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TEXTS FROM ARABIA PETRAEA IN THE DIALECT OF THE SEMI-NOMADIC
AN-NĒMĀT TRIBE OF THE SHARA MOUNTAINS (JORDAN)

1. Introduction

1.1. *General*

With all the literature about the nomadic and semi-nomadic Arabic way of life written by ethnographers and linguists, and all the anthologies of *šī'r nabaṭi*, collections of *amṭāl*, treatises of folklore, and series of *man humu lbadw* there is still an evident shortage in various Bedouin dialects of authentic, carefully identified texts with linguistic and ethnological comments. Of the published texts that come from Middle Eastern deserts most represent Bedouin poetry, and still, to quote Saad Sowayan's Nabaṭi Poetry, "serious and concentrated effort must be done to salvaging and studying this poetry and examining it in its proper social context before the tradition dies out completely and before its diction becomes even more difficult to understand"¹. The shortage of colloquial Bedouin prose is even more alarming. In Bedouin entertainments poems are often accompanied with artistic colloquial prose. Of this genre of oral art, the *sālfā* narrative, a few hours' dictations and later transcriptions of recordings have become accessible to the reader, thanks to a handful of Arabists². Unfortunately this kind of prose material is always neglected in native anthologies. Sometimes the *sawālif* are paraphrased in literary Arabic or other languages, and then the source value is lost in many respects. Besides the narratives plain colloquial material, such as biographies and accounts of daily and seasonal activities, is almost non-existent. Of these samples of prose texts most are *kalām arrjāl*.³

The shortage of published colloquial material is understandable in the light of the traditional native emphasis on classical studies and the discarding of the modern Arabic dialects, which are regarded by the pedant only as a corruption of *al'arabiyya* and an obstacle in the way of achieving educational, political and religious ideals. Though in the Arab countries of Bedouin background there is a remarkable popular interest in *adab albādiya*, the native scholar may still find collecting and publishing difficult.⁴ In this

¹ SOWAYAN, *Nabaṭi Poetry*, p. 3.

² The first colloquial Bedouin narrative texts were written down by WETZSTEIN, SOCIN (besides poems), LANDBERG and MONTAGNE (besides poems). More recent narrative collections have been published by PALVA and INGHAM. For the native anthologies of Bedouin poetry see the references in SOWAYAN, *Nabaṭi*, pp. 217-226.

³ Only in ROSENHOUSE, *North Israel Bedouin Dialects* have I found texts recording the speech of Bedouin women and girls.

situation the foreign field-worker without a lifelong exposure to the living traditions, without comprehensive Bedouin prose readers and without relevant dictionaries is not a very well-prepared helper at least during the years of initiation, but he may paradoxically be more at home and accepted in the field when collecting simple prose material than the native urban man of letters.

When rapid and irreversible changes afflict the linguistic and cultural heritage and the very existence of this delicate system of human adaptation to the deserts and steppes, complete repertoires of nomadic and semi-nomadic speech ought to be salvaged. What has appeared to the minds of the predominantly male field-workers or in the conventions of their hosts as too simple, prosaic, childish or feminine to be recorded is becoming of greatest importance linguistically and anthropologically when it is in the greatest danger of disappearing.

1.2. *The material*

In the spring of 1986, when travelling back and forth along the Desert Highway between Amman and Aqaba, I was often helped to get a lift by the al-Ḥṣēniyya Police Station. The staff of the station took a keen interest in my field research and soon I was invited by °Abdalla Ḥamād an-N°emi from the semi-nomadic tribe of the N°emāt (an-Nu°aymāt) of the Shara Mountains to accompany him to the village of Bīr Abu Danne between Ma°ān and Petra in southern Jordan, the area which with reference to the great ethnological works of Alois Musil could be called Arabia Petraea. There in a very friendly and hospitable atmosphere, I was able to record samples of simple prose in conversational style, of which I present here the words of Najme, °Abdalla's mother-in-law. The recording took place in front of my host's concrete house. Najme was sitting and sewing, and the children of the village had just walked to their schools. The verdant spring inspired Najme to tell how life was before, when they were, as she said, °ar ab ruḥḥal. °Abdalla, his wife, their little son and I formed the audience. The host helped the old lady with his lines, comments and questions, which also tell of changes in the mode of living and language. °Abdalla's speech in this recording abounds with sedentary Koiné-forms. Najme speaks with perfect ease of her familiar sphere of activity and evidently for my sake gives some interpretation of her dialect by using double terms, such as bēdar/ḥēt, kazme/fās, girbe/jild, jilūd/šnān, ḥamāde/arq, ṭāse/gidir, dīms/ḥajar. Apart from this lexical fluctuation, which in itself is an evidence of contacts across the now increasingly blurred Bedouin — sedentary boundary, it is difficult to know if in another situation her language would have been different. Judging by what we know about the tribe and socio-cultural developments in the south of Jordan, a certain amount of mixedness was to be expected. There are examples in the recorded conversation of Najme's momentary switching to the koineized style of °Abdalla. Such echoes of solidarity show how changes may be initiated and strengthened. Of my recordings at the village these texts form one third.

⁴ SOWAYAN, *Nabaṭi Poetry*, p. 10.

1.3. *The tribe*

The different groups of the N^cēmāt are now settled in the administrative area of Ma^cān, (muḥāfaẓat Ma^cān, qaḍā' Wādī Mūsā) in their villages of Baṣṭa, Ēl (Ayl), al-Farḍax, Gā^c Baṣṭa and Bīr Abu Danne, in the Shara Mountains. In the census of 1979 each of these villages had a population from 300 to 600 inhabitants.⁵ Before the modern irrigation-projects in the desert this area was the southern end of the cultivated area on the western edge of the high plateau just to the east of the Jordan Valley. Cultivation and grazing depend on rainfall, the amount and timing of which is highly erratic from year to year. Between Ma^cān and Petra the rainfall is sufficient for cropping in a normal year.⁶ At present the N^cēmāt live a settled life in concrete houses; only a small minority migrate as before to the east for grazing grounds in the months of ar^crabī^c and return for the harvest in the summer. In the spring of 1988 I saw N^cēmi tents as far as between al-Jafr and Ḥudruj together with those of the Ḥwēṭāt. Army and government jobs are now important sources of income.

Before these years of security and settled life the N^cēmāt followed the lead of the Ibn Jāzi sheikhs of the Ḥwēṭāt (al-Ḥuwayṭāt). The latter dominated a large tribal area between al-Karak and Tēma (Taymā') and between the east coast of the Gulf of Aqaba and Wādī Sirḥān.⁷ In his Arabia Petraea MUSIL mentions the N^cēmāt among the groups that paid the Ḥwēṭāt for protection.⁸ Like many minor groups of distinct genealogy the N^cēmāt often claim the identity of the dominating Ḥwēṭāt. There is, however, a clear cultural difference: besides cereal cultivation which was despised by the true nomads the more favourable ecology made it possible for the N^cēmāt to raise a large variety of animals; in addition to camels, goats, sheep and horses they had donkeys, mules and a native breed of small cow.⁹ Consequently their seasonal migrations must have taken place in a relatively limited area, and so it appears from the recorded material (Text I, 30). There are several truths about the semi-nomadic tribe. As Najme says repeatedly that before the N^cēmāt were ^carab ruḥḥal and that they are beḍu and of the Ḥwēṭāt, Oppenheim mentions the N^cēmāt of the Shara as peasants and as an independent tribe in relation to the Ḥwēṭāt. In the field I have heard the Ḥwēṭāt use of the N^cēmāt the epithet aṣṣar ^cargūb because of their relatively fair complexion, guessing at their Crusader origin. More relevant in this connection is whether they are related to their namesake groups to the north of the area, but this question needs further research.¹⁰ One approach to the study of the identity of the tribe is linguistic, and the plain colloquial material and the

⁵ QUBĀ^cA, Ma^cān, pp. 168 and 335.

⁶ NYROP, Jordan, p. 121.

⁷ For the general information and references on the Ḥwēṭāt see PALVA, Ḥwēṭāt, p. 292 and notes 1-6.

⁸ Every N^cēmi tent used to supply three m i d s, about 54 litres, of barley; MUSIL, Arabia Petraea, pp. 52-53.

⁹ Cows were kept for ploughing and threshing rather than for milk production; MUSIL, Arabia Petraea, pp. 164 and 291.

¹⁰ Besides the N^cēmāt of the Shara mountains there are the N^cēmāt of the Karak district and the N^cēmāt aligned with the ^cAbābīd. Furthermore, the fellāḥīn of the village called Beni N^cēm east of Hebron could be of the same descent; OPPENHEIM, Die Beduinen, Bd. 2, p. 306. As for the last group, they really claim that they have come from the other side of the Dead Sea. (My own observation).

dialectological literature allow us to dwell on this aspect more than others.

1.4. *The dialect type*

General information on the dialects of Southern Jordan and the adjoining areas is given by Heikki Palva in his recent articles.¹¹ He comes to the conclusion that the dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt, the dominant tribe in the south of Jordan, and the practically identical dialect of the Bani °Aṭiyya tribe south-east of the Ḥwēṭi area are of a linguistic type closely related to the dialects of the Negev and Sinai Bedouins¹², with many affinities with the Bedouin dialects spoken in Egypt and Sudan. Now the likewise recent description of the dialect of the Bdūl of Petra by Bani Yasin and Owens¹³ and my new material from the dialect of the N°ēmāt are added to elaborate the picture of this linguistic area. Because of the few sedentary features which are an integral part of the genuine, old folk's N°ēmi speech the dialect is also compared with the mixed Karaki dialect.¹⁴

I shall present the dialect of the N°ēmāt (n) in the following comparative table, together with the dialects of the Ḥwēṭāt, Bani °Aṭiyya, the Negev and Sinai (HANS after the initials), the dialect of the Bdūl (b) and North Arabian dialects (°Anazi, Šammari and the Syro-Mesopotamian group of Bedouin dialects; E). In this table are used the typologically significant features mentioned by Palva in his Ḥwēṭāt article:

	E	H	A	N	S	b	n
1. Palatalized variants of g and k, reflexes of qāf and kāf	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Final -n in imperfect, 2nd p. fem. sing., 2nd p. masc. plur. and 3rd p. masc. plur.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. tanwīn and its residues	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Pronominal suffix -ku, 2nd p. masc. plur.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
5. Use of the preposition fi-/fī	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Interrogative kēf instead of (wi)šlōn (and cēf/čēf) (partial distinction)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
7. Stressed variants -ī and -nī, pron. suff. 1st p. sing.	-	+	+	+	+	+	?
8. a in the initial syllable in verbal forms VII, VIII, IX and X in the perfect and the stability of this vowel; this a is stressed in stressable position	-	+	+	+	+	?	?
9. a in the initial syllable in a number of irregular nouns: H 'amm, 'axt, 'axwān, 'adēn, 'afam; N amm, afām, uxt; b amm, adēn, uxt; n amm, adēn, iṭim	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
10. b-imperfect (unsystematic) ¹⁵	-	-	-	+	+	+	+

¹¹ PALVA, Classification; idem, Ḥwēṭāt; idem, el-Karak.

¹² BLANC, Negev; STEWART, Sinai.

¹³ BANI YASIN & OWENS, Bduul.

¹⁴ PALVA, el-Karak.

¹⁵ The subject is dealt with at some length in BANI YASIN & OWENS, pp. 214-6.

11. Generalized a in the active imperfect preformative instead of vowel harmony	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
12. Fluctuation of \bar{o} and \bar{e} with \bar{u} and \bar{i} respectively	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
13. gahāwa syndrome; n gāhawa and wāḥado	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. CVCaCV- > CCVCV- syllable structure in nouns	+	+	+	+	+	?	?
15. Voiced reflex of qāf; cf. above 1.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16. Gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd p. plur. in personal pronouns, pronominal suffixes and verbs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17. Productivity of verbal form IV	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18. Def. article al- and relative pronoun (h)alli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

The dialect of the N^cēmāt, n, shares with EHANSb the common Bedouin characteristics 13-18; 14 is uncertain in the light of this material. Also the vocabulary abounds with widespread Bedouin items; e.g. the verbs of motion *gowṭar*, *madd*, *dalla*, *raḥal*, *ṣarrag* and *ṭabb* appearing in the texts are common to all these Bedouin dialects.¹⁶ The dialect of the N^cēmāt shares with HANSb at least seven of nine such typological features as do not appear in the North Arabian dialects 1-9 (7 and 8 are uncertain). As for the neighbouring Bedouin dialects it also shares features 10-11 with NSb and feature 12 with HA. To make the internal relations of the HANSbn dialects clearer I shall add a few points of comparison.

	E	H	A	N	S	b	n
19. 1st p. plural free personal pronoun ḥinna	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
20. Demonstrative pron. fem. sing. hēḍi < *hayḍi ¹⁷	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
21. kiḍi(yāne); n also kiḍa 'like this' ¹⁸	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
22. Personal allomorph -aw/-ō- in the 2nd p. masc. and the 3rd p. masc. plur. imperfect with the a-base	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
23. Preposition base lē- < *lay besides -l-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
24. Pronoun suffix C-o in the 3rd p. masc. sing.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
25. Complete monophthongization of the old diphthong ay		+	+	-	-	-	+
26. Strong variation of the fem. morpheme, -ah/-ih or -a/-e versus -a/-æ	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
27. yiktibu/yikitbu versus yikitbu		+	+	-	-	-	+
28. 3rd p. plur. independent pers. pronoun hummu vs. hum	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

¹⁶ The verb *lagga* 'to go' is perhaps of more limited distribution, though it is used in all the Bedouin dialects of the neighbourhood on both sides of Wādi 'Araba. 'aggad 'to go', which is in Jordan commonly associated with the *sab'āwiyya*, the Bedouin of the Negev, 'arab 'aggad, is not found in this limited material.

¹⁷ The \bar{e} in *hēḍi* is explained as a reflex of the old diphthong by BLANC, Negev, pp. 118 and 123 with note 21. In my N^cēmāt material there is no internal *im āla*; cf. BANI YASIN & OWENS, Bduul, p. 207.

¹⁸ For the *Ḥwēṭāt* PALVA gives *hēk*; among the Abu Tāyih family of the *Ḥwēṭāt* at al-Jafr also *hallōn* is amply used in the meaning of 'like this' (my own observation); for this and other usages of *lōn* see INGHAM, Notes, p. 251.; for *kiḍa* see my note 33 below.

In the above table the N[°]ēmi dialect shares features 19-22 and 26 with NSb and the optional syllabic structures in point 27 and feature 25 with HA. We should go into more detail than above to find any differences within NSb. Wādi °Araba and the Shara Mountains have not constituted major linguistic boundaries. However, in keeping with their Eastern location and contacts the Ḥwēṭāt share with the North Arabian Bedouin dialects several features which do not appear in NSbn; such are at least points 10-11, 19-21 and 26. From the point of view of its Bedouin features, the dialect of the N[°]ēmāt stands in the centre of the neighbouring HANSb dialects, as can be expected on the basis of the location of their tribal area.

We have discussed above the cultural identity of the semi-nomadic an-N[°]ēmāt tribe and the peasant label attached to it in spite of its partial assimilation to the dominant Ḥwēṭāt. Oppenheim's report of the peasant origin is now confirmed by a few sedentary features appearing in the dialect, the preposition base lē-, here not used to build a demonstrative particle as in Lebanon and Syria, the pronoun suffix of the 3rd p. sing. masc. -o and the independent personal pronoun of the 3rd p. plural hu m m u, features 23, 24 and 28. The variation -a/-e (with e standing for the high e and i) of the feminine morpheme of nouns in the dialect (point 26) is probably the same as the variation in NSb and not connected with these inherited sedentary features. Of the sedentary characteristics two are rather uncommon; lē- appears in el-Karak and Ḥōrān¹⁹ and hu m m u in el-Karak, Mādaba and es-Salt.

The described mixture of Bedouin and fellāḥi features inherited from the past generations constitutes the genuine, old folk's N[°]ēmi dialect, luḡāna 'our language', as Najme calls it. It has also been the first dialect of the now young and active who in spite of the influence of schools, mass-communication, modern employment, military service and other contacts outside the tribal sphere have retained it as a component of the informal Bedouin register for intertribal communication besides the newly acquired competence in a variety of dialects and styles.

1.5. *Transcription*

In view of the mixed nature of the recorded material with shifts from Bedouin to sedentary phonologies I have left the transcription impressionistic and not forced it into idealized systems. For instance, what stands between yaf[°]al produced by the NSbn Bedouin system of vowel harmony historically anchored in the stem vowel and the sedentary

¹⁹ Before I reached the N[°]ēmāt village the preposition base lē was pointed out to me by the Ḥwēṭāt as a typical feature in their dialect. For its occurrence elsewhere see PALVA, el-Karak, 4.4.3; CANTINEAU, Ḥōrān, p. 398; ROSENHOUSE, North Israel Bedouin, p. 109-110 and REICHMUTH, Šukriyya, p. 284.

There are also other prepositions of typological interest in this material. The variation taḥt/tiḥtī-'under' as tiḥtiyyo 'under it' is sedentary; see PALVA, el-Karak, note 61; the Bedouin °ugub is used besides ba[°]ed; the variant °in occurring besides °an is Bedouin. °ind has before a suffixed pronoun a practically lexicalized variant with an anaptyctic vowel as in °indana. This variant is shared with the Ḥwēṭāt and perhaps reflects the contacts with 'le groupe des parlers trochaïques'; though the general character of the dialect is trochaic, there is also fluctuation in rabbana/rabbna and binḥuṭṭaha/biḏqubbha. For the syllabic patterns see CANTINEAU, Nomades I, pp. 54-58, II, pp. 156-164 and PALVA, °Aḡārma, p. 25.

yif[°]al is here transcribed as yef[°]al. The variation of the reflex of the nominal feminine morpheme -a seems to be identical with that of the NS, but it is transcribed as -a/-e rather than as -ah/-ih, since h is not heard. The e of this morpheme is only a little lower than the final -ī/-ī̄ of the 1st p. singular suffixes. Both this -e and the plain ē of the old diphthongs are higher here than in the neighbouring sedentary dialects. The consonants are transcribed as follows: b, t, ṭ, j, ḥ, x, d, ḍ, r, z, s, š, ṣ, ḳ, ṭ, °, ġ, f, g, k, l, m, n, h, w and y. The voiceless uvular stop q appears only in the imitation of gypsy speech and once in a half-literary gloss.

2. Texts

I.

1. N.- awwalan ḥayātna - °arab ruḥḥal - ya°ni arruḥḥal fōg aljimāl ufōg alḥalāl - nšil unarḥal winšarrig - wirrūḥ unōkl al°išib winrabbi° unuxuḍḍ uniḥlib win.. naḍbaḥ alxirfān win°allg almisā min baṭn alxarūf - winyabbisha winmūš fiha ljbne - nmūš fiha ljbne fiṣaḥin naḍīf²⁰ - uyōminha tajmad tiwidd itšir ikwayy²¹ nuḥuṭṭ °alēha sukkar unākilha²² falma°ālig - ya°ni iḥna °indana almaxāšig.

2. A.- wiḍa²³ ma wijatt²⁴ alma°laga ya ḥajje fēš tōkul?

3. N.- iḍa ma wijatt alma°laga.- fiḥajar - tagṭa° utōkul - ba°dēn nišil ālbil²⁵.- nišil ālbil - n°allg algrab n°allg aššamīl n°allg a..assga lli nxuḍḍ fiha lmixiḍ.

4. A.- bi°irfūs²⁶ šīhi lgirbe.

5. N.- algirbe girbe - nušubb fiha mayye - jild.

6. A.- mišān tišrabu minha.

7. N.- ā - nidbuḡha winsawwīha unuxruzha unašrab fiha °ugumma nnaḍḍifha n°abbi mā..mā²⁷ - n°abbīha - ba°dēn ni°ijn alliban °ugumma nxuḍḍu uniḥilbu uni°ijnu unḥuṭṭu fijilūd - nikisru ya°ni

²⁰ naḍīf is here the genuine plain colloquial form; in plain syllables the a of the fa°il pattern is raised. ikṭir later in the texts is a K-form.

²¹ The Bedouin word for 'good' is zēn; kwayyis is one of the most widespread K-words.

²² Note here the Bedouin yākīl, later the sedentary yōkul/bōkul.

²³ iḍa is a K-item, later occurs the Bedouin (i)la in 56; for other Bedouin forms see BLANC, Negev, p. 146 and PALVA, Ḥwētāt, p. 305.

²⁴ wajaḍ, even if pronounced dialectally wijad, is a literary word for the dialectal laga or liga.

²⁵ For the stress the article is an integral part of the following word; the stress pattern is, however, disturbed by the growing sedentary influence.

²⁶ The negations with -š, (ma) --- -š amd muš/miš, abound in young people's speech only and have no part in the genuine dialects of Southern Jordan; PALVA, Classification, p. 370; id., el-Karak, chapter 5. BANI YASIN & OWENS, Bduul, p. 223 fails to distinguish between the local and K-forms of negations.

²⁷ A non-phonemic glottal stop which is reported from the neighbouring Bedouin dialects.

ni[°]ijnu fimiliḥ - unušurru liban - mirīs - nuḥuṭṭu [°]albyūtna²⁸ - nuḥuṭṭu falblād - nušurrlu mšamma[°]āt unšurru.

8. A.- mišān yenšaf.

9. N.- mišān yenšaf - yēbas - unḥuṭṭu fišnān jild - hāḍa ḥayātna awwal zimānna - unimši farrabī[°].

10. A.- la'annu ma būjad²⁹ lā ṭallāje walā iši.

11. N.- ā mā fī dīk alḥīl lā ṭallāje - barr barr - ma fiššiy - ba[°]dēn yōmma ykiff arrabī[°] wal[°]išib rrawwiḥ lazzara[°] - noḥsud nudrus nirjid.

12. A.- toḥuṣdu 'ēš?

13. N.- gamḥ - šī[°]r - [°]adas - ḥummoṣ - kirsanne - alli bōklanha dduwābb - noḥsud unḥuṭṭu falbēdar . ya[°]ni miṭil ma tgūl ḥēṭ³⁰ - unijīb ba[°]dēn albuwāhis³¹ - wingarrinnin [°]ašar ḥamīr - ṭnā[°]iš - [°]išrīn - ngarrinhin fibā[°]aḥhin.

14. A.- alhawāyiš.

15. N.- miṭil attrēn - alhawāyiš - uwāḥad yišīr yugḍubhin uwāḥad yilūb warāhin - ya[°]ni yudrus.

16. A.- bedāl alālyāt azzirā[°]iyye.

17. N.- bidāl ālyāt azzirā[°]a.- hēḍīk alḥīn ma bna[°]rifhin - ba[°]dēn bitkawwam aṭṭiyyāb - iḥna ngūllo ṭṭiyyāb.

18. A.- alli hu daqīq³² azzara[°].

19. N.- addigīg azzara[°] - yitkawwam miṭil addār kiḍa³³.- wiyjūlū fišuwā[°]ib ḍarā - yidarrū - yu[°]uzlu attibin [°]ala jāl walgamih [°]ala jāl - ba[°]dēn fī karābīl - inkarbilhin unḥuṭṭu unšaffī.

²⁸ Hesitation between [°]a-lbyūt and [°]a-byūtna.

²⁹ The sedentary b- morpheme of the imperfect and the literary Arabic yūjad; after the b- the preformative y is always dropped in this material; in the Negev the dropping of y is optional, BLANC, Negev, p. 139. Instead of ma būjad Najme says ma fī in her answer.

³⁰ ḥēṭ given as a gloss for bēḍar is used in the meaning of 'threshing floor' in the fellāḥi dialects of Southern Palestine and may be a loan from the speech of the dawwāje mentioned in the text passage 52 below.

³¹ Probably a contamination of the root bws and bhm; see the vocabulary.

³² The gloss is half-literary.

³³ kiḍa is Najme's favourite word for 'like this' and is perhaps not accepted by [°]Abdalla as a correct Bedouin form as he once corrects her asking her to use kiḍi instead; she also uses kiḍyān. The last, kiḍi and kiḍiyān, appear also west of Wādi [°]Araba.

20. A.- °an ēš tkarblu ya hajje?

21. N.- °in³⁴ attibin °in alḥaṣu °in alḡabāra °in alblād °in..- ḥetta³⁵ yigdi³⁶ naḡīf - ḥetta naḥḥanu °alalbuwābīr - unḥuṭṭu °ala lhawāyiš.

22. A.- ilbābūr kān muš bābūr kahraba

23. N.- ḡīk alḥīn ma fī bābūr kahroba - ma fī bābūr kahroba - fī arrḥiy - zeyy alli baḥḥanu °alēhin.

24. A.- °ibāra °an³⁷ ḥajertēn - hēk arrḥa...

25. N.- arrḥiy..arrḥiy ḥaḡōḡa alawwulīn alli arrḥiy...

II.

26. N.- alḥamdu lillāh alyōm gumt - naḥmad allāh unaṣukro - ṣallēt - itwaḡḡēt uṣallēt - umba°ed ma³⁸ ṣallēt - sirībit šāy - fakkakt lalulād arrīg - ḥalīb - ṣabbētīlum - uširbu - ubamān illā - umaddō lalmadrāse - umišuw yagraw - wiḥna falbēt binxayyiṭ ubinsawwi ya°ni - miṭīl hal..lgmāše hēḡī - binxayyiṭḥa - umiṭīl inšurr °alēha liban - mirīs - aywa - nišurr °alēha mirīs - nug°ud °alēha - ya°ni naḡīfe - insawwi ḥāḡa ilyōm ya°ni ḥāy ana...

27. N.- ba°dēn alulād maddō lalmadrāse - iḥna ga°adna falbēt - ibni°jin ibnuxbuz - ya°ni šrāk - silūb albeduw - insawwi šrāk - iḥna alḥarīm mnug°ud fibētna - ibnamsaḥ bingušš - ya°ni wakt ilyōm - walla kunna gabul fibyūt - bingušš fišijar - ya°ni ḥaṭab - bingušš - mū miṭīl ilyōm midun³⁹ - bingušš fiḥaṭab ubingāšš°albēt ubinsawwi s°ūn falxaḡār kiḡiyān - miṭīl alxaḡār kiḡa billimm °išib binsawwi ašjār alli našrab °alē..h..alē šāy - ḥāḡa slūbna ḥna ya lbedu.

28. N.- ba°dēn alwaḥde bitīštāgīl šaḡletha - bitsawwīha bitsawwīha bitgušš bētha bitšaffiṭ waḥidha - ya°ni ḥāḡa slūbna lbedu - ba°dēn bindalli falkazme - burrūḥ inḥaṭṭīb falbaṭīn - ā kazme lfās - alfās alli boḥfuru fīha - binḥuṭṭaha ubnōxuḡ ḥabil - mingōṭir - ma kunna miṭīl ilyōm seyyārāt - °arab - bedu - ruḥḥal.

29. N.- °ālbil u°alalḥamīr u°alalbuwāhš albgūl - bgāl ya°ni - binimšī

³⁴ °in is the true Bedouin variant of °an. The pattern CiC is present in many other lexemes in the Bedouin dialects of the neighbourhood: ziy in the Negev, mi°/ma° in the dialects of the Iḥwētāt and the Aḥaywāt of Sinai as well as in INGHAM's ḡafīr texts. The generalization of the CiC pattern in the analogy of min and fī is best developed where the sequence is followed by suffixes with high vowels.

³⁵ The older a in ḥetta is audibly raised. Later, in 42 this word is replaced by the Bedouin lam a 'until'

³⁶ ḡada (i) 'to become' is a Bedouin item used instead of the common sedentary šār.

³⁷ °ibāra °an is a literary loan.

³⁸ From min ba°d ma which is used also in SCHMIDT & KAHLE, Volkserzählungen, 132, 2.

³⁹ The word is, of course, out of proportion to these small villages.

mi^chin - ba^cdēn binšidd ^cala ḥamīr ubinḥuṭṭ igrab ubinḥuṭṭ rwāya
ubnirid - injīb mayye - ya^cni min algudrān min šarg min - hāḍa
wiḥna ruḥḥal.

III.

30. N.- almanṭiga tkūn ya^cni arruwāšid - aṭṭāḥūna - igšēb - hāḍi -
maṭigatna hēḍi fihāḍa - ^cinēze⁴⁰ - burma - ^cinēze hēḍi wara ššēx
fēšal min gād - jebal.

31. N.- ā iḥna n^cēmāt - ahl algā^c - ahil bašta n^cēmāt - ahil bīr abu
danne n^cēmat - ahl alfarḍax in^cēmāt - kunna⁴¹ n^cēmāt - kunna
n^cēmāt eḥna haḍōl - haḍōla bingāllna n^cēmāt lannagub⁴² - lannagb
alli yimši ya^cni lal^caguba. - miṭil kiḍa - ibyūt - ḥaṭab - xaḍīḍ -
gānam - hāḍa iḥna hāḍi - bidāwe hēḍi - ya^cni mingānna⁴³ bedu - ā
wiḥna n^cēmāt - ya^cni ruḥḥal - umma halḥīn - halḥīn midun.

32. K.- zayy alḥwētāt intu..?

33. N.- ā ḥwētāt.

34. K.- ya^cni tāb^cīn lalḥwētāt?

35. N.- ā tāb^cīn laḥwētāt ula..uhalḥīn midun uḥwētāt⁴⁴ - alḥwētāt
alḥīn bānīn - ya^cni attewāyhe⁴⁵ almejālye⁴⁶ - albedu hēḍi kullha
bānyī - alḥīn kunnna midun - ya^cni gilīl min..alḥīn alli barḥal
ubinzil - ya^cni aṭṭilt ya^cni..mnābalad umnaššiy - halḥīn al^carab
arruḥḥal alli sift ibyūthum dūn alḥsēniyye⁴⁷ u'īsi - min albalad
hāḍa - barḥalu ubinzilu fibuwāhišhum.

36. N.- šiyūxna? - zimānna ššēx inhār⁴⁸ uššēx. - iššyūx ayyām
atturkiyye..^cabid rabba - aššēx sabi^c - abu sanad hāḍa - ā hāḍa
ššyūx min ^curbānna - jad^cān -.haḍa ššyūx u^carab ruḥḥal.

⁴⁰ ^cInēze (^cUnayza, sometimes written Aniza) is a Ḥijāz Railway station 20 miles north of Ma^cān.

⁴¹ kunna stands for kullna.

⁴² an-Nagub is 'the great pass, Nagb el Shtar, down the road dipped from the Maan plateau to the red Guweira plain', LAWRENCE, Seven Pillars of Wisdom, p. 291.

⁴³ < bingāl-īna.

⁴⁴ Najme is not too precise here. For the N^cēmi identity see Introduction 1.3.

⁴⁵ at-Tawāyha is the family of the legendary Ḥwēṭi sheikh ^cAwda Abu Tāyih based at al-Jafr Oasis.

⁴⁶ The leading Karaki family.

⁴⁷ The Ḥwēṭi settlement of the paramount sheikh Fēšal ibn Jāzi along the Desert Highway.

⁴⁸ He is the same as Nehār el Sebū^c mentioned by OPPENHEIM, Beduinen II, p. 301. The family of the Sbū^c now lives at Bīr Abu Danne, where this recording was made. Najme fails to mention the paramount sheikh of the N^cēmāt from 1952, Jarād ibn Ġānim from Ēl, the manager of Šarikat Bāšāt Qurā ^cAšā'ir an-Nu^caymāt; see QUBĀ'A, Ma^cān, p. 257.

IV.

37. N. - bniṭli^c min baṭno almisā - almisā binḥuṭṭ fihā rāyib - binḥuṭṭ fihā miliḥ - bin^calligha falbēt - ibtug^cud ya^cni isbū^cēn - btug^cud usbū^cēn - ubiṭṣīr yābse - biṭṣubb alḥalīb fihaṣṣaḥin ubitmūṣu fiha biṣūfa - min ṣūf alḡanam - bitmūṣu fiha ubijabbīn - ya^cni fiṣaḥin naḡīf - tōkulu falmaxāsīḡ - tōkul fadēk - ya^cni ida ma ligēt mixsāḡa bitsawwi dims - ḥajar - naḡīfe btōkul ^calēha - mnaljubne - (ā almil^caga iḥna ngūl lēha lmixsāḡa).

ba^cdēn btarfa^cha - ma btugruṭ halmisā - ya^cni lli btaḡṭa^c minha - bitḡubbha ya^cni law ḡā^cde lalḥōl alḥayy - wint ḡābbha umnaḡḡifha biḡḡall ubitmūṣ fiha rabī^c alḥayy - miṭīl ma tḡūl ḥawl ilyōm - iḥna ^cindana ḥawl ilyōm - bitmūṣ fiha - wint mnaḡḡifha udāssha.

38. N.- ba^cdēn arrabī^c - ^ciṣib miṭīl kiḡa - xaḡīḡ..

39. A.- kiḡi kiḡi!

40. N.- miṭīl kiḡi - xedīḡ - mixīḡ - jimīd - ^calannār binjammdo fiṭāse - gidir ya^cni - iḥna bingūllo gidir - binḥuṭṭ almixīḡ fī ^cugum ma nxaḡḡu zibid utin^cizil - uminḥuṭṭ almixīḡ fī - ubinwizz tiḡtiyyo nār - ubinjammdo ubiḡḡi jimīd - jimīd ya^cni jirjib - ḥāḡa laḡā lbedu - binjammdo u binḥuṭṭu ba^cdēn fikyās ubajmad - ^cugub ma bini^cijnu fimiliḥ ubinḥuṭṭu fijilūd - ba^cdēn binumursu mirīs - ya^cni tiwālīl - iḥna binsawwi ^cafīḡ - ya^cni tiwālīl - ubinyabbsu - ubinḥuṭṭu ^cabuṣat miṭīl haḡōla fallarḡ - ubinḥuṭṭ ^calē ḥaṭab - ṣīrr ^cin alulād - ^cin albahem - ^cin addijāj - binḥawwit ^calē fisibirna falḡamāde - ya^cni alḡamāde arḡ - minṭarrfu ^cin albiyūt kiḡa - ḡamāde arḡ - binḥuṭṭu ubinḥawwit ^calē ṣījar - ḡiṭaf - ṣīrr - ṣiḡ - binḥuṭṭu ^calē miṣān addijāj waḡḡ^cūf ma yjū.

41. N.- ā ṣiḡ alaxḡar ḥāḡa waṣṣīrr - miṣānno ma ywaṣṣiḡ - miṣān ya^cni aḡḡ^cūf ma yjū - ma yxarrbu ^calē - ba^cdēn binyabbsu - ubinḥuṭṭu fikyās binṣannino fijilūd - ṣnān - ya^cni yug^cud lalḥayy miṭīl ilyōm - ma biṣīr ^calē xlāl - ubiṭṣammas uhu fiṣnāno - ubuḡḡubbu falmaxāzin - maxāzin dūr alḡajar alli miṭīl kiḡa.

42. N.- iḥna ma kunna fi.ṣabbāt ukunna fi.. - assamin binḥuṭṭu fiṣṭūl - binḥawwu fikirkim - binḥuṭṭ ^calē ḡilbe - binḥuṭṭ ^calē gurrās imn alli baṭṭa^c falbaṭīn - binḥuṭṭ ^calē gurrās binduggu fi ba^caḡo - ^coṭrofān mnalli baṭṭa^c falbaṭīn - ubinduggu ubinnaxxlu ubinsawwī ubinḥawwī assamin fī - assamin binḥuṭṭ ^calē miliḥ - ubindawwī

°annār - bindawwī °annār lama yigdi samin - yaşfa samin - ubinzallilu - binzallilu faşşūl winxaşşnu - °in aşşar °in addibāb in alli fī yīḥ fazzibde - binxaşşnu - minxallī şāfi aşfar - ubinḥuṭṭu faşşūl ubinḥuṭṭu falmaxāzin. - salāmtak.

V.

43. N.- ayyāminna⁴⁹ faljihel - iḥna zgār - ayyāminna faljihel unişubt albedu - hāda..alwaşim dagg ibre - hāda dagg ibre - ayyām ya°ni nnişbe..wa..wiḥna bedu dīk alḥin ma ni°rif la ḥalāl wala ḥarām - ya°ni ndugg ununşub fī - ibre - abār - xamse - magrūnāt fibá°aḍhin ubinḥaṭṭin fidiwa - miṭil ḥamīl algahawa - binḥaṭṭin fī ubindagg - biḍī° damm minnu - şāyif.

44. K.- fī nās mixtaşşin..?

45. N.- ā mixtaşşin nnuwar - biju mnāljalbal - mixtaşşin - biju ynaşşbu albanāt - ya°ni ḥarīm - umiṭil kiḍa - biḥuṭṭ alwaḥde ḥāla °alēha u bidduggaha -wiyḍī° minnu damm - wiyşir axḍar ha! - şāyif - hādi mu xulget rabb.

46. K.- mişān eş alwaşim?

47. N.- mişān innak tunşub fī.

48. A.- manḍar kwayyis.

49. N.- manḍar ya°ni - manḍar fibeni ādam - halḥin baṭṭalū - ḥarām.

50. K.- kumān annuwar baṭṭalu..

51. N.- ā - baṭṭalu rruḡşa ubaṭṭalu.. - ḥarām - halḥin - gabul buruḡşow umaḥḥum misbillāh⁵⁰ arraḥmān arraḥīm sa°adān bijībū - lo °yūn umiṭil hādi mbargi°^{51,52} albēt uraggāşāt uruḡşān nitfarraj °alēhum min hāda min albyūt - ya°ni wiḥna falbyūt - farrabī° yiju - ylimmu zibde - uylimmu jidyān - uylimmu xirfān - hāda faljihel - kunna kān wiḥna °arab ruḥḥal badu.

⁴⁹ The strange ayyāminna is a suffixed temporal conjunction. The singular base yōmin, known from NÖLDEKE, Beiträge 6, Anm. 6, BLAU, Syntax, p. 239 and SCHMIDT & KAHLE, Volkserzählungen * § 23c, is suffixed below in 56: yōminhum yiştu 'when they wish'.

⁵⁰ A metathesis.

⁵¹ bargac° in this context could be a pseudo-quadriradical verb of the pattern far°al from the root bg°, more or less synonymous with the verbal form II baggac° 'to soil, smuggle'; for the pseudo-quadriradical patterns see COWELL, Syrian Arabic, pp. 109-115.

⁵² With slight changes we could transcribe lo °yūn miṭil hādi mbarrge °albēt 'it had eyes like this (?) fixed (flashing) at the tent'; cf. BORIS, Marazig, II barrag: we°yūna mbarrgāt fi-lm°arā 'ses yeux fixaient la femme avec insistance'. While I was recording these words there were two little children uttering sounds, with the smaller one babbling in Najme's lap. In the first transcription miṭil hādi is understood as a reference to this baby.

52. N.- halḥīn biju dawwāje - boxḍu ṭaḥīn ubōxḍu zibde ubōxḍu maṣāri - dawwāje - °abgāl - mnáljibal biju - min.. alxalīl biju uhummu lēhum ibyūt - ygūlu lēhum ibyūt uṣab°ānīn - ulēhum ṭawābig - mā hāḍa azzīr⁵³ - allī sawwālhum ydūju kiḍa y°īṣu. - usalāmtak.

53. K.- innawar ilhum luḡa xāṣṣa?

54. N.- lēhum luḡā..xāṣṣa - miṭīl luḡáljibal - annawar - luḡāhum mu zeyy luḡāna - la' - qire qire qire qire - hāḍi ya°ni luḡál.. ānnuwar.

55. K.- ilwāḥad ma yigdar yifham °alēhum ?

56. N.- yagdar yafham - ya°ni la ṣtahaw - amma ya°ni widdhum ygūlūlak kilme wint ma tafhamha bigūlūha - amma biḥku miṭinna °arab - ya°ni bisōlfu miṭinna kiḍa ubitkallimu ubug°udu wiyaṣrabu ṣāy - ubitxarrafan⁵⁴ albanāt walḥarīm ma° alḥarīm - abdan - miṭīl luḡāna - yōminhum yiṣtu ya°ni ma y..ysawwu ya°ni °axabāte - salāmtak.

VI.

57. N.- awalha inhum dawwāje - haḍōla bidūju °a.. - kānu °al°urbān - ukānu aḍḍa°āfīn falbuṭnān - ya°ni miṭīl al°ayyil hāḍa zzigīr - falbaṭīn - allī ma yi°rif ahlo - ēṣṣiy - wēn ylaggi wēn yjiy - mdallīn..ydallu °alē uyōxḍū - ydallu °al°ayyil yṣummū ya°ni - yuguḍbu iṭmu la yiḥki - yuguḍbu iṭmu⁵⁵ la yiḥki uyḥuṭṭū falxurj - nās ygūl nidxul °alallā^h - debaḥū - waxaḍū - miṣān - bass xanaḡū xang - miṣān yaḥṣow baṭno ḥṣīṣe yharrbu - unās ygūl axaḍū urabbū - nidxul °alallā^h ⁵⁶ - ya°ni nidxul °arabbna⁵⁷ - ha - inna °in harj azzaraf⁵⁸ ya°ni - maxḍīnu uḥāṣīn baṭno ḥṣīṣe miṣān yharrbūha - ygūlu nnu °ayyil - ma yi°rif innu ... ḥṣīṣe uhummu ... ṣaylīn muwā°in baṭno kullhin - uḥāṣīn lo figizdīlo ufiṣiyyo ḥṣīṣe - ṭabbow fi.

⁵³ az-Zīr is a character in local tales; LAROUSSE, az-Zīr = allaḍī yuḵṭīru min ziyārati nnisā'i wayuḥibbu mujālasatahunna wamuḥādaṭatahunna. The people of el-Karak used to say to gypsies alla yirḥam iz-zīr illi a°badku rkūb ilḥamīr; MUSIL, Arabia Petraea, p. 228.

⁵⁴ t(a)xarraḥ is a fellāḥi word commonly used in the dialects of Southern (my own observation) and Central Palestine; SCHMIDT & KAHLE, Volkserzählungen, p. 276. The Bedouin sowlaf covers both xarraḥ 'to tell' and txarraḥ 'to talk'.

⁵⁵ iṭīm 'mouth'; cf. PALVA, Ḥwēṭāt, p. 306: in the dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt 'afam, in Sinai and the Negev afām and in el-Karak ṭum m; SOCIN, Glossar, iṭm, iṭum.

⁵⁶ < °ala allā^h.

⁵⁷ For the background of idioms dealing with man's refuge (daxl) in God, see PIAMENTA, Islam in everyday speech, p. 50. To express that he is just reporting what people say and not claiming to know the truth a friend of mine from the °Anéze said adxul °a-alla or just shook the breast of his diṣḍāsa.

⁵⁸ Cf. harj aṣṣaraf 'word of honour'; for zrf see the vocabulary.

VII.

58. N.- awwalan lēlt alaṭnen binguzz biyārig - yaⁿⁱ ʿilām - binguzzhin - ubinḡall laljim^{ʿa} - uhummu yoxubzu uyi^{ʿijnu} uyi^{ʿizmu} uyiṭi^{ʿmu} u yaḡbaḡow - laljim^{ʿa} - ba^{ʿd} aljim^{ʿa} boxuṣṣ al^{ʿarīs} - ibnurguṣ - binsawwi ṣamde - halḡin - binsawwi ṣamde - binganni binzagriṭ biⁿsawwu⁵⁹ ṣarāb - ba^{ʿtū} al^{ʿarīs} uhu ʿalaṣṣamde ubidaxxlu al^{ʿarīs} fi bir..⁶⁰ fi.ḡurfa - yaⁿⁱ ḡurfet nōm - bidaxxlu al^{ʿarīs} ubaḡraḡon nās kullha - ubal^{ʿabu} sāmir u.

59. K.- bidaxxlu la^{ʿarīs} fixulla.

60. N.- la muṣ xulla - la - ḡurfa miṭil ḡurfat.- hāḡa fibēt āṣṣa^{ʿar} alxulla - hu widdu bedu - hāḡa fibēt āṣṣa^{ʿar} albedu - halḡin midun.

61. K.- a hāḡa halḡin.

62. N.- hāḡa halḡin - midun - amma lbyūt miḡna⁶¹ tārkīnhin - hāḡa ʿindu bēt uhāḡa ʿindu bēt - hāḡa mṣaffaṭāt - ubibnu byūt ybarrdu fiḡin yugu^{ʿdu} fiḡin - fiwān⁶² aṣṣēf kiḡa - salāmtak.

3. Translation

I.

1. N.- To begin with we were nomadic Bedouin, you see, nomads moving with camels and flocks. We used to pack the camels, leave the camp and go to the desert⁶³ and utilize the herbs and the spring grass. We used to churn and milk, slaughter young sheep and hang up the rennet out of the stomach of a young sheep. We waited till it got dry and applied it for making cheese, for curdling milk and pressing the whey away to make cheese in a clean bowl. When the curds became firm and proper we put sugar on it and ate it with spoons. We used to have spoons of wood.

2. A.- If you did not find a spoon, what did you eat with, ḡajje?

3. N.- If you did not find a spoon then you ate with a stone. You just cut a stone and ate. Then, in the old times, we used to pack the camels, and hung up the skins – the ḡirbes, the ṣamīl and the sigā in which we churned buttermilk.

4. A.- They do not know what a ḡirbe is.

5. N.- A ḡirbe is a ḡirbe. We pour water into it. It is a goatskin.

⁵⁹ Hesitation between binsawwi and bisawwu.

⁶⁰ Najme is about to say birze 'a wedding tent'.

⁶¹ This type of nominal negation is known from the Bedouin dialects of the neighbourhood; BLANC, Negev, p. 143 and PALVA, ḡwēṭāt, p. 307.

⁶² < fī+awān aṣṣēf; awān is unexpected in this plain colloquial context because it seems a literary Arabic item, though it is included in the colloquial dictionaries of BARTHÉLEMY (bḡēr 'awān-o 'hors de (sa) saison') and WOODHEAD & BEENE. However, it may be part of the inherited Bedouin language, since ḡuwān < ḡilwān 'now' is used by the Bedouins of the south of Jordan. (My observation at al-Jafr.)

⁶³ 'go to the east'.

6. A.— To drink of it.

7. N.— Yes. We tanned the skin and made it and stitched it with an awl and drank of it. After cleaning it we filled it with water. Then, after we had milked and churned, we kneaded the curd. We kneaded it and put it into skins. We broke it into clumps, kneaded it in salt and spread it, the clots of curd, to the sun on the roofs of our tents or on oilcloths on the ground.

8. A.— To let it dry.

9. N.— To let it dry. And we put it into *šinne* skins. Such was our life before when we were young. And we walked out to the desert when there was grass.

10. A.— That was because you did not have a refrigerator or anything.

11. N.— Yes. At that time there was no refrigerator or.. – It was desert, just desert. There was nothing of that sort. Then, when the herbage and grass withered, we came back to the summer camp for the grain fields and reaped, carried the shieves to the threshing floors and threshed.

12. A.— What did you reap?

13. N.— Wheat, barley, lentils, chick-pea and vetch which is given for the beasts to eat. We reaped the grain and carried it to the threshing floor, *ḥēṭ*, as you call it. Then we brought the beasts⁶⁴ and yoked them together, ten, twenty donkeys. We bound them together

14. A.— Cows?

15. N.— Cows. We bound them together so that they became like a train. One took hold of them and another moved in the rear and threshed.

16. A.— Instead of the modern agricultural implements?

17. N.— Instead of the implements of agriculture. We did not know them at that time. Then a heap of *ṭiyyāb* rose on the threshing floors. We called it a *ṭiyyāb*.

18. A.— Which was the carefully threshed part of the crops.

19. N.— The thoroughly threshed crops. It was heaped as high as this house and winnowed at one side with two-pronged forks. It was winnowed, the straw was separated on one side and the wheat on the other. Then there were the coarse sieves by which we sifted and cleared the grain.

20. A.— What did you sift the grain of?

21. N.— Of straw, stones, dust and soil. So that it became clean and we could grind it in *bābūr* mills. The grain was loaded on the cows.

⁶⁴ At first it seems that by her word *buwāhiš* Najme means donkeys but the reference becomes as ambiguous as the root *bhš* is hybrid, when she accepts 'Abdalla's correction *hawāyiš* 'cows'; see the vocabulary.

22. A.— The *bābūr* was not any electric mill.
23. N.— At that time there was no electric mill. There were querns, such as are used for grinding.
24. A.— Meaning two stones, like this. It was a quern.
25. N.— Querns. These querns were used by the people that lived before.

II.

26. N.— Praise to God, I got up today and prayed. I performed the ablution and prayed. After praying I drank tea and gave the children their breakfast. I poured them fresh milk. They drank and said good-bye⁶⁵ and left for the school, went to study⁶⁶. We, as we stay at home, sew and make things such as this cloth. We sew it and spread on it clots of curd. Or we sit on it when it is clean. We make... you see I shall make it today.

27. N.— Then, when the children went to school, we stayed at home. We knead and bake *šrāk*, the way the Bedouin bake. We married women stay at home and wipe and gather. I mean nowadays. But by God we used to live in tents and gather firewood. It was not like today when we live in villages. We used to gather firewood, take down the tent when decamping and make *si^cn* skins at the green season such as we are having now. We gathered grass and bushes on which we made fire and drank tea. This was our way of life, we that are Bedouin.

28. N.— Further the woman used to take care of her tasks, sweep her tent and put it into order. This was our Bedouin way of life. Then we took a pickaxe, *kazme*, and went to gather firewood from the hillside. Yes, *kazme* means a pickaxe with which one can dig. We put it on the saddle, took a rope and went our way. We were not as we are nowadays. We did not have cars to drive around. We were *arab*, Bedouin, nomads.

29. N.— We rode on camels, donkeys and beasts, mules or walked with them. Then we saddled the donkeys and loaded them with the *girbe* and *rāwye* skins and went (down to the water place) to bring water. We brought water from the rain pools from the desert. This when we were nomads.

III.

30. N.— Our area was *ar-Ruwāšid*, *aṭ-Ṭāḥūna*, *Gṣēb*. This was our area here. And further *inēza*/*aniza* and *Burma*. This *inēza* is behind the Sheikh *Fēṣal* when you are coming to the south along the the Desert Highway, a mountainous area.

31. N.— Yes, we are *Nēmāt*. The people of *al-Gā* are *Nēmāt*, the people of *Baṣṭa* are

⁶⁵ 'under God's protection'; for this valedictory phrase see PIAMENTA, *Islam in everyday speech*, pp. 123-130.

⁶⁶ Literally 'to read'.

N^cēmāt. The people of Bīr Abu Danne and the people of al-Farḍax are N^cēmāt. We all are N^cēmāt, all that I mentioned. We, the people of all these locations, are called N^cēmāt up to the Pass of an-Nagb leading to Aqaba.

Like this – tents, firewood, buttermilk, goats and sheep. We are Bedouin, all these people. We are called bedu. Yes, and we are N^cēmāt. I mean nomads. But now we have settled in villages.

32. K.– You are like the Ḥwēṭāt?

33. N.– Yes, Ḥwēṭāt. We are like of the Ḥwēṭāt.

34. K.– You mean you follow the Ḥwēṭāt?

35. N.– Yes, we follow the Ḥwēṭāt. Now we live in villages and are of the Ḥwēṭāt. They have built houses now. The Tawāyhe and the Majālye, all the Bedouin have built houses. Very few migrate and pitch tents now. Maybe one third of the people of this settlement and this neighbourhood. Now the nomadic Bedouin which you have seen this side of al-Ḥṣēniyye are all from this village and migrate with their flocks.

36. N.– (Who are) our sheikhs? In our youth the Sheikh Nhār and the Sheikh... When the Turks were in power there was °Abd Rabba. Then the Sheikh Sab^c, this Abu Sanad and Jad^cān. These used to be our sheikhs and we used to be nomadic Bedouin.

IV.

37. N.– We take the rennet out of its stomach. We put in it curdled milk and salt and hang it up in the tent. We let it be for about two weeks till it gets dry. Then you pour fresh milk in a bowl and curdle it by the rennet and press away the whey with a tuft of wool, of sheep's wool. You curdle the fresh milk and press the curd to get cheese, in a clean bowl, and eat it with spoons, by hand or if you do not find a spoon, you cut a stone into a suitable shape and eat with it of the cheese. (Yes, we call the spoon *mīxšāga*.)

Then we put up the rennet. You do not throw it away, this piece of rennet which you have cut, but you keep it in a firm bundle. Then, if it were laid aside for one year until the days of fresh greenness and plenty of the next year, as you have tied it well and cleaned it, it is preserved, and you can use it for cheese making still when the next spring brings forth new herbage. As you could say a year from now you can make cheese by this rennet when you have cleaned it and put it into a safe place.

38. N.– Then, in the spring when the grass grows like this (*mīṭil kiḍa*) and we have buttermilk...

39. A.– (Say *kiḍi*).

40. N.– (*mīṭil kiḍi*), we make buttermilk and stiffen it on the fire in a kettle, in a

gidr⁶⁷. We call it a gidr. We put the buttermilk in it after we have churned it and separated the fresh butter. We pour the buttermilk in a gidr, kindle a fire under it and let the buttermilk thicken into a stiff mass, jimīd or jirjib. This is Bedouin language. We make it into jimīd and let it dry and stiffen in sacks. When it is stiff we knead it with salt and put it into skins. Then we get mirīs which can be crushed and soaked in water. I mean clots of thickened buttermilk of which we make round clumps. We let it dry and put it on rugs like these on the ground and cover it with bushes, with širr, to keep it out of the reach of the children and beasts and hens. We close it from all sides in the gravel plain. We put it aside of the tents like this and enclose it with bushes, with giṭaf, širr and šīḥ plants⁶⁸ so that the hens and the children cannot come and spoil it.

41. N.— Yes. With this green šīḥ we make it inaccessible for the children so that they cannot come to spoil it. Then we let it dry. We put it into sacks and after that into šinne skins so that it is preserved for the next grazing season as if it were made today, with no defect and damage caused by the sun, as it is kept in its skins. You close it in stores, in concrete houses like this.

42. N.— Before we did not put the cooking butter into forms but into leather buckets. We spiced it with kirkim, ḥilbe and gurrāṣ which grows on the mountain slope. We put in it gurrāṣ and ʿoṭrofān, of what grows on the slope⁶⁹. We pounded it together and sifted it and spiced the cooking butter with it. We salted the butter and scalded it on the fire till it became clear samn, cooking butter. Then we splashed it into buckets and cleaned it of hair and flies and anything that could have fallen in the fresh butter, zibde. We made it clear and yellow and put it into buckets and into stores. So much of that.

V.

43. N.— In our days in the childhood when we were young and the Bedouin used to make themselves attractive this tattooing was made by sticking with needles. This mark was also made by sticking with needles at that time when we tried to make an impression, when we were Bedouin and did not know what is right and what is wrong according to islām. We tattooed and made ourselves attractive. We did it with needles, five needles put together. The needles were dipped into medicine,⁷⁰ which was like coffee grounds. The needles were dipped in it and the tattooing was punctured like this. So that it began to drip with blood. You see.

44. K.— There were people specialized in ...

45. N.— Yes, there were people specialized in it, gypsies coming from the mountain.

⁶⁷ According to MUSIL, Arabia Petraea, p. 139 'ein grosser (15-25 Liter) Kupferkessel. Je grösser dieser, um so gastfreundlicher ist sein Eigentümer'.

⁶⁸ giṭaf 'goosefoot'; šīḥ 'Oriental wormwood'.

⁶⁹ kirkim 'turmeric', ḥilbe 'fenugreek', gurrāṣ 'stinging nettle' and ʿoṭrofān unidentified aromatic plant growing on the Shara mountains; see the vocabulary.

⁷⁰ Perhaps the indigo extract mentioned by MUSIL, Arabia Petraea, pp. 161-162.

They came to beautify the girls, gypsy wives, and one suffered the treatment and the other did the tattooing with needles. The tattooing mark bled and got green. Look here at my face. You see that these are not of the Lord's making.

46. K.— Why was this tattooing practised?

47. N.— For the sake of coquetry.

48. A.— It is good-looking

49. N.— It is becoming to a human being. But now people have stopped. It is ḥarām.

50. K.— Also the gypsies have stopped...

51. N.— Yes, they have stopped dancing and... It is ḥarām nowadays. But before they used to dance and they had with them — *bismillāh arraḥmān arraḥīm*⁷¹ a monkey which they used to bring. It had amulets and like this little child it soiled the tent. And they had dancers, men and women whom we used to watch from here, from the tents, when we were living in the tents in the desert. They came in the grazing time and gathered fresh butter, kids and lambs. This was in our childhood when we were nomads.

52. N.— Now there are idle wanderers who come to gather flour, fresh butter and money. They come on mules from the highlands and from Hebron, though, I have heard that they have houses there and they are satiated. Some may even have two-storey houses. But it is *az-Zīr* who has made them stroll and live that way. And that's all about it.

53. K.— Do the gypsies have a language of their own?

54. N.— They do have a language of their own. It is like the language of the highlands. Their language is not like ours. Not at all. *qire qire qire qire* — that is the language of the gypsies.

55. K.— Is it possible to understand what they say?

56. N.— It is possible if they want you to understand. But if they wish they can talk to you in the way you would not understand. But generally they speak like us, like the Bedouin. They chat and tell stories like us, like this. They talk and sit and drink tea. The girls and the married women converse with married women. It is exactly like our language. When they wish they can behave quite decently. So much about that.

VI.

57. N.— To begin with they were idle wanderers that used to come to the Bedouin. Once small children were playing on the hill and there was a small child like like this little boy who does not know his way home and does not know what to do. These people attacked him and took him away. They caught the little boy and plugged his mouth so that he could not shout and they put him into a saddle bag. Some say, right or wrong, that they killed

⁷¹ Cf. the invocation of the *basmala* preceding the mentioning of spirits and demonic powers, PIAMENTA, *Islam in everyday Arabic speech*, p. 35.

him and took him only to strangle him, to stuff his stomach with an amount of hashish and to smuggle. Others say that they took him and raised him. Right or wrong, I mean that I am only telling you what is circulating on people's tongues. Maybe they have taken him and stuffed his stomach with an amount of hashish to smuggle, saying he is only a small child, and took off his entrails and stuffed his stomach with an amount of hashish inside a tin or something.

VII.

58. N.— First on Monday evening we strike the flags in the ground and till Friday people bake, knead, invite, slaughter and give the guests delicacies to eat. Till Friday. After Friday the bridegroom consummates the marriage. We dance and make a *ša m de*, nowadays. We sing and utter trills of joy and make *šar āb* and they give the bridegroom *šar āb* to drink when he is sitting on the *ša m de*. Then he is led into a *b ir (ze)* – no, into a room, I mean into a bedroom. The bridegroom is led in and all the people are happy and entertain themselves with *sām ir* and...

59. K.— The bridegroom is led into a *xulla*?

60. N.— No, it is not a *xulla*. No, it is a room like...The *xulla* was used when we lived in tents. He wants to hear about the Bedouin life. The *xulla* belongs to the Bedouin camps, but we live now in villages.

61. K.— Oh, you mean nowadays.

62. N.— But we have not left the tents. Many have tents put in order. The tents are pitched in summer time for cooling off and sitting and passing the time together.

So much about that.

4. Vocabulary

- iṭim* 57. 'mouth'; see note 55.
birze 58. 'wedding tent', a little tent pitched for the bridal couple; PALVA, Ḥesbān, Glossary; cf. *xulla* below.
barga^c 51. 'to soil'; cf. WEHR, II *ba qqa^a* 'to spot, stain, smudge'
baṭīn 28. 'hillside, mountain'; MUSIL, *Rwāla*, p. 676, *baṭīn*, *buṭnān* 'low hillside, slope base'; DENIZEAU 'montaine'.
blād 21. 'earth, soil (as material)'.
bhš 13, 29. *buwāhiš* 'beasts'; possibly a contamination of *bahāyīm* and *hawāyīš*.
bahem 40. coll. 'beasts'; DENIZEAU (DALMAN VI, 188) *baham* 'moutons, chèvres'; BORIS, *Marazig*, *baham* col., n.u. *b^ehīm*, fem. *b^ehīma*, pl. de petit nombre *b^ehāyem* 'âne'.
ṭll 40. *ṭiwālīl* 'clots (of liban)'; cf. LAROUSSE, *ṭalla* = *mā 'uxrija min turābi lbīr*; *ṭulla* = *jamā^aatun mina nnās*.
jirjib 40. DENIZEAU (JAUSSEN p. 68), *jeb jeb*: 'on fait bouir le petit-lait, on sépare

- le jebjeb qui est déposé dans un sac pour sécher, on le place en forme de petites boules sur la tente afin qu'il durcisse au soleil'; cf. DALMAN VI, 298, ġibġib, ġubġub.
- ġimīd 40. buttermilk boiled on fire and thickened into a stiff mass; DALMAN VI, p. 298.
- ġāl (u) 19. 'to put aside'; cf. ġāl 'side' and DALMAN 12, p. 559, ġōl 'das Sammeln der früh abgefallenden Oliven'.
- ḥamāde 40. 'gravel plain', glossed arġ; MUSIL, Arabia Petraea, p. 2, ḥam māde 'Grauweisse öde Ebene'; MUSIL, Rwala, p. 15, 'gravel plains growing semḥ in a year of abundance'; LAROUSSE, ḥamād = alḥijāratu ssūd, alwāḥidatu ḥamāda.
- ḥamīl 43. ḥamīl alġahawa; cf. LAROUSSE, ḥamīl = mā ḥamalahū ssaylu min ġuṭā'in waṭīn.
- ḥawwaj 42. 'to spice'; SOCIN, Diwan, poem 64,7 and note e, ḥawwāj 'Krämer', glossed °aṭṭār.
- ḥēt 13. 'threshing floor', given as a gloss for bēdar.
- xšg 1, 41. mixšāga pl. maḫāšīg '(wooden) spoon'; BAUER, xašūka (türk.) 'Löffel'; WOODHEAD & BEENE, xāšūga pl. xawāšīg 'spoon'.
- xulla 59, 60. Here as in JAUSSEN, Moab, p. 54, 'endroit de la tente réservé à la fiancée', but also used in the meaning of birze.
- dass 41. 'to put into a safe place'; BORIS, Marazig, 'mettre de côté'.
- dalla 28. 'to go'; originally like ṭāḥ in Southern Palestinian sedentary dialects 'to go down'.
- dims 37. 'stone'; BLANC, Negev, p. 148, addims ṭabbat fay 'the stone hit me'; BAUER, dims coll., pl. dmūs 'Stein' (in Bīr Zēt).
- dāj (u) 52, 57. 'to live a life of an idle wanderer, dawwāj pl. dawwāje'; cf. LAROUSSE, dāja (u) = mahana waxadama.
- rjd 11. yirjid 'to carry the shieves to the threshing floor'; DENIZEAU (DALMAN III, 54), rajīde 'transport des gerbes sur l'aire'.
- rāwe 29. pl. rwāye 'double skin for bringing water'; DALMAN II, p. 110; MUSIL, Rwala, pp. 70-71.
- zaraf 57. harj āzzaraf 'gossip, hearsay, circulating story'; cf. SOCIN, Diwan, Glossar, zrf I und V 'ziehen, marschieren (von Reittieren)'; BORIS, Marazig, zzarraf 'se déplacer perpétuellement, changer de lieu (personne), de propriétaire (objet)'.
- sibir 40. 'way of doing'; DENIZEAU, sibr 'habitude, coutume, maniere de faire'.
- si'in 27. pl. s'ūn 'small skin'; BAUER 'Schlauch 4, klein für Wasser und Sauermilch'.
- šarr (u) 7. 'to spread to dry in the sun'; WOODHEAD & BEENE, 'to hang (on a line)'; DENIZEAU, 'faire sècher à soleil'.
- šrāk 26. 'thin bread baked on a round and convex sheet of iron'; DENIZEAU (DALMAN IV, 59) coll., n.u. šrāke, pl. šrākāt; MUSIL, Arabia Petraea, p. 148.
- šā'ūb 19. pl. šawā'īb 'two-pronged fork for winnowing'; DALMAN, III, p. 93; MUSIL, Arabia Petraea, p. 303.

- sāmīr 58. Evening entertainment with men in two groups singing improvised rāz^c poems and clapping their hands monotonously in a semi-circle and mostly one woman dancing in their midst, al-Ḥaššāš, Funūn, p. 109-110.
- šnn 41. pl. šnān 'skin'; II šannan 'to put into the skin'; LANDBERG, Daṭīnois, šanna, pl. šinān 'vielle outre'; WEHR šann, pl. šunūn 'waterskin'.
- *šy' 56. imperfect yašta (from *ištā' VIII) 'to want'; in a Bedouin song recorded by me in Wādi Ramm: yaštā^h gawwād aljīmīle.
- šaffaṭ 28. 'to put in order'; BARTHÉLEMY, šaffat, šaffaṭ den. de šaffe 'empiler, ranger par couches'.
- šam m (u) 57. 'to silence, to plug the mouth'.
- šam de 58. 'special seat reserved for the bridegroom'; before the bridegroom sat on a rug in front of the wedding tent, bīr ze. The bridegroom (and in more urban contexts also the bride) is kept sitting in a prominent place (bušum dū) while the others move at will.
- šam īl 3. 'milkskin'; LANDBERG, °Anazeh, Glossaire, 'oultre pour lait et l'eau'; MUSIL, Rwala, p. 71.
- ḡf 40, 57. ḡūf, ḡa°āfīn 'children'; BLANC, Negev, 147, ḡūf 'children'.
- ṭabb 57. 'to come'.
- ṭiyyāb 17. 'carefully threshed crops'; according to DALMAN III, p. 100, the threshing was done in two stages, kesār and taṭīb (taṭyīb?) / tan°īm which yielded as results kassār and ṭiyyāb / na°ām.
- °oṭrofān 57. Aromatic plant (used for spicing samn); MUSIL, Arabia Petraea, p. 17, in the list 'Einige Pflanzen des Hochebenes' °aṭrofān.
- °aṭīg 40. 'clumps of dried and salted liban'; cf. LAROUSSE, °afiqa ššai'a = jama°ahū.
- gada 21, 40. (i) 'to become'; cf. literary Arabic gada (u) 'to do in the morning; to become'; cf. WALLIN, ZDMG 5:11,18 and 6:214; SOCIN, Glossar; LANDBERG, °Anazeh, Glossaire.
- gurrāš 57. 'stinging nettle'; BARTHÉLEMY, qərrēš 'ortie'.
- garaṭ 37. (u) 'to throw away'; LANDBERG, °Anazeh, Glossaire, 'jeter au loin'.
- gašš 27. (u) 'to gather (firewood)', bingušš fišijar; DENIZEAU, 'moissoner'.
- gašša° 27. 'to take down the tent when decamping'; BORIS, Marazig, gašša° 'abattre la tent', gašša° min halbug°a 'quitter définitivement un lieu'.
- giṭaf 40. 'goosefoot'; DALMAN, VI, p. 69, gaṭaf 'Melde': lōla lḥwērre wilgaṭaf kān ilbedawi hataf 'wären nicht Ehrenpreis und Melde, wäre der Beduine räudig'.
- krbl 19. kirbāl pl. karābīl 'sieve with large holes'; DALMAN III, p.141, yukarbal ettrāb bilkurbāl, yugarbal alḡamḡ bilḡurbāl; al-°UZAYZI, Ma°lama IV, p. 404.
- kazme 28. 'pickaxe'; BAUER, 'Hacke, doppelseitig' fās, Naz. ḡazme (ḡ must be k; see the reflexes of qāf and kāf in Nazareth in BERGSTRÄSSER, Sprach-atlas, Karte 3 and Karte 4); my informant from the area of Nāblus knows the word as kazme and čazme.
- luḡā 40. 'language', with gen. laḡa lbedu 'the language of the Bedouin', with

- suff. *luġāna* 'our language'; cf. *al-ʿUZAYZI*, *Maʿlama V*, p. 442, III *lāġāh* = *takallama maʿahū waḥāwala ʿan yaʿrifa ʿan ṭarīqi laḥjatihī min ʿayyi lqabāʿili huwa*.
- lagga 57. 'to go'.
- lāb 15. (u) 'to move' (in the threshing-floor behind the animals drawing the *nōraj*); WEHR, *lāb a* (u) 'to wander around, to move'.
- madd 26. 'to go'.
- mrs 40. *maras* (u) 'to crush'; BORIS, *Marazig*, *mʿrās* (e) 'écraser entre les doigts' (une datte, un objet maléable); *mīris* as in DENIZEAU (from DALMAN VI, p. 298) 'petit gâteau fait de *lāb ān* épaissi par chauffage et dissous dans l'eau'; SOCIN, *Diwan*, *Excurs Y*, *merīs* 'zerquetscht'; *namris albagel balma*, 'bagel ist bei Beduinen leben, der bis zum Dickwerden gekocht ist, dann wird es in Stücken an der Sonne gedörnt und in Säcken (*frād*) aufbewahrt. Dies wird dann in Wasser aufgelöst'. See also JAUSSEN, *Moab*, p. 64; *Doughty I*, 262.
- misā 1, 37. 'rennet'; DALMAN, VI, pp. 303, 312 'Labmagen'.
- māṣ 37. (u) 'to press away the whey from the curds to make cheese'; MUSIL, *Rwala*, p. 407 'to press'; BORIS, *Marazig*, II *māyyaṣ* 'exprimer par pression le petit lait du fromage non pressuré (*žebna*)'.
- nšb 45-47. (u) 'to try to be attractive in so's eyes'; II *naṣṣab* 'to embellish'; *niṣubt albedu* 'Bedouin cosmetic treatment'; cf. WOODHEAD & BEENE, *yunṣub miṭl iddiʿ* 'poses like cock'; *lyōm inta ṭāliʿ naṣba* 'you are dressed smartly today'.
- hwš 13-15. *hawāyiš* 'cows'; WOODHEAD & BEENE *hāyša* pl. *hwāyiš* 'cow'; SOCIN, *Diwan*, poem 2,1, note b: *elbēgāra oder elhāiša taḍgi* 'die Kuh brüllt'.
- wazz 41. (i) 'to kindle', *binwizz tiḥtiyyo nār*; cf. BARTHÉLEMY, *nār wāzže* 'feu qui flambe bien'; WOODHEAD & BEENE, *wazz* (i) 'to incite, to arouse': *ḥamāta wazzata wiyya marta wxallathum yitʿār-kūn*'.

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