

4. Notes on the Language of the Poems

4.1. Consonants

There are only two consonants the pronunciation of which in the poems deviates from the local dialect (S) of the reciter, viz. the reflexes of *qāf* and *kāf*.

The only reflex of *qāf* in S is /g/, but in the poems affricated combinatory front variants characteristic of the Bedouin dialects of the periphery of the Syrian Desert also occur. In the Balqa and its immediate neighbourhood the most common affricated variant is /ǧ/ [dʒ],¹ phonetically identical with the local (both S and B) reflex of *ǧīm*. Although the occurrence of the reflexes in the poems is rather irregular, no hypercorrect affricated variants can be found, but all front variants follow the phonemic structure of B: *ǧiīlha* I 8b, *ǧiīlī* III 54p, *ǧiīlha* I 9b, *sābǧin* I 10a, 11a, *sābǧih* X 28b, *alīǧha* I 10b, *miǧīlha* I 12b, *miǧīl* III 40b, *ǧarīǧ* III 57b, *tiwāǧif* IV 21b, *ǧidiǧ* IV 31a, *ǧiǧǧ* X 19a, *mlāǧīh* IV 31a, *ǧibīlēn* X 19a, 34a, *ǧīl* VII 35a, *mǧīmīn* X 32a, *ǧidīmin* XII 16b, *miǧīdin* XIII 16c, *diǧǧhin* VII 42b, *arhaǧitha tarhīǧ* V 14a.

On the other hand, the pattern is inconsistent, as non-affricated reflexes often occur in positions in which B regularly has phonetically-conditioned affrication: *bāǧi* I 8b, VI 7b, *ǧifān* IV 17b, *ǧadīǧin* IV 21d, *ǧillet* IV 22b, *ǧīl* IV 43d, *ǧifāra* V 10b, 15b, *arāǧīb* V 12a, *rāǧi* VIII 5b, *ǧarīǧ* IX 7b, *mǧammīǧ* X 21b, *nāǧil* X 22b, *yīǧiǧīn* X 37b, *mit'allǧin* X 24b, *rifāǧi* XI 10b, *ma'nagīya* XI 16b, *itfarrīǧ* XII 19b, *daggēt* XII 20a, *maxāllīǧ* XIII 16d, *miǧīd* XIII 17b (/ǧ/ in XIII 16c), *ǧiddām* XIII 15d, *nlāǧi* XIV 45a.

The reflex of *kāf* in S is /k/, in proximity to front vowels /ɛ/ [tʃ]. However, the distribution is not completely complementary: minimal pairs such as *ʔabūk* 'your (sing. masc.) father' vs. *ʔabūc* 'your (sing. fem.) father' and *kān* 'he/it was' vs. *čān* 'if' demonstrate the phonemic status of the affricated variant. At the present, /ɛ/ can in normal conversation be regarded as a recessive variant, used freely by women of the older generation but seldom by adult male speakers whose speech is more levelled.² In the poems several deviations from older genuine S are found: *kāyid* I 16a, *kasr* III 50b, *kasirtum* III 51a, *kāsib* IV 18c (cf. *čāsbin* VI 12b), *kīśah* IV 22a, *kaff kattāb* IV 28a (but *čaffēn* VII 44a, *čaffə* IX 31a), *rabbi karīm u-fakkāk* IV 41d, *kassābit* V 14b, *l-iktāb* VII 24a, *tarrakin* VII 25b, *b-kēfi* 'as I wish' VII 39a, *rikāyib* VII 41b, *sakan* VII 42a, *kassāb* VIII 7a, *kēf* 'how?' VIII 14b (but *čēf* VII 36a), (but *ǧiīr* VIII 5a), *ʔimkallafātin* X 14b, *b-al-kalaf* X 30a, *yā rākba* XI 13a (but *yā rāčbin* III 39a, *yā rāčballi* VI 5a), *w-miškāy* XI 19b, *sikība* XIII 9a, *šakkat* XIV 45c. In some items the lack of affrication of /k/ is a genuine B feature. Thus, the form *kill*, which in the present poems always has a non-affricated /k/, is commonly known by the sedentary

¹ In the Bedouin dialects spoken in the neighbourhood the dialect of the Bani Šaxar is an exception: there the affricated variant is /ǧ/ [dʒ], PALVA, Bani Šaxar, p. 114f. The /ǧ/ [dʒ] variant is used by the Fāyiz clan of the tribe.

² As early as 1915, BERGSTRÄSSER reports that the affricated /ɛ/ reflex of *kāf* was avoided in es-Salt, Sprachatlas, p. 185f.; PALVA, Koineization, p. 22; id., Classification, p. 9, n. 6.

population as a hallmark of Bedouin dialects. The word *kalaf* may also lack affrication in genuine B, and, consequently, this bears upon *mkallafatin* as well. In a number of instances no reason other than accidental stylistic fluctuation can be found.

The fact that the language of the poems does not follow the structure of the mother tongue of the reciter naturally called forth some inconsistencies in the pronunciation, but there is another reason that also might turn out to be important, viz. the original form of the poems. On the lexical and morphological levels this is self-evident, although only a small number of verses probably are identical with their original form. However, in certain cases it seems to exert some influence upon the pronunciation of the consonants as well. In this respect, poems IV and XIII are of special interest, because the frequency of the non-affricated variants of *qāf* and *kāf* in them is somewhat higher than in the remaining poems. In spite of many lexical items and formulae typical of Bedouin poetry, the former is a semi-literary creation, and the latter comes from el-Karak, the dialect of which does not display affricated variants of /k/ and /g/.³ On the other hand, it may be pointed out that the Karaki poem XIII is opened with the word *yabci*, which both morphologically and phonetically is a marked Bedouin form.

4.2. Syllable structure

One of the most important distinctive features in the dialect typology of the North Arabian area is the contrast between what was called by CANTINEAU "trochaic" vs. "atrochaic" syllable structure.⁴ Here a characteristic feature of the linguistic structure of the poems can be observed: while the affricated reflexes of *qāf* and *kāf* in the poems phonetically follow Cantineau's Group C—i.e. pre-ʿAnazi Syro-Mesopotamian Bedouin dialects—the syllable structure in the present poems rather follows Groups A and B (the ʿAnazi and Šammari dialects of Northern Arabia, respectively). The reason is evident: the "trochaic" syllable structure of these dialect groups is more conservative and, because of a higher proportion of short syllables (CV), more readily applicable to the metrical patterns of the poems. However, the most important reason is probably the linguistic tradition of Bedouin poetry in which the language used in inner parts of Northern Arabia, the core area of the traditional *nabaṭi* poetry, enjoys the highest prestige. Affrication vs. non-affrication of /g/ and /k/, on the other hand, is a more superficial stylistic feature which does not have any effect on the metrical structure; consequently, the reciter can use different variants at will.

Examples of a "trochaic" syllable structure which deviates from both S and B are relatively frequent in the poems: *qʿūnana* I 12a, *nōmaha* IV 34b, *imrāḥona* V 11b, *yitōbāra* V 11b, *iṣxūrana* VI 11a, *irṣāṣana* VI 20b, *sāyaltōhum* VII 35a, *fāṭori* VII 28b, *xēlana* IX 25a, *fārōʿin* IX 28a, *bizrotin* IX 31a, *faʿlana* IX 33b, *ʿindōna* X 14a, *sabbōna* X 28a, *idwērōʿin* X 30b, *ḡamāʿatak* X 35a, *biʿtōna* X 36a, *manāmōha* XI 9b, *fāṭorin* XI 12b, *wannōti* XII 13a. A metrical reconstruction suggests that the original "trochaic" syllable structure has in many cases been reshaped and therefore tallies with

³ PALVA, Karak, p. 17; id., *Classification, Criterion (c)*; cf. BERGSTRÄSSER, *Sprachatlas*, Map 3 (č).

⁴ CANTINEAU, *Nomades* II, pp. 227 and 230; PALVA, ʿAḡārma, p. 54.

S, e.g. *‘illitīn* IV 17c ← *‘illitīn*, *gultlo* IV 20b ← *gultilah*, *ḥarīmhum* IV 29c ← *ḥarīmuhum*, *xallētna* V 11a ← *xallētana*, *ḥaṭṭētna* V 13a ← *ḥaṭṭētana*. These kinds of changes in the syllable structure often radically affect the original metrical pattern which might become unrecognizable and unsatisfactory according to the taste of Nabaṭi poets and connoisseurs of Nabaṭi poetry in the core area of this tradition.

Metrically conditioned extralinguistic short final vowels occur sporadically only, almost exclusively in one poem: *zōlō* IX 26a, *ṣōbō* IX 26a, *gaṣrō* IX 26b, *zayyō* IX 27b, *ḡirwānō* IX 29a, *xōlō* IX 29a, *čaffō* IX 31a, *zallātō* IX 33a, *bi‘irō* V 11a, *ṭummō* VIII 10a. Although the final vowel in a majority of the cases formally corresponds to the Classical case morpheme, on the synchronic level it cannot be regarded as anything but a technique used for purely metrical reasons.⁵

In two cases the language of the poems almost systematically deviates from the syllable structure of Central and North Arabian dialects, as well as from the dialects of the Negev, Sinai, and Arabia Petraea: the $C_1VC_2aC_3V-$ → $C_1C_2VC_3V-$ and $aXC-$ → $XaC-$ (rule above) patterns are as a rule not used in Bedouin poetry,⁶ plausibly because the developments for the most part are synchronic and, besides, would affect the metres. The occurrences of these syllable patterns are in the present poems limited to two verses: *ḡbaḥō* X 23a, *iḡbaḥūno*, *ḥsibūlo* X 23b, and *la ṭači*, IX 12a, *ma txabir* IX 12b; the only additional instance is *nḥaranni* VI 12a, which is the perf. 3rd p. pl. fem. of *naḥar* 'to head' in rhyme position. There are a few further instances of similar syllable structures, but these can no longer be considered as synchronic developments; rather, they are results of earlier changes in the shapes of lexical items. Such cases are *hala* XI 24a (*‘ahlaⁿ* > *‘ahāla* > *hala*; after the dropping of C_1 , the diminutive is *hēl* VI 16b, XIII 12d; cf. the verb *halla* = *‘ahhal*), *xaḡtli* II 18b, *xaḡu* VI 17a, *xaḡūna* III 55ab, (from *‘axaḡ-*, e.g. *‘axāḡu/‘axāḡaw* > *‘xaḡu/‘xaḡaw* > *xaḡu/xaḡaw*, which implies the development of the root *‘xḡ* > *xḡy*, however, in the perfect only, cf. *yāxiḡ*).

4.3. Pronouns

Slight fluctuation occurs in the use of the personal pronoun for the 1st p. pl., but it is significant that the marked B-form *ḥinna* VI 19a, VI 20a, X 35b, XIV 4a, XIV 46a clearly predominates over the corresponding S-forms *iḥna* X 28a, negated *maḥna* X 35a. Although the S-forms actually are identical with those used by the majority of Bedouin dialects spoken in the neighbourhood,⁷ they are not felt as "poetic" enough, since they are stylistically neutral and do not belong to the tradition of poetic language.

Another conspicuous feature in pronominal morphology is the relatively frequent use of the marked B-form *-a(h)* as the suffixed pronoun for the 3rd p. sing. masc.: *ṭiyāra* II 24a, *ḡarāla* IV 20a, *yinfā‘a* IV 20c, *māla* IV 20c, *yi‘izza* IV 20d, *kīsaḥ* IV

⁵ This phenomenon was first noticed and commented upon by WALLIN, ZDMG 6, p. 193; cf. WETZSTEIN, Zeltlager, p. 129f. (=ZDMG 22, p. 193); SOCIN, Diwan III, pp. 55-57 and 78f.; STUMME, Beduinenlieder, pp. 26-30; PALVA, Ḥesbān, p. 16f.

⁶ PALVA, Ḥesbān, pp. 13 (n. 10) and 16; cf. SOCIN, Diwan III, p. 165: "übrigens gehört sie [diese Erscheinung] durchaus der Volkssprache an und beginnt erst allmählich auch in die Poesie vorzudringen".

⁷ CANTINEAU's Group C; PALVA, ‘Aḡārma, p. 54.

22a, lah VII 40a, manāxa^h VII 41b, rāsa IX 30b, mā yinḥačāba X 17b, sbāba X 26b, 27b, iṭnāba X 36b, bah XII 17a. With this 'Anazi form (CANTINEAU's Group A), the S-form -o seems to occur in free variation: mālo IV 43d, X 38b, 'eno VII 21a, markabo XIII 9d, even between -a suffixes: gultlo IV 20b. In this case the S-form is practically identical with its counterpart in the Bedouin dialects of Group C, and, in addition, not very different from the Šammari (Group B) form -uh.⁸ Thus the 'Anazi form is felt as the most distinct B-form. A third variant occurring in the poems is -e : ḥāle XI 15b, which is either a front allomorph of -a(h) or, rather, a form occurring side by side with -ah in several Bedouin dialects of Southern Jordan and the Negev.⁹

The 2nd p. pl. masc. forms usually have a final /m/: w-intum X 35b, ḡebātkum III 52a, 53a, min 'ūgubkum III 56a, IV 42d, minkum VI 2a, IX 33a, tiwābi'kum X 35b, giṭ'ānkum XI 22a, ḡērkum XI 23b, 'armīlkum XI 28b, 'izzkum XIII 12d, lakum XIII 13d. This is a feature not only occurring in the Bedouin dialects of the Groups A and B but in several dialects of Group C as well,¹⁰ whereas the genuine S-forms are 'intu and -ku; only a few forms of this type occur in the present poems: 'ūgubku III 51a, 'ilku IX 16ab, mṣīlku XI 23a, 'alēku XIII 16a, 17a.

There is one case in which the suffixed pronoun is a distinct F-form: 'antaxīka VIII 9b, in a stylistic environment influenced by Literary Arabic in a number of respects. The form undoubtedly reflects the original wording, since it fits nicely into the metrical pattern of the line.

The relative pronoun is often rendered by the B-form (')alli IV 25b, 29a, 39c, VI 5a, 13b, VII 30a, 42a, X 25b, XI 11b, or halli VI 10b, VII 36b, 37a, X 19b, yalli (vocat.) VI 9b, 12b, VII 24b, X 25a, 29a, XII 6a, 7b, 8a. However, the S-form 'illi is rather frequent: II 20b, III 14?, IV 20d, 22b, 31c, VI 19b, VII 25b, X 23a, 31b, 33b, 34b, XIV 47b. The literary loan 'allaḡī occurs once (VIII 13a), in a poem having several other F-forms, but as a superficial, strictly lexical loan used as an invariable relative pronoun as in the dialect: 'allaḡī bā'ū waṭanhum b-iz-zahīd. The regular metrical pattern of the line suggests that it is recited in its original form and that the poet has had high-flown stylistic aspirations with Literary Arabic as the linguistic ideal. Also the Classical Arabic mā occurs as a relative pronoun (I 8a, IV 17a).

The B-type interrogative wiš occurs once (VII 29b), while its S counterparts šū and 'ēš are lacking. In a similar way, the interrogative pronoun referring to persons and used as relative pronoun as well, most often displays the form min VII 25a, X 28a, XIII 11d, XIV 47b, once man IV 19c, both of which are stylistically neutral.¹¹

Among the demonstrative pronouns a markedly poetic form is found, viz. ḡā,

⁸ CANTINEAU, Nomades I, p. 72 (Group C: C-φ, V-h, with the exception of Wild 'Ali: -a^h), II, pp. 180-184 (Group B: C/V-φ, -ū/w.^h, Group A: C-a^h, V-h). In a similar manner, 'Anazi forms are used in the poems of Nimr Ibn 'Adwān in SPOER & HADDAD, Nimr, ZS 7, I 1 and passim, and in the poems recorded among the 'Aḡārma, PALVA, Ḥesbān, p. 16; id., 'Aḡārma, p. 45; cf. SOCIN, Diwan III, pp. 177-181.

⁹ BERGSTRÄSSER, Sprachatlas, Map 13; BLANC, Negev, p. 133f.; BANI YASIN & OWENS, Bduul, p. 218; YRTTIAHO, N'ēmāt, p. 140 and passim; PALVA, Ḥwēṭāt, p. 303; PALVA, North West Arabian, p. 163. Historically, this form goes back to *-ih.

¹⁰ CANTINEAU, Nomades I, pp. 70 and 72, II, p. 185.

¹¹ At the present, the koine form mīn is rapidly spreading at the cost of the genuine S man, min, manū, minī etc.

which here occurs in formulaic stock expressions only: *min xalaf dā* 'after this' X 25a, 29a, XI 11a, *dālak u-dāli* 'this is yours and that is mine' VII 37b. This form, rather commonly used in all Nabaṭi poetry, is alien to all vernacular dialects of the area.

The definite article often occurs in the B-form *al-* (passim), frequently in clusters comprising several verses, e.g. XIII 11-12, once a whole poem (XII). However, only one case is found where the article is stressed:¹² *al-ibča* VII 43a.

4.4. *Tanwīn*

The *tanwīn*, which only sporadically occurs in the present narratives, is a well-established feature in the language of Nabaṭi poetry. In a few cases it has the phonetic shape *-an* (*bānyan* XIII 16b, probably a kind of dissimilation after /y/; *halalli* IV 29a), but otherwise it as a rule displays its regular B-form *-in*. As in the North Arabian Bedouin dialects of the 'Anazi and Šammari types, the morpheme has become generalized and can be suffixed to proper names, elatives, dual and sound masculine plural forms, too. Examples of these categories are: *bugdādin* IV 21c, *daxīlin* VII 34a, *nāširin* VII 35a, *fārō'in* IX 28a; *inḏafin* IV 28c; *daggtēnin* XII 20a; *māḏīnin* IV 23b. Although the *tanwīn* sometimes is used freely as a traditional, often metrically-conditioned poetic form, in a majority of the cases it occurs in positions attested for the dialects of North Arabian Bedouin,¹³ viz.:

(a) *in an indefinite noun followed by an adjectival attribute*: *rḡālin niḏāl* 'vile men' IV 25d, *bkārin ḥarāra* 'thoroughbred young she-camels' IV 39a, *b-idmū'in sikība* 'with copious tears' XIII 9a, *ḥaggin ḥalzami* 'due trial' VIII 6b, *da'āwin bāṭili* 'an unrighteous claim' VIII 14b, *byūtin imbannayātin ib-nimrīn* 'tents pitched at Nimrīn' X 31a, *fāṭorin šē'adiya* 'an old she-camel of Ša'īdi stock' XI 12b, *ḡiḥīmin lāhab* 'a flaming hell' XII 10a (if *lāhab* = *lāhib*);

(b) *in an indefinite noun followed by a prepositional phrase*: *min 'illtin b-il-galb* 'out of an agony in the heart' IV 17c, *ma lagēt ṣadīgin ma' in-nās* 'I did not find a friend among the people' IV 21d, *rbū'in b-il-liga* 'a group of fellow tribesmen on the day of encounter' IV 30b, *rab'in 'ala šōf il-mi'ādi* 'fellow tribesmen at the sight of the enemies' IV 30c, *miš'idilli* 'he helps me' IV 42a, *awwāliyin bī w-tāli* 'both my first and last (sufferings)' VII 23b, *'awi ḏībin b-id-daww xāli* 'a wolf's lamenting in the waste desert' VII 32b, *ḡubnin 'ala l-mayyit* 'sorrow because of the deceased' VII 43b, *mwaggafin min ḡēr ḥaggin* 'arrested without trial' VIII 6b, *sayyidin min sayyidin mitsalsali* 'a sayyid in the chain of sayyids' VIII 8b, *'adūwin lak* 'an enemy of yours' VIII 11b, *bizrətin min čaffə xayyir* 'a bullet from the hand of a valiant soldier' IX 31a, *mkallafātin b-al-galaf* 'saddled with saddlebags' X 14b, *bētīn miḡil sūg id-diḡāḡīn* 'a tent as long as a line of booths in the market' X 16a, *dīnin b-aṭar dīn*

¹² In Bedouin dialects the definite article is often stressed when preceding a word of the syllable patterns CV (*'āl-ma*), CVCV (*'āl-mala*, *'āl-ibča* <— *'al-biča*), or CVCVC (*'āl-walad*, *'āl-bil*, already lexicalized after an earlier synchronic development <— *'al-'ibil*, cf. the st. pron. form *bill*-). CANTINEAU, *Nomades I*, p. 69, SOCIN, *Diwan III*, p. 230; for dialects outside the North Arabian and Syro-Mesopotamian dialect areas, see PALVA, *Ḥwētāt*, n. 11.

¹³ See note 23, in 3.2.6.

'I swear once and over' X 18a, 26a, *il-miftaliḥ mit'allgin bī xarāba* 'the cultivated land meets the desert' X 24b, *byūtin imbannayātin ib-nimrīn* 'tents pitched at Nimrīn' X 31a, *yā rāčbin fōg maddād* 'you who ride a far-going camel' XI 11a, *gadd ramlin b-il-iblād* 'numerous as the sand of the land' XI 21a, *daggtēnin 'ala l-galb* 'two blows on my heart' XII 20a, *mitwağğhin yamm il-fğūğ* 'directing the course toward the open defiles' XIII 15b;

(c) *in an indefinite noun followed by a clause: dahrin mađāli* 'a time I spent' II 18a, *silāfin tibāra* 'the foremost ones contending with each other' II 21p, *šagrīn rāḥ* 'a falcon who perished' II 24a, *fī zimānin ti'adda* 'a time which passed' IV 33a, *iğmū'in yiğannūn* 'a band that yells' VI 15a, *'a-dahrin ġafāni* 'a time I left behind' XII 18a, *b-sōtin yiğraḥ al-galb* 'with a voice that gashes the heart' XIII 11b, *sēlin yiğrī* 'a stream which flows' IX 5b;

(d) *in a participle governing an object: yā rāčbin hiğin* [...] 'awdītin nağdītin 'you who ride a full-blooded camel... an old she-camel from Najd' III 39-40, *yalli čāsbin kill nōmās* 'doer of every kind of glorious deeds' VI 12b, *yā bānyān bētak* 'you who build your house' XIII 16b;

(e) *in a nominal predicate followed by a verbal clause or a prepositional phrase: luh 'ēltin ġađđat* 'he has a family which is afflicted' III 46a, *luh minsafin 'ind il-'ašir* 'he has a mansaf in the afternoon' III 47a, *luh idlālin 'ala ġwīl in-nār* 'he has coffee-pots on the side of the fire' III 48a, *li 'illtin b-agša q-đamāyir* 'I have a disease in my innermost' XI 8b, *lah rab'atin yiğhar baha r-ruzz* 'he has a household in which rice is seen' VII 40a.

Apart from the above-mentioned cases, *tanwīn* is used in fixed pairs of words, e.g. *min ġidīmin u-'āmi* 'not for ever so long' XII 16b, *šalātin wala šyām* 'neither the prayer nor the fast' XIII 14d, *dibbin walad dibb* 'a bear, son of a bear' XII 16a, *ḥēdin walad ḥēdin* 'a load camel, a load camel's progeny' IV 42b. The use may also be brought about by obvious rhythmic reasons, e.g. *ib-ğāzin u-ğirtās* 'with petroleum and paper' VI 19b, *ib-ğillīn u-miḥtās* 'in shadow and bewilderment' IV 42d. Some cases are associated with the poetic word order: *b-rās ruğmin miğlīha* 'whose resting place is on the top of a cairn' I 12b, *waznin iğlīha* 'its heaviest weight' I 15b (here the suffixed pronoun has been moved from the head noun to the adjectival attribute). The remaining cases display a free use of *tanwīn* in indefinite nouns: *mā fārsin suwa 'mēr* 'there is no horseman equal to 'Omēr' I 9a, *čam sābğin* 'how many runners' I 11a, *ḥurrin u-lā-luh...miḥīl* 'a noble one, having no equal' III 39b, *luh sāyitin* 'he is in distress' III 46b, *miḥīl sēlin yisīl* 'it streams like a stream' III 48a, *māšyātin ġihāra* 'walking stately' IV 39b, *ḥīlīl lamā ...* 'sterile (pl.) when...' VI 6a, *ib-sā'atin yimadd ... l-ḥabil* 'in a while the rope will be pulled out' VI 21b, *min bi'īdin 'anāli* 'he had sent me a message from far away' VII 24b, *šabrin* 'patience!' VII 28b, *miḥḥālimsin* 'dizzy' VII 30b, *miḥayyirīn* 'perplexed' VII 38a, *bāsilin* 'brave' VIII 9a, *'ala bilādin* 'to a region' IX 25b, *sēlin yiğīššīn* 'like a stream they will wipe out' X 37b, *ḥurrin simīḥ iz-zōr* 'a thoroughbred camel, with a stately chest' XI 12a, *'alfin hala, 'alfin šabāḥ il-xēr w-'alfin taḥīya* 'a thousand times 'Welcome!', one thousand times 'Good

morning!' and one thousand times 'May God give life to you!' XI 21ab, 24ab, *šammālin* 'ale^h *ħagg līya* 'a water carrier, that is what I deserve' XI 27b, *mig'idin* il-*ʿabid* 'you who wake up the slave' XIII 16c (cf. *mig'id il-xōda* 'you who wake up the women' XIII 17b), *mantūš* 'izzin 'you have no honour' XIV 47a.

4.5. The verb

In the verb inflection the language of the poems deviates from the local dialect in a number of respects. However, only one deviation is systematic: the absence of the *b*-morpheme in the imperfect. This is a major feature of the language of Nabati poetry,¹⁴ and the narrator, who frequently uses *b*-imperfects in the narratives—although not often in straight narration—carefully avoids them in the poems. The remaining divergences occur sporadically, apparently often depending on the conscious aspiration of the reciter to stick to the traditional linguistic form.

Perhaps the most striking, at all events the most frequent, difference between S and the language of the present poems bears upon the vocalization of the imperfect preformative in Form I of strong and C₃y (tertia y) verbs. In the poems the vowel is often /a/, whereas it in S is /i/ or /u/: *yaṭra* III 40b, *yaṭru* XI 10b, *ta'fi* III 43a, *yaṣfi* IV 29a, *yabdi* V 13b, *yaḥdir* VI 20b, *talfi* IX 7b, 10a, X 31a, XI 14a (but *tilfi* III 42a, *yilfinnak* II 19b), *yalfu* X 37a, *talfūn* X 16a, *talfu* X 17a, *talga* IX 8a, 9a (but *tilga* III 41a), *naṣa* X 36a, *tabga* XI 18b, *namši* XI 23a, *tarḥam* XII 9a, *narkab* XII 12a, *yarkabu* XIII 15c, *tagta'* XII 13a, *yaṭnab* XII 14a, *talḥab* XII 17a, *yab'ci* XIII 9ab, *tasri* XIII 10b, *našrīh* XIII 12a, *ya'arfu* XIII 14cd, *tar'a* XIV 45b. This vocalization is not consistent, however, and considerable fluctuation can be noticed between different poems. Thus, there are five imperfect forms having /a/ in the preformative in poem XII, whereas only two S-forms can be found: *tisma'* XII 6a and *yilḥag* XII 19a. This does not depend on mere chance, but is probably caused by the fact that three of the forms occur in rhyme position. Strictly speaking, the vowel of the initial syllable does not belong to the rhyme, but the words occurring in rhyme position have a prominent place in the poem and are therefore more fixed in form than words in other positions. The S-type vocalism in the imperfect preformative varies freely with the B-type vocalism, e.g., *tisma'* III 56b, *tiḡ'al* III 57b, *tinfa'* IV 19c, *yinfa'a* IV 20c, *yinfa'* XIV 47c, *yilgāh* IV 22b, *nil'ab* IV 38b, *yizhin* VII 26b, *yigta'in* VII 26b, *timnaḥni* VIII 15b, *yiḡri* IX 5b, *yišdin* IX 27b, *yilkid* IX 28b, *yigta'ūn* (B y- + S -i- + B -ūn) XI 11b, *yinuḡṣ* XI 20a, *yiḡraḥ* XIII 11b, *yiḡhar* XIII 13d, *tuṭlub* IV 30b, *yuhkum* IV 31c, 35d, *nuṭbux* V 15b, *nugṣur* XI 23b.

The use of /a/ in the preformative of the imperfect in Form I is not only a phonetic trait characteristic of traditional Bedouin poetry, but it is inseparably associated with the morphological system of Bedouin dialects (Groups A and B), in which internal, apophonic passive forms are productively used. In the imperfect of Form I, the vowel

¹⁴ Bedouin poetry composed in the Negev and Sinai is an exception to this rule. It makes free use of the *b*-imperfect, which belongs to the dialects of the local tribes, see BLANC, Negev, p. 139 [28]; for occurrences in poetry, see BAILEY, Bedouin Poetry, 1.3.2, 1.5.1, 3, 8, 9, 1.9.17.18.19, 1.11.3 and *passim*.

of the preformative is morphologically distinctive: /a/ is the active marker, /i/ the passive marker,¹⁵ the only one in verbs having /a/ as the stem vowel in the imperfect. However, in the passive forms found in the present poems, the passive is marked by the vowel sequence -iCCaC-: *yibna* 'is pitched' X 36b (but *byūtin tabna* IX 8b, obvious hyper-Bedouinization, cf. act. *yabni*, S *yibni*), *yidkar* 'is mentioned' XI 22a (cf. act. *yaḍkur*, S *yuḍkur*); *yišfag* 'is sympathized' XI 26b is probably a passive of Form IV. In C₂w/y (verba mediae infirmae) and C₂=C₃ (verba mediae geminatae) verbs no vowel contrast is needed in the preformative, because the active vs. passive contrast in a majority of cases—with the exception of the relatively few verbs having /ā/ or /a/ as the stem vowel in active (e.g. *yihāb* IX 28b)—is evident from the stem vowel. Instances of this kind of passive forms are *yigās* 'is measured' VI 21b, *yišāb* 'is hit' IX 30b, *yqām* 'is wronged' XII 7b, *yimadd* 'is pulled out' VI 21b. Internal passive perfect forms are few: *ḥirrimna* 'we are forbidden' III 56a (cf. footnote to the passage), *ḡīl* 'it was said' IV 43d, *ḡīl* id. VII 35a.

In the perfect affirmatives some variation can be found: side by side with the B-form *kasirtum* III 51a, S-forms *ḡinētu* V 10a, *ḡa'agtūhum* VI 19b are used; one instance of the Bedouinizing -um suffix also occurs: *tiwāda'um* (Form VI, 3rd p. pl. masc.) VI 9b.¹⁶ An additional feature deviating from S is the 3rd p. pl. fem. affirmative -an: *yidūran*, *yihūman*, *ixṭan* IV 40abc, *rzaman(ni)*, *bayyanan(ni)*, *rabba'an(ni)*, *šabbahan(ni)*, *nišan(ni)*, *nḥaran(ni)*, *šbaḥan(ni)*, *b'adan(ni)* VII 5a – 17a, which all occur in rhyme positions. In other positions the pl. fem. affirmative is identical with the dialectal S form¹⁷: *maddin*, *ḥāmin* IV 40ac (these lines have -an in the rhyme words), *maddin* VI 8a, *tirāya'in* VI 17b, *tarrakin* VIII 25b, *marrin* VIII 27b, *tihaddadin* VIII 28a, *ṭabbin* IX 27a, *ḥassin* IX 32b, *tgalla'in* X 36b, *tixaffarinha* XII 13b. The imperfect affirmative is the same: *trakkabin* I 14a, *yilfinnak* II 19b, *yḡūmin* IV 25d, *yar'in* VI 7b, *yitwin* VI 8b, *yizhin* VIII 26b, *yigṭa'in* ibid., *yidirčin* VIII 27a, *yišdin* IX 27b, *yišābin* IX 31b (rhyme position, rhyming with -āba, ābi), *yigišsin* X 37b, *yišīrin* X 38 a.

In the imperfect there are several instances of the B-form -ūn: *yiniglūno* III 47a, *yigūn* III 54a (2x), *yigannūn* VI 15a, *talfūn* X 16a (but *talfu* X 17a), *yigṭa'ūn* XI 11b. The suffix -um which probably follows the analogy of perfect inflection in some Bedouin dialects, occurs once only: *tibī'um* XIII 12a.¹⁸ However, the shorter

¹⁵ According to ABBoud, there is a morphological contrast in the dialect of Ḥā'īl between *yaftaḥ* (act.) and *yiftaḥ* (pass.), corresponding to two different perfect forms *fiṭaḥ* (act.) and *ftiḥ* (pass.), Najdi, p. 20, and id., *The Verb*, p. 476 and passim; SOGIN, *Diwan* III, p. 152; PALVA, *Bani Šaxar*, p. 125.

¹⁶ For the affirmatives -tām /-tow and -ām /-ow in the Bedouin dialects of the Syrian desert, see CANTINEAU, *Nomades* I, pp. 79-81; cf. PROCHAZKA, *Saudi Arabian Dialects*, p. 28: in the simple verb -tam and -am Rwala, -tu, -taw, -taw and -aw in the remaining dialects included in the inquiry.

¹⁷ Most of the Bedouin dialects in the adjacent areas have -an, CANTINEAU, *Nomades* I, pp. 79 and 82; cf. PALVA, *Bani Šaxar*, p. 124f. -in; id., 'Aḡārma, p. 32 -en. In Bedouin dialects the fem. pl. affirmative may behave like a consonantal ending: in different syllable patterns it may display two variants, e.g. *kitābin* (*kitāb* + -n) and *ktīban* (*ktīb* + -an), PROCHAZKA, *Saudi Arabian Dialects*, p. 25.

¹⁸ E.g. in the dialects of the tribes 'Umūr, Šlūt and Manāḡre, the personal morpheme of the perfect 3rd p. masc. is -om (-ām) / -o^u, which the Manāḡre has transplanted to the 2nd and 3rd persons masc. of the imperfect: *yfḵōtbum*, *tōḵōtbum*, "peut-être sous l'influence analogique de l'accompli", CANTINEAU, *Nomades* I, pp. 80-83.

affirmatives of S type clearly dominate, e.g. *yinigdūlo* III 47a, *yidḥakūli* XI 17b, *tāxdūni* XI 27a, 28a, *tibāsiru* XIII 12d, *tihūttu* XIII 13a, *w-ithaddmu* XIII 13b, *w-itgaddmu* XIII 13c, *yá‘arfu* XIII 14cd.¹⁹ The forms do not consistently follow either S or B structure, but contaminations are usual. Thus, although the vowel of the preformative is Bedouinized, the affirmative may remain in the short form of the S type: *talfu* X 17a, *yalfu* X 37a, *yaṭru* XI 10b, *yarkabu* XIII 15c. In prohibitive forms the absence of /n/ (*lā tigta‘u* III 52a, *lā tiḡ‘alu* III 52b, *la ṭṭawwlu* III 53a, *lā tiz‘alu* IX 33a) could perhaps be explained as a classicizing device (jussive), but more probably it simply is an S feature.

The perfect form *iqbahūno* X 23b follows the $C_1VC_2aC_3V-$ → $C_1C_2VC_3V$ -syllable structure of B, found twice in the same verse (*w-illi ḡbaḥo, mā ḥsibūlo*), the -ūn being a hypercorrect feature following the analogy of the imperfect inflection.²⁰

Among the most frequent verbs, 'to come' as a rule displays the B-form, which lacks the prothetic radical /ʔ/ typical of most sedentary dialects of the area: *ḡāni* VII 24a, *ḡāna* V 9a, VI 15a, *ḡan* VI 11b, *ḡāli* VII 31b. 'To ask' is rendered both by *sāyal* and *sāl*: *sāyaltəhum* VII 35a, *tsāl* VII 35b. The verb 'to take' also follows the characteristic B pattern *xaḡa, yāxiḡ*: *xaḡətli* II 18b, *xaḡu* VI 17a, *xaḡūna* III 55ab, *tāxdūni* XI 27a, 28a. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the perfect, *sāf* and *ḡāl* tend to have the /i/, in these verbs commonly associated with Bedouin dialects: *sift* IV 35b, *gilt* II 22b. However, in semi-literary contexts the S form *gult*—which has the /u/ vowel in common with Literary Arabic—is found (IV 42c and VIII 7a).

There are two cases in which derived verbal forms are neither S nor B, but pure F: *lā turā‘thum* VIII 13b, *‘antaxlka* VIII 9b. As in the last-mentioned form, also in *nibtadi* VIII 5a, the vowel of the reflexive infix is a clear-cut F feature. An instance of the F type verbal noun of Form V also occurs, but its phonetic shape has become merged in the phonetic structure of the dialect: *tifarrig* XII 19b, used instead of the pure F pattern *tafarrug* and the dialectal II + V form *tifriḡ/ḡ*.

Since Form IV is a productive inflectional category in the Bedouin dialects of Northern and Central Arabia, as well as in the Syro-Mesopotamian Bedouin dialects, it naturally also belongs to the language of Nabaṭi poetry. Examples in the present poems are *agbal* IV 35a, *mis‘idilli* IV 42a, *arhāḡitna* V 14a, *ṣbaḥan(ni)* VI 14a, *yfdirčin* VII 27a, *ḥigg* (imperat.) X 26a.

The defective verb *yabi* 'to wish', which in Šammari and ‘Anazi dialects is developing toward a volitive and future preverb,²¹ occurs twice in the present poems,

¹⁹ The Karaki origin of poem XIII does not suffice to explain the frequent S-forms occurring in it, since the poem in other respects abounds in B features.

²⁰ The use of the plural affirmative -ūn before the suffixed pronoun for the 3rd p. sing. masc. is a common feature in poetry. Often its use is due to the rhyme, e.g. DALMAN, *Diwan*, p. 251f., where the second hemistichs rhyme in -ūnu: *az‘alūnu, ṣagūnu, ṭarradūnu, ga‘‘adūnu* etc.

²¹ In the Gulf dialects the verb *yabi* (probably <yabḡi as already suggested by WALLIN, ZDMG 6, p. 210; see also SOCIN, *Diwan* III, p. 168) has developed one step further and become a volitive and future preverb b-, JOHNSTONE, *Eastern Arabian*, pp. 143 (volition, Kuwait), 152 (volition, Bahrain), 169 (future, Trucial Coast); cf., e.g., INGHAM, *Handbuch* (*abāḡik* 'I'll come to you', p. 132, 15, *aba‘ṭiyāḥ* 'I'll give it to him' p. 133, 25); id., *Dhafir*, p. 77 l. 19 *ababḡir* 'I wish to give good news'. As far as the etymology is concerned, it is interesting to compare the form *‘ab-atamanna* 'I wish' in a poem

once in volitive/future function: *čēf ab-anām* VII 36a, and once as a full verb: *mā tabi* VII 22a. In the Balqa these forms do not occur in any dialect but are exclusively known as belonging to the poetic language.

4.6. Particles

When used with suffixed pronouns, the prepositions *b(i)-* and *l(i)-/la-* often follow a B pattern: *baha* III 48b, VII 31a, 40a, *biha* VI 21b, *laha* IV 17c. The forms *lakum* XIII 13d and *lahum* VIII 14b belong to the relatively few F-forms. The S-forms are of common occurrence, but are sporadically bedouinized by a final *-h*: *luh* 'he has' III 39b, 46a, 47a, 48a.

In poetic comparisons different poetic expressions are favoured at the cost of the usual dialectal *miṭl* or *zayy*: *lōn* IV 34d, 39d, VI 11b, X 21a, XII 12b, *tiḡl* 'as if', II 17b,²² *tiḡil* 'you might say' IV 18b, 'idd VII 30a.

There is one occurrence of *ʔēḡa* 'also' XII 17b, which probably does not belong to any spoken dialect. Yet it cannot be regarded as a literary loan, but rather as a traditional poetic item occasionally used in Nabaṭi poetry, as a rule occurring in the same metric position, viz. in the beginning of a hemistich.²³ An additional example of a traditional poetic item is *ṭumm* VIII 10a, X 18a, 26a, XI 7a, as well as *b-aṭar* X 18a, 26a, which occurs in the same context.²⁴

The adverb *kūd* occurs three times, always preceded by negation: *ma-xtār kūd nūr* 'ēni II 22a, *mā yinfaʿa kūd māla* IV 20c, [*mā baha ...*] *kūd iṭ-ṭiyūr* VII 31b.

In North Arabian Bedouin dialects there are several different reflexes of the Old Arabic variants *ʔiḡā/ʔilā*.²⁵ In the present poems, different forms of the latter variant occur: *lya* VI 20a, *ʔilya* IV 39d, *lā* XII 6a, *la* XII 19a, XIII 17a, and *lan* IX 15b, whereas no forms of the former type are to be found. The use of reflexes of *ʔilā* is a marked B feature so closely associated with Nabaṭi poetry in general, that reflexes of

probably originating from Northern Arabia, PALVA, Ḥesbān, E 42a, with *abgi atamanna*, MUSIL, Rwala, p. 514, and *mā tabi* VII 22a with the variant recorded at Ḥesbān: *lā baḡat*, see footnote 104 above, line 2a. According to CANTINEAU, Nomades II, p. 198, the Šammari forms are *yābī*, *tābī*, *yābūn* (imperf. only), whereas the 'Anazi dialects use the verb *baḡa*, *yebḡi*.

²² By CANTINEAU regarded as a kind of injunctive form related to the OA jussive, Nomades II, p. 196; PALVA, Ḥesbān, p. 43 n. 85. KAYE, in his review of INGHAM's *Ḍhafīr*, ZAL 21, p. 89, suspects that *tiḡil* 'you would say', meaning 'perhaps', might be what he has termed 'weakness jumping'. Cf. SOWAYAN, Arabian Narrative, 423 *tiḡūl* 'you might say', 435 *tiḡl* 'like'; MUSIL, Rwala, pp. 84 2a, 108 1b, 285 2b, 318 3a, 590 11b, 598 7a, 608 17b *teḡel* 'like', 'as'; SPOER, Nimr, ZDMG 66, III 2b, SPOER&HADDAD, Nimr, ZS 7, p. 278 III 8a, 288 XV 5a, 292 XIX 19a *tiḡil*.

²³ See, e.g., SOCIN, *Diwan* I 43:4 ('*ēḡā*'), 66:48 (*ēḡā*), 66:61, 71:61 (*iḡā*), cf. III, p. 89f.; MUSIL, Rwala, p. 300 (*eyzan*); LANDBERG, 'Anazeh, p. 13 l. 13-14 (*eyḡa*); INGHAM, *Ḍhafīr*, p. 65 l. 17 (*ēḡa*); PALVA, 'Aḡārma, p. 62 l. 4 ('*ayḡa*) and n. 8.

²⁴ *ṭumm* is frequently used by Nimr Ibn 'Adwān, e.g., SPOER&HADDAD, Nimr, ZS 7, XII 6a, XIV 13a, XIX 2a, XX 15a; SPOER, Nimr, ZDMG 66, IV 2a (*ṭumma* IV 8b); MUSIL, Rwala, p. 192 l. 4: *ḡalaft ana w-allāh dīnen baḡar dīn*; SPOER&HADDAD, Nimr, p. 282 VIII 3a *ana la-ṭīk dīnin baḡr dīn*, p. 289 XVI 3a *wallāh wallāh alf alf dīnin baḡar dīn*. SOWAYAN, Arabian Narrative, Gl., points out that the use of *ṭumm* "is restricted to a very specialized context which has religious overtones showing that it is borrowed from CA".

²⁵ For references, see FISCHER, Dem., p. 154f.; JOHNSTONE, Eastern Arabian, p. 16 n. 6.

ʔidā occur only sporadically.²⁶

The presentatives *harʿi* and *hari* occur in the present narratives but not in the poems, which only use *tara* IV 18b, 19a, VI 19a, IX 33a, and *ʔari-*. The latter appears in different variants: *ʔaʔari* IX 32b, *ʔarīni* III 51b, *ʔarīha* IV 37c, and *ʔara* IV 20c, the last of which might be interpreted as a contamination of *ʔari-* and *tara*, parallel with the form *ʔarīk* XV 12D.

4.7. Negation

The negations used in poetry are as a rule relatively conservative and do not differ from B. Therefore the instances *manīš* 'I am not' VII 44a and *mantūš* 'you are not' XIV 47a are conspicuous. Though such forms have the appearance of being marked S-forms, they actually are sporadically used in Bedouin poetry as emphatic negations, found for example in some poems by the famous Nimr Ibn ʿAdwān.²⁷

The verb in the perfect is in S negated with the particle *mā*, with the exception of the coordination *lā/mā ... wala/w-lā*. Because Literary Arabic makes use of both *mā* and *lā* as negations of the imperfect indicative, whereas S exclusively uses *mā*, it is not surprising to find pseudocorrect use of *lā* as a negation of the perfect: *lā lagēt ʔillā daxīlin* VII 34a.

The nominal negation *mā fārsin suwa ʿmēr* 'there is no horseman equal to ʿOmēr' I 9a looks like a contamination of Classical Arabic *lā fārisa* and the purely dialectal *mā fi /mā bi fāris*,²⁸ with the addition of the generalized *tanwīn*. The Classical negation also occurs: *lā-luh b-ir-rēb miṭīl* 'he has no equal among the riders' III 39b.

4.8. Lexicon

Traditional Bedouin poetry naturally abounds in lexical items which do not belong to vernacular dialect. As put by MUSIL, Bedouin poets "hold that the words used in a poem must be out of the ordinary, not those heard in common everyday life. The more unusual words the Bedouin can put into his composition, the better he thinks it."²⁹ In the present poems such a tendency is not conspicuous; rather, the choice of words is determined by a conventional division of the language into the stylistic domains of vernacular dialect and different artistic forms of the spoken language. Thus, in narrative style a specific traditional vocabulary is preferred, and in poetry traditional poetic vocabulary is used, which strikingly differs from the vocabulary of the everyday vernacular speech. Certain words also have metrically conditioned phonetic shapes which do not occur outside poetry, e.g. *figāra* V 9b (instead of *fəgāra*, which

²⁶ In collections of Nabaṭi poetry printed with Arabic characters ʔidā is often found, but this does not necessarily reflect the actual pronunciation. Also in SOCIN, *Diwan I*, the Arabic manuscripts in this respect follow conventional orthography (ʔidā), whereas the transcriptions display the normal Bedouin variant (*ila*), e.g. 1:12, 4:11, 6:5, 13:8 (1ā), 20:13, 21:7,9, 25:9, 27:9, etc.

²⁷ See n. 113 to VII 44a.

²⁸ 'There is not' in genuine plain S is ʔa-bīš.

²⁹ MUSIL, *Rwala*, p. 284.

does not fit the traditional quantitative metres), *ṣigāra* II 20a (instead of *ṣgūr*), *diwīya* XI 11b (instead of *daww* or *diyān*, in rhyme position), *dabība* XIII 11c (instead of *dābba/e*, in rhyme position), *zibūn* II 25a (common poetic variant of *zabn*), *silāf* II 21a (metrically conditioned poetic variant of *salaf*), *wāli* IV 41c (*wali*).

4.9. Conclusion

The distribution of the unaffricated and affricated variants of *kāf* in the present poems follows the same pattern as in the prose narratives: the affricated variant is frequently but not consistently used; when used, it always is phonetically conditioned, and no hyper-Bedouinizing forms are found. This is only natural, since the distribution of the variants in the older genuine dialect of the region of es-Salṭ is identical with the Bedouin pattern. However, no hyper-Bedouinizing affricated variants of *qāf* are found either, although /g/ in Salṭi has no phonetically-conditioned affrication. The affricated variant *ḡ* occurs frequently but not consistently; when used, it follows the Bedouin pattern.

The Bedouin-type syllable structures CVCaCV- → CCVCV- and the so-called *gahāwa* syndrome do as a rule not occur as synchronic processes in the poems. The forms *xaḡa* and *hala* are associated with the latter process, but they have already become lexicalized and therefore are freely used in poetry. A major feature of the syllable structure is the optional use of the so-called trochaic syllable pattern (*xēlana*, *bizratin*), a trait which belongs to the dialects of the ‘Anazi and Šammari tribes living in the core area of Central and North Arabian Bedouin poetry, and, consequently, to the traditional language of this kind of poetry.

In morphology, a number of characteristic Bedouin forms occur, but in this context they should rather be regarded as poetic forms. The most striking feature among these is the frequent use of the generalized *tanwīn*. Another noticeable feature is the total absence of the *b*-morpheme in the imperfect as well as the form of the imperfect preformative of Form I, which often has the vowel /a/. This is associated with the morphological system of the ‘Anazi and Šammari dialects, which make productive use of apophonic passive: in these dialects /i/ is part of the vowel sequence which is used as passive marker (act. *yabni*, pass. *yibna*). In personal suffixes of the perfect and imperfect, both Bedouin and sedentary forms occur; the same holds true of personal pronouns and suffixed pronouns, although Bedouin forms predominate. Among the latter the most striking is *-a(h)*, the suffixed pronoun for the 3rd p. sing. masc., which in the local sedentary dialect as well as in the neighbouring Bedouin dialects is *-o* (or *-u^h*). Used in the Balqa, it is most appropriately regarded as a poetic form.

The local forms *sū* and *ʔeš* of the interrogative pronoun are not used, and *min* has been preferred to *man*. The conjunction *ʔiḡā /ʔilā* only has variants of the latter type (*ʔilya*, *lya*, *lā*, *la*, *lan*), which is considered as the poetic form. The verb 'to come' always occurs without the secondarily developed /ʔ/ (*ḡā*, not *ʔaḡa/ʔiḡa*); the ‘Anazi

and Šammari defective verb *yabi* (imperf. only), unknown in the local sedentary and Bedouin dialects, occurs as a poetic verb. Other traditional poetic items are for example ʾṣḏa 'also', *tumm* 'then' and *b-aṭar* 'after'. These might be suspected of being literary loans, but most probably they are borrowings old enough to be regarded as inherited items of Bedouin poetry.³⁰

As the result of the fixed form of poetry, many linguistic features occurring in poems are carried together with the poems from one dialect area to another without essential changes. It is therefore only natural that the poetic language in a large area is relatively homogeneous, in this case covering the whole Central and North Arabian cultural area with its peripheries. It also is more homogeneous than the language of oral narrative style, which, although using Bedouin dialects as its linguistic ideal and sticking to conventional phraseology and other stylistic means, lacks a fixed form and is therefore more subjected to the influence of the local dialect.

³⁰ *tumm* is used in Central and Northern Arabian dialects, but, as in poetry, restricted to religious contexts: "In Peninsular dialects, the use of this conjunctive is restricted to a very specialized context which has religious overtones showing that it is borrowed from CA. When the speaker wants to appeal to another person he makes the appeal first to God and then, as next in rank, to the addressed person", SOWAYAN, *Arabian Narrative*, Gl.