per.), *sbieh* – *jisbieh*

3.7.8 X Form

to wonder, to be surprised, *stagħgeb – jistagħgeb*

to invite, *stieden – jistieden*

to have a rest, *strah – jistrih*

to wait, *stenna – jistenna*

3.7.9 Direct object

they understood me ..., *fehmu* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

she understood me ..., *fehmet* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

she saw me ..., *rat* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

he saw me ..., *ra* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

I wrote it, you wrote it ..., *ktibtu/ktibtha* + 3 m.sg., 3 f.sg. pronominal suffix

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

I wrote it to him, you wrote it to him ..., *ktibthulu* + 3 m.sg. pronominal suffix

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

you wrote them, *ktibthom*
 I swallowed her, *blajtha*
 I swallowed them, *blajthom*
 I understand her, *nifhimha*
 I understand him, *nifhmu*

I understand them, *nifhimhom*
 she forgot him, *nsietu*
 I forgot her, *nsejtha*
 she killed him, *qatlitu*
 she killed them, *qatlithom*

3.7.10 Direct object with *lil*

I saw Liza, *rajt lil Liza*

we saw her brother, *rajna lil huha*

we visited your mother, *żorna lil ommok*

I will visit his mother, *se nżur lil ommu*

you gave it to your mother, *tajtha lil ommok*

3.7.11 Indirect object

he told me ..., *qal* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

he tells me ..., *jghid* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

she found me ..., *sabet* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

he hit me ..., *laqat* + pronominal suffixes

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

I brought him to you (sg.), *ġibtu lilek* (*ġibtulek*)

I told you (sg.) this, *ġhidtlek*

I brought her to you (sg.), *ġibtha lilek* (*ġibthielek*)

3.7.12 Verb modifier in the present continuous

qed/qieġhed f. *qieġhda* pl. *qieġhdin* (ask 'I am going to the shop', 'he is eating a rabbit', etc.)

3.7.13 Verb modifier in the future

se/sa/ser (ask 'I will go', 'he will sleep', 'she will cook', etc.)

ħa

rrid (ask 'I want to go', 'I want to sleep', etc.)

3.7.14 'there is', 'there is no'

there is a house, *hemm dar*

there is no church, *m'hemmx knisja*

3.7.15 'to have'

he had, *kellu* + negation

Perfect

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				

2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

+ negation

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

he will have, *ikollu* + negation

Future

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				

+ negation

	sg.	sg.#	pl.	pl.#
1				
2				
3 m.				
3 f.				



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R e v i e w

**Halayqa, Issam. *Traditional Agricultural and Domestic Tools in Palestinian Arabic: An Ethnographic and Lexical Study*.
Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014. 217 pp.
ISBN 978-3-447-10248-3**

Pre-industrial agricultural tools in Palestinian Arabic (PA) are fairly well attested and have been described in several ethnographic studies, some of which were published whilst traditional agriculture was still predominant and widely practiced. Surely the most well-known treatise on the subject is Gustaf Dalman's monumental *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (Dalman 1928–1942)—a detailed, systematic study that, due to its impact and scope, may be justly described as the 'bible' of Palestinian ethnographic studies.

In reviving research on traditional Palestinian agricultural vocabulary, the book under review joins other recent comprehensive studies, such as al-Hroub's *Atlas of Palestinian Rural Heritage* (Al-Hroub 2015). The data Halayqa mentions in his book has been gathered from previous research as well as from the author's own fieldwork (p. 2). The book is extensive and offers etymological discussion of some 618 lexical entries, which could be a very helpful resource for Arabic dialectologists and researchers interested in Middle Eastern pre-industrial agricultural realia.

At the beginning of the book (pp. 1–8), Halayqa presents a short introduction and methodological guidelines, including the various criteria he uses to 'determine the origin of the lexemes' (pp. 3–4). The second chapter constitutes the main body of the book (pp. 9–194). It includes the author's discussion of the entries, arranged according to three primary semantic fields: agricultural tools (§2.1), animals (§2.2), and house (§2.3). The sec-

tion dealing with agricultural tools is particularly extensive. Among the various sub-fields, we find: sowing, tilling, the plough and its harness (§2.1.1); farming and gardening (§2.1.2); pruning, weeding and chopping (§2.1.3); watering (§2.1.6); threshing, winnowing and sifting (§2.1.8); and olive pressing (§2.1.11).

Each of the entries discussed in this book is numbered, transcribed in both singular and plural forms, and followed by an English translation and explanation. Furthermore, the author adds short references to select previous research (primarily Dalman's *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*). Each entry is then followed by an etymological analysis that lists corresponding words from other Semitic (and, where applicable, non-Semitic) languages.

The entries in the book are listed in alphabetical order within each semantic sub-field. This structure has many advantages. However, the author does not provide an alphabetical list of all the entries discussed. The book may therefore be less accessible for a reader who is interested in Semitic linguistics more generally or in investigating a certain Semitic root. The book does not include any pictorial supplements or illustrations, which would have been helpful for a reader who is less acquainted with traditional agriculture.

In many entries, the author includes data on the exact geographical area(s) in which he attested the entry in question—a welcome addition to the extant published sources. Some of the updated meanings the author attests help us to trace recent semantic developments of several traditional agricultural terms: for example, the term *zanbīl(e)* ~ *zambīl(e)*, 'a small sack made of palm fibres for storing grain, rice, raisins or dried figs', which Dalman attested (Dalman 1928–1942: III, 194, 205; VII, 125, 237), nowadays 'refers to a sack made of nylon which measures 20–30 kg in capacity and is used to store rice in Hebron' (pp. 75–76).

Since the book addresses agricultural vocabulary, it is not surprising that the author mentions previously unidentified, potential substrate words throughout the book. In some cases, he is the first to attest and identify these words, as in the case of (p. 181) *qazmūl* 'a cooking pot, a drinking cup or a pitcher', attested in Niṣlīn village, west of Ramallah; and *qazmūt* 'a small ceramic jug with handles'. Halayqa (p. 196) attributes an Aramaic origin to both *qazmūl* and *qazmūt*, based on the Syriac *qzmwl?* 'jug with narrow neck and unobstructed opening' and the Syriac *qzmt?* (presumably *qazmāṭā* and not *qazmūta*, as Halayqa has transcribed it) 'small jug'. One should note that these Syriac cognates are only attested in Syriac medieval dictionaries (Duval 1901: II, 1758, lines 18 and 23) and are not reaffirmed in other Syriac texts. In my opinion, the Syriac *qzmwl?* is most probably a variation of the Syriac diminutive suffix *-on*, in which a common shift (*n* > *l*) occurred, namely **qazmonā* > *qazmolā* (rather than *qazmūlā*, the vocalization suggested in Payne Smith 1879–1901: II, 3569).

Halayqa's monograph aims to address two main issues in its third and final 'Conclusions' chapter: a) the linguistic strata of the names of the tools he discusses, and b) the 'factors that have created these names', as the author puts it (p. 195)—that is, lexical enrichment via semantic shifts and morphological word-formation. With regard to the first issue, on pp. 195–214, the author attempts 'to show the influences of ancient Semitic and non-Semitic languages by defining the linguistic strata of these names and focusing on the names which originated in Canaanite or Aramaic' (p. 195). He sifts most of the vocabulary he has discussed into two origin-related language groups: Semitic languages (Akk, Can-Ug, Aram, Eth, CAR, CS [Central Semitic?], and 'Uncertain Semitic') and non-Semitic languages (Eg, Per, Turk, Gr, Lat, Fr, It, Eng, and 'Unknown'). The author offers a summary table (p. 201), according to which he presents 'the percentage of Near-Eastern language's [sic] contribution to the names of tools and objects' discussed in the book. Halayqa claims that nearly 73% of the vocabulary he presents in the book is of Semitic origin, whilst the rest of the words are either of non-Semitic or of unknown origin. Within the Semitic-origin language group, he sifts 78 words (12.6%) into the Aramaic-origin group and attributes a Canaanite-Ugaritic origin to some 29 words (4.7%). I shall return to this conclusion below.

In the same 'Conclusions' chapter, the second issue Halayqa discusses is lexical enrichment via semantic shifts and morphological word formation. The author mentions some examples of universal semantic shifts, for example: 'parts of the body' > 'tools of same shape': *iğir/riğil* 'leg, foot' > 'leg of any compound tool, such as a forked wooden pole used to support vines'; *ğanaḥ* 'wing' > 'each of the two edges of the plough-share'. A long list of names appears under the so-called 'names according to the functions that the tools perform' rubric. The author approaches these names solely from the semantic point of view. However, one should note that most of the names of these tools were created via morphological word formation, and that the patterns *faʕʕāl*, *fāʕūl* ~ *faʕūl*, *maʕʕal(a)* ~ *mifʕal(a)*, and *mifʕāl(a)* ~ *mufʕāl(a)* were particularly productive in this respect, as one can see in the terms *ḥammāle* 'carrier', *maʕḡane* ~ *miʕḡane* 'kneading trough', *ğārūše* 'roller, cylindrical stone for grinding', and *mi-skār* 'shutter', respectively.

The book contains numerous typos and grammatical mistakes, and would have benefitted from more careful language editing. In addition, there are some inaccuracies in the citations and abbreviations of the sources: for example, the abbreviation CS (Central Semitic?) is mentioned neither in the *sigla* nor in the introductory chapter; various Mishnaic and Talmudic Hebrew sources are dubbed 'Middle Hebrew' and are abbreviated as MH—a rather obscure term that does not clearly indicate which

of the Hebrew sources are implied. Furthermore, the author has rather ambiguously abbreviated the Rabbinic Hebrew and the Aramaic sources. Some abbreviations (pp. XV–XXVI) lack one-to-one correlation to the sources—such as on p. XXIV, where the abbreviation ‘Sot’ [sic] stands for ‘Soṭah (Talmud)’, and ‘Soṭ’ stands for both ‘Soṭa (sources I)’ and ‘Soṭa (source IV)’. The author does not explain the difference between sources I and IV, either at this juncture or elsewhere in the book.

The book’s main weak point is its etymological analysis and consequently the suggested etymologies of many of the terms the author discusses. In general, the analysis suffers from a lack of accuracy in both phonology (consonant correspondence) and semantics. Since space does not permit me to provide a full list of the etymological inaccuracies in the book, in what follows I shall concentrate on a few representative examples.

The author mentions the various criteria he used to ‘determine the origin of the lexemes’ (pp. 3–4). One of these is that ‘the north of Jerusalem, to a large extent, displays more Aramaic influences, but the south of Jerusalem displays more Canaanite influences’ (p. 4). This is the author’s own impression and is not a criterion for establishing etymology. Moreover, nowhere in the book is this point further explained or developed, and the material presented does not clarify how the author reached this conclusion.

Another of the author’s criteria for determining a word’s origin is ‘phonetics like pronunciation, changing of sibilants and emphatics, etc.’ Nonetheless, the author frequently ignores consonant correspondence: for example, in PA *šafra* ‘sharp metal blade’ (p. 117), the *š* reflects a regular consonant correspondence in comparison to the *š* in Classical Arabic (CA) *šafra* ‘sharp broad knife’ (Lane 1863–1893: IV, 1570). This word is widely attested (with *š*) in other Arabic dialects, including Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, Saudi-Arabian, and Omani Arabic (Behnstedt and Woidich 2012: 128). Halayqa considers the word *šafra* ‘sharp metal blade’ to be of Aramaic origin (p. 196), based on the Aramaic cognate root $\sqrt{spr}$ ‘trim, cut hair’. Whilst a cognate connection between Aramaic $\sqrt{spr}$ ‘trim, cut hair’ and Arabic $\sqrt{šfr}$ ‘cut’ has been suggested (Fraenkel 1886: 247; Brockelmann 1928: 492), if these roots are indeed cognate, then they exhibit a regular Arabic /š/ vs. an Aramaic /s/ consonant correspondence. Consequently, an analysis of PA *šafra* ‘sharp metal blade’ would instead suggest that the PA entry in question is an inherited Arabic word—a conclusion which is further supported by the wide geographical distribution of the word in various Arabic dialects. More careful consideration of the existing attestation in CA, the word’s distribution in Arabic dialects, and consonant correspondence would have rendered this a relatively secure example of an inherited Arabic word.

As a further example, we can consider the PA word *mdaqa* [sic] ‘a stone hammer or a pestle made either of wood or basalt with which one crushes dry herbs or small quantities of grain, or for crushing green olives for pickling’ (p. 65). Dalman has attested this word as *mdaqa* ‘Holzschlägel’ (Dalman 1928–1942: II, 271), *mdaqa* in Nāblus ‘ein hammerförmiger hölzerner Schlegel mit langem Griff’ (Dalman 1928–1942: III, 213), *medaqa* ‘Holzstößel’ (Dalman 1928–1942: III, 264, 272), *medaqa* in Jerusalem ‘Schlägel zum Zermalmen’ (Dalman 1928–1942: IV, 197), and *mdaqa* ‘Holzhammer’ (Dalman 1928–1942: IV, 274). The root of this word is $\sqrt{dqq}$, a Semitic root that basically means ‘crush’. A similar word is attested in CA: *midaqq*, *midaqa*, or *muduqq*, ‘a thing with which one breaks or crushes in any manner, or with which one bruises, brays, or pounds, i.e. beats so as to break or crush’ (Lane 1863–1893: III, 897). As cognates, the author suggests the Akkadian *madakku* ‘pestle’, the Biblical Hebrew מִדְכָּה *məḏōkā* ‘mortar’ (Num. 11:8), the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *mdwk* ‘pestle’, and other Aramaic cognates deriving from the Semitic root $\sqrt{dwk}$, which has nothing to do with the PA *mdaqa* ($\sqrt{dqq}$). This presumed similarity in meaning does not justify a systematic /q/ – /k/ nonconformity in consonant correspondence.

The closest possible similarity in meaning in the proposed source language would be a highly important consideration in the process of determining a word’s origin, as the author rightly argues (p. 4). Nevertheless, the author frequently ignores this key principle throughout the book. For example, the word *bay(y)ūr* ‘a wooden peg or pin placed in a slit at the lower end of a plough’s steering pole and the shank’ (p. 11), as well as its attested phonological doublet *fayyūr* in the dialect of Ṣadad (Mubaraka 1998: 70), very probably originates from the Greek ἐπίουρος ‘wooden peg, pin’ (Liddell et al. 1996: 649 s.v. ἐπίουρος II). This Greek loanword most likely found its way into Western and Eastern Aramaic dialects and then remained in Syro-Palestinian Arabic dialects as one of many substrate words. The only attestation of this word in Aramaic is the Syriac *pywr?* (Payne Smith 1879–1901: II, 3101; Brockelmann 1928: 567; Sokoloff 2009: 1185). The above-mentioned Greek etymology has already been suggested in research on Syriac (Payne Smith 1879–1901: II, 3101) and Arabic (Mubaraka 1998: 70–71). The PA *bay(y)ūr* is connected neither to the suggested Akkadian *burû* ‘reed mats’ nor to the Persian *būru* ‘trumpet, hunting horn, tube, canal’ (p. 11). The other semantically distinct cognate suggestions Halayqa mentions should also be dismissed.

Halayqa suggests that 29 of the entries in his study are of Canaanite and Ugaritic (abbreviated as ‘Can-Ug’) origin (p. 196). His decision to combine Canaanite and Ugaritic as a joint origin group for the identification of etymology and linguistic strata requires further explanation.

Moreover, he seems to have determined the entries in the so-called 'Canaanite' sub-group (p. 4) primarily based on suggested cognate words in Biblical and Rabbinic **Hebrew** sources, which makes the use of the term 'Canaanite' inadequate from both practical and chronological perspectives.

The etymological analysis also suffers from the lack of a clear distinction between substrate words and loanwords, between direct and indirect loans, and finally between mutual loans among various Semitic languages and shared Proto-Semitic vocabulary. This is also evident in the author's chosen terminology, since he uses the terms 'loanword', 'loan', and 'borrowing' as general terms for any type of word in PA that had its origins in a foreign language at any stage.

In the opening part of his third 'Conclusions' chapter, the author states that what follows is an attempt 'to show the influences of ancient Semitic and non-Semitic languages by defining the linguistic strata of these names and focusing on the names which originated in Canaanite or Aramaic' (p. 195). However, based on his classifications of the words into various languages (pp. 196–201) and his summary table (p. 201), it is essentially unclear whether Halayqa intended to identify the linguistic strata of the words (i.e., to map their period of entry/inheritance into what eventually came to be known as PA) or simply to identify their ultimate etymon. As I understand this chapter, it seems that Halayqa ultimately attempted to do the latter. Regardless of which of these options captures Halayqa's intention, the conclusions presented in this chapter are not fully reliable, either in terms of etymology or in the suggested stratification of PA vocabulary.

In sum, Halayqa's book is extensive and will surely constitute a helpful resource for Arabic dialectologists and researchers interested in Middle Eastern pre-industrial agricultural realia. When it comes to matters related to etymology in general and to Semitic comparative etymology in particular, the reader is advised to approach the material cautiously.

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