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A COMPARATIVE GLOSSARY OF
CYPRIOT MARONITE ARABIC

(ARABIC-ENGLISH)



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CYPRIOT MARONITE ARABIC

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With an Introductory Essay

BY

ALEXANDER BORG



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In Gedenken an Professor Dr. Reinhold
Kontzi, Gelehrter und lieber Freund.

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Cypriot Arabic is a nonliterate language; thus the researcher has mainly his field notes to fall back on. Two Maronite friends who were my principal informants throughout my inquiry and who gave unstintingly of their leisure time and hospitality have earned my lasting gratitude: Mr. Antonis Skoullou and Mrs. Christalla Antoniou. Of all my Maronite informants, too numerous to mention here, Mr. Skoullou has contributed the lion's share to the Cypriot Arabic data included in this glossary since I was able to consult him frequently throughout his undergraduate studies in Jerusalem.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

AA	Andalusī Arabic
acc.	accusative
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
Akk	Akkadian
Alep	Aleppo
Anat Ar	Anatolian Arabic
Alex	Alexandria
Anc Gk	Ancient Greek
anthr	anthroponym
ap	active participle
ʿAq	ʿAqra
Ar	Arabic
Aram	Aramaic
Arb	Arbāl/Arbel/Arbil
Assyr	Assyrian
Āz	Āzax
Bahr	Bahrain
Bed Ar	Bedouin Arabic
Bəḥz	Bəḥzāni
Bei	Beirut
Bəsp	Bəspən
Bibl	Biblical
Bišm	Bišmizzīn
c.	common gender
CA	Classical Arabic
Cai	Cairo
(C)	Christian (dialect of Arabic)
<u>CC</u>	underlining indicates voicing in CC clusters of CyA words
Cen Arab	Central Arabia
Cen As	Central Asia
cf.	compare
cit.	citing
CMAr	Christian Middle Arabic
coll	collective
colloq.	colloquial
conj	conjunction
constr st	construct state
Copt	Coptic
CPAram	Christian Palestinian Aramaic
Çukur	Çukurova
CyA	Cypriot Arabic
CyG	Cypriot Greek
Dam	Damascus
Darag	Daragözü
Daḥ	Daḥīna
def art	definite article

demon pron	demonstrative pronoun
der.	derived
det.	<i>status determinatus</i>
dim	diminutive
Diyar	Diyarbakır
Dodek	Dodekanese
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
du	dual
dur	durative
elat	elative
emph pron	emphatic pronoun
etym	etymology
f	feminine
Fellihî	Neo-Aramaic dialects spoken in the plain of Mosul
Fask	Fasken
Fr	French
G...G	raised ^G ... ^G enclose Greek loans
Gal	Galilean
GAram	Galilean Aramaic
Gk	Greek
Gm	German
Häl	Halanze
Hask	Hasköy
Hat	Hatay
Heb	Hebrew
Hert	Hertevin
Hör	Hörän
i	intransitive
Imp	Imperfect
impers	impersonal
Imptv	Imperative
inal	inalienable (i.e., takes mandatory suffix)
inf	infinitive
infor	informant
inform	informal
interj	interjection
Intro.	Introduction
invar	invariable (i.e., uninflected)
iron.	ironic
It	Italian
(J)	Jewish (dialect of Arabic/Aramaic)
Jab	Jabali
JAram	Jewish Aramaic
Jer	Jerusalem
JMAr	Jewish Middle Arabic
Jubb'ad	Jubb'adin
Ka'b	Ka'biye
Känd	Känderib
Kfar'ab	Kfar'abida
Khäb	Khäbüra
Kirk	Kirkuk
Koy Sanj	Koy Sanjaq
Lat	Latin
Leban Ar	Lebanese Arabic

LFr	Lingua Franca
m	masculine
(M)	Muslim dialect of Arabic
MAr	Middle Arabic
Ma'd	Ma'dän
Ma'l	Ma'lüla
Malt	Maltese
Mand	Mandaic
Mang	Mangesh
Mard	Mardin
Mhall	Mhallami
MLA	Modern Literary Arabic
Mlah	Mlahsö
MMAr	Muslim Middle Arabic
Mod Gk	Modern Greek
Mor Ar	Moroccan Arabic
Mos	Mosul
MPers	Middle Persian
Neo-Aram	Neo-Aramaic
n un	<i>nomen unitatis</i>
nv	<i>nomen vicis</i>
OA	Old Arabic
obsol	obsolete
OFr	Old French
Om	Oman
Pal Ar	Palestinian Arabic
Palm	Palmyra (Tadmor)
pass	passive voice
Pers	Persian
Port	Portuguese
poss	possessive
pp	perfect participle
prep	preposition
pron	pronoun/pronominal
Qalam	Qalamün
Qaraq	Qaraqosh
Qart	Qartmîn
Qäll	Qälläb
refl	reflexive (verb)
rur	rural
Ša'd	Ša'dah
Samar Aram	Samaritan Aramaic
S Arab	South Arabian
Sic	Sicilian
Sp	Spanish
suppl	suppletive
Sux	Suxne (Soukhne)
Syr	Syria(n)
t	transitive
Tart	Tartüs
temp	temporal
Tk	Turkish
topon	toponym
Tur	Turoyo

Uzbek	Uzbekistan
v	verb
vn	verbal noun
o	enclose orthographic representations
//	enclose phonological representations
	enclose phonetic representations
<	= derives etymologically from/yields
<=>	= derives synchronically from/yields
┌	= see entry in glossary
-	= cognate/dialectal variant

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	<i>Asian and African Studies</i>
AF	<i>Altorientalische Forschung</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AL	<i>Anthropological Linguistics</i>
AO	<i>Archivum Ottomanicum</i>
AOr	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i>
AP	<i>Accounts and Papers</i>
ARA	<i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i>
ASJ	<i>Arab Studies Journal</i>
BALM	<i>Bolletino dell'Atlante Linguistico del Mediterraneo</i>
BA	<i>Beiträge zur Assyriologie</i>
BEO	<i>Bulletin d'Études Orientales</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BO	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BVKSGWL	<i>Berichte über die Verhandlung der Kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Leipzig</i>
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CELR	<i>Concise Encyclopedia of Language and Religion</i>
CL	<i>Cognitive Linguistics</i>
CO	<i>Classical Outlook</i>
CQ	<i>Cahiers de Qumran</i>
CRGLECS	<i>Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques</i>
DI	<i>Der Islam</i>
ECA	<i>Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology</i>
ECQ	<i>Eastern Churches Quarterly</i>
EI	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i>
EJ	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i>
ET	<i>Expository Times</i>
FA	<i>Foreign Affairs</i>
FO	<i>Folia Orientalia</i>
HEI	<i>History of European Ideas</i>
HK	<i>Humboldt Kosmos</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ID	<i>Italia Dialettale</i>
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
IJSL	<i>International Journal of the Sociology of Language</i>

IOS	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of the Hellenic Society</i>
IL	<i>Journal of Linguistics</i>
JMedS	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Studies</i>
JMS	<i>Journal of Maltese Studies</i>
JMGS	<i>Journal of Modern Greek Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNWSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
JP	<i>Journal of Pragmatics</i>
JPOS	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i>
ISAJ	<i>Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LL	<i>La Linguistique</i>
LF	<i>Langue Française</i>
LM	<i>Le Muséon</i>
MedLR	<i>Mediterranean Language Review</i>
MSLP	<i>Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris</i>
MSOS	<i>Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen</i>
MUSJ	<i>Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph</i>
NT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OrChr	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OM	<i>Oriente Moderno</i>
OEANE	<i>The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Archaeology in the Near East</i>
OEMIW	<i>The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Modern Islamic World</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RIM	<i>Rassegna italiana del Mediterraneo</i>
PLASH	<i>Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities</i>
ROL	<i>Revue de l'Orient Latin</i>
RMMM	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
RQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBNN	<i>Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica</i>
SJA	<i>Southeastern Journal of Anthropology</i>
StOr	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
SQA	<i>Studies in Qumran Aramaic</i>
TE	<i>The Expositor</i>
TPhS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
UBHJ	<i>University of Birmingham Historical Journal</i>
WI	<i>Welt des Islams</i>
WZEMAUG	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Ernst Moritz Arndt-Universität Greifswald</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZAL	<i>Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik</i>
ZAVG	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Verwandte Gebiete</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

ZDVP	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZRPh	<i>Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie</i>
ZSVG	<i>Zeitschrift für Semitistik und Verwandte Gebiete</i>

FOREWORD

It is high time for a social history of
language, a social history of speech, ...
(Burke/Porter 1987:1)

The object of the present research is the word-stock of a special Arabic vernacular spoken natively by a community of about 1300 Cypriot Maronite Christians, whose traditional home is the village of Kormakiti (Tk *Korucam*, since 1975)¹ situated close to the island's northwestern littoral, six and a half miles southeast of Cape Kormakiti. Cyprus lies approximately 65 km south of Anatolia and about 110 km west of the Syrian coast.²

With the appearance of this work I redeem a promise of two decades ago to follow up my linguistic study on the sound system and accident of Cy[priot] A[rabic] (Borg 1985) with an etymological glossary. This new investigation is based on field work conducted in the early eighties and, more recently, in the summer of 2000, among speakers of this vernacular residing in Nicosia.

The glossary has been prepared with two kinds of readership in mind: firstly, professional Arabists and orientalists and, secondly, lay readers, in particular, native speakers of CyA who, like other ethno-

¹ In the aftermath of the Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus in August 1974, most of the Maronite community on the island abandoned its traditional homesteads: the villages of Kormakiti, Asómatos, Aghia Marina, and Karpásha, in the north of the island and resettled south of the 1974 armistice lines, mainly in the Greek sector of Nicosia, in Larnaca and Limassol. Apparently some 140 Maronites still reside in Kormakiti. Maronites from villages other than Kormakiti are monolingual speakers of Greek. The entire Cypriot Maronite community comprises about 6000 persons. The other main ethnic groups on the island are the Turks, the Armenians, and the Latins. The total population of Cyprus is 666,800.

² Cypriot Arabic is the outcome of migration of Arabic speakers from the north-eastern littoral of the Mediterranean. The proximity of Cyprus to this region rendered it since antiquity "the meeting place of two cultures" (Cook 1962:63) and also had a profound impact on its cultural history. Thus Frazer (1914:22) notes that "the island of Cyprus lies but one day's sail from the coast of Syria," and Grant (1969:62) observes that "Cyprus can be seen from the Cilician and Syrian coasts." Wace/Stubbings (1962: 279-80) also state: "its numerous small harbours form an important stage in the coasting route from Egypt to the Aegean."

religious groups with a special language, evince a strong attachment to their native idiom³ and a profound curiosity about it as a 'chronicle' of their ethnic past.⁴ Thus while my primary objective here is to present new source material that extends our knowledge of CyA and, I trust, also further clarifies the affiliations of this intriguing Arabic vernacular within the geolinguistic continuum of Eastern Arabic, I nurture the hope that this work will also find some resonance within the Cypriot Maronite community itself.

Arabic vernaculars spoken outside the Arab countries: Maltese, certain varieties of S E Anatolian Arabic, and the Arabic colloquials of Central Asia and Central Africa—often designated collectively as 'peripheral Arabic' in the technical literature—have several claims to the historical linguist's attention since they typically represent the outcome of highly idiosyncratic sociohistorical and cultural processes invariably entailing, among other differential factors, prolonged contact with neighbouring foreign languages.

Autonomous development and the cumulative formal impact of extraneous influences have affected these vernaculars' linguistic typologies and cultural content, raising the issue of their formal status within the Arabic dialect family. The most salient outcome of their speaker communities' geographical displacement and independent linguistic evolution is a complete break in the chain of mutual intelligibility between them and native speakers of mainstream Arabic. Logically, diaspora offshoots of colloquial Arabic are today best regarded as distinct languages rather than extensions or 'fossilized' relics of mainstream Arabic. By the same token, basic research on peripheral Arabic ideally calls for an essentially historical and comparative approach reconstructing the specific developmental pathway traversed in each case.⁵

³ The Kormakiti Maronites have no special glottonym for their vernacular and refer to it simply as *sanna* 'our language' (< Ar *lisānna*), though they sometimes designate it by the CyG term *arāpika*. On the phonetics of the CyA term, see under *lsn*.

⁴ Research on peripheral Arabic invariably raises the question of historical and ethnic origins. Throughout my fieldwork on CyA, I was frequently asked by my informants: "Can you tell us where we came from?" The Cypriot Maronites' curiosity about their homeland and the timelessness of their self-perception as a group underscores the vital role of their vernacular in defining their ethnic space.

⁵ In the case of Maltese, for instance, autonomous evolution has resulted in the birth of a locally inspired, indigenous literature that owes virtually nothing to the literary Arabic tradition.

In Borg (1994:42–3), I proposed three criteria for defining peripheral Arabic colloquials:

- (a) geographical and cultural isolation from the Arab countries;
- (b) a history of language contact that has substantially altered the medieval profiles of these vernaculars, rendering them virtually unintelligible to modern native speakers of Arabic;
- (c) linguistic acculturation predominantly to one specific foreign language with substitution of the Arabic version of monolingual diglossia (W. Marçais 1930; Ferguson 1959, 1991; Diem 1974; Niehoff-Panagiotidis 1994:511f) by a situation of stable bilingualism (or multilingualism). Thus speaker competence in peripheral Arabic entails some knowledge of foreign languages (Greek in the case of CyA; English—replacing Italian, the former language of culture—in that of Maltese; Turkish in the Anatolian Arabic area, etc.).⁶

With respect to the third criterion, the bilingualism of the Kormakiti community entails, in effect, native-like control of CyA and Greek in one or more of its forms: the local variety of Cy[priot] G[reek], the urban *koiné* radiating from Nicosia, and mainland *dhimotiki*, the latter being perceived by Cypriots as the hallmark of an educated Greek (Argyrou 1996:51). Thus the sociolinguistic situation of the Kormakiti Maronites differs radically from that typifying mainstream Arabic colloquials since it involves, in essence, the 'grafting' of their bilingualism on to the Cypriot version of Greek diglossia or, more accurately, triglossia.⁷

Despite their evolutionary drift away from mainland congeners, peripheral varieties of colloquial Arabic often retain an areal 'stamp' rendering possible a definition of their affiliations within the Arabic *Sprachraum*. An intriguing research objective in analytical work on these disparate language systems is that of identifying their speakers' likely *Urheimat* in the Arab countries, examining their internal and

⁶ Standard Italian was the language of culture in the Maltese Islands until the outbreak of World War II, oddly, throughout approximately 150 years of British colonial rule. (On the use of Italian in Malta, see Parlange 1969). These situations are ultimately destined to lead to language shift away from Arabic. Jastrow (1969:683) reported that Turkish is gradually replacing other languages in the Mardin province. The extent and source of borrowing in Central Asian Arabic has yet to be studied in detail, but see the useful sociolinguistic survey of Afghanistan Arabic in Kieffer (1980), and Ingham's study of Tadjik and Uzbek interference in this vernacular (1994:107f).

⁷ Newton (1983:55) has presented the case for triglossia in the Cypriot Greek situation.

external histories, and reconstructing plausible sociocultural scenarios relating these innovative offshoots of colloquial Arabic to native varieties of the language (cf. Jastrow 1995b, 1997b, and 1998 on diffusional aspects of Central Asian Arabic).

Singer (1974:52), the first attempt at placing CyA on the Eastern Arabic dialect map, espoused the following view:

Die Sprache von Kormakiti ist eine Mundart des syrisch-arabischen, genauer des libanesischen Dialekts.

Like other scholars who have commented on the origins of CyA (e.g., Boustani 1951; Cowan 1966:417, cited in Kaye 1986:212; Fischer/Jastrow 1980:29), Singer was misled by its speakers' Maronite confessional affiliation and ascribed to it in *a priori* fashion a Lebanese provenance. Actually, a decisive moment for the researcher is the realization that CyA displays, in a highly systematic fashion, the *Umlaut* (i.e., vocally conditioned) variety of the *imāla* vowel shift: OA *kilāb* 'dogs' > CyA *klep*, but OA *nām* 'he slept' > CyA *nam* (cf. Borg 1985:54f)—a diagnostic trait showing unequivocally that CyA could hardly be an offshoot of Lebanese Arabic *tout court* since, as is well known, the latter dialect area has exclusively the consonantly conditioned version of this sound shift.⁸ Furthermore, as will be indicated below, CyA exemplifies, along with this quintessentially *qaltu* shibboleth,⁹ several additional features also attested exclusively in parts of S E Anatolia, Northern Syria, and Mesopotamia.

Significantly, for chronological and areal aspects of CyA, this historical stratum of colloquial Arabic is "spoken by old sedentary populations only" (Blanc 1964a:160) and continues "die ursprüngliche Sprachform des ganzen Zweistromlands" (Fischer/Jastrow 1980:26), replacing Aramaic.¹⁰

⁸ It is evident from previous research that both varieties of the *imāla*, i.e., the vocally and the consonantly conditioned types, are old, the latter being, for instance, amply attested in medieval Sicilian Arabic and in Maltese (cf. Isserlin 1977).

⁹ The designation *qaltu*-dialect was coined by Blanc (1964) on the basis of the Perfect of the verb *qāl*, for which this dialect group shows the 1st pers. form *qaltu* 'I said'. Blanc portrayed the distinctiveness, inner unity, and historical import of the *qaltu* dialect continuum "that stretches from the Persian Gulf along and between the Tigris and the Euphrates nearly up to the very sources of the two rivers on the Anatolian plateau" (p. 5). Subsequent work on Arabic dialects in S E Turkey, Syria, and N Iraq conducted principally by Otto Jastrow (1973a, 1978, 1981, etc.) further documented and elucidated the structure of this dialect type.

¹⁰ See Spencer Trimmingham (1979:156f) on the historical interaction between these languages in Babylonia "the region between the lower reaches of the two rivers

My previous comparative and historical study of CyA, undertaken against the background of Eastern Arabic (Borg 1985) threw into relief the unexpected *aperçu* of this dialect's areal and historical affiliations with the *qaltu* dialect continuum, and spelled out their significance for mainland colloquial Arabic. It outlined in a fairly nuanced fashion the hybrid areal profile of CyA, which shows along with S E Anatolian traits, a number of salient features typifying sedentary Arabic dialects in 'Greater Syria' and Egypt, e.g., a reflex of the Imperfect marker *b-* (Borg 1985:76).

If an early formation can be hypothesized for CyA (and this view has much to be said for it—e.g., unique Aramaic substrata; see §V below), the areally hybrid character of CyA may possibly hold the key to some important issues relating to the early history of a *Sprachlandschaft* stretching from S E Anatolia, across N Syria and Mesopotamia, on the one hand, and embracing the Arabic dialects of Greater Syria, on the other, such as:

- (i) the origins and chronology of the dialectal boundary dividing the Arabic vernaculars of Greater Syria from the *qaltu* and/or *qetel* colloquials (cf. Fischer/Jastrow 1980:26);¹¹
- (ii) the putative existence of mediaeval regional *koinés* of Eastern Arabic crosscutting later geolinguistic borders;¹² and
- (iii) the formal continuities obtaining between Aramaic and the sedentary Arabic dialects of the region.

Diachronic issues constitute the kernel of the present work. The state of the art in Arabic dialect research is highly propitious for this line of inquiry since intensive fieldwork recently effectuated in several parts of the Arabic-speaking world has yielded a great deal of fresh data on dialectal landscapes that were formerly either poorly known or not at all, inviting systematic inquiry into the evolution of colloquial

south of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, together with the mainland west and south-west of the Euphrates" (p. 152).

¹¹ The term *qetel* is also Blanc's (p. c., 1983) and refers to Arabic dialects showing principally the *Umlaut* variety of the *imāla* but not necessarily other diagnostic features typifying the *qaltu* group as a whole. CyA is such a vernacular.

¹² In one important respect, CyA closely replicates the sociohistorical position of Maltese with regard to a different part of the Arabic *Sprachraum*: the Maghribi dialectal continuum, since this isolated vernacular of Arabic renders possible the reconstruction of the mediaeval stage of North African sedentary Arabic, that is, preceding the arrival in the 11th century of the Banū Hilāl and, subsequently, of other Arabian nomads to this region (cf. Colin 1931:7).

Arabic and the processes that have yielded the contemporary dialectal divisions of the Arabic *Sprachraum*. Most importantly, for the present research, this new literature comprises linguistic atlases and descriptive studies for dialect regions encompassing the northeastern reaches of the Mediterranean littoral in the immediate vicinity of Cyprus: Syria (Behnstedt 1997), Çukurova (Procházka 2002), Hatay (Arnold 1998), and S E Anatolia (Jastrow 1978, 1981). Of special interest in this respect, is recent work on Arabic vernaculars spoken in the Qalamun area—a centre of radiation of Aramaic substratal features (Arno/Behn 1993).

The diachronic assessment of this new documentation remains a major task for future research since the ruling paradigm in Arabic dialectology is committed almost exclusively to data-gathering. This scientific orientation is understandable given the urgency of field work at a time when traditional dialects and dialect boundaries in the Arab world are undergoing rapid change under the impact of urbanization (Holes 1995), demographic factors, and the expansion of an essentially Muslim brand of militant Arabism (Cragg 1991:9) conducive to the "disappearance of most past legacies in a wide area of the utmost diversity in languages, ethnicities, cultures, and religions" (Bashear 1997:113).¹³

In the last analysis, however, "to remove the historical dimension from the study of language would have consequences as serious as removing the historical dimension from the study of man" (Watkins 1989:785). Above all, in the specific case of Arabic, systematic application of the diachronic method is a long overdue corrective to the virtually ahistorical perspective implicit in the Arab philological tradition (cf. Blanc 1979; Edzard 2001:325) and in a pan-Arab modern *Weltanschauung* that ascribes serious cultural status almost exclusively to the literary language.¹⁴

¹³ The social and historical background to this trend has been surveyed in Strothmann (1934), and, more recently, in Ye'or (1991). The situation of Eastern Christian communities continues to be highly critical (cf. Rieck 2000).

¹⁴ In the western grammatical tradition too, "earlier reliance on written languages ... eventually threatened to become an impediment to the further development of linguistic science" (Haas 1978:223). How true this is of native attitudes to Arabic can be gauged from the 'modernist' position, for instance, in the work of Abbās Mahmūd al-'Aqqād (d. 1964) who, viewing the linguistic study of Arabic from the disciplinary perspective of the "the modern, scientific study of Indo-Germanic languages," saw fit to extol, above all, the antiquity, and hence, nobility of the Arabic language, which is "as old as the Indo-Germanic languages, if not older"! (Eisele 2001:49).

In the interests of a humanistic, as opposed to a purely taxonomic dialectology,¹⁵ I have here departed somewhat from the prosaic style of conventional Arabic dialect research, my main concern being to portray Cypriot Maronite Arabic against a diversified conceptual framework highlighting its speakers' linguistic, historical, cultural, and ethno-religious continuities with contemporary Arabic- and Aramaic-speaking Christians in 'Greater Syria,' S E Anatolia, and Mesopotamia. Furthermore, given the co-existence of CyA and Cy[priote] G[reek] for well over a millenium, diachronic research on this Arabic vernacular can potentially also cast some light on communal aspects of Cypriot linguistic and cultural history.¹⁶ It is my hope that the various strands of information—lexical, historical, cultural, etc.—presented here add up to a unified whole exceeding the sum of the parts.

A trail-blazing work that elegantly combines traditional Arabic philology with modern linguistic science—incidentally, yielding dividends for Arabic dialectology—is Haim Blanc's programmatic and brilliantly incisive exposé, *Communal Dialects in Baghdad* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964). It has rarely been noted that Blanc's eclectic methodology not only represented for its time an innovative synthesis of American structuralism and comparative linguistics in the European tradition; it also achieved a remarkable breakthrough in diachronic work on spoken Arabic by fully demonstrating, for the first time in the discipline of Arabic linguistics, a clear case of historical continuity between a

¹⁵ This distinction invites research on colloquial Arabic (a) as a discrete orientalist field of enquiry and not merely a replica of approaches and methods developed for Western dialect study; (b) in an ideological framework broad enough to prove relevant to sister disciplines: mainstream Arabic and Semitic philology, general linguistics, and Middle Eastern ethnography. Visualized here is a study transcending immediate concern for compiling folktexts, data gathering, and establishing the areal distribution and implicational relationships of sound rules, grammatical, and lexical (dis)continuities. Above all, formal and comparative aspects of lexical and semantic traits gain in sharpness when appropriate historical and sociocultural scenarios are brought to bear.

¹⁶ For a recent historical study of Cypriot Greek, see Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994: 352–433). Research on the Arabic dialect of Kormakiti can elucidate yield earlier phases of language contact between Greek and Arabic in Cyprus, thereby contributing to a sharper recognition of the island's highly stratified linguistic and cultural history to a sharper recognition of the island's highly stratified linguistic and cultural history concomitant with its geographical position between Europe and the Middle East (cf. Métral *et al.* 1996). For instance, meanings of native CyA terms untypical of Arabic may simply be calques on older forms of Greek; note, for instance, CyA *varka* 'leaf, paper, book' < OA *waraqā* 'leaf, paper'; the meaning 'book' here invites comparison with Cargèse Greek *xartí* 'leaf, book' (Messing 1954:281). On the conservatism of marginal Greek dialects, cf. Rohlfs (1973).

modern dialect type—the aforementioned *qeltu* dialect continuum—and its mediaeval antecedent “spoken by the urban population (both Muslim and non-Muslim) of Abbasid Iraq” (Blanc 1964a:166).

Blanc’s study of Baghdadi Arabic created a paradigm within Arabic linguistics,¹⁷ not least, because it set awesome standards of scholarship. Research into the evolution of colloquial Arabic, as visualized by Blanc, ventures beyond analysis of linguistic data and takes within its ambit pertinent factors of sociopolitical history (cf. *op. cit.*, 167–171).¹⁸ Thus the circumstance that certain salient dialectal isoglosses distinguishing the contemporary Mesopotamian-Anatolian *qeltu* continuum from other varieties of Eastern Arabic (Lebanese, Palestinian, etc.)—such as the aforementioned *Umlaut* version of the *imāla* shift—extend to Northern Syria and align certain sedentary Arabic dialects in that region, notably Aleppine, with the *qeltu* group is worthy of note. It finds a suggestive echo in Mustafa Akdag’s statement “that Aleppo had severed its political and economic links to the rest of Syria to the point that it was an extension of Anatolia in the Ottoman period” (cited in Masters 1992:12).¹⁹ From the areal and diachronic perspectives afforded by the present research, this point gains somewhat in sharpness and historical depth since the widely cast areal affiliations of CyA extending across S E Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Greater Syria intimate that this geolinguistic profile can probably be assumed to date back to the pre-Ottoman period and, possibly, to the centuries preceding the Crusades (Borg 1985:150f).

Major preoccupation with a peripheral Arabic colloquial is not new in the history of Arabic dialectology. Interestingly, one of the

¹⁷ Cf. the numerous studies on S Anatolian, Mesopotamian, and Syrian Arabic that have appeared its wake (see bibliography).

¹⁸ Oddly scholars dealing with the social history of the populations of the Middle East and North Africa rarely advert to the closely interrelated issues of language, ethnicity, and culture in their study of the populations of these regions. Remarkably few scholars pursuing this discipline avail themselves of the rich linguistic documentation that has become available for different parts of the Arab world. Among social anthropologists of this region, Eickelman (1998) presents a notable exception to this general disinterest in language issues.

¹⁹ Note, for instance, the S E Anatolian *qeltu* [ǧim] in Aleppine. For a revealing study of dialect contact within Egypt, see Woidich (1997). It may be meaningful to apply to *Sprachlandschaften* Ulf Hannerz’s maxim to the effect that “cultures are by definition linked primarily to interactions and social relationships, and only indirectly and without logical necessity to particular areas in physical space” (1990:239).

earliest modern contributions to the field was Wilhelm Gesenius’ 1810 essay on Maltese countering tendentious views on the genetic origins of this language advanced in a doctoral dissertation by J. Bellerman (Berlin 1809). This now anachronistic but long-lived polemic with its specific *Problematik*²⁰ highlights a fascination in the German linguistic scene of the time with the theoretically and diachronically challenging *Randgebiet* of the Arabic language area, oddly before the latter had itself become the object of systematic study.

Subsequent research on spoken Arabic tended to adopt a simultaneously synchronic and diachronic approach. This trend was set in Wilhelm Spitta’s *Grammatik des Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten* (1880)—“ouvrage remarquable qui est en somme la première description scientifique d’un parler arabe” (Cantineau 1960:264)—and followed in several major works by the French school: Marcel Cohen (1912), William Marçais (1902, 1911), Jean Cantineau (1934, 1946), Gilbert Boris (1951, 1958), David Cohen (1963, 1964, 1975), etc.

In a structuralist modality, Arabic dialectology underwent a shift of focus becoming, in the process, a distinctly synchronic discipline:

Dialectology is often defined plainly as the study of one or more synchronic non-standard language systems (regional dialects, sometimes also regiolects) which form part of a more encompassing set of varieties, usually a diasystem. The term ‘diasystem’ stands for the complete set of varieties (diachronic as well as diatopic-synchronic) supposed to derive from one ancestor; often a restriction is added in the sense that such a diasystem also presupposes a common standard language covering all synchronic varieties. (De Schutter 1995:234)

If one adopts this last stricture in relation to the Arabic *Sprachgebiet*, the study of ‘peripheral’ Arabic vernaculars like CyA becomes somewhat tangential to conventional dialectology since, as can be inferred from the foregoing remarks, the concept of a diasystem “presupposing a common standard language covering all synchronic varieties” and that of ‘diglossia,’ as commonly discussed in relation to contemporary spoken Arabic, are both inapplicable to these peripheral vernaculars.

Recent theoretical approaches to language study are critical of the Saussurean dichotomy between synchrony and diachrony (“Synchronic linguistics is unacceptable on both empirical and theoretical grounds”; Bailey 1992:141). Peripheral Arabic vernaculars with their distinctive structural profiles invite a holistic methodological approach that is both descriptive and historical.

²⁰ On the question of the genetic origins of the language, see Stumme (1904, *passim*), and Nöldeke (1904).

Theoretical issues apart, the primary focus of a glossary is the *word*. The implicit word histories emerging from the etymological and comparative data cited throughout this work etch for CyA an 'evolutionary narrative' whose implications are set out in the introduction, where the main sociohistorical factors that have affected this vernacular's lexicon are surveyed in some detail.

Linguistic theory postulates a correlation between the size of a speech community and that of its lexicon (Witkowski/Burris 1981; Witkowski 1996:221). Given the smallness of the Kormakiti group and the non-existence of extensive written sources in its vernacular, the CyA lexicon understandably falls short by a wide statistical margin of that retained by Arabic speakers on the mainland (observe, for instance, the rich word-stock recorded for Aleppine in Barthélemy 1935-1954). It is my intuitive impression that the inventory of about 2000 CyA terms included in the present work comprises a substantial portion of the Arabic-based lexical component in the usage of fluent speakers of this vernacular. However, I make no pretence here to having attained anything like near-complete lexical coverage since the relatively restricted gamut of active vocabulary surfacing in conversational routines (cf. Cheepen 1988) of CyA speakers almost certainly veils a richer passive competence, especially among older speakers, that the field linguist must deftly endeavour to tap. Eliciting a hitherto unrecorded word or idiomatic usage that this language inherited from Old Arabic or, especially, an unsuspected Aramaism, affords the researcher the rare satisfaction of having salvaged yet one more telltale item of comparative data towards a future global study of the Eastern Arabic lexicon.

Arabic vernaculars and their speaker communities have yet to become the object of systematic cultural study. In his foreword to the second edition of Leonhard Bauer's *Das Palästinische Arabisch: die Dialekte des Städtlers und des Fellachen* [1910], Gustaf Dalman wrote:

Das Neuarabische, wie es in den verschiedenen Dialekten in Palästina gesprochen wird, hat eine einzigartige Bedeutung durch den Boden, dem es angehört. Die darin etwa enthaltenen Nachwirkungen des ehemals in Palästina gesprochenen Aramäischen sind dabei minder bedeutsam als die Tatsache, daß diese Sprache den Schlüssel zu einem Volksleben bietet, in welchem auf ehrwürdigem Schauplatz in noch immer wenig veränderten Verhältnissen eine uralte Geschichte sich fortsetzt. (p. IV)

The Cypriot Maronites, whose historical links to the source of their special brand of Eastern Christianity on the adjacent mainland set them apart from their Greek Orthodox neighbours, also represent

quintessentially a case of memory sustaining identity; hence the importance of their native Arabic idiom as a key to the *Weltanschauung* behind the coherence and integrity that enabled them to survive as a discrete ethnolinguistic community, apparently with minimal institutional support outside their Church.

The cultural profile emerging from the CyA lexicon is that of a Christian community bound to the soil, continuing in a Cypriot context a rustic life-style probably not profoundly different in character from that of its Arabic- and Aramaic-speaking forbears on the mainland. Thus, traditional agricultural, pastoral, and religious nomenclature as well as its semantic categorization in CyA ultimately evoke Aramaic *Sprachgut*, sometimes mediating earlier Semitic strata (cf. Intro., §V).

CyA is an endangered language. Its impending obsolescence threatens to bring to a close a millennial 'life cycle'²¹ of language use and cultural creativity in a village community that retained its distinctiveness and authenticity until its recent urbanization. This profoundly human aspect of CyA finds close parallels in other Mediterranean island communities. Jaffe (1998:3) has, for instance, highlighted the fact that among speakers of Corsican,

village life was important both as a kind of Corsican experience and as a locus of meaning for Corsicans themselves ... In a general way, these limits on experience have contributed to the way that very local attachments to place have characterized Corsicans' experiences of and ideas about being and speaking Corsican.

The multifaceted scientific and human dimensions presented by the Arabic dialect of Cyprus lends to the prospect of its possibly proximate demise the proportions of a major cultural setback transcending the immediate disciplinary horizons of Arabic dialectology and Semitics.

From linguistic and philological viewpoints, the upshot of the present study is that the Arabic-speaking Cypriot Maronites of Kormakiti are heirs to a complex cultural synthesis drawing on Aramaic, Arabic, and Greek.²² The character of CyA as the locus of interaction between these major linguistic and cultural systems is undoubtedly a key factor rendering this 'small' language a topic of major academic interest to

²¹ The life metaphor is often applied to language as in Saussure (1983 ed.: 229); note also Wittgenstein's adage that "speaking a language is a form of life" (1966, *passim*) and the interpretations of this statement in Hunter (1986).

²² All three languages are used in the liturgy of the Cypriot Maronites; see the Intro., §II.

research into colloquial Arabic and into the linguistic history of the Eastern Mediterranean.

For the student of Cypriot cultural history, the intriguing linguistic profile of its long-lived Maronite community constitutes a significant chapter on the island's receptivity to orientalizing influences.

INTRODUCTION

While it is good and commendable to record and document fading traditions, and in some cases this is absolutely necessary to avert total loss of cultural wealth, the greater goal must be that of safe-guarding diversity in the world of people.

Ken Hale (1992:1)

PRELIMINARIES

The presence of a distinct, confessionally defined, Arabic-speaking community in Cyprus can be visualized as part of a language mosaic that some scholars characterize as a diffusional network contributing, in one view, to the "linguistic and cultural unity of the Mediterranean" (Kahane/Kahane/Tietze 1958:VII). In effect, this highly heterogeneous human landscape provides the scholar with a unique 'laboratory' for comparative, typological, and ethnographic research on the languages of this region:

Within the borderlines of the national states, the Mediterranean characteristically hosts numerous small groups marked by a specific social structure with its linguistic expression. To illustrate with a few cases taken from Greece: relic areas such as Tsakonian, in Peloponnesus, continuing ancient Laconian; nomads, such as the Saracatsans in the central mountain regions; frontier areas, exemplified by the Greeks and Albanians in S. Albania; ethnic minorities, such as the Gypsies; enclaves, such as those of the Meglenites in northern Greece; terminal languages such as Judeo-Spanish in Salonica (Kahane 1979). Cases like these constitute the spectrum of a sociolinguistic typology. (Kahane/Kahane 1983:8)

Typically, the diversified linguistic and cultural ecology of the Mediterranean *Kulturgebiet* includes a considerable number of small communities speaking languages that survived in relative or complete isolation from their parent stocks, such as Greek, Albanian, Catalan, and Franco-Provençal in southern Italy;¹ Greek in Corsica (Blanken

¹ See Rohlf's (1974) on Greek, Blasco Ferrer (1984) on Catalan, Kattenbusch (1982) on Franco-Provençal, and Orioles (2003:63f) on Albanian. The state of linguistic minorities in Italy has been surveyed in Grassi (1977:51-2), Piroalli (1981), Ajello (1984), and Telmon (1992). On minority language groups located in their traditional habitats, cf. Beck (1994) for Spain and Schlieben-Lange (1977) for France.

1951);² Judeo-Spanish (Judezmo) spoken until recently in the Balkans, Turkey, and Israel; Neo-Aramaic in Syria, S E Anatolia, and Israel;³ and highly evolved and diversified varieties of peripheral Arabic in S E Anatolia, Cyprus, and Malta.⁴

The character of these communities as relatively autonomous ethnocultural and/or religious enclaves renders their native languages potential repositories of unique linguistic *Weltanschauungen* or 'semantic worlds' (cf. Steiner 1977:232; Hale 1992) inviting individual study as microcosms in their own right. Furthermore, the empirical salience attaching to the special sociocultural and historical backgrounds of these 'small languages' affords the linguist an ideal opportunity for elaborating descriptive models that bridge over the "sense of distance between linguistic scholarship and language reality" (Crystal 1995:86). Above all, the deleterious impact of globalization on small language communities in this region makes the documentation of their native idioms a particularly urgent research objective.

The appeal, for the diachronist, of investigating linguistic systems such as CyA and Maltese,⁵ stems in part from the circumstance that, though language is "both imposed and constructed, both a set of constraints and a field of freedom" (Hagège 1993:38), these peripheral

² The Greek vernacular spoken since the 15th century in Cargèse (Corsica) may now be extinct (cf. Messing 1954). On Greek-speaking communities in the diaspora, see Drettas (1986-7).

³ See Bergsträßer (1921), Spitaler (1938), Arnold (1989, 1990, 1990a, 1991, 1991a), and Arno/Behn; Ritter (1967, 1969), Jastrow (1967), and Hollerweger (1999).

⁴ On Arabic in S E Turkey, see the bibliography under Jastrow, Arnold, and Procházka. Some minority languages in the Mediterranean and the Near East have, to be sure, survived without a territorial base (e.g., Judeo-Spanish); others, like Neo-Aramaic in S E Turkey, are in the process of losing their territoriality with the progressive shrinkage of their speaker community through emigration (Anschütz 1989:460) and natural processes. The CyA speech community has also been displaced, possibly permanently, from its traditional habitat—the village of Kormakiti—in the wake of Greek-Turkish hostilities and the Turkish invasion and occupation of N Cyprus. This traumatic event in the island's recent history with its likely fatal consequences for its unique Arabic vernacular underscores, among other things, the fragility of this region's linguistic ecology.

⁵ Sociocultural and evolutionary parallels/divergences common to Maltese and CyA have been adumbrated in Borg (1994). The convergent pathways traversed by these two erstwhile Arabic vernaculars render them (and other Semitic dialects on the geocultural periphery of this language family, e.g., Neo-Aramaic; Kapeliuk 1989, 1996), a significant theoretical topic in comparative linguistics. Incidentally, both languages show salient Mediterranean features such as word iteration (Stolz 2003 and §IXg below); the narrative imperative may also be such a trait (Blanc 1970a:140; Palva 1977). On the need for diachronic research on Mediterranean island communities, see Pisani (1976-7).

varieties of Arabic spoken in isolated, traditionally rural enclaves, untrammelled by monolithic societal monitoring (e.g., literary normativism, formalized register stratification, etc.), would seem to approximate more closely than their mainstream congeners the state of freely evolving systems. In the domain of phonology, for instance, an accelerated rate of change can be observed in marginal varieties of Arabic; thus the sound systems of Maltese and CyA yield distinctly more eventful scenarios and, for the linguistic observer, more challenging tasks in comparative grammar, than parallel structures in the mainstream Arabic dialects (cf. Borg 1985:11-74; 1994:48f).

Similarly, in the realm of sentence structure, it may be meaningful to test out the hypothesis that peripheral varieties of colloquial Arabic (i) employ a freer and more loosely organized constituent ordering in sentences (cf. Dahlgren 1998), and (ii) display features symptomatic of a discourse structure predominantly determined by pragmatic rather than purely syntactic principles. I here tentatively suggest that one instance of the latter trend—actualized in both CyA and Maltese—relates to the grammar of stative and translocative verbs followed by a nominal designating a place. Whereas most modern Arabic colloquials insert a directional or locative preposition after the verb here, both CyA and Maltese show less explicit grammaticalization of this formal relationship and ordinarily dispense with a particle:

CyA: *ana rex l-impakkál taštri peđ* 'I'm going to the grocer's to buy eggs'; *n-nes piruxu kull layle sala* 'every evening people go to vespers'; *ummi esket (< wqf) δ-δe'a* 'my mother stayed at the village'; *amma teipes maxxawšu u mannaxtu t-taxune* 'when it (the wheat) dries (in the sun), we gather it and take it to the mill'; *ruxu l-ixkali lákuon* 'go (pl) to the fields and find them!'; Malt (wasalna Londra) 'we arrived in London'; *giet id-dar* 'she came home'; *Hija joqghod il-Belt* 'my brother lives in Valletta.'

Significantly, retention of a pragmatic device for encoding this semantic function is also exemplified in several ancient Semitic languages such as Old Arabic and Biblical Hebrew, showing simple juxtaposition of the term designating the location or destination:

OA *'asīru l-qašda* 'ich gehe auf das Ziel los' (Brockelmann 1913:282); Heb *nēšē' has-sādeh* 'let us go into the field' (1 Sam. 20:11); *vayyābo'ū 'ereš kəna'an* 'and they came to the land of Canaan' (Gen. 45:25); *bo'ū šə'arāw bə-tōdā häserōtāw bi-təhillah* 'enter into his gates with thanksgiving!' (Ps. 100:4).⁶

⁶ On Old Arabic, see also Howell (1883:221f). As for Hebrew, note Nöldeke's remark that Biblical Hebrew "ist in wesentlichen Stücken, namentlich im Satzbau, sehr altertümlich" and particularly that "es fehlt dazu sehr an Partikeln" (1899:27).

Brockelmann (*op. cit.*, p. 282) characterized this usage as "in den neu-arabischen Dialekten noch ganz lebendig," for instance, in Cairene:

... in beschränkter Weise schon im altarab. gebräuchlich und häufiger im hebr. und aeth. werden im neuarabischen die Verben der Bewegung als einfach transitive angesehen und nehmen daher den Ort, nach welchem die Bewegung sich richtet, im einfachen Accusativ zu sich. Der Kürze wegen ist diese Construction bei weitem gebräuchlicher als die mit der Praeposition *li* oder *'ala*, welche auch vorkommt. (Spitta 1880:359).⁷

Examples:

werāh elfurn 'und er gieng nach dem Backofen'; *waddūhum elhukūme* 'sie führten sie nach der Polizei'; *gi eššātir Mehammed* 'er kam zum schlauen M.' (Spitta 1880:356, 359); *wi ruhtu skindiriyya zzāy? bil-ʔutubis walla bil-qatr?* 'and how did you (pl) go to Alexandria, by bus or by train?' (Harrell 1963:15.1).⁸

This trait would seem to constitute a noteworthy counterexample to a general trend whereby "analytical methods of expression have tended to replace synthetic procedures" (Saussure 1983 ed.: 228), e.g., the evolution of genitive particles in several modern colloquials or varieties of subclassical Arabic (cf. Blau 1965:78–90).

I. THE AIM AND SCOPE OF THIS GLOSSARY

In the present work I resume the descriptive analysis and historical investigation of CyA along roughly the same methodological lines as in my previous book (Borg 1985)—the aim here being to focus attention on the CyA lexicon in order to establish:

(a) the extent of continuity obtaining in the CyA word-stock with older strains of colloquial Arabic;

(b) the areal affiliations of CyA in the lexical domain with the dialects spoken by Arab sedentaries along the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean and the immediate hinterland; and

⁷ Since vernacular Arabic shows no case inflection, it may be more meaningful here to underscore the minimal grammaticalization actualized.

⁸ Significantly, most other attestations of this usage appear to be virtually confined to the Arabian Peninsula and to the *Randgebiet* of the Arabic dialect area: Naǧd *tabba l-Bahrān* 'il se dirigea vers B.'; Om *tāh il-meidān* 'er betrat den Kampflatz' (Brockelmann 1913:282f), and Anat Ar *yǧibu lbayt* 'Sie ... bringen sie nach Hause' (Jastrow 1981:194). In Palestinian Arabic dialects, that ordinarily require a preposition in this context, this trait sometimes survives in archaizing registers, e.g., in poetic and idiomatic usage and in folk narratives: *ya ǧāy qaryetna/ta'al min šamālha* 'O du, der in unser Dorf kommst, komm aus dem Norden' (Linder 1952:54), *bahibbiš šakīn matraho* 'ich möchte nicht in seinen Schuhen stecken' (Bau 266); *win-nās tāl'a min is-sala u qā'din bāb dārna* 'und die Leute kamen gerade vom Gebet. Sie saßen vor unserem Hause ...' (Schmidt/Kahle 1918: 1, 36).

(c) the source of relexification processes in CyA, such as the agency of Aramaic and/or older substrata, and the adstratal impact of Greek. At a practical level, this glossary should facilitate perusal of available folktexts and linguistic materials in this vernacular.

The lexical corpus presented here comprises over 720 CyA roots and their derivatives assembled both from casually recorded texts and, in more formal fashion, by eliciting translation equivalents, explanations, and illustrative sentences clarifying the meanings of individual terms. Wherever possible, lexical items have here been presented in context. Reflecting on the state of the art in Arabic lexicography in the early

seventies, David Cohen (1973:203) observed:

Carl Brockelmann ... y avait renoncé en mettant en cause les deux grandes lacunes de la sémitologie de son temps: l'absence d'un véritable dictionnaire de l'akkadien et celle d'un dictionnaire moderne, critique de l'arabe classique et des ses dialectes vivants. La situation a évolué partiellement pour ce qui concerne l'akkadien, l'arabe reste déficient surtout pour les dialectes, mais aussi pour les aspects historiques et étymologiques. (emphasis added)⁹

Significantly for the present work on the CyA lexicon, the researcher of Eastern Arabic has access to Barthélemy (1935–54) for Aleppine, Vocke/Waldner (1982) for Anatolian Arabic, Badawi/Hinds (1986) for Cairene, Behnstedt/Woidich (1994, 1999) for the dialects of rural Egypt, Piamenta (1990–1) for Yemenī Arabic, and Piamenta (2000) for Jewish Palestinian Arabic.

Nonetheless, historical and comparative study of the colloquial Arabic lexicon *in toto*, for instance, on a comprehensive scale comparable to that visualized in Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke's comprehensive *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* which sets for itself the following objective:

zur Darstellung gelangt der gesamte romanische Erbwortschatz soweit er lateinischen Ursprungs ist (p. vi).

remains, at the present time, a distant though most desirable research objective. This lacuna is largely ascribable to (a) the disciplinary dichotomy within Arabic language research between philology and linguistics also bedeviling the study of other Semitic languages (cf. Barr 1968; Bodine 1987; Kaufman 1996:279), and (b) the still insufficient dialectal coverage of the Arabic *Sprachraum*. Furthermore, of the available Arabic dialect dictionaries, several, such as those published

⁹ Cf. also Fück (1957), von Soden (1973), and Dombrowski (1984).

in the Georgetown University series, were conceived for practical and pedagogical purposes and are, on the whole, too limited in scope for serious comparative and historical research.

The present investigation has been undertaken in the belief that a lexicological inquiry into the evolution of dialectal Arabic should ideally also take within its purview the word-stocks of peripheral vernaculars of this language since these tend, not infrequently, to exemplify early developmental stages of colloquial Arabic yielding access to archaic usage no longer attested in the mainstream vernaculars, ultimately facilitating reconstruction of the chain of lexification linking modern Arabic vernaculars with their mediaeval antecedents (cf. pp. 31f).

Throughout the present work, the principal Arabic dialects selected for areal comparison are: Aleppine (representing N Syria), the vernaculars of S E Turkey, Palestinian, and Egyptian Arabic (Cairo and Upper Egypt). There is, as yet, no scientific lexical study available for the Lebanese colloquials apart from the material included in Denizéau (1960) and Feghali (1938). The aforementioned dialect areas show the most telling formal correlations with CyA. Whenever noteworthy parallels suggested themselves outside the immediate Eastern Arabic dialect continuum, especially in relation to cultural aspects of the Semitic lexicon, I have not hesitated to bring to bear material from other regions (Arabia, N Africa, etc.). Citations from my native language, Maltese, are intended to exemplify lexical usage in a highly analogous variety of peripheral Arabic.

Though lexical material for certain dialect areas of special relevance to this research (e.g., Lebanon) is sparse, the available literature renders feasible "die Beschaffung vergleichbaren Sprachmaterials" (Bergsträsser 1915:2) for the restricted scope of the present work. Nonetheless, given the currently undeveloped state of the comparative lexicology of dialectal Arabic, this study can only be designated as tentative.

II. COMMUNAL ASPECTS OF CYPRIOT ARABIC

The Maronite community is, as already noted, the largest religious minority in Cyprus; the other Christian groups comprise the Armenians and the Latins.¹⁰ This study of Cypriot Maronite Arabic deals,

¹⁰ The Turkish Cypriot Muslims have mostly migrated to the northern part of the island.

in effect, with the linguistic and cultural heritage of a small, though not insignificant, branch of Eastern Christianity (cf. Dib 1930). The socioreligious dimension of CyA invites study in two distinct disciplinary domains: (i) the interface between language and religion (cf. Sawyer/Simpson/Asher 2001) and (ii) the specific evolution of Christian Arabic (see §VI below).

In view of the confessional aspect of CyA, a few remarks on the ethnoreligious background of Arabic in Cyprus may be useful (see also §III below). A history of the Cypriot Maronites on the scale of J.Hackett's *magnum opus* on the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus has yet to be written; some general information on the history of this intriguing confessional group can be culled from Mas Latrie (1861), who ascribes to the Maronite settlement in Cyprus an early origin:¹¹

Toutes les considérations géographiques et historiques tendent à prouver qu'un rameau important de la nation s'était fixé en Chypre longtemps avant les Croisades. Son premier établissement pourrait remonter au VII^{ème} siècle sous Justinien II. Des familles maronites durent chercher un asile en Chypre dans les siècles suivants quand la Syrie fut bouleversée par les Arabes et par les Turcs. (p. 106)

Spuler (1964:197) postulated "... besonders anfangs des 9. Jh.s eine Fluchtbewegung, vor allem nach Kypern ..." of Christian refugees. Dib (1962:105) states:

La fixation des premiers groupes maronites en Chypre dut s'accomplir au IX^e siècle.¹² Mais les documents qui en affirment l'existence de façon positive datent de 1121, 1141 et 1154. Ils nous font connaître que, dans les premières années du douzième siècle, un monastère maronite, celui de Saint Jean de Kouzbande, était déjà bien établi dans cette île. Or, la construction d'un couvent dans une telle région, où les moines devaient vivre éloignés de leur centre ecclésiastique et national, ne s'expliquerait pas sans la présence d'une colonie de leurs fidèles ... Quoique qu'il en soit, les maronites y affluèrent en grand nombre à la suite des Croisés.

P.W. Edbury's history of the Kingdom of Cyprus during the Crusades states that the island

had been noted as a haven for refugees from Muslim advances from as early as the 1240s ... After the fall of Acre, the Templars and Hospitallers established their headquarters in the island, and Cyprus became

¹¹ On Cyprus as a refuge for Christian monks from Syria and Palestine in the early 9th century, see Schick (1995:94).

¹² Dib links the emigration of Maronites to Cyprus to "la persécution générale qui eut lieu sous al-Mamoun (813-833) en Syrie et en Palestine." He also mentions Duwayhi's claim concerning waves of immigrants from Maronite areas in Syria and Lebanon to Cyprus after its recapture by Nicephorus Phocas (964-965) (*op. cit.*, 71: 47-49).

the home for other religious communities that had fled the Muslim conquests. Many of the non-Latin inhabitants from the Christian ports in Syria who came to Cyprus crowded into Famagusta. It has been claimed that these people, mostly Arabic-speaking Christians, may well have outnumbered the Greeks there, and without doubt the "Suriens", as they were known, came to play a major part in Famagusta's rise as a commercial centre at this period. (1994:101-2)¹³

At least two noteworthy migratory movements of Maronites from Lebanon to Cyprus have been reported for the 12th and 13th centuries:

After the capture of Beirut by Salāh al-Dīn thousands of Maronites migrated to Cyprus, where two thousand of their descendants still live. (Hitti 1957a:623)

In 1283 an army of Qalāwūn penetrated to the remotest strongholds of Maronitism, Bihārri, Ihdin and Hadath al-Jubbah, and demolished them. Thousands more must have fled to Cyprus, where their settlements later reportedly counted 80,000 persons. (Hitti 1957b:325)

Thus it is reasonable to assume that CyA is, in essence, an offshoot of a mediaeval vernacular of Christian Arabic that had already acquired a confessional stamp concomitant with its speakers' *dhimmi* status in a Muslim socioreligious ambience, later coming in contact with a Greek-speaking cultural milieu.

Language loyalty tends to be perceived as vital to the maintenance of ethnic consciousness,¹⁴ and recent research continues to underscore this fact, though De Vos (1982:15) makes the insightful qualification that "ethnicity is frequently related more to the symbol of a separate language than to its actual use by all members of a group."¹⁵ This rider is eminently apposite to the current situation of CyA since only about a quarter of the entire Cypriot Maronite community actually speak it. However, the circumstance that all Cypriot Maronites are natively fluent in Greek somewhat mitigates the sharpness of the sociolinguistic divide between them and the Greek Orthodox majority. This confessional cleavage coincides with three salient linguistic and cultural factors:

¹³ Cf. also Richard (1979) and Jacoby (1984).

¹⁴ The correlation between language and religion in the Middle East and Cyprus highlights the fact that language often delineates "the outermost parameters to group membership" (Bates/Rastam 1983:90) in this region. There is a school of thought that adjudges "language in itself ... on the whole the most important defining feature of ethnicity" (Butters 2000:921; cf. also Johnstone 1970 and Zaborski 1998).

¹⁵ This applies in particular to religious minorities that continue to use a distinctive liturgical language while speaking the local vernacular, e.g., the Copts in Egypt.

(a) *The genetic affiliation of their respective native languages*

Linguistic differentiation between the Maronite Cypriots of Kormakiti and the Greek Orthodox majority is not merely a case of variation between closely related dialects, such as the three-way communal split traditionally obtaining between Muslim, Jewish, and Christian speakers of Baghdadi Arabic (cf. Blanc 1964a), but involves formal features and language attitudes relating to the disparate genetic and cultural origins of CyA and CyG, that is, ultimately, between Semitic and Indo-European, respectively.

An important aspect of the Orthodox/Maronite communal divide in the Cypriot context, given the island's position along the border zone between Europe and Asia, is 'language as a cultural symbol' conditioning perception of self and of the Other with respect to the polarity between

the European front that Greeks display to foreigners and the Oriental aspects of their culture which they acknowledge among themselves. (Argyrou 1996:3)

This author sums up the origins of this cultural dichotomy in the Cypriot context in the following terms:

In its recent history, Cyprus has been an Ottoman province for three centuries and a British colony for almost one. This historical legacy continues to animate the island's present and shape its future. Caught in the interstices of what is often called "the great Divide" — between Occident and Orient, the West and the Other — Cypriot society is striving to rid itself of what is retrospectively depicted as the Orientalizing "affliction" of the Ottomans, and to capitalize on the "civilizing" experience furnished by the British presence. (Argyrou 1996:2)

Their Arabic speech associates the Kormakiti Maronites in the eyes of the Greek-speaking majority with a non-hellenic, levantine provenance. This linguistic differential has also been instrumental in perpetuating the group's awareness of their origins as historical immigrants from the Arabic-speaking mainland, whose *Urheimat* I have placed, on the basis of their linguistic affiliations, in the region between N Syria and S E Anatolia (Borg 1985:155f). It is, consequently, pertinent to ask to what extent the Greek/Arabic linguistic cleavage in the Cypriot cultural context still evokes within the Orthodox community—the Cypriot Maronites' Christian identity notwithstanding—the historical encounter between the Byzantines and the Arab nation (cf. Stern 1974:205). Herzfeld (1987:105) has drawn attention to the fact that a certain ambivalence towards Arab culture among modern Greeks has been kept alive in Akritic folk epics "popular in the eastern and southern

reaches of the Greek-speaking world, notably in Cappadocia, Pontos, Cyprus, the Dodecanese, and Crete."¹⁶

It would also be enlightening to examine CyG itself for concrete linguistic traces of 'orientalization.' A fine-grained study assessing their extent and the diffusional pathways of Arabic and other oriental influences on CyG has yet to be conducted. Whereas many Arabisms in CyG have been patently mediated by Ottoman Turkish:¹⁷ CyG *tzami* 'mosque,' *sokaki* 'street,' *kaḍis* 'judge,' < Tk *cami*, *sokak*, *kadı*, respectively (Pavlou 1993:443-4),¹⁸ some may well hark back to pre-Ottoman contacts of Cypriot Greeks with Arabic-speaking migrants from the mainland, conceivably during the period when Cyprus was jointly ruled by the Byzantine Emperor and the Caliph and entailed the island's tributary relationship with Damascus (Jennings 1993:2).

The island's subsequent importance as a trade partner with the neighbouring Arab countries should also be taken into account; thus on the basis of his survey of Turkish *sijills*, Jennings (*op. cit.*, 334) states:

Merchants from Cyprus traveled regularly in Anatolia and Karaman provinces, to Aleppo (via Trabulus and Iskenderun), and to Egypt (at Iskenderiya, Dumyat, and particularly Cairo). Likewise merchants from those places reached Cyprus.¹⁹

The likelihood that the mediaeval antecedent of CyA itself filtered Arabic *Sprachgut* into CyG is worth considering here:

CyA *žartūna* (pl -es) / CyG *čartuna* (pl -es) 'rat' ~ Pal Ar *ḡarḍōn* 'Ratte' (Bauer 238), Dam *žardōn* 'rat' (Sto/Ani 186) ~ OA *ḡuraḍ*, pl *ḡirḍān* 'large rat' (Hava 85), MLA *ḡirḍawn*, pl *ḡarāḍin* (Wehr 143); CyG *xallumin* 'a kind of hard local cheese' (Yangoullis 1997:358) < Ar

¹⁶ Cf. Kitromilidi (1990). Early mediaeval history shows the Maronites at odds with the Byzantines. Kourbage/Fargues (1997:46) note: "The Maronites, Monothelites who had remained faithful to the Council of Chalcedon (451) and rejected both the dogma of the Monophysites and the liturgy of the Melkites, were confronted by the dominant currents of Eastern Christianity. In 694, the Byzantine army sacked their convents and allegedly massacred 500 of their monks (according to Patriarch al-Duwayhi [1630-1704])."

¹⁷ On Turkisms in Cypriot Greek, see Pavlou (1993) and Newton (1962).

¹⁸ For further examples, see Yangoullis (1997, *passim*).

¹⁹ This diffusional link between Cyprus and the littorals of S E Anatolia, N Syria and Egypt recapitulates the island's ancient links with the oriental world, e.g., with the Phoenician homeland (Bikai 1987, 1994). 'Orientalization' is a complex theme in the cultural history of Cyprus. For oriental influences on Ancient Greek itself, see Albright (1950), Mayer (1960), É. Masson (1967), Lewy (1970), Krause (1970), Szemerényi (1974), E. Salonen (1974), Fehling (1980), Bernal (1987), and Burkert (1992:33-40 and *passim*).

ḡalūm; CyG *mastrapás* 'drinking mug' ~ CyA *mašrabbá* < OA *mašraba* 'watering trough' (Hava 359).

The CyG term *xallumin*, designating a product for which Cyprus is renowned, is particularly striking; its CyA cognate and likely immediate etymon *xallume* invites comparison with its Egyptian Arabic equivalent:

Cai *ḡalūm* 'mild white cured cheese, sometimes braided' (Bad/Hi 222); 'a sort of *aqiṭ* [i.e., a certain preparation of dried curd]: or milk that is made thick, so that it becomes like fresh cheese; but it is not—a word of the dialect of Egypt' (Lane 633).²⁰

Another probably early loan from Arabic in CyG is *kwari* 'ball' (pl *kwarka* < **kwarya*),²¹ ultimately a cognate of OA *kura* 'globe, sphere' (Hava 653)²² for which the native Greek equivalent is σφαίρα (Liddell/Scott 1996:1738). Tk *küre* 'globe, sphere' (Iz/Hony/Alderson 1992:316) is an unlikely source here since the CyG *kwari* has a phonologically closer cognate in Cai *kōra* 'ball' (Bad/Hi 769) ~ Pal Ar *čōra* 'balle, ballon' (Denizeau 1960:463) showing restructuring as a medially weak root.

(b) Language and ritual

The speakers of CyA are Maronite Catholics with a community life centred around the Church and its festivities. Geertz (1973:126) has noted:

Religion is never merely metaphysics. For all peoples the forms, the vehicles, and objects of worship are suffused with an aura of deep moral seriousness.

The role of religious ritual in giving substance to the ethnic symbolism of liturgical languages utilized by confessionally defined communities derives both from the function of sacred symbols in synthesizing a people's ethos (Geertz 1966:3) and from the religious hierarchy as a

²⁰ The term seems to pertain essentially to Cairene usage. Ar *ḡalūm*, occurs in Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic (Diem/Raden 1994:46) and was recorded by the 17th century French traveller Jean de Thévenot (1696: I, 495) with the gloss "du fromage salé qu'ils (les Egyptiens) appellent *dgibn halum*" (Dozy I, 318). Bad/Hi (*loc. cit.*) concur with Spitta (1880:97) in tracing it back to Coptic *halōm* 'fromage' (Vycichl 1983:8, 298). Vittmann (1991:222) has expressed some reserve as to its alleged Coptic provenance and maintains that it could be Arabic after all. He fails to mention, however, that it shows up in Arabic papyri datable to before 912 A.D.: *ḡalūm* 'a kind of cheese' (Hopkins 1984:257). (For trade links between Cyprus and Egypt, see Edbury 1994 and Jennings 1993).

²¹ For the occlusivization of the CyG glide *y* in the plural form, cf. Kaisse (1992) and Dawkins (1950:527-8).

²² The Old Arabic term has several cognates in Semitic (cf. Nöldeke 1910:158f).

rallying point for such groups, monitoring "the religious community as a social unit" (Baer 1964:72).²³

The communal boundary between Maronites and Orthodox Cypriots finds a salient expression in the liturgical sphere; the latter adhere to Greek Orthodox practice in their worship using the liturgies attributed to St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom. The Cypriot Maronite Church has its special rite consisting, in essence, of a partly romanized form of the Antiochene liturgy of St. James the Less which the Cypriot Maronites perform in Syriac, Greek, and Arabic (cf. Bowron 1937; Atiya 1968:414; Dib 1973:297):

the Gospel is read in Syriac or in Arabic," and "the lesson and other prayers delivered in Arabic have their rubrics in Garshuni." (Atiya, *loc. cit.*)²⁴

Commenting on the status of Syriac in the Lebanese Maronite community of his time, Feghali (1918:12) observed:

... le syriaque ne subsiste plus dans tout le Liban qu'en tant que langue liturgique et morte. Alors que l'ensemble de la population maronite se contente de le lire sans l'entendre, un certain nombre de prêtres, de religieux et même de laïcs l'étudient et le comprennent bien.²⁵

Three languages are currently used by the Cypriot Maronites in their liturgy: Christian Arabic, Syriac, and Greek. Members of their clergy usually possess some formal knowledge of Arabic and Syriac but, as in the situation here described by Michel Feghali for the Lebanese Maronites of his time, lay persons in the Cypriot Maronite community follow the non-Greek portions of the liturgy mostly without understanding. CyA is not employed by its speakers as a language

²³ Goitein (1971:3) has also highlighted the vital societal roles traditionally played by religious institutions: "... the social services, in our day the responsibility of state and local authorities, had to be provided in those times by the Church and Synagogue." Commenting on the contemporary situation of the Turoyo-speaking community in the diaspora, Sebastian Brock (1989:367) states: "Having once arrived in Europe, for many immigrants ... it was the Syrian Orthodox Church which provided the main focus for maintaining their own cultural identity." Nonetheless, Christian groups in the Middle East sometimes seek for themselves secular symbols of identity, such as ancient forbears, to buttress their legitimacy in confrontation with Islam. Thus, "Romantics in the Lebanon have long indulged in the Phoenician connection as a theme of pride and a clue to identity" (Malik 1952:112, fn 1). Similarly, certain Neo-Aramaic speakers of Christian faith claim Assyrian origins.

²⁴ Garshuni (or Karshuni) is Arabic written in Syriac characters.

²⁵ More recently, Smith (1974:125) has noted: "The Maronites use principally the Syriac liturgy of Saint James, but the lessons and some prayers are in Arabic, the use of which is increasing."

of prayer and, as if to underscore its unsuitability as a medium for communal rhetoric capable of drawing on and symbolizing this group's ancient religious heritage and identity, the Sunday sermon—a significant factor in a speaker community's evaluation and retention of its vernacular—is delivered in Greek. Prayer books for the laity provide transcriptions of the Syriac and Arabic portions of the liturgy in Greek characters, but certain terms, such as names of Syriac liturgical prayers, are generally known and understood by lay Maronites. The situation of this group is not unlike that of the aforementioned Turoyo-speaking Jacobites who retain their native, traditionally unwritten, Neo-Aramaic vernacular as a marker of ethnicity but resort exclusively to other languages, e.g., Syriac and Arabic, in the liturgy.²⁶

The confessional distinctiveness of the Maronite Church has been characterized in Atiya (1968:414):

Since the Maronites are Antiochene Syrians by origin and Roman by conversion, their rites and liturgies present a chequered patchwork of both Oriental and Catholic. Although their modern churches are entirely identical with those of the Latins, they still possess a number of churches bearing such Syrian features of the pre-Roman days as the altar-screen or iconostasis. In addition to bells adopted from the Catholics, they also reserve the use of the Syrian cymbals to mark time, and the resultant unusual noises surprise the Western visitor.²⁷

²⁶ This statement is based on personal observation of the church services of a Turoyo-speaking community in the Stockholm area. Their use of literary Arabic in the liturgy reflects the fact that many members of this group have sojourned for relatively long periods in one of the Arab countries, usually, Lebanon or Syria. Arabic is also the liturgical language of Christian W. Neo-Aramaic speakers in the Syrian villages of Ma'lūla, Jubb'adin, and Bax'a (Arnold 2000:366).

²⁷ Certain communal rituals observed by the Cypriot Maronites have an ancient history; observe, for instance, the festivity of Palm Sunday described in the short text I published in Borg (1985:161-2). In mediæval Egypt and Palestine, the celebration of the olive-tree ritual of Palm Sunday seems to have been shared with Muslims. Writing about tenth-century Islam, Mez (1937:418-19) observed: "The festivals show how thin was the Islamic varnish over the popular life. The Muslims celebrated all the Christian festivals—most of which were nothing more or less than rivals of much older practices. ... Palm-Sunday (Sha'nin-Hosannah) was a day of universal festivity for the people. It must have been an old feast of the trees notably of olive trees. In Egypt it was simply called the "Olive festival" (Maqrizi 1:264). At the court of Baghdad slave-girls appeared on Palm-Sunday in gay dresses with palm and olive branches (Aghani XIX: 138). In Jerusalem of the 4th/10th century an olive-tree was carried in solemn procession from the Church of the Eleasor to the Church of the Resurrection—the wali of the town with his entire staff heading the procession (Yahya ibn Said: 194). All the churches of Syria and Egypt were adorned with olive leaves and palm branches which people took home for a blessing." The situation reflected in this account is not without linguistic significance since it brings to light a diffusional channel for Christian religious nomenclature into general Arabic usage, both literary and dialectal, as attested, for instance, in Ibn Sidah (cf. Troupeau 1973) and in the modern Arabic colloquials.

Atiyah is here alluding to the acceptance by the Maronites, since the 12th century, of Roman Catholic doctrine and papal supremacy (Hourani 1991:97). They achieved formal union with Rome around the year 1182 (Suermann 1997:1411), recognized at the Council of Florence (1439–44; Salibi 1958:92, 100). The Cypriot Maronites accepted papal supremacy in 1445 (Birdsall 2001:37). Today, they follow religious services either according to their traditional Eastern liturgy or in the Latin rite.²⁸

The use of Syriac as a literary medium in the liturgies of Aramaean Christians harks back to a stage when Aramaic was also their spoken vernacular.²⁹ Nonetheless, Salibi (1988:85) underscores the fact that “unlike that of other Syrian Christians,” their literature

is entirely in Arabic, though written until the nineteenth century in the Syriac script. To the Maronites, unlike the Jacobites, Syriac appears never to have been anything more than a language of liturgy. ... From the Muslim historian Masudi, who lived in the 10th century, one learns that Arabic was certainly the language written by the Maronites in the century before.³⁰

²⁸ Their identification with the Roman Catholic Church, that under Frankish rule had dominated the religious life of Cyprus and persecuted the Orthodox Church (Argyrou 1996:188; Kyrris 1994), conceivably colours the ethnic perception of the Cypriot Maronites by the Greek Orthodox community. However, it is worth noting that, at a later stage, the confessional divide between Maronite and Greek Orthodox Cypriots was less sharp. Thus Hackett (1972:527–8) reports that until 1840, Cypriot Maronite villagers “came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Orthodox Bishop of Kyrenia, receiving from him dispensations for marriages and paying him the customary dues. They observed, too, their festivals according to the calendar of the Orthodox Church and celebrated Easter at the same time as their Greek neighbours. But in that year through the action of the French Government they separated from the Orientals and adopted the Latin calendar instead. ... Though they all speak the Greek vernacular, their services have always been conducted in their native Syriac.”

²⁹ Drijvers (1992:126) has observed that “From its very beginning, ... Christianity used Syriac as the vehicle for its message and doctrine and monopolized this language for its exclusive use.” Berlin (2001:91) disagrees with Drijvers’ chronology and maintains that the adoption of Syriac by Aramaean Christians “postdated the appearance of Christianity by at least two hundred years”; however, he concurs with the view that this policy “seems to have been deployed specifically as an “identity-signalling” manoeuvre.”

³⁰ Note also Chejne’s remark that “although Syriac was the liturgical language of the Maronite Church, Germānūs Farhāt translated the Gospels into Arabic” (1969:131). The profound acculturation to Arabic among the Maronites (despite continued use of liturgical Syriac) finds a sociocultural parallel in the linguistic history of Oriental Jewry with its own radical shift to the literary use of Arabic in place of Hebrew and Aramaic “even in the most sacred matters of Judaism” (Blau 1966:20). See also Blau (2002b).

For all that, the impact of vernacular Aramaic on the Arabic spoken by Lebanese Maronites, particularly in the lexical realm, is considerable (Feghali 1918; Frayha 1947; cf. Rosenthal 1964:169–172). Several undeniably Aramaic features also occur in CyA (cf. §V). The incidence of Aramaisms, particularly in the context of religious discourse, in Arabic dialects spoken by Christians, invites comparison with the integration of Hebraisms and Aramaisms in those spoken by Jewish communities (Blanc 1964a:163; Ben-Yaakob 1965; Goldberg 1983:98; Jastrow 1991b:11).

(c) Sociocultural factors

As already noted, the Maronite villagers of Cyprus appear to have traditionally constituted a self-contained rural community:

Les Maronites conservèrent en effet, en Chypre, le trait principal de leurs mœurs. Ils ne se mêlèrent point aux autres nations; ils furent les villes, où se rendaient de préférence les Syriens et les Arméniens ... (Mas Latrie 1861:109).

Religious affiliation and consequent endogamy (with or without agnation) define a principle of cohesion and internal organization among several ethnic minorities in the region (Andrews 1989:162; Holy 1988) and, until recently, the Kormakiti group appears, like other Cypriot rural communities (cf. Argyrou 1996:103), to have practised village endogamy. This factor, together with their rural seclusion and social separation from Greek speakers probably accounts in large part for their vernacular’s longevity.

Reviewing ethnicity in a Greek context, Pollis (1992:171) observed that Greekness in Greece “is best understood as an organic whole in which Greek Orthodoxy, the *éthnos*, and the state are a unity.”³¹ An analogous perception of Greek identity defines confessional boundaries in Cyprus; thus Argyrou (1996:50) states:

³¹ The history of the Greek Orthodox Church under Ottoman rule saw the crystallization of the ethnoreligious dimension of Greek identity (cf. Runciman 1968, especially Ch. 11). The primacy of Orthodoxy in defining Greek identity probably emerged in the last centuries prior to the fall of the Empire, that witnessed the continually weakening and perilous state of the Greek homeland and the increased temporal power of the Church (cf. Gill 1971). It was strengthened under Turkish occupation (1453–1821) when the Church “adopted a position of collaboration with or “voluntary submission” (*ethelodouleia*) to Ottoman power” (Hart 1992:9). The degree of material power accumulated by the Orthodox Church can be gauged from the extent of landed property it owned in Greece which amounted “at least to a quarter of the whole Greek territory” (Zakythinos 1976:41).

... I do not mean to suggest that the notion of Greekness is exhausted by reference to classical Greek civilization. Greek Cypriots are also Orthodox Christians—in contrast to the Protestant and Catholic Western Europe—and heirs to the Byzantine tradition. This aspect of their identity, however, has not been decisive in their vision of the world for the last century or so, at least as far as the educated elite is concerned. Having said that, there has been a recent modest revival of this identity in the guise of "Neo-Orthodoxy," particularly after the collapse of the Eastern bloc and the restoration of religious freedom in these traditionally Orthodox countries.

The sociocultural divide between Maronite and Orthodox Cypriots is probably a complex phenomenon having less to do with religious observance *per se* than with the cultural diversity of Eastern Christianity. A comparative ethnography of Orthodox Greeks and Maronites in Cyprus has yet to be undertaken.³² Casual observation suggests that folk traditions surrounding life-cycle events are different for the two communities; thus, for instance, marriage customs observed by the Kormakiti group recall, in many respects, practices noted for Palestinian Arab villagers in Granqvist (1931–5). Traditional Cypriot Maronite personal names also merit study.

In the contemporary context of the Greek-Turkish confrontation with its "stubborn resistance to a peace solution" (Merrillees, *loc. cit.*), the emphasis on Greekness as a moral counterweight to the presence of some 40,000 settlers imported from Turkey in N Cyprus since 1974 may possibly isolate the Maronites who appear to have negotiated their own stance towards the Turkish authorities on the island, and, for instance, currently enjoy relative freedom in crossing the Green Line denied to other Greek Cypriots.

III. ARABIC IN CYPRUS

Even allowing for an early arrival in Cyprus of Arabic-speaking Maronites (cf. §II), it is a moot point to what extent the existence of Arabic on the island is directly and exclusively linked with the history of this religious community.³³ Mas Latrie (1861:111) mentions the presence in Cyprus of several Christian ethnoreligious entities coexisting with the Greek Orthodox majority, including potential speakers of Arabic and/or Aramaic:

³² An investigation of differential factors proper to the two communities in the way they categorize religious practice within the folk traditions of Eastern Christianity (cf. Hart 1992, not cited in Argyrou 1996) would be valuable.

³³ Some of the material in this section has been presented in Borg (1997b).

Indépendamment des Syriens, des Arméniens, et des Maronites, dont nous venons de parler, on y vit passer, à diverses époques, des Nestoriens, des Éthiopiens, des Ibériens, des Géorgiens, des Jacobites, des Coptes, des Zingares et des Juifs.

Important evidence of early 'Syrian' presence on the island occurs in Cypriot toponymy:

Le souvenir d'immigrations syriennes confusément rattaché à des cultes antiques, s'est conservé dans tout le plat qui s'étend autour du golfe de Pendaia jusqu'au cap de Kormakiti. A quelques milles du village de Morpho, vers la mer, une localité a retenu le nom de Syrianochori, le village des Syriens. Ces peuples, d'origine sémitique et araméenne, comme les Juifs et les Arabes, étaient encore nombreux en Chypre au moyen âge, et l'ensemble des notions historiques montre qu'ils y étaient établis bien longtemps avant que les Français ne devinassent maîtres de l'île. (Mas Latrie 1861:101)³⁴

Allusion has already been made to the emigration of Arabic-speaking Christians to Cyprus in the 12th and 13th centuries (cf. also Jacoby 1979: 167 and de Groot 1980:303).³⁵ There is explicit literary evidence that during this time Arabic was not only widely spoken in Cyprus, but that it achieved distinctiveness from other varieties of Eastern Arabic. A reference to the existence of a characteristic Arabic usage associated with Cyprus occurs in the 13th century work, *Kitāb al-simāt fi asmā' al-nabāt* ('Treatise on the Characteristics of Plant Names') by 'Izz ad-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Tarxān as-Suwaydī (1204–1292). Reviewing the contents of this work, Ullmann (1970:291) commented:

As-Suwaydī gibt neben den arabischen Namen griechische (yūnāni und rūmī), syrische, persische, kastilische (latīni) und berberische Bezeichnungen an. Bei den arabischen unterscheidet er zum Teil noch die Gebrauchsweise in Ägypten, Palästina und Zypern.

Jacoby (*op. cit.*, 168) has drawn attention to the continued use of Arabic in 14th century Cyprus as reported in a travel account by

³⁴ Pilavaki (1973:30–32), cited in Frangiskou (2000:16) lists other Cypriot toponyms suggestive of 'Syrian' settlements. Residual traces of old Arabic toponyms in Cyprus have also been noted in Hill (1940, vol. I, 272): "Kantara was ... in existence before 1191 when it surrendered to Richard Lion Heart."

³⁵ In the following centuries, the Maronite population of Cyprus appears to have reached considerable proportions. Étienne de Lusignan (1573, 1580) recorded the existence of over 30 Maronite villages on the island and Mas Latrie (1861:110) estimated the number of their inhabitants at this time at approximately 7000–8000 people. The Papal legate Girolamo Dandini, sent to the Maronite patriarch in 1596 by the general of the Franciscan order reported "great numbers" of Maronites in Cyprus and "lists 19 Maronite villages by name, each having at least one parish" (Jennings 1993:149). If these figures are correct, the demographic decline may possibly reflect a more general "decline in the economy and population of the island" noted by visitors to the island (Jennings *op. cit.*, 300).

the Augustinian monk Frater Jacobus de Verona (1335)—edited in Röhrich (1895)—which states "... omnes de Cypro loquuntur grecum, bene tamen sciunt saracenicum et linguam francigenam, sed plus utuntur lingua greca" (p. 178). However, this source makes no reference to ethno-religious aspects of the use of Arabic on the island at this time. Considering the striking formal affinities that CyA shares with N Syrian and S E Anatolian Arabic (Borg 1985:154–9), one might suggest the possibility of migration from that region to the island since the city of Adana, for instance, "fell by inheritance to Guy de Lusignan" (Anhegger 1986:182) of the royal house governing the Latin Kingdom of Cyprus.³⁶

Writing towards the middle of the eighteenth century, Le Quien (1740: 83–84) mentioned the Maronites' use of Syriac in the liturgy but did not comment on their native vernacular: "... linguamque Græcam regionis vernaculam loquuntur, exceptis tamen officiis ecclesiasticis, quæ semper in lingua Syriaca celebrant."

According to Giovanni Mariti's *Viaggi per l'isola di Cipro* (Lucca, 1769), available to me in C.D. Cobham's English translation of 1908, Carsten Niebuhr visited Cyprus in 1766, apparently for the purpose of investigating some ancient Phœnician inscriptions on the island, and "for greater exactness, took a native called Parisin, a Maronite, who was conversant with various tongues, and acted as an interpreter to strangers" (76–77). Unfortunately, this illustrious scholar's personal contact with the Cypriot Maronite community does not appear to have kindled his interest in its linguistic heritage. Niebuhr could almost certainly have observed CyA in its heyday since the following decades were to witness a sharp demographic decline of the Cypriot Maronite community. Writing barely a hundred years later, Mas Latrie assessed its size as follows: "leur nombre s'élève à peine à douze ou treize cents habitants, répartis dans cinq ou six villages" (1861:110) but failed to specify language use in the Cypriot Maronite villages of his time.³⁷ If correct, the depleted population figures given by Mas Latrie suggest that the overall systemic reduction actualized in the present linguistic structure of CyA—most strikingly, in the lexicon—is unlikely to be a very recent development.

³⁶ Adana is a town in S Anatolia situated in the southern part of the plain of Cilicia; for the history of Christian settlement there, see Anhegger (1986).

³⁷ This is a remarkably reduced number when compared with the figures of nineteen Maronite villages mentioned in Girolamo Dandini's report for 1596.

A mere two decades later, Mondry Beaudouin, apparently the first scholar to record the existence of CyA, stated that use of Arabic in Cyprus was restricted to the village of Kormakiti:

Le dialecte chypriote est parlé sur tous les points de l'île de Chypre, sauf dans quelques localités exclusivement habitées par les musulmans, comme Lefka, où l'on parle turc, et dans le village de Kormakiti, au nord-ouest, où les habitants, de religion maronite, ont conservé l'usage de l'arabe. (Beaudouin 1884:11)

In the twentieth century, the British orientalist and governor of Cyprus, Sir Ronald Storrs, made passing mention of "a bastard Arabic mixed with Cypriot Greek" (1930:41) spoken by the Maronites; it is regrettable that linguistic scholars of that time did not follow up this observation.

In linguistic research, the scientific significance of a language or dialect bears no direct relation to the number of its speakers or their cultural, political, and economic status. As will become evident in the course of this essay, the importance for Arabic and Semitic studies attaching to the village vernacular under study greatly exceeds that of its speaker community. The recent discovery, in the Vatican archives, of 17th century documents in Karshuni comprising private correspondence of Cypriot Maronite clergy displaying what appear to be traces of CyA lexical elements (cf. Lentin 2000) has further enhanced the intrinsic scientific interest of this Arabic vernacular. Incidentally, it also suggests the possibility that a certain amount of informal writing in CyA may not have been unusual in earlier times when the Maronite community was numerically and institutionally more consolidated than it has been in the modern period.³⁸

As for the future prospects of Cypriot Arabic, it is worth noting that "les cas de contact ne déclenchent pas nécessairement un processus de disparition" (Clairis 1991:5). More pointedly, Mounin (1992:151) has stated: "si le contact entre deux langues est bien, de l'avis de tous, la cause majeure de la disparition de l'une d'elles, ... c'est l'urbanisation des populations traditionnellement rurales et

³⁸ In Borg (1994:64) I suggested that the absence of a written tradition in their local vernacular among the Cypriot Maronites is ascribable to the factor of what Mackey (1976:166), quoting Lewis (1972), has designated, in another context, as "group culture, associated with family, local or ethnic loyalties," pertaining to the essentially rural context in which CyA developed. In Cyprus, "civic culture ... associated with cities, bureaucracy, internationalism, and technology" (Mackey 1976, *loc. cit.*) finds its normal expression in standard Greek.

dispersées qui passe au premier plan de ces faits de contact." Thus, by far the most serious threat to the survival of CyA has been its speaker community's sudden transfer from a rural to an urban milieu.³⁹ This has entailed a concomitant shift of content in the day-to-day discourse of a small-scale society consisting of people faced with similar living conditions and experiences and exposed to a highly redundant flow of communication from people of the same stamp. By way of contrast, as noted in Halliday (1979:154),

A city is a place of talk. It is built and held together by language.

Their native competence in Greek makes possible for the Kormakiti Maronites full participation in Cypriot urban discourse, rendering them, at the same time, eminently susceptible to language shift.⁴⁰

There is a tendency in some circles "to reify languages and treat them as though they somehow possess a life apart from their speakers" (Kulick 1999:405). In principle, caution is advisable in forecasting the demise of 'small languages' since "we really have no yardstick to determine when a linguistic community becomes too small to maintain itself indefinitely" (Hamp 1992:202).⁴¹ Reviewing Nettle/Romaine (2000), Sercombe (2002:98) has remarked:

It would seem that language death is rarely imposed from without, that the phenomenon is determined primarily by internal changes within language communities themselves, even if there are powerful factors at work beyond a language community's boundaries that may result in language shift.

This echoes the maxim of Georg von der Gabelentz (1901:261): "die Lebenskraft der Sprachen hängt ab von der Lebenskraft der Völker";

³⁹ In this respect, the regressive situation of CyA can be insightfully compared and contrasted with that of the rural speech communities (in Qalamūn, Syria) that exemplify extensive, stable bilingualism in Western Neo-Aramaic and Arabic (Arno/Behn 40). Urbanization of the Cypriot Maronites will conceivably also entail erosion of their traditional religiosity (cf. Thubron 1986:123f on Orthodox Cypriots) and, indirectly, of their ethnicity in exchange for what Giddens (1991:1) has termed, in another context, "a post-traditional order."

⁴⁰ There is also a psychological factor to consider: the need to avert the attrition of living with a personal duality split along linguistic lines; thus CyA speakers freely admit that they often lack the incentive to use their Arabic vernacular with their children.

⁴¹ Commenting on the "surprising persistence," in his time, of the aforementioned Greek dialect of Cargèse in Corsica, Messing (1954:279) observed: "The process of dissolution has gone on very gradually; numerous visitors to the colony during the 19th century were predicting the inevitable outcome. Another century has found it still threatened but still defying inexorable fatum." After the disappearance of their last speakers, such languages are liable to cling to life as topics of popular discourse, as communal cultural symbols, and as objects of research.

thus the survival or demise of CyA depends, in large part, on its speakers' language attitudes and long-term choices as they take stock of their secular, western-oriented, Greek-speaking urban habitat. Brett (1996: 3-4) has stated:

In most Western democracies, public life has been dominated by a discourse which tends to treat individuals primarily as equal citizens and economic actors—religion, culture and ethnicity therefore being regarded as private matters.

However, given the communal confessional dimension of CyA, it is also worth recalling that

... such equalizing discourse is ill-prepared to deal with groups for whom ethnic or religious identity may be over-riding concerns. (*ibid.*)

The Cypriot Maronite community's present leaders take an enlightened view of their situation and, in their public discourse at least, display awareness of the need for positive action to save their language from extinction and, with it, their 'deculturization' (Grassi 1977) for, as noted in Hagège (2000:219), "la perte de langue est celle de l'instrument même par lequel une culture s'exprime le plus directement."

The aspiration to official recognition of their group's minority status has generated among CyA speakers an appreciation of their native vernacular's significance in defining Maronite ethnic space in Cyprus, along with a desire to ensure its survival by reducing it to writing. The lack of a writing system for CyA is, in itself, not an exceptional predicament:

On oublie qu'il y eut des époques entières où il n'était pas naturel de s'exprimer par écrit dans la langue maternelle, et que cette situation persiste même aujourd'hui chez ceux dont la langue maternelle est celle d'un groupe restreint, par exemple, les Basques ... (Elwert 1971, IV, 229).

Bowman/Woolf (1994) have emphasized the connection between literacy and power; in effect, a degree of language elaboration of CyA would not only enhance this vernacular's cultural status, incidentally, safeguarding the Maronite cultural heritage in Cyprus but, above all, could potentially provide its speaker community with valuable symbolic capital (cf. Anderson 1991, *passim*), as it negotiates its identity in the Cypriot and European sociopolitical context. The objective, at this stage, would clearly not be *belles lettres*, but the acquisition for CyA of new linguistic functions, such as internal use for private correspondence, personal memoranda and, possibly, the transmission of folk traditions.⁴²

⁴² Once appropriate reading material becomes available in a newly literate society, the impetus to read can often be taken for granted. As one commentator in *TLS*,

This is, however, no easy objective to attain. CyA speakers constitute a small enclave within a predominantly Greek-speaking Maronite ethnic minority.⁴³ The restricted functional status enjoyed by CyA in the community, where it is associated solely with the family circle and in-group membership, may render difficult overcoming the propensity of minorities towards devaluing their native vernaculars in favour of neighbouring languages of prestige (Stubbs 1980:76). The process of language loss associated with this mental outlook has been characterized in Denison (1977:21):

... there comes a point when multilingual parents no longer consider it necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low-prestige language variety, and when children are no longer motivated to acquire active competence in a language which is lacking in positive connotations such as youth, modernity, technical skills, material success, education. The languages at the lower end of the prestige scale retreat from ever increasing areas of their earlier function domains, displaced by higher prestige languages, until there is nothing left for them appropriately to be used about.

In a Greek ambience, this scenario of language shift is familiar from the history of Arvanitika, the language of erstwhile Albanian Muslims, which has been spoken "in the Peloponnese, in the islands of the Argolic gulf, in the Sporades, in the Cyclades—since at least the fourteenth century" (Hart 1992:49). This author observes:

Desire for conformity to a national consciousness and for "culture" (the department of educated people) caused Arvanitika speakers to want their children to give up their language (*na xekópsoun* ["to quit": as in "to quit a bad habit"] *ta paidiá tous apó t'Arvanítika*, ... and in some cases simply to forbid the speaking of Arvanitika in the home (*loc. cit.*).⁴⁴

The Cypriot Maronites have in the last two decades traversed a critical stage in their long history. The Greek-Turkish hostilities of July-

Dec. 3, 1971, put it: "A newly literate population will read anything, apparently even a telephone book." For an account of the literate revolution in a Greek context, see Havelock (1982). For the existence of a communally defined *literary* idiom, note the striking case of a special form of non-classical Arabic used by Baghdadi Jews in their liturgy (Blanc 1964a:18-30).

⁴³ While Cypriot Maronites can take some comfort in the knowledge that even smaller speech communities with a language consciousness exist (for instance, indigenous groups in Australia and Papua New Guinea numbering a few hundreds or even less; Stubbs 1980:89), instances of successful language revival among certain linguistic communities of the Southwestern Pacific (discussed in Wurm 1986) highlight the importance of political and economic factors conducive to this success.

⁴⁴ Hart (1991) indicates that religious conversion also played a role: "Arvanite ethnolinguistic identity receded as Greek Orthodox affiliation intensified." Cf. also Trudgill/Tzavaras (1977).

August 1974 and the subsequent occupation of Northern Cyprus by Turkey initially reduced the entire community to the status of refugees scattered in different towns of the Greek sector: Nicosia, Limassol, Larnaca, etc. In the wake of the impressive recovery actualized by the Cypriot Greek economy in the aftermath of the Turkish invasion, the Maronites appear to have found their place in Cypriot society and to have become relatively well-integrated in their new urban environment. It is therefore conceivable that notwithstanding abstract aspirations to retaining their special language, a pragmatic outlook may dictate a passive posture regarding the very real threat of language extinction.⁴⁵

Though CyA is most unlikely ever to assume central functions in the Cypriot context,⁴⁶ and its very revitalization is possibly outside the realm of the practicable, still it may be well to reflect on Nancy Dorian's observation:

Maintenance efforts on behalf of East Sutherland Gaelic cannot work. Maintenance efforts on behalf of Irish have barely worked, speaking strictly in terms of ongoing transmission of language. Yet if asked whether maintenance efforts nonetheless serve some useful purpose, have some value, one can still find reasons for answering in the affirmative. (Dorian 1987:66)

Thus the predominant concern of the Arabist must be to promote within the Cypriot Maronite community some awareness of its impending cultural disinheritance.

Recently, a cleric and native speaker of CyA, Fr. Antonis Frangiskou, formerly a schoolteacher, published an Arabic-Greek glossary of this vernacular entitled: *To lexikó της αραβικής διαλέκτου του Κορμακίτη* (Nicosia, 2000). Though not the work of a professional linguist, Fr.

⁴⁵ Retention of ethnic languages in the face of globalization is becoming an increasingly difficult social stance to maintain even in the case of larger and more established speech communities with a national dimension; observe the individual cases of Irish (O'Reilly 1999), Breton (McDonald 1989), and Canadian French (Handler 1988).

⁴⁶ It has often been observed that writing a language down does not necessarily save it. Nonetheless, when one contrasts the rapidly advancing obsolescence of CyA with the relative functional vitality still enjoyed by contemporary Maltese, the institutionalization of the latter and its impressive elaboration as a literary medium, particularly since the advent of universal education, highlights the crucial functional role it has achieved in actualizing the public sphere (cf. Eidheim 1969:46) and reinforcing the symbolism of communal identity (Bartholy 1992), for instance, as an instrument of political rhetoric, and of social and religious rituals, such as the liturgy. The process whereby Maltese evolved the formal apparatus differentiating between oral and ritual stylistic registers has yet to be studied; see, however, Kontzi (1999) on early attempts at Bible translation into Maltese.

Frangiskou's initiative is a commendable first attempt by a native speaker at devising a practical alphabet for his native language using Greek characters.⁴⁷

If this laudable pioneer project evokes a sufficient response among the Arabic-speaking Cypriot Maronites, it may provide a parallel to another recent case of alphabetization in the Greek Sprachraum, that of Greek Romany (Messing 1988, 1991).

IV. THE DIALECTAL AFFILIATIONS OF CYPRIOT ARABIC

In Borg (1985:154f) I set out to show that despite its autonomous evolution over a period of several centuries, CyA has retained fairly transparent areal affiliations with the contemporary Arabic vernaculars. As already adumbrated in the preceding sections, they can be stated mainly by reference to formal features characteristic of two distinct dialect areas: (i) the Arabic colloquials of Greater Syria, and (ii) the Anatolian-Mesopotamian dialect continuum corresponding to the so-called *qeltu* dialect group, some of whose areal traits are also shared by certain Arabic dialects of Northern Syria, e.g., Aleppine.

(a) Phonology and grammar

(i) The historical treatment accorded OA short vowels in CyA is highly distinctive: whereas most S E Anatolian and Syrian Arabic dialects neutralize, via unconditioned fusion, the opposition between high vowels in stressed and unstressed positions: Mard, Dam *'amm* 'mother'; *bant* 'girl, daughter' (Vo/Wald 16, 48; Grotzfeld 1980:176-7), CyA differentiates between all three short tonic vowels (*ipn* 'son,' *umm* 'mother,' *tarp* 'road') but tends to fuse OA /i/ and /a/ in historically plain (i.e., non-emphatic) consonantal environments: *kilp* 'dog,' *sift* 'Saturday,' *tim* 'blood,' *simm* 'poison,' etc. Though highly untypical of the Syrian dialect area, the fusion of OA *a* and *i* in CyA nonetheless finds a strikingly close parallel in a few isolated Syrian Arabic dialects spoken in the Qalamūn highlands:

Einmalig in Syrien sind in inNabk (weniger ausgeprägt in den verwandten Sprachen von Dēr 'Atiye und liHmēra) die historischen Veränderungen vom *KaKK, -KaKK, denn diese sind ausnahmslos zu

⁴⁷ This work (232 pp.) comprises mainly a glossary often with useful illustrative examples, verbal paradigms, and a few short texts. It should, however, be used with caution because the author spent several years in Lebanon and tends to include Arabic terms not native to CyA. The type of Greek transcription used is also problematic and, for a reader unfamiliar with the vernacular, sometimes difficult to interpret.

KiKK, -KiKK, KuKK, -KuKK, je nach der lautlichen Umgebung, verschoben ... (Arno/Behn 19).

These dialects merge OA **a* and **i* yielding /i/ next to plain—i.e., non-emphatic, or non-backed—consonants: *kibš* 'Hammel,' *kilb* 'Hund,' *šims* 'Sonne,' etc. (*loc. cit.*), but /u/ in labial or backed consonantal environments: *xudd* 'Wange,' *duhr* 'Rücken,' *urd* 'Erde,' etc. Analogous rounding and backing of OA **a* next to labial consonants also occurs in CyA: *xtuft* 'I wrote' < Ar **katabt*, *tumpie tail* < Ar **ḡanab* + *-iyya*, *šupēn* 'godparents' < Ar **šabāyin*, *šummās* 'sacristan' < *šammās*, etc. Though the shift of /a/ > /i/ occurs in Lebanese Arabic (Bauer, XVIII), the co-occurrence of fronting and rounding of **a* presents a striking parallel between CyA and these Qalamūn vernaculars.

Like certain Syrian and Lebanese vernaculars, CyA also shows fronting of short *a* in unstressed VC word-final sequences in contact with historically non-emphatic consonants: *sipel* 'stubble' < Ar *sabal* 'ear of corn,' *ates* 'lentils' < Ar *adas*, *axsen* 'better' < Ar *aḥsan*, etc. but *pakar* < Ar *baqaq* 'cattle,' *taraf* 'end' < Ar **taraf* (cf. Jiha 1964:123).

Most Arabic dialects in the Anatolian and 'Greater Syrian' areas are of the 'differentiating' kind: ("En Orient, les parlers non différentiels semblent rares ..."; Cantineau 1960:108) and generally show a different historical and synchronic treatment of the high vowels /i/ and /u/ in open unstressed syllables from that meted out to the low, central vowel /a/: Āz *kleb* 'Hunde,' *šrūt* 'Bedingungen,' but *tarēq* 'Weg,' *daqēq* 'Mehl' (Jastrow 1978:64; Procházka 200). CyA ordinarily elides all three vowels in this context: *klēp* 'dogs' < *kilāb*, *trap* 'dust' < *turāb*, and *txin* 'flour' < *ṭahīn*.

Pretonic shift of **a* to *i* in CyA closed syllables finds a parallel in certain Syrian and Lebanese vernaculars (Grotzfeld 1980:178):

CyA *šip'an* 'sated,' *kislān* 'lazy,' *sikrān* 'drunk' (< Ar *šabān*, *kaslān*, *sakrān*, respectively); Bišm *birdān* 'frierend,' *tībān* 'müde,' *kislān* 'faul' (Jiha 1964: 162); Syrian Ar *ḡillayt* 'I stayed,' *niḡḡār* 'carpenter,' *ḡissalt* 'I washed,' *šillayt* 'I prayed,' etc. (Arnold 2000:361).⁴⁸

Like Andalusī Arabic, CyA lost the vocalic length contrast via contact with an Indo-European language (Greek); historically long nuclei yield the corresponding short vowels: *xakura* 'cultivated plot,'

⁴⁸ Anatolian Ar vernaculars here show the further evolutionary stage: *i, u, a* > [ə]: Kənd *ṭammān* 'Granatapfelbäume (coll),' < Ar *rummān*, *sawwāq* 'Pflüger' (Vo/Wald 214) < Ar *sawwāq*. Cf. also an analogous vowel shift in Ancient Hebrew discussed in Bravmann (1977:69) and Morag (1989:97).

natūr 'guard,' *taxuna* 'flour mill,' [*it*] *mileti* 'Christmas,' etc. < Ar *ḥakūra*, *nātūr*, *tāhūna*, *mīlādiyy*, etc.

(ii) Extensive retention in CyA of the OA dental : interdental opposition and the reflex *k* < OA *k* and *q* suggests that this vernacular harks back to a rural dialect of Eastern Arabic, since urban and urbanized speakers in this region tend to fuse historical interdentals with corresponding dentals and show the glottal reflex /ʔ/ for the OA uvular stop *q*.

(iii) The evolved CyA palato-alveolar spirant *ž* is intriguing ("... un peu partout en Syrie et au Liban, l'ancienne prononciation affriquée *ğ* est en régression devant la prononciation chuintante *ž*"; Cantineau 1956a:309) but need not invalidate Irene Garbell's dating of the deaf-frication to the 18th-19th century (1958:323) since Arabic loans in CyG display the reflex *č* < Ar *ğ*: *čartuna* 'rat' ~ Ar *ğardōn*. The equally unexpected retention of *ğ* in Aleppine (highlighted in Palva 1984:10) is, like the *Umlaut* variety of the *imāla*, undoubtedly symptomatic of socioeconomic interaction with S E Anatolia (see Foreword, fn 19).

In the morphological realm, the following points merit attention:

(i) retention of the *b*-Imperfect, as in most 'Greater Syrian' and Egyptian dialects; the formal contrast *pk̄yisrok* : *pisrok* (3rd pers m sg vs. 1st pers sg) links CyA to several Syrian and Lebanese dialects (Fischer/Jastrow 1980:27; Behnstedt 1997, maps 159, 160).

(ii) Stem vowel alternations in the CyA inflection of the Imperative (*x̄top*, *x̄tup-i*, *x̄tup-u* 'write!') replicate synchronic changes contingent on closed vs. open syllabicity typical of Syrian and Lebanese vernaculars: Alep *skōb*, *skābi*, *skābu* 'pour!' (Sabuni 1980:119). The sensitivity of vocalic length to syllabic structure in E. Arabic is attributable to Aramaic influence (Nöldeke 1880:34, §49; Lewin 1969:23).

(iii) Loss of the Form IV verbal scheme.⁴⁹ This presents an arresting contrast with mainstream Eastern Arabic where this verb class occurs

⁴⁹ Systemic loss of Form IV in many Arabic dialects raises interesting lexical issues, for instance, relating to creativity in the participial form class. One notes the spread of secondary Form I participles on the *mafʿūl* scheme for historically Form IV lexemes: Pal Ar *marsūl* 'message,' *malzūq* 'stuck,' etc. Al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ğawwās* noted forms like *qalbun matʿūbun* 'a weary heart' and *amalun mafsūdun* 'a vitiated deed' and *rağulun mabğūdun* 'a despised man,' instead of *qalbun mutʿabun* and *amalun mufsādun* and *rağulun mubğādun* (cf. Thorbecke 38); for a Middle Arabic parallel, see Blau (1995:238). On the development of secondary participles on the Form IV scheme, see §1Xa.

admittedly on a limited scale: Pal Ar *akram* 'ehren,' *aʿta* 'geben,' *ağbar* 'zwingen' (Bauer 83, 123, 386). These Form IV verbs often exist alongside free variants from other schemes (Forms I or II): Pal Ar *karram*, *ğabar*, etc. (Bauer, *loc. cit.*), suggesting that Form IV verbal lexemes in these colloquials are loans from literary Arabic.⁵⁰

(iv) A striking correspondence with Palestinian Arabic as against the N Syrian and S E Anatolian dialect group occurs in the stress pattern and syllabic structure of the Form VII Imperfect:

CyA *nširep*, *pk̄yinišrep* 'be drunk (beverage)' ~ Alep *nšarab*, *yənšireb* 'être bu' (Barth 384) ~ Pal Ar *byinišreb* 'potable' (Elihai 68) ~ Ka'b *nšarab*, *yənšarab* 'getrunken werden' (Vo/Wald 223).

(v) In the realm of nominal inflection, CyA shows extensive replacement of internal plurals by suffixation of *-āt* < *-āt*: CyA *ismāt* 'names,' *patnāt* 'bellies,' *užžāt* 'faces,' *xankāt* 'mouths,' *teyyāt* (sg *teyye* < Ar *dāliya*) 'vines,' *šrizzāt* 'straw baskets,' (sg *šrizze* < Ar *sariğā*), etc., continuing a trait apparently endemic to the dialectal periphery (cf. AA *kanīsāt* 'églises'; Pérès 1953:281; Çukur *difrāt* 'Fingernägel'; Procházka 2002:112) though, in essence, this shift actualizes a drift also afoot in mainstream colloquials, affecting plural forms of high frequency terms.

The areal diffusion attained by this form of morphological simplification in Eastern Arabic is considerable:

Leban Ar *ʾarđāt* 'terres' (Feghali 1919:210); Dam *mxaddāt* 'cushions,' *bəzrāt/bzūr* 'seeds' (Sto/Ani 58, 203); Pal Ar *danab* 'Schwanz,' pl *danabāt* (Bauer 268), *dālye* 'vine,' pl *dalyāt* (Spoer/Haddad 1909:7), *quṭṭ*, pl *-āt* 'Kater' (Bauer 171); Leban Ar *bāt* 'Achsel,' pl *bātāt*, *bdār* 'Samen,' pl *bdārāt* (Jiha 1964:154), etc.; Cai *nāsāt* 'Menschen' (Spitta 1880:138, cf. Bloch 1989); S E Turkey: *rāsāt* 'heads,' *zalmāt* 'men,' etc. (Procházka 2000:221).⁵¹

The plural marker attached to a collective noun can encode "abgemessene oder abmeßbare Mengen" (Grotzfeld 1964:93), or implement an individuating function (Abu-Haidar 1979:74, 79):

Dam *ḥalibāti* 'meine rechte (od. nötige) Menge Milch' (Grotzfeld 1964:93); Bask *waḷla rizzāt taybin* 'this is really good rice' (Abu-Haidar, *loc. cit.*); Pal Ar *haḍol il-qamḥāt ḍelāthim* 'das sind ihre Weizenhaufen' (Bauer 203), *ḥalibātak* 'deine Milch' (Bauer 205).

⁵⁰ Borrowing in the opposite direction, from vernacular Arabic to MLA has introduced into the latter dialectal Form I variants alongside lineally inherited Form IV equivalents. Thus, under the root *ğbr*, Hans Wehr's dictionary, which incorporates "colloquialisms and dialect expressions that have gained currency in written form" (p. VIII), gives synonymous doublets from both verbal classes: *ğabara/ağbara* 'alā' force, compel' (Wehr 1979:132).

⁵¹ Cf. also *nhār*, pl *-āt* 'day,' which is the norm in Damascene (Sto/Ani 60), Aleppine (Barth 852), Anatolian Arabic (Vo/Wald 431), and Palestinian (Bau296).

It also conveys the meaning 'kinds of' as in *nebīdāt* 'Weine, Weinsorten' (Bauer 1910:62).⁵²

(vi) In CyA and other Eastern Arabic dialects, reflexes of *fu'ulāt* plurals are typically, though not exclusively, mass nouns:

CyA *zyutāt* 'oils, kinds of oil', *xumāt* 'meat dishes' (< **luhūmāt*); Alep *ḡbūsāt* 'des tas des pastèques', *ḡbūnāt* 'des sortes de fromages', *dmūm/ dmūmāt* 'sang' (Barth 102, 103, 250), Pal Ar *bzūrāt*-pluriel désignant des variétés de graines (Elihai 201), Bagh (M) *bzūrāt* 'seeds, semen' (Wood/Bee 33).

The expressiveness of the *fu'ulāt* scheme deriving from its iconicity as a double plural yielding "a more multitudinous feel of plurality" (Justice 1987:89) possibly accounts for its diffusion to nouns in the countable class: Bišm *zbūnāt/zbāyin* 'Kunden' (Jiha 1964:50), CyA *ḡkyunāt* 'debts' < **duyūnāt*, CyA *xpurāt* 'graves' **qbūrāt*, *sxurāt* 'brothers-in-law',⁵³ Cai *uzūnāt* 'Erlaubnisscheine', *kutūbāt* 'Bücher'; OA *buyūtāt* 'Häusergruppen' (Spitta 1880:138).⁵⁴ Lentin (1995:133) has indicated pervasive use of this plural scheme in subclassical Arabic texts from 'Greater Syria' and Egypt produced during the Ottoman period; actually, its distribution in colloquial Arabic extends beyond the Eastern dialect area.⁵⁵

Salient isoglosses with the *qeltu* dialect continuum extending across N Syria, S E Anatolia, and Mesopotamia include:

(i) the *Umlaut* variety of the medial *imāla* (i.e., OA *ā* > **ē* in the environment of a historically adjacent short or long, high front vowel) along with retention of the low central reflex of OA *ā* elsewhere:

Cypriot Arabic		Old Arabic
<i>xsep</i> 'account'		< <i>hisāb</i>
<i>peret</i> 'cold' (m)		< <i>bārid</i>
<i>skēkin</i> 'knives'		< <i>sakākīn</i>
<i>xvež</i> 'bed clothes'	< * <i>hwēyež</i>	< <i>hawāyiğ</i>
<i>nam</i> 'he slept'		< <i>nāma</i>

⁵² The plural ending *-āt* on CyA *umm* 'mother', also actualized in Alep *ʿamm*, pl *ʿammāt/ʿammahāt* 'mères' (Barth 14), Leban Ar *ʿummāt* (Jiha 1964: 153), Yem (J) *ʿummāt* (Pianta 1989:171), etc. may well be lineally inherited from Old Arabic (cf. Sibawayhi II, 97, 11–12; Levin 1994: II, 224).

⁵³ Cf. the special pl form in Pal Ar *ḡhūrātu* 'seine Schwiegersöhne', which is restricted to the context of rhymes (Kampff 1936:40) and the semantic specialization of Cairene plurals for this lexical item: *ḡhrāt* 'fathers- or brothers-in-law' as opposed to *ʿil-ʿaḡhār* '(all one's) in-laws male and female' (Bad/Hi 513).

⁵⁴ On Damascene, see Grotzfeld (1964:94): *ḡrūtāt* 'Bedingungen' (ursprünglich distributive).

⁵⁵ The *fu'ulāt* plural scheme also occurs in the Western dialect area: Tangiers *rḡlāt* 'hommes' (Marçais 1911:309), Malt *dnubiet*; 'sins', sg *dnub*; Judæo-Arabic *dnubati* 'my sins' (Mainz 1949:83).

pan 'he seemed'
xlave 'sweetness; taste' < *bāna*
< *ḡalāwa*

The conformity of CyA with the *qeltu* group, certain vernaculars of S Turkey (Jastrow 1969; Procházka 2002:40), and N Syria with respect to this dialectal shibboleth is crucial for reconstructing the genesis of CyA, which even shows the same 'special cases' of this shift characterizing this dialect group: CyA *nes* 'people', *zež* 'hens', cf. Bagh (C) *nes*, *jēj* (Blanc 1964a:46; cf. Procházka 2002:40f).

As noted, the *Umlaut* variety of the *imāla* is diachronically distinct from the analogous shift *ā* > *e/i* affecting certain Lebanese and Syrian Arabic dialects, e.g., Beirut (Mattsson 1911:65f), Qarītēn, Palmyra, and Soukhne (Cantineau 1956b:121, 128–9), where it occurs exclusively in the adjacency of non-emphatic and non-back consonantal environments. In CyA, the *imāla* reflex has fused with the occasional monophthong /e/ < /ay/: *neme* 'sleeping' (f) < **nāyma*, and with the reflex of OA /ī/ lowered in contact with the voiced pharyngeal fricative: *pipe'e* 'he sells' < **bibī*⁵⁶ (on final *imāla* in CyA, see Borg 1985:64f).

(ii) Monophthongization of the sequence **āyi* in active participles (< OA *fā'il*) of medially weak verbs and in reflexes of historical *fa'āyil* plurals: CyA *ep* 'absent (m)' < *ḡāyib*, *mpet* 'kinds of wine' < **nbāyid*, *knes* 'churches' < *kanāyis*, *ḡupēn* 'godparents' < *ḡabāyin*, etc. An analogous trend shows up in certain S E Anatolian Arabic vernaculars, such as the *Āzax* dialect, where "fa'el tritt ... regelmässig für fa'elall/fa'eyal der übrigen anatolischen Dialekte ein" (Jastrow 1981:176): *Āz ḡaḡer*, Darag *ḡḡer* 'Stein' ~ Kənd *ḡaḡeyər* < **ḡaḡāyir*, Mard *bḡem* < *bahāyim* (Vol Wald 109, 49);⁵⁷

(iii) systematic deletion of the word-initial laryngeal spirant in pronominal and deictic forms. Like the Diyarbakır and Siirt dialects, CyA deletes **h* in indexical forms, the latter word class being formally irreducible to the constituent structure of 'root + stem formative': *uo* 'he' < *huwwa*, *ie* 'she' < *hiyya*, etc. (Borg 1985:39);

(iv) permanent agglutination of the feminine ending (*tā' marbūḡa*) of numerals to certain plural nouns. Whereas the diachronic shift introducing open juncture between *tā' marbūḡa* and the preceding numeral is a common Eastern dialectal trait (Pal Ar *xams-tiyyām* 'five

⁵⁶ A comparable vocalic shift also occurs in certain Anatolian Arabic vernaculars: *bā'e*, *ybe'e* (Vo/Wald 53); *ḡō'e* 'Hunger' < *ḡū'e* (Vo/Wald 94). High vowels in these dialects can also undergo lowering in the adjacency of an emphatic or uvular consonant: *stōh* 'roofs', *daqēq* 'flour' (Jastrow 1978:63ff; 1994:120) < OA *suḡūh*, *daqīq*, respectively.

⁵⁷ Cf. also the exceptional Syrian forms *reḡ*, *reḡa*, *reḡīn* (Arnold 1998:119).

days'; Cai *talat t-ušhur* 'drei Monate'; Woidich 1989:201), CyA shows, like certain S E Anatolian Arabic dialects, the further stage of permanent agglutination of {t-} to plurals of certain high frequency nouns even when no numeral precedes: *tišxūr* 'months', *θkyem* 'days' < **tiyyām*, *tižmā'a* 'weeks', *tā'irfe* 'loaves', etc.; cf. Anat Ar *alf*, pl *talāf* 'tausend', *šahr*, pl *tašhor/tašhūr* 'Monat' (Vo/Wald 13, 232); for comparative data, see Blau (1965:119) and Mörth (1997:174f);

(v) the shift of the verbal prefixes |ta-| and |tta-| ⇒ surface /te-/ and /tte-/, respectively, before the underlying 3rd pers. m sg marker /y-/ also typifying certain Anatolian Arabic vernaculars:

Mit dem vokallosen Allomorph [y] des Imperfekt-Flexionssuffixes [yɔ-] verschmilzt |tə-| in allen Mundarten zu {tī-}, z.B. Qarṭmīn, Arbəl, Känderib, Āzəx, Diyarbakır *tīqūl* 'er wird sagen' (Jastrow 1978:303; cf. also 1999:46);

(vi) like S E Anatolian, Syrian, and N Lebanese dialects, CyA does not utilize a reflex of OA *šay* for verbal negation;

(vii) morphophonemically apocopated Imperfect forms of the verb **sawwā*, **bisawwī* > CyA *sava*, *pisáy* 'make': *psay*, *pitsáy*, *pisáy*, etc. 'I make, you make, he makes, etc.', Kənd *sawa*, *ysay* and *sawa*, *ysawi* 'machen, tun, wert sein' (Vo/Wald 214, 215) ~ Hask *sā*, *īsī* 'machen' (Talay 2002:81);

(viii) formal diachronic restructuring of initially weak verbs on the pattern of hollow verbs via historical lengthening of the Imperfect stem vowel typified in certain Syro-Lebanese dialects; in CyA historical length is realized as stress:

CyA *sa'a*, *pisá'a* 'hold, contain' (< OA *wasí'a*, *yasa'u*) ~ Alep *sā'*, *yāsā'* 'contenir' (Barth 328) ~ Bišm *sā'*, *bisā'* 'er enthält' (Jiha 1964:137) ~ Kfar'ab *sā'*, *isā'* (Feghali 1938:781); CyA *zan*, *pizín* 'weigh (tr)' < OA *wazana*, *yazínu* ~ Alep *zān*, *yzīn* 'peser (qqe) avec toute balance autre que la romaine' (Barth 326) ~ Bišm *zān*, *bizīn* 'er wiegt' (Jiha 1964:137);

(ix) deletion of word-initial /l/ in reflexes of OA *liḥāf*, *lisān* > CyA *xef* 'quilt', *san-* 'tongue, language'; cf. Ka'b *sayn*, Qarṭ *nsēn* 'Zunge, Muttersprache' (Vo/Wald 391) ~ Hask *ssēn* 'Zunge' (Talay 2002:81), Siverek (J) *sēn taba' al-yəhūd* 'the language of the Jews' (Nevo 2001:87);

(x) the plural suffix -*én* in a few lexical items on the *fu'l* scheme: *'utén* 'pieces of wood' (sg *'ut*); cf. Kənd *'ūd*, pl *'ūden* 'Holz' (Vo/Wald 295);⁵⁸

⁵⁸ In other Arabic dialects too, the *fu'l* scheme appears to be susceptible to further plural marking: Pal Ar pl *'urīn* 'one-eyed' (Jer : Piamenta, p.c.) ~ *'urān* (Bau 84); note also CyA *xodrīn* 'green'.

(xi) the incidence of the participial scheme *miCCāC*: *miḥdār* 'numb (limb)' ~ Mḥall *maxdōr* 'ingeschlafen (Glieder)' (Vo/Wald 135) is intriguing and warrants a comparative study of participial morphology in Anatolian Arabic;

(xii) marginal use of the morpholexical scheme *fʿl* for verbal nouns: *xtil* 'killing' (< *qtl*), *xṭin* [ḡdīn] 'yoking' (< *kān*), *xrik* 'burning, conflagration' (< *hrq*); though untypical of Eastern Arabic, reflexes of a historical **qtīl* scheme for verbal nouns typify certain S E Anatolian vernaculars: Āz *qatīl* 'Töten, Massaker' (Vo/Wald 327), Darag *brīd* 'erkalten', *šrīb* 'trinken', *šhīk* 'lachen' (Jastrow 1973a:53);⁵⁹

(xiii) systematic use of copulas derived from contracted independent pronouns in equational sentences (cf. Borg 1985:134);

(xiv) morpholexically merged reflexes of *kān* and **kānta* in historically compound verb forms (*op. cit.*, 103-4);

(xv) the plural form of the CyA demonstrative pronoun *alli* 'these' (< OA *hā'ulā*; Wright 1997:268) finds close parallels in the *qeltu* area and beyond: Tuzlagözü *awlī* 'diese (pl)' (Jastrow 1978:105) ~ Mos (M) *holi* (Blanc 1964b:29); (cf. also Bšarri *hawle/hawli*; Grotzfeld 1980:188);

(xvi) reflexes of the deictics **hāk* and **hā-īk* (i.e., CyA *ak* and *ayk*, respectively) functioning as anaphoras (cf. Borg 1985:142);

(xvii) automatic stress of the negative particles *ma* and *la* as phrasal heads (cf. §V);

(xviii) fusion of long and short forms of the number 'one.'

As already noted, the occurrence in CyA of dialectal traits currently attested across a broad dialectal region on the mainland is plausibly ascribable to the existence of an erstwhile *koiné* radiating from the region of Northern Syria and S E Anatolia.

A few autonomous traits in this vernacular also merit notice, such as the historical morphophonemics of finally weak verbs: *pna* 'he built' < *banā*, *ska* 'he watered' < *saqā*, etc.; this stress shift appears to be unknown in the sedentary Arabic dialects of the region. Observe also the forms of CyA presentatives: *avá* 'here he is', *anyá* 'here she is', *anná* 'here they are', which actualize a notable degree of phonological reduction, concomitant with lexical fusion, when compared with the

⁵⁹ While common in Maghribī Arabic, this nominal scheme is untypical of Eastern Arabic; its incidence in Anatolian Arabic may continue older Semitic strata; cf. the Hebrew *nomen actionis* scheme *qāṭil* (GesKC 231).

etymologically more transparent Anatolian forms: *Kənd hawn-we, hawn-ye, hawn-ənnē* (Jastrow, p.c.). In fact, the extensive lexical creativity implemented in the adverbial class constitutes a highly original trait in this vernacular (cf. IXe below).

(b) *Lexicon*

As already noted, there is a tendency among Arabic dialectologists to assume or, at least, hypothesize for CyA far-reaching correspondences with the Lebanese vernaculars, mainly on the grounds of its speakers' Maronite affiliation.

In fact, like the other formal domains of CyA surveyed above, the lexical commonalities of this vernacular with the Eastern Arabic dialects do not yield extensive correspondences specifically with Lebanese to the exclusion of Syrian, Palestinian, or Egyptian Arabic vernaculars; highly indicative, in this regard, are the following cognates of the CyA lexemes *fak*, *pifik* 'remember' and *axveθ* 'mad':

Leban Ar *fāq, ifiq* 'se rappeler' (Feghali 1938:812) ~ Egyp Ar *fāq* 'ala 'se rappeler, se souvenir' (Boc, Dozy II, 298) ~ Pal Ar *fāq* (i) 'zur Besinnung kommen, fāq 'a hālo 'kommen zu sich' (Bauer 55, 178) ~ OA *afāqa* 'he recovered his intelligence' (Lane 2461).

Alep *axwat*, f *xawta/xōta*, pl *xotān* 'idiot, hēbētē' (Barth 221) ~ Leban Ar *axwet* (f *xawta*, pl *xūt*) 'toqué, timbré, insensé' (Fegh M/J 1977:201, fn3) ~ Bask *axwit*, f *xawta* 'mad' (Abu-Haidar 61, 12) ~ Bišm *xiwit*, *byixwit* 'aufgeregt, verrückt werden' (Jiha 1964:70) ~ Pal Ar *xiwit* 'verrückt machen, xawite 'idiot' (Bauer 337, 162), *axwaθ*, f *xōθa*, pl *xōθā/xōθān* 'dumm, tōricht' (Kampf 1936: 20); Egyp Ar *rās axwat* 'tête timbrée, maxwūt 'écervelé' (Boc, Dozy I, 410), cf. also Jordanian Ar *nxawāθ* 'go out of one's senses' (Palva 1992: 169).

Some CyA lexemes have a distinctly Syro-Lebanese trajectory:

CyA *'alepukra* 'early morning' ~ Alep *'ala bəkra* 'le matin' (Barth 57) ~ Hama *'abukra* 'früh am Morgen' (Lewin 1966:201) ~ Dam *'ala bəkra* 'in the morning': *bšūfak bəkra 'ala bəkra* 'I'll see you tomorrow morning' (Sto/Ani 153) ~ Leban Ar *'a bukra* 'heute morgen, bukra 'a bukra 'morgen früh' (Bauer 209), Bask *'a bukra* 'tomorrow' (Abu-Haidar 1979:86); CyA *zakraūr* 'throat' ~ Alep *zakraūr* 'pomme d'Adam' (Barth 316) ~ Kfar'ab *zakraūr* (Feghali 1918: 40) ~ Hat *zangarūne* 'Kehle' (Arnold 1998:312) ~ al-Xatūniye *zagrūg* (Behnstedt 1992b:45).

Significantly, for my conjecture that the internal history of CyA can cast valuable light on the historically intriguing boundary dividing the S E Anatolian from the Syro-Lebanese colloquials, some lexical isoglosses in CyA straddle this divide. Particularly noteworthy here is the treatment meted out to the OA interrogative **ayyu šay'in* 'what?' > **ays(in)* (A. Fischer 1905: 807f; Fischer/Jastrow 1980:18; Hopkins 1984, §62b) > dialectal *ays*, which Versteegh (1984) and W-D. Fischer (1995) have characterized as a significant instance of lexical creativity con-

tributing to the differentiation of the colloquials from Old Arabic.⁶⁰ While reflexes of **ays* are quite common in the modern Arabic dialects (Rabin 1951:150), a noteworthy formal trait meriting attention in CyA and Arabic vernaculars on both sides of the *qəltu*-Syro-Lebanese divide is the propensity to proliferate compound adverbials with a reflex of **ays* in initial position:

CyA *aška* 'how much' < **ays-qadr*, *aššik* 'how?' < **ays-šikl*, and *ašma* 'whatever' < **ays-mā*; Çukur *šikil?* 'was für ein?' *kif* 'wie?' < **ayskif* (Procházka 2002:71, 134); Anat Ar *aššōn / ašōn / ašawn / ašwan / ašwan* 'wie' < **ayslawn*; *aččax* 'wann?' < **ayswaqt* (Jastrow 1978: 115, 119); Syr Ar *ašqādd/ašqad/ays qadre*, etc., Sux *škad* 'wieviel' (Behnstedt 1997:294, 577) ~ Alep *šqadd* 'combien?' (Barth 397) ~ Anat Ar *ašqa* 'wieviel(e)' (Vo/Wald 24) ~ Bagh *ašqa* (J), *šqad* (Chr) (Blanc 1964a:137); < **ays-qadr*.⁶¹

CyA *aššik* 'how' has suggestively close parallels in certain Arabic vernaculars spoken in S E Anatolian: Qarṭ *bə'ays šakəl kən?* 'wie sah er aus?' and Sii *š-šakəl* 'wie' (Vo/Wald 229), echoed in certain Lebanese Arabic dialects: Bask *kif šikl* 'how' (Abu-Haidar 1979:116). CyA *ašma* has cognates with a wider areal distribution extending across S E Anatolia, Syria, and Lebanon:

Anat Ar *ašma* 'wie?' (Vo/Wald 26) ~ Leban Ar *ayšma* 'quoi que, n'importe' (Feghali 1938:738).⁶²

As for CyA lexical commonalities specifically within the *qəltu* continuum, four striking lexemes shared with the dialect of the Christians of Āzəx merit notice:⁶³

CyA *xitem*, *pkyaxtom* 'work' ~ Āz [-], *ixdəm* 'arbeiten' (Vo/Wald 135);⁶⁴ CyA *šaxve* 'hair of head' ~ Āz *šahfe* 'Haupthaar' (Jastrow 1969:

⁶⁰ In Lebanon, this lexeme yields an areally diagnostic trait: "En effet, 'ays est propre aux parlers libanais de la montagne, alors que šu se retrouve surtout dans les villes ou le Liban Sud, chez les Druses et leurs voisins chrétiens et musulmans" (Fegh M/J 1978:24, fn 4).

⁶¹ CyA *aška* < **ays-qadr*, showing stress on the first syllable and deletion of the historical final cluster is formally closest to Anat Ar *ašqa* 'wieviel(e)' (Ka'biye; Vo/Wald 24). Several Eastern Arabic vernaculars reverse the order of the morphemic components in this lexical fusion and opt for the construct state pattern [**qadd + ays*]: Leban *'iddays* (Abu-Haidar 1979:116), Pal Ar *qaddēš*, etc. The areal diffusion of these competing forms within Syrian Arabic is well documented in Behnstedt (1997: map 288).

⁶² Cf. MAr *aš mā* 'whatever' (Blau 2002a:178).

⁶³ These lexical traits intimate a special historical relationship between CyA and certain Arabic dialects spoken in the Mardin province of S E Anatolia, possibly against a religious background.

⁶⁴ This lexeme has also been integrated into the Urmi vernacular of Neo-Aramaic: *xdm* 'work, till soil' (Garbell 1965:293).

685) < OA *šarafa*; CyA *kaspe* 'liver' - Āz *qašabe* 'Schilfrohr, Leber' (Vo/Wald 338) < OA *qašaba*, cf. *qašabu r-ri'ati* 'the ducts (*urūq*) of the lungs' (Lane 2529); CyA *sak*, *pisuk* 'plough' - Āz *sāq*, *isōq* 'treiben, pflügen' (Vo/Wald 213) [cf. also Çukur *swq* 'id.' (Procházka 2002:172) and Bahz *ysōq fadān* 'er pflügt' (Jastrow 1981:392)].

The Anatolian Arabic/CyA isogloss *xdm* = 'work' is noteworthy within the Eastern Arabic dialect area since this same lexeme also occurs in a diagnostic lexical set defining a major dialectal division between the Levant ('to work' = *štaḡal*; Bauer 22) and the Maghreb ('to work' = *xldm*; W. Marçais 1911:276f; Ph. Marçais 1960:580). In fact, Āzəx and CyA also retain reflexes of OA *ištaḡala* 'be busied,' i.e., *štaḡal* 'reden, fragen' (Vo/Wald 227) and *šte^cel*, *pkysište^cel* 'busy oneself'; (cf. Malt *ḥadem* 'he worked' but *αoghol* 'work').

CyA *šaxve* < *šahfe* < *ša'afa* 'hair' is an arresting term being a rare item in dialectal Arabic; its cognates in Bedouin Arabic mark it out as a remarkable residual archaism in this peripheral vernacular inherited from Hamito-Semitic (Orel/Stolbova 1995:124; *š^cfl*).

A diachronically revealing case of CyA lexical particularism is the lexification of the semantic slot 'see,' for which this vernacular has competing reflexes of two root morphemes: **qš^c* and **r^y*; the first has a fully inflected paradigm, the second retains only residual forms exclusively for the first and second persons of the Perfect:

sg 1	<i>rayt</i>
sg 2 m, (f)	<i>rayt(i)</i>
pl 1.	<i>rayna</i>
pl 2	<i>raytu</i>

Whereas the general trend in dialectal Arabic has been to replace **rā* with other lexemes, especially *šāf*, *yšūf*, as in Palestinian (Bauer 271), Damascene (Sto/Ani 1964:203), Baghdadi (Blanc 1964a:152), Moroccan Arabic (Sobelman/Harrell 1963:172), etc., reflexes of OA *r^y* occur mainly in varieties of Arabic spoken in sheltered dialect areas (cf. Ferguson 1959b; Kaye 1986): N Yemen, Malta, Cyprus, Uzbekistan, etc. and in certain socially marginalized vernaculars, e.g., Jewish varieties of urban Moroccan Arabic (Heath 1989:7). The formerly wide distribution of OA *r^y* 'see' can still be inferred from the incidence of derived forms of this verb across the Arabic language area:

Bagh (M) *rāwa*, *yrāwi* 'show' (Blanc 1964a:151-2); Cai *warra* (Spiro 1929:500); Alep *rawa*, *yrāwi/rawwa*, *yrāwwi* 'faire voir' (Barth 302); N Yem *rawwā* 'zeigen' (Behnstedt 1987:259), etc.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Reflexes of OA *r^y* have also been widely retained in deictics and presentatives: Dam *tārik* 'da bist du,' *tārika* 'da ist sie doch' (Grotzfeld 1965:23), Negev Bedouin *arih* 'dort ist er,' *ariha* 'dort ist sie' (Bau 72), *tarāhu lbāb* 'da ist die Türe' (W-D. Fischer 1959:196); cf. also Marçais (1911:305).

CyA *kiš^ce* has cognates in a number of Eastern Arabic vernaculars: Aleppine (Barth 659), certain Lebanese dialects (Kampff 1936:59; Frayha 1947:140; *qš^cl*), and several varieties of *qaltu* Arabic spoken in S E Anatolia and Iraq (e.g., the Mosul dialect: *qāšāc/gāšāc*; Blanc 1964a:152). It thus represents a significant isogloss since it may antedate the dialect boundary between the Mesopotamian-Anatolian and the Syro-Lebanese dialect groupings. In fact, an examination of the older dialectal literature and, especially, of subclassical literary Arabic sources, such as *Hazz al-quḥūf fī šarḥ qašīd Abī Šādūf*, by Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jawād al-Širbīnī, studied in Davies (1981:319-21), leaves no doubt that earlier reflexes of *qš^c* 'see' had a much wider areal distribution within Eastern Arabic than at the present time. This source suggests that the verb <*qš^c*, *yqš^c*> in the colloquials of 17th century Egyptian peasants "was in use from at least the 15th century" (p. 445). This lexeme is still current among present-day Egyptian *fallāḥīn* (cf. Behn/Woid 1999:391). Berggren's 1844 dictionary of Syrian and Egyptian Arabic gives both *qš^c* and *šwf*, and the former is also recorded for rural Palestinian (Bīr Zēt) in Schmidt/Kahle (1918:1, under *qš^c*). Dozy (II, 358) cites Cai <*qš^c*> 'voir' from Bocthor (1864); however, neither Spiro (1895) nor Bad/Hi (1986) record it. It seems clear then that CyA and the aforementioned S E Anatolian Arabic vernaculars have preserved the first stage in the following relexification process: *r^y* ⇒ *qš^c* ⇒ *šwf* actualized in several sedentary varieties of Eastern Arabic.⁶⁶ Of particular interest with respect to the historical links of CyA specifically with the *qaltu* dialect continuum (cf. Borg 1985:155-159) is the retention in either dialect territory of reflexes concurrently for both OA *r^y* and *qš^c* (cf. Mardin, Qarṭmīn, Āzəx, Kəndērib, and Arbəl; Vo/Wald 172, 338).

A striking case of a lexical archaism in CyA, is the reflex of the OA form *kayyis* 'acute, or sharp, or quick, intellect' (Lane 2640) yielding CyA *kaes* 'nice, pretty,' paralleled in most other Arabic dialects by that of the historically diminutive derivative *kwayyis*. Though currently retained only vestigially within Eastern Arabic (cf. map 351; Behnstedt 1997:703), reflexes of the underived form appear to have been widely distributed in the Arabic colloquials of 'Greater Syria,' as can be inferred

⁶⁶ In the N African Arabic vernaculars, on the other hand, there appears to have been a direct shift from **rā* to *šāf*.

from their incidence as loanwords in certain varieties of Western and Central Neo-Aramaic:

W. Neo-Aram *kayyes* (Behnstedt 1997, *loc. cit.*) ~ Tur *kā'iso* (Prym/Socin 1881:132) ~ Çukur *kayyes* (Procházka, p.c.).

Significantly, the form *kayyes* 'schön' shows up in a 15th century Palestinian Arabic word-list examined in Bobzin (1991).⁶⁷

V. ARAMAIC SUBSTRATA

An overall assessment of historical continuity and stratification within the Eastern Arabic lexicon with a special emphasis on the Aramaic component has yet to be attempted. The historical depth of lexical stratification in these vernaculars may, to some extent, be determined by reference to discourse schemas displaying relative stability over time. The comparative lexicology of colloquial Arabic here easily branches out into Semitic dialectology; thus even a cursory glance at certain areas of the Arabic word-stock often reveals traces of lexification patterns and semantic categorizations harking as far back as Canaanite (cf. Hopkins 1995) and Akkadian, continuing so-called "alte Substrat- und Kulturwörter" (Salonen (1952).

The nomenclature of agricultural discourse is particularly revealing in this respect. Patch (1929:2409) observed that

there is every reason to believe that the plows still used throughout Egypt, Palestine, and Syria are counterparts of the ancient ones.⁶⁸

Whereas some Eastern Arabic dialects retain reflexes of OA *mīhrāθ* 'plough'—Dam *māhrāt* 'plough' (Sto/Ani 175), Pal Ar *mīhrāθ* (Bauer 230), etc.—CyA *sunt*, pl *snut* '(wooden) plough' < **šmd* continues a pre-Arabic term with cognates in several Semitic languages:

Akk *šindu* 'Verband, Fessel' > 'Gespann', pl *šindē* (Salonen 1956:194), Syriac *šamad* 'conjunxit' (Brockel 631), cognate with S. Arabian *damd* (Corriente 1989:103), Egyp Ar *dand* 'Jochbaum' (Behn/Woid 1994:277).

⁶⁷ This form is here cited from Lentin (1995); cf. also AA *al-kayyis* 'the smart one' (Corriente 1977:83). Lane (*loc. cit.*) has observed that "the diminutive *kuwayyis* ... is much used in the present day as signifying *Elegant, pretty, or beautiful*" This form is also old, being well attested in the language of the Arabic papyri studied in Hopkins (1984:xlvi). The term *kuwayyis* has established itself as a virtually pan-dialectal norm within Eastern Arabic and beyond: Syrian Arabic *kuwayyis/kayyis* 'gut, schön,' Anat Ar *kuwayyas*, elativ *akwas* 'gut, schön, sorgfältig, tüchtig' (Vo/Wald 374), Alep *kuwayyes*, f *kuwayyse* 'jolie,' *kuwayysāt* 'jolies femmes' (Barth 735) ~ rur Palest/Leban *kuwayyis* (Bauer 264), etc.

⁶⁸ Dal (II, 82): "Nahe verwandt der Konstruktion des jüdischen Pfluges ist die Form des Pfluges, die ich 1899 bei Aleppo kennenlernte."

Within Arabic itself, cognates of CyA *sunt* occur along the Syro-Lebanese continuum, for instance, in Aleppo and, most suggestively, in the Qalamūn region where Aramaic is still spoken (i.e., in Ma'lūla, Bax'a, and Jubb'adīn):

Alep *šamd* 'charrue' (Barth 445) ~ Syr Ar *šimd/šumd*, pl *šmūd/šmūd*, also *šind/šund*, pl *šnūd* 'Pflug' (Arno/Behn 85; Arnold 1998:104, 322, 473) ~ Leban Ar *šōnd/šōmd* (Feghali 1918:52), *šend* (Fegh M/I 1977:33, fn 11) ~ Zimrīn *šumd* (Behnstedt 2001:133) ~ Çukur *šind/šimd* (Procházka, p.c.) ~ Neo-Aram *senta* (Arno/Behn 142).

The onomasiological domain of traditional agriculture exemplifies rather well the role of Aramaic as conduit to dialectal Arabic of older Semitic strata.⁶⁹ Observe, for instance, Alep *šef* 'Scharholz, Schwert' (Dalm II:82)⁷⁰ corroborated by contemporary dialectal forms from the Qalamūn area: *seyf* (Šadad, liḤmēra) and *sāf* (Rās il-^cAyn) 'Pflugsohle' (Arno/Behn 144-5) and Palmyra (Cantineau 1934:II, 54). These forms continue Aram *šefā* 'gladius, lignum infimum aratri' (Brockel 472), and ultimately reflect a situation already present in Biblical Hebrew, where the semantic interface between these two implements occurs in Is. 2, 4: *wə-kittāṭū ḥarbōṭām lə-ittīm* "and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares."⁷¹ The transparency of word and world here is highlighted by the independent lexification of this semantic pattern in the Syrian Arabic lexical pair *šilf* 'Pflugschar' (Behnstedt 1993a:119) and *šālfē* 'stylet' (Barth 405), S Palestinian Bedouin *šālfē* 'Lanzenspitze' (Littmann 1908:24) ~ Syriac *šelpā* 'knife' (Brockel 784).

Gotthelf Bergsträßer (1915:54; 1924:1) deemed a linguistic assessment of the Aramaic component in colloquial Arabic a crucial research

⁶⁹ Continuity in the nomenclature of Middle Eastern agriculture also clarifies historical questions relating to this region, e.g., by providing differential criteria for assessing "the immediate impact of the Arabic conquests of the seventh century on the agriculture of the lands of the Fertile Crescent" (Kedar 1985:1) and the subsequent sociocultural stagnation (e.g., in rural Syria; Batatu 1999:95).

⁷⁰ Omission of this usage in Barthélemy's dictionary of Aleppine is presumably oversight! Greenfield/Sokoloff (1990:90, fn 96) cite D. Sperber's opinion that Heb, Aram *šef* and Gk ξίφιον are loanwords from Egyptian.

⁷¹ Cf. also Micah (4, 3) and the complementary statement *kottū 'ittēkem lə-ḥārāḥōṭ* 'Beat your ploughshares into swords' in Joel (4, 10). For a discussion of technological aspects of the plough, see Byington (1949:52-53); cf. also Healey (1983:49). The Aramaic meaning pattern is paralleled in Mishnaic Heb *hereḥ* 'Schwert, Pflugschar' (Vogelstein 1894; Dalm 1938: 159 and 1932, II: 88, cit. *Mishna Kelim* XI, 2), 'das schwertähnliche Pflugholz' (Aruch, 484); and Syriac *ḥarbā d-paddānā* 'Pflugsterz' (Seidel 1988:162). Cf. Akk *xarbu* 'Pflug' (Soden 1966:325) and Ugar *hrb* 'ploughing' (?) (Healey, *loc. cit.*).

objective of Arabic dialectology and, more recently, Beyer (1984:77) has emphasized the significance for Aramaic studies of an inquiry into lexical Aramaisms in contemporary Arabic colloquials.

Aramaic traits in Eastern Arabic have been identified in Diem (1978: 41f) and, in more extensive fashion on the basis of recent field work, in Arno/Behn (47-92). Of the older literature on lexical Aramaisms in Arabic, the most useful reference works are still Siegmund Fraenkel's inquiry into Aramaic loans in the classical language, and Michel Feghali's 1918 survey of what he calls 'emprunts syriaques' in Lebanese Arabic.⁷² In his appraisal of Feghali's pioneer study, Rosenthal (1964: 170-1) notes:

Wie seine Vorgänger, tat auch Feghali das am nächsten Liegende und zog zum Vergleiche das reichhaltigste aramäische Lexikon, das syrische, heran und war demzufolge gleichfalls überzeugt, hier Überreste des Syrischen zu finden. Allerdings unterschied er am Ende seiner Untersuchung die religiösen "emprunts" von den "survivances" der Volkssprache, und so mag man sich wohl fragen, ob er hier nicht eher Spuren eines westaramäischen Dialekts als eines dem edessenischen Syrischen entsprechenden Idioms sehen muss. Gewiss haben manche Wörter wie etwa *zakrūr* "pomme d'Adam", *farsūr* "sabot", *ḡahḡeh* "il commença à luire, à briller (jour, aurore)", ihre nächsten und besten Entsprechungen im syrischen Lexikon, aber es ist immer zu bedenken, wieviel enger begrenzt als der syrische der uns bekannte Wortschatz der jungaramäischen Dialekte ist.

CyA shares numerous lexemes with Neo-Aramaic; its isolation from mainstream Arabic, together with the strong likelihood of its early formation, render it a potential repository of rare lexical Aramaisms:

CyA *'api* 'dense (vegetation)' ~ Syriac *'abē* 'thick, dense' (J. Payne Smith 1903:395); *taylep* 'he prepared' ~ Syriac *ṭayyeh* 'paravit' (Brockel 270); CyA *kisx* 'a kind of onion' ~ Syriac *kešā* 'cepula' (Brockel 338) ~ Garam *qishā* (Sokol 1990:501); CyA *marax* 'clean (wheat)' ~ Jaram *mrh* 'winnow' (M. Jastrow 841); CyA *leš* 'dirty' ~ Jaram *mlawšā* 'beschmutzt' (Dalm 1938:216) ~ Mand *lwš* 'soil, make dirty' (Drower/Macuch 1963:234), cf. OA *lāḡa* (u), *lawwāḡa* 'soil'; CyA *firex* 'he fainted' ~ Aram *parāḡā nišmatān* 'their soul fled' (M. Jastrow 1223; Sokol 1990: 445) ~ Syriac *perḡat nafseh* 'he expired' (J. Payne Smith 1903:459)⁷³ ~ Mlah *poreh*, *prihle* 'fliegen' (Jastrow 1994a:160); CyA *mnyeššar*, pl *mnyeššrin* 'abandoned', cf. Jaram *nāšrā*, Syriac *nōšrō* 'das Abfallende' (Levy III, 454); CyA *'ufa*, pl *'aváf* 'hand loom' (? < Syriac *'awpā* 'branche, rameaux'; Barth 587).

⁷² Cf. Wild (1973) and Zadok (1976) on the Aramaic component in the historical stratification in Lebanese and Palestinian placenames, respectively.

⁷³ For this meaning, cf. also CyA *til'et ruxu* 'he passed away', which may well be another calque on the Aramaic form (*tl'et*).

Covert Aramaisms in CyA, for instance, calques of idiomatic phrases, merit special attention since, more than ordinary transparent loans, they bespeak an advanced degree of historical Aramaic/Arabic bilingualism. An arresting reflex of an Aramaic collocation in CyA is *sak*, *pisúk* 'plough' (< OA *swq* 'drive'), no doubt an elliptical reflex of a fuller form, cf. Bəḡz *ysōq fadān* '[zum] Pflügen' (Jastrow 1981:392), itself a calque of Aramaic *dəḡar paddānā*. In fact, the elliptical form of this expression may be an inherited trait in CyA since reduction of this expressions already existed in Syriac:⁷⁴

dbar bedeutet im allgemein "führen", der Sinn "pflügen" resultiert aus einer Bedeutungsübertragung durch den elliptischen Gebrauch von *dbar paddānā* eigtl. "das (Pflug)gespann führen" (Seidel 1988:159).

The transfer of Aramaic lexemes to Arabic has in at least one case yielded fusion of homophones. CyA *šalax*, *pkysišlax* 'undress, to throw' derives from conflation of Aram *šalah* and *šalak*:

CyA *šalax* *ḡkyepu* 'he undressed'; *misku xzar tešitxunni* 'they grabbed stones to pelt me with' (cf. Syriac *šalah* 'exuit' [Brockel 780]; [Aram *šalak* 'cast off, throw down' (M. Jastrow 1585).]

This presupposes the sound shift $*[k] > *[x] > [h]$ in the history of the latter form.

Feghali (1918:95) observed that virtually three quarters of the 200-odd terms identified by him as certain Aramaisms in Lebanese Arabic comprise traditional household, pastoral, and agricultural terms, which tallies well with the characterization of Aramaean settlements as typically farming communities (Poizat 1973-79:355; Anschütz 1985: 160). Such also was the traditional character of the Cypriot Maronite community until its sudden, enforced transfer to an urban ambience:

Les Maronites ... se retirèrent dans les montagnes, se livraient à la culture des terres et à l'élevé du bétail, n'habitant que des villages, où ils ont gardé jusqu'à nos jours leurs coutumes simples et honnêtes. (Mas Latrie 1861:109)⁷⁵

Thus several CyA Aramaisms relate to farming, animal husbandry, ethnobotany, and household industries:

⁷⁴ Cf. also *wedle* (< *'wd*) *bdana* 'pflügen' and the elliptical form *bdana* 'Pflügen, Pfluggespann' in the Neo-Aramaic vernacular of Hertevin (Jastrow 1988:183).

⁷⁵ The traditionally rural habitat of the CyA speaker community is also a significant factor with regard to its retention of Aramaisms. Blau (1965:20) has insightfully observed that the shift from Aramaic to Arabic among Babylonian Jewry was linked to their transformation "from peasantry to townspeople in the early Abbasid period." (See also ...)

CyA *sammex* 'sprout,' *samt* 'plough,'⁷⁶ *morās* 'threshing-sled' (< Ar *mwr*), *paṣṣar* 'threshing-floor,' *kītan* 'yoke,' *stapl* 'cowshed' (< Gk < Lat), *kaš* 'straw,' *paṣṣar* 'mushrooms' (< Ar *qšš*), *sa'ir* 'kid,' *saykīn* 'brushwood' (< *ṣyk* - Ar *ṣwk*), *kīx* 'kind of onion' (< *qsh*), *šammār* 'yennel,' *ar-rār* 'medlar,' *ar-rās* 'bushes' (< *rs*), *šall* 'sew,' *šammūt* 'spindle' (< *lm*), *krīl* 'preparation for making *plata* cheese' (< *qrs*), etc.

In CyA, the total number of Aramaisms noted does not exceed fifty at an outside limit, and predictably pervades religious vocabulary (see §VI below), without being confined to a particular semantic field

CyA *paḍal* 'he stopped working' (< *brl*), *nīf* 'it leaked' (< *dif*), *xarkē* 'he moved' (< *hrk*), *šatuf* 'he rinsed' (< *štf*), *tallel* 'he thinned out' (< *all*), *šaxar* 'he begged for alms' (< *šhō*), *šaxar* 'he threw out, expelled' (*štr*), *šalax* 'he undressed' (< *šlh*), *šakkes* 'it stung (insect)' (< *ks*), 'arreb' 'he separated' (**rb*), 'addeš' 'he cursed' (< **gdš*), *tlattēš* 'it got stained' (< *lš*), *akrūr* 'throat' (*zbr*), *xassek* 'he laid aside' (< *hsk*), *afkax* 'lame' (< *šk*), *šara* 'midday meal,' *šarra* 'he dined' (< *šry*), *mišle* 'ladle' (< *šly*), *šokīr* 'swathing bands' (< *šq*), *šir* 'cliff' (< *šyr*).

Neo-Aramaic cognates for some of these terms also show up, for instance, in Turoyo: *haqlō*, *kaṇle*, *stablo*, *za'ruro*, etc., but it is not always clear whether these have been lineally inherited and not simply reborrowed as secondary loans from colloquial Arabic. The problem of determining continuity in the lexicon of Neo-Aramaic dialects is rendered difficult by their profound acculturation to neighbouring languages. Ritter (1967: *19*) summed up the impact of language contact in Turoyo as follows:

Das enge Zusammenwohnen und -leben von Syrern, Arabern, Kurden (und Türken) hat eine starke Sprachmischung zur Folge gehabt. Den stärksten Beitrag dazu hat das Arabische geliefert. Es gibt in Turoyo mehr Verben arabischen als syrischen Ursprungs, aber auch im übrigen Wortschatz ist der Anteil des Arabischen erstaunlich groß. Die Verwandtschaft des Syrischen mit dem Arabischen erlaubte, arabische Formen in das Flexionsystem ohne Schwierigkeiten zu übernehmen. Zahlreich sind auch die kurmanči Elemente. Sie bestehen vorwiegend aus Nomina und Partikeln, doch gibt es auch eine Reihe meist denom-inativer Verben, die dem kurmanči entstammen. (cf. Jastrow 1985: 201-13; Björckund 1981: 165-172).

This statement echoes Bergsträsser's assessment of the Arabic lexical component in the Ma'lūla vernacular of Western Aramaic: "Der Wortschatz ist auf das stärkste von Entlehnungen aus dem Arabischen durchsetzt ..." (1928: 85).⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Whereas the CyA designation of the plough appears to have been immediately derived from Aramaic (cf. p. 36), I have been able to elicit only two Semitic terms for parts of the plough, both of Arabic provenance: *riḥāl* 'plough handle,' and *sikr* 'ploughshare'; most other terms appear to be of Greek provenance.

⁷⁷ Nevertheless, it may still be possible to trace the lineal continuity of the Aramaic lexical component in specific, relatively stable semantic domains, e.g., the nomen-

Ideally, a survey of Aramaisms in colloquial Arabic should extend beyond the Syro-Mesopotamian historical heartland of Aramaic to the periphery of its diffusional outreach where, according to the logic of the Age-and-Area hypothesis (cf. Schmidt 1872; Bartoli 1945), early Aramaic lexical strata in spoken Arabic are likely to occur, e.g., in Arabia and the Central/Western Mediterranean:

Arabia: Bahr *tīwā* (v/i) 'sink,' *sannūr* 'cat' (Holes 2001: xxxiv) - Syriac *tabar*, *šannūr* (J. Payne Smith 166, 382); N Yem *rahim* (a) 'lieben' (Behnstedt 1987: 257) - Syriac *rahem* (J. Payne Smith 537); Om *šawūr* 'Hochgang,' *šawūr* 'hoch' (Reinhardt 1894: 268, 63)⁷⁸ - Syriac *šārā* 'city wall' (J. Payne Smith 568), *remēsne ramse* 'wir verbrachten den Abend' - Syriac *ramēš* (op. cit., 544); Khāb *tabar* (a) (v/i) 'sink (boat, human), ramas (a) 'spend the evening chatting,' *šamt* 'large, round silver pendant' - JAram *šomād* 'join, attach' (M. Jastrow 1903: 1287) - Heb *šāmid* 'bracelet (bound on wrist)' (DBD 855; *šmā*), 'awār 'blindness' (Brockett 1985: 112, 281, 149, 145, 163) - Syriac 'wōrō (J. Payne Smith 407); Daš *remēsne ramse ilīn nušs el lēl* 'nous passâmes la soirée jusqu'à minuit' (Landberg 1923: 1442);

Malta: *axelleš*, *ixelleš* 'blunt (knife)' - Daš *šiffa* 'broad blade of a spear' (Landberg 1942: 20; Hess 1902: 60; Musil 1928: 133) - Urmi *šalpa* 'drawn (sword)' (Garbell 1965: 334) - Syriac *šēlpō/šūlpō* 'lamina cultri' (Brockel 784); *axandar* (v/i) 'broadcast' < Aram *šār* 'send,'⁷⁹ *andar* 'threshing-floor' - Aram 'andar 'Tenne' (Beyer 1984: 505) - Jubb'ad *štra* (Arnold 1990: 28); *šixkel* 'he confused' - AA *nišakal* 'confound' (Corriente 1997: 400) - Mos (M) *šakal/mšakal* = *šayir* (al-Bakrī 1972: 124, 468) - Syriac *paškel* 'twist, twine, spin' (J. Payne Smith 468); *qorq* 'sandals' - JAram *qurqā* 'a shoe made entirely of goats' hair or of cloth, a slipper' (M. Jastrow 1344); *šabar*, *yūšbor* 'prune (tree)' - Iraqi Ar *zābor* 'prune' (Renfroe 1992: 161) - AA *zbr* 'tailler, émonder la vigne' (Dory 1, 578) < JAram *zbr* 'trim, prune' (Sokol 1990: 172); *mōcniah* [mōcniah] 'acomposto negli abiti' (Barbera 1939-40: 1142) - Pal Ar *mīallah* 'nacki' < (Kämpff 37) - Alep *šalah/šalah*, *yošlah* 'retiret, ôter, enlever (ses vêtements ...)' (Barth 404) - Nağd *šallah* 'roll up and tie up one's sleeves' (Kurpershoek 1999: 3) - Syriac *šalah* 'strip off clothes' (J. Payne Smith 578); *axela jaxli* 'accuse' - Alep *šala* (i) 'ala' 'médire de (qqn)' (Barth 406) - Syriac *šālā* 'despise' (J. Payne Smith 378).⁸⁰

dature of farming and shepherding, extensively exemplified in Gustaf Dalmani's *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* ("une source inépuisable de vocabulaire technique surtout paysan"; Cantineau 1960: 264), e.g., Pal Ar [*šaf*] *mer'az*, *mer'azz* 'schwarze feine Ziegenwolle' (Dalm V, 64) < Aram **m* 'z' 'goat's hair'.

⁷⁸ Note also Om *mēšū* 'Kochdatteln' (Reinhardt 1894: 157), attributed by Völlers (1895: 157) to contact with Hebrew. Bergsträsser (1928: 187) traces the root *šū/šūl* ultimately to General Semitic; cf. OA *šūšū* 'become sour' (Hava 34).

⁷⁹ Cf. CMAr *šār* 'senden' < Syriac *šār* (Graf 1905: 96). On the shift *šā* > *nā* in Aramaic, see Spitaler (1954), Macuch (1965: XLVIII), Conon (1977), Murawski/Porten (1998: 10-16), and Folmer (1995: 74-99).

⁸⁰ The Aramaism *zbr* 'prune' is noteworthy; this semantic slot has been relexified in E.Arabic: Dam *šaffa/šāffa* 'prune' (Sto/Ani 182); Pal Ar *qumrah*, *Leban šabhal* (Bau 54), [for correct *šabhal*; Dalm (IV, 312, fn 1)], Hal *kašā* 'Reben beschneiden' (Wol-

Significantly, reflexes of Aramaic *šlp* and *šlh* (cognate with native Ar *slb* and *slx*, respectively) here show up at opposite poles of the Arabic *Sprachraum* in S. Arabia and in Malta!

Rosenthal (1964:171) took cognisance of the striking fact that some historical Aramaisms are better attested in the Arabic dialects than in the Neo-Aramaic languages:

Vor allem können alle diejenigen Wörter, die auch in genuin arabischen Formen vorkommen und bestimmt also einmal gemeinaramäischer Besitz gewesen sind, sehr wohl auch im Jungaramäischen sich irgendwo erhalten haben, wenn sie auch dort bis jetzt nicht belegbar sind.

Of particular interest, in this regard, is the case of Aram *šll* 'sew together' (Babyl. Talm.; Sokol 2002:1150) > Late Heb *šālal* 'heften ..., weite Stiche nähern' (Levy IV, 563) > Ar *šll*: Alep *šall*, *yšall*, inf *šall/šlēle* 'coudre en faisant des points de fronce' (Barth 405); Cai *šallil* 'baste' (Bad/Hi 476) ~ Malt *«xelleb* 'id.' (Borg 1996b:144), etc., alongside native Ar *slk*: Pal Ar *msalle* 'Packnadel' (Bauer 226), Malt *«msella*», etc. Neo-Aramaic cognates of this item have probably been reborrowed from Arabic: Urmi (C) *šlāla* 'woollen thread' (Maclean 1901:307) < OA *šilāla* 'basting' (Lane 1591).⁸¹ The significance of such early loans from Aramaic for elaborating local chronologies of Neo-Arabic varieties should not be overlooked.

Arabic colloquials of Jewish and Christian groups in the Middle East tend to retain religious terms of Aramaic origin shared across dialect boundaries for, as noted in Spencer Trimmingham (1979:7),

the influence of the Aramaeans and of their language in particular is a basic factor in any assessment of the Arab role in the history of the Fertile Crescent not simply because the Aramaeans were instrumental in the formation of a number of states, but because Aramaic became the language of the whole crescent and therefore of the Church of Mesopotamia and Syria, its vehicle of literary expression.

Lexical Aramaisms in the religious domain display greater stability and cross-dialectal uniformity in the Arabic vernaculars than those

(Vo/Wald 366). The Aramaism survives, however, in Dam *zabbār* 'tailleur de vignes' (Al-Qasimi 1960, I:130; II:38). In Maltese, covert Aramaisms sometimes show up in semantic nuances of specific terms: Malt *rifes* (e) 'tread' ~ Anat Ar *rafas* 'mit Füßen treten' (Vo/Wald 180) ~ Jaram *rafas* ~ Heb, Aram *rāfas* '(zer)treten', as opposed to OA *rafasa* 'mit Füßen stoßen' (von Soden 954); cf. also Malt *«dieg* 'wedding' < Ar *tāg* 'crown' calquing Aram *kāl* 'bridal wreath' (M. Jastrow 642) and *tqila* 'heavy, pregnant' ~ Neo-Aram *yaqurta* 'heavy, pregnant' (Kurdistan, Mutzafi, p.c.), cf. Maclean (1895:121).

⁸¹ Replacement of Eastern Arabic *zbr* in this meaning is probably recent; Dalm (VI, 252, 6) gives Pal Ar *zabbar*.

pertaining to the general lexicon. This suggests that the former were transmitted by a Syriac liturgical source and mediated by Christian Middle Arabic—and Classical Arabic (cf. David 1887:170)—rather than via direct contact with spoken Aramaic. From the CyA perspective, this point is of more than academic interest since this vernacular could potentially have developed its own patterns of receptivity to Syriac loans transmitted by a proselytizing local clergy. Since much of this specialized lexicon is essentially culture-bound and often not readily rendered denotatively or connotatively into Arabic dialects spoken by other denominations, it enhances the communal dimension of their vernaculars.

Aramaic substratal influence on CyA can also be plausibly postulated in the general lexicon, for instance, in relation to the semantic categories of certain spatial/temporal prepositions and adverbs. From the viewpoint of mainstream Arabic, this vernacular here shows striking lexical gaps for cognates of OA *qabla* 'before' and *warāʾa* 'beyond, behind' (Hava 585), reflexes of which are virtually pan-dialectal (Procházka 1993:187, 200). The first has been relexified by CyA *kintām* < Ar *quddām* 'characteristic of Middle and Modern Arabic rather than of Classical Arabic' (Hopkins 1984:128) denoting exclusively *spatial* precedence, and the second by *xalfas* in many Lebanese and S Anatolian dialects (Bauer 158; Vo/Wald 143).⁸²

Interestingly, from the diachronic standpoint, lexification of precedence in time and/or space by means of a derivative of Ar *qdm* in CyA finds a parallel in several Arabic vernaculars spoken in the S Anatolian area:

Mhall, Qarṭ *qəddām* 'vor, an der Vorderseite', *aqdam* 'vor' (präp.; zeitlich), Āz, Sü *qəddēmi* 'zuerst (adv)' (Vo/Wald 330–1), Hask *qəddām* 'vorher, vor, früher' (Talay 2002:79), Çukur *qiddām il-bāb* 'vor der Tür', *qiddām il-ğada* 'am Vormittag' (Procházka 2002:140),

where it almost certainly continues earlier Aramaic usage:

OAram *qdm* (Degen 1969:94); CPARAM *men q^uḏōm d^e* (rare) (Schult-hess 1924:57); Tur *qm-ū-tar^o* 'vor der Tür', *meqam m-* 'vor (zeitlich)' (Jastrow 1990a:91, 172); Ma^l *iqḏum m(n)-* 'vor', *iqḏum b-* 'zuvor' (Arnold 1990:387); Beṣp *qam* 'bevor, vor', *qamta* 'früher' (Sinha 2000: 157, 158); Fellihi *qām*, *mqam* (Sachau 1895:33); Mod Mand *qāmā* 'bevor, vorwärts, vorn' (Macuch 1993:431).

Significantly, this semantic categorization is shared with other ancient Semitic languages which encode 'in front' and 'past' by derivatives of this

⁸² Useful comparative aspects of the CyA treatment of OA prepositions are discussed in Procházka (1993, *passim*).

root: Ugar *qdm*, Akk *qudmu*, Heb *qedem* (Wyatt 1999:536). Another noteworthy development in the realm of CyA deixis (with parallels in several other Eastern Arabic dialects) is a marked tendency towards expansion of certain prepositions or adverbs by means of preposed **min* (as in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Turoyo forms just cited). The resulting compounds encode spatial and temporal relationships and constitute noteworthy instances of a diachronic grammaticalization process (cf. Meillet 1912), possibly also inherited from Aramaic.⁸³

CyA *taxt/mintaxt* 'under, underneath,' *xok/mixxok* 'on, above,' *parra / mimparra* 'outside,' *pukra/mimpukra* 'in the morning.'

While the longer forms can sometimes be translated 'from ...,' the tendency is for these expressions to undergo loss of markedness and to become synonymous with the shorter forms: *mpalas mintaxt payt ta wak'a* 'he was crushed under a falling house'; *amma teistvu, kyr'elu mixxok* 'when they (the pieces of *xallumi* cheese) are done, they rise to the surface [of the water].' In the second example, an upward movement is intended ruling out the interpretation 'from above.' Similar forms occur in other Eastern Arabic vernaculars:

Alep 'addis man taht *al-sbētik* 'il a passé sous les fenêtres' (Barth 81); Anat Ar man taht (prap) unten, (adv) von unten, *fūq/man fūq/mfū* 'von oben, nach oben, oben' (Vo/Wald 67, 320), and Bišm taht/min taht 'unten,' *faw'/min faw'* 'oben,' etc. (Jiha 1964:169-170); Mard man *axsobh* 'morgen' (Jastrow 1970:40).⁸⁴

Observe the closely analogous treatment of prepositions in Syriac where, for instance, *men* 'from, out of' often "loses altogether its meaning as denoting the starting point of a movement in space and time; thus, *men yamineh* 'on his right hand' *men bohar* 'after'; and in a great many combinations with adverbs and prepositions" (Nöldeke 1904a:193).⁸⁵ note also Biblical Aram *qadmat/miqqadmat* 'before (prep)'

⁸³ Note the analogous process in Indo-European: Fr *là-dessus, là-dessous*; Eng *herein, therein*; Gm *darunter*, etc.; cf. Brockelmann (1913:431, 705) on the use of *min* with place and time adverbs in Aramaic.

⁸⁴ Concerning the longer Lebanese forms, Jiha (1964:169, fn 1) notes: *min faw'*, *min taht, min xuf* deutet eine relative Beziehung an, z.B. *lahhu min taht* 'er ist unten (in Gegensatz zu einem anderen, der oben ist, z.B. bei einem Ringkampf)'. At all events, comparative data from the Arabic dialects suggests that the CyA situation is unlikely to be an internal development.

⁸⁵ A parallel development has been noted in Altheim/Stiehl (1963:254) in relation to Aramaic *l-* "... *lkh* bedeutet nicht 'hierher', sondern 'hier' ... Man vergleiche andere Ortsadverbien mit *l-*, ohne daß diese die Richtung bezeichnen: syr. *l-taht* 'unten' (gegenüber *l-tahtin* 'nach unten'), mand. *l-tyt* 'unten' neben *tyt* in gleicher Bedeutung

(Rosenthal 1974:94), CPArAm *men P'horyd* '(nach) hinten, meist aber nach' (Schulthess 1904:56), Hert *mel'el'oben* (Jastrow 1988a:194), Besp *m-əlləl* 'oben,' *m-əltax* 'unten' (Sinha 2000:156), etc.⁸⁶

Aramaic substratal traits in the sound systems of Arabic vernaculars appear to be generally rare; this renders all the more noteworthy, in the historical phonology of CyA, the fusion of OA *ʿ* and *g > ʿ*, and of OA *ħ* and *x > *ħ > x* (the velar reflex represents a later shift induced by contact with CyG /x/ < Anc Gk χ):

CyA		OA
<i>ʿiref</i>	'he knew'	<i>ʿarafa</i>
<i>ʿilek</i>	'he shut'	<i>galaga</i>
<i>ʿirek</i>	'he sweated'	<i>ʿarafa</i>
<i>ʿilep</i>	'he overcame'	<i>galaha</i>
<i>xilef</i>	'he swore'	<i>halafa</i>
<i>xirep</i>	'he destroyed'	<i>xaraba</i>
<i>taxak</i>	'he laughed'	<i>dahika</i>
<i>naxil</i>	'he sifted'	<i>naxala</i>

The CyA restriction on gemination of the voiced pharyngeal fricative is also plausibly ascribable to Aramaic influence. The historical fusion of Common Semitic *g > ʿ* is marginally exemplified in Lebanese, yielding, as in CyA, the voiced pharyngeal spirant *ʿ*:

Kfar'ab (Feghali 1918:43): *a'mas* 'qui a les yeux chassieux' [cf. *ammas* 'have white matter in the eye' (Spiro 1893:413), 'produce a discharge (of the eyes)' (Bad/Hi 600)] - Syriac *ʿamisiḡi* 'lippitudo oculorum' - OA *agmas*; *ʿarbe* (nom propre de plusieurs régions libanaises orientées vers l'ouest) - Syriac *ʿarbaḡi* 'regio occidentalis, occident' - OA *garb* *hā-ʿir* 'prière de demande, supplication' - Syriac *hā-ʿir* 'petitio, supplicatio' - OA *biḡya*; *ʿebe* 'il rendit épais, dense, serré (blé, bois)' - Syriac *ʿabē* 'densus, spissus, crassus fuit' - OA *abū* 'épais, touffu, couvert d'épais feuillages.'

The systematic character of the correspondence OA *g > CyA ʿ* is unique in the Arabic *Sprachraum* and patently signals retention in this relic area of an earlier chronological historical stage in the phonological evolution of Eastern Arabic than is evidenced in any contemporary mainstream dialect of Arabic described so far, since CyA here attests in a clear fashion to the early interaction of historical bilingualism in Arabic and Aramaic.

Jüd.-Aram syr. *l-ʿel* 'oben,' neben dem in Jüd.-Aram *l-ʿillit* in gleicher Bedeutung steht, ...; cf. Tur *ramhel* 'tomorrow' < **l-amhōr* (cf. Nöldeke 1881:222).

⁸⁶ The actual use of some of these directional prepositions and deictics in CyA calls for further study. Thus in the following sentence, *mnawsk* 'from there' strikes one as odd from a common sense point of view since it encodes 'movement towards' rather than 'movement away' from the speaker: *annilpes ḡkyepna u arriḡ mnawsk l-kassi* 'let's get dressed and go over to the priest's house.'

In Borg (1985:36), I argued that the fusion of OA ϵ and \dot{g} —yielding CyA ϵ —preceded chronologically the stage of contact with the Cypriot Greek sound system, since the existence in the latter of the voiced velar fricative [g] < Anc Gk *gamma* should logically have promoted retention in CyA of OA \dot{g} rather than that of the voiced pharyngeal fricative ϵ . Particularly indicative of Aramaic influence on the CyA consonant system is the shift of Semitic $*g > \text{Aram } *g > \text{CyA } \epsilon$:

CyA *'addef* 'he curse' < $*gaddef$ < $*gaddef$ (~ OA *ḡaddafa* (Hava 80), and CyA *'orne* (pl *'arani*) 'tub, trough' < $*gurnā$ ~ Syriac *gurnā* (> OA *ḡurn*, pl *ḡrān* '(stone) basin, mortar'; Hava 87; Dozy I,189; Fraenkel 1962:25).

The initial stage of this shift (i.e., $*g > *g$) can also be observed in several other Eastern Arabic colloquials:

Kand : *sarīga*, pl *sarāyag* 'Transportsack, aus einer Ziegenhaardecke' (Jastrow 1981:54, fn 18) ~ JAram *sarīgtā* 'net, network' (M. Jastrow 1026), Alep *ḡaddaf* 'prononcer le nom de Satan, des démons, des génies ou *ḡann*, en jurant' (Barth 570) ~ Kfar'ab *ḡaddef* 'il blasphéma, il maudit' (Feghali 1918:41) ~ Syriac *ḡāp* 'revile, blasphème' (J. Payne Smith 61).

The voiced velar fricative $*g$ in the starred Aramaic forms cited above is the outcome of the *begadkefat* stop lenition rule which in literary forms of Aramaic and in Biblical Hebrew replaced postvocalic plain stops by the corresponding spirants. However, in contemporary Western Neo-Aramaic, stop lenition can also affect word-initial segments: Ma¹ *ḡorna* 'Mörser' (Arnold 1990: 291), *ḡaḏya* < *gadyā* 'Böckchen,' *ḡelta* < *geldā* 'Haut,' *ḡanna* < *gannā* 'Garten' (Spitaler 1938:13; cf. Jastrow 1997a: 335), etc.

In the syntactic sphere, CyA shows direct object marking with proclitic *l*⁸⁷: *l-ana kiš'e lá-l-inti* 'it was me he saw, not you.' Ordinarily, the CyA object marker is used without the insertion of the anticipatory pronoun characteristic of most Eastern Arabic vernaculars showing this trait, e.g., Damascene *daššaro la-m'allmo* 'er verließ ihn = seinen Meister' (Grotzfeld 1965:72); see also Lebanese (Koutsoudas 1967a, b), Palestinian (Levin 1987), and Iraqi (Blanc 1964a:130). Concerning the object marker in Lebanese, Feghali (1928:362) comments as follows:

Sous l'influence du syriaque qui, on le sait, faisait souvent précéder de la préposition *l* l'objet direct d'un verbe transitif, le dialecte libanais emploie quelquefois la particule *l*- (*le*-) devant un nom ou un pronom

⁸⁷ Though this usage is not unknown in Classical Arabic, especially after infinitives (cf. A. Fischer 1910), there are formal features setting apart vernacular Arabic reflexes of this particle from literary Arabic usage in the realm of object-marking.

servant de régime direct à un verbe transitif, ex. *hiyye šāftu lxayyek* 'elle l'a vu, (à) ton frère.' (Feghali 1928:362)

This syntactic feature is also typified in the earliest Christian Arabic texts (Graf 1905:43) where it probably attests to Syriac influence:

... la périphrase, limitée dans la langue classique à des cas déterminés, et consistant à introduire l'objet direct par la préposition *li* (cf. A. Fischer 1910), est usitée déjà dans les plus anciens textes christiano-arabes de Syrie et de Palestine, surtout quand l'objet précède le verbe ou bien ne le suit pas immédiatement; par exemple *wa li lam ya'rifū* 'et ils ne me connaissent pas.' (Fück 1955b:94)⁸⁸

Object-marking survives only residually in Neo-Aramaic, for instance, in the Mlaḥsô variety (Jastrow 1994a:53). Particularly noteworthy in CyA is its restriction on use of the object-marker {*l*-} exclusively before *definite* and *animate* objects. Typologically not uncommon in the world's languages (cf. Moravczik 1978, Bossong 1998), within Semitic, the animacy constraint vis-à-vis object-marking is ordinarily associated with Aramaic. In his investigation of Biblical Hebrew syntax, Brockelmann (1956:87) stated:

Als Ersatz für die verlorene Kasusflexion kann in jüngerem Hebr. die Umschreibung mit *l*- eintreten; sie ist aber auf determinierte Objekte und in der Chron. ... auf Personen beschränkt und ist wohl als Nachahmung des Aram zu betrachten. (emph. added; cf. Kropat 1909:35)⁸⁹

CyA also utilizes a special genitive construction specifically with inalienable nouns, principally, kinship terms. This requires the genitive marker *l*- preceded by a proleptic pronoun copying the possessor's gender and number marking: CyA *yapatu l-Yorko* 'George's father.' The identical construction occurs in several other Eastern Arabic dialects located in formerly Aramaic-speaking areas (e.g., in Lebanon, Iraq, etc.) and, like the preceding trait, is generally ascribed to Aramaic substratal influence (cf. Blanc 1964a, *loc. cit.*). Reflexes of this construction occur in residual fashion in Central Neo-Aramaic:

Ṭur *abr-éd-ʿammi* 'my paternal male cousin,' *bayt-éd-babi* 'my father's house,' *əšm-éd-ḥoḥux* 'your sister's name,' *barḥ-éd-ʿamti* 'my paternal

⁸⁸ Graf cites *li ʿayy šayy yarḡū* 'was erhofft er' (1905:43); cf. also Blau (1966-7: 413ff). For the same feature in Muslim texts, see Schen (1973:86-7).

⁸⁹ The Eastern Arabic and CyA object-marker encodes both the direct and indirect objects (cf. Givón 1984:112). Lipiński (1997:508) has voiced reservations concerning the Aramaic origin of object-marking *l*- in Biblical Hebrew notwithstanding the fact that its appearance is virtually contemporaneous with the Aramaic texts in which it is attested for the first time. In Neo-Arabic, too, this trait is known almost exclusively from Arabic colloquials spoken in erstwhile Aramaic-speaking areas: Syria, Mesopotamia, Lebanon, and the Galilee (cf. Koutsoudas 1967, Blanc 1964, Levin 1987).

cousin, *fəlg-əd-lalyo* 'midnight,' *fəlg-əd-yawmo* 'midday,' *foθ-əd-ʒafro* 'early morning.' (own observ.)

The special treatment of kinship terms in CyA here attests to the semantic category of 'inalienable possession,' plausibly inherited from Aramaic, which in this vernacular finds its formal expression in the distribution of enclitic pronouns. These are restricted to a closed list of nouns designating degrees of body parts, kinship, etc. (cf. Borg 1985:136). Highly noteworthy with regard to the postulated Aramaic provenance of this semantic category is the distribution of enclitic pronouns on nouns in the Arsames correspondence (5th century B.C.) comprising "letters sent from Persians in the East to Egyptians in the West" in a variety of Eastern *Reichsaramäisch* showing

... many words which occur only with suffixes or only with *zyl*.
Occurring only with suffixes are the terms of familial relationship (*ʒb*,
h, *bhr*) and some terms of social relationship (*mrʔ*, *mrʔt-*, *knt-*) ...
(Whitehead 1978:130).

Similar constraints exist in Central Neo-Aramaic, e.g., in the Turoyo and Mlahsò varieties (Jastrow 1994a:29), restricting direct suffixation of the enclitic pronoun to a closed list of nouns designating principally body parts and degrees of kinship: *bab-i*, *bab-ux*, *bab-ax*, *bab-e*, 'my, your (m/f), his father,' etc. Cases of alienable possession require the interposition of an empty morpheme {-yδ-} between the noun stem and the pronominal suffix: *ʔ-qriθa-yδ-i* 'my village.'⁹⁰

Another intriguing historical trait that may well continue Aramaic substratal influence in CyA relates to the accentual pattern of lexically fused adverbial expressions with **kull* as head where this lexeme regularly bears main stress:

CyA *kūyyom* 'every day' < **kūll-yawm*, *kūlsaʿa* 'every hour' < Ar **kūll-sāʿa*, *kūrsine* 'every year' < Ar **kūll sana*.

Stress on the determiner in reflexes of **kull-yawm* solidifies the link of CyA with certain varieties of *qəltu* Arabic, with which, as already shown, it shares several formal traits: Āz *kəlyawm* 'jeden Tag' (Jastrow 1970:57), Mos *kəll-yōm* (Jastrow 1979:56), Mard *kəllətu*, *kəlləta*, *kəllətna* (Jastrow, *op. cit.*, 42, 44), Nusaybin *kəllətan* (Jastrow 1989:167). At face value, this accentual pattern could simply be a formal concomitant of lexicalization, as in Mard *həssəb ... həssəb* 'rechts und links' (Jastrow 1970:47) < **hal-šawb*, Darag *həlləm* 'jeden Tag' (Vo/Wald 470) < **hal-*

yawm, Āz *həlwaxt* 'jetzt' (Vo/Wald 461) < **hal-wāqt*, Sii *əggamb* 'diese Seite,' (Jastrow 1981:XI), Mard *hənnawb* 'jetzt' (Vo/Wald 432), etc.

However, though a superficially analogous form of stress shift in fused lexical compounds sometimes occurs in other Arabic dialects of 'Greater Syria' (cf. Pal Ar *issa* and *həlla* 'now' < **is-sāʿa* and **hal-wāqt*, respectively (for discussion, see Borg 1985:74), synchronic assignment of word stress on phrasal heads remains untypical of this dialect area, where ordinarily, the heavy syllable closest to word-boundary attracts main stress: Pal Ar *kull-yōm*, Alep *kəll-yōm*. What argues for substratal influence vis-à-vis the CyA stress pattern under discussion is parallel incidence of stress on the Aramaic cognate of Ar *kull* in several varieties of Neo-Aramaic:

Turoyo (Jastrow 1985:30)	Hertevin (Jastrow 1988a:191)	Urmi (Garbell 1965:316)
<i>kəl-yawmo</i> 'jeder/jeden Tag'	<i>koyyom</i> 'jeden Tag'	<i>kudjom</i> 'every day'
<i>kəl-šato</i> 'jedes Jahr'	<i>koššet</i> 'jedes Jahr'	<i>kudlel</i> 'every night'
<i>kəl-ħa</i> 'jeder(mann)'	<i>kodda</i> 'jeder'	<i>kudxa</i> 'everyone.'

Also pertinent, in this regard, is the CyA propensity to grammaticalize stress by (a) accentuating the heads of syntactic constructions with the negative particles *lá* and *má*, and (b) stressing initial syllables of phonological words with verbal nuclei even when heavy syllables intervene closer to final word boundary: *ʔižipna* 'we liked it,' *təxakilla* (< *dħk*) 'he cheated her,' *šəttimna* 'he abused us,' *tləxitna* 'the three of us,' *sittiθkon* 'the six of them,' *xəlluon* 'leave them!' (as opposed to *xəlluon* 'they left them'), etc. This invites comparison with the stress assignment rule in certain varieties of Neo-Aramaic in which

collocations of two, rarely three words which are closely bound syntactically can form stress groups ... In stress groups the second word loses its stress, and the main stress of the collocation comes to be on the last syllable of the first word (Jastrow 1997a:353): Tur *sawʿó=zlamat* 'sieben Männer' (Jastrow 1990a:18).

The situation described here by Jastrow for Central Aramaic is closely replicated in other vernaculars, e.g., that spoken in Arbel (N. Iraq) showing stress on certain phrasal heads: *lá-marmi* 'they will not raise,' *trə-yome* 'two days,' *ʔləhə-yome* 'three days' (Khan 1999:74).

Continuity with Aramaic in the grammatical behaviour of the CyA determiner *kull* can possibly also be postulated for the tendency to show a mandatory pronominal suffix copying the number and gender features of a following definite noun (cf. Nöldeke 1904a:172): CyA *kull-a s-sine* 'the whole year,' *kulla δ-δəʿa* 'the whole village,' *kullon in-nes* 'all the people'; cf. Amadiya *kullu naše* 'all the people' (Hoberman 1989:121), Classical Mandaic *kulhun almia* 'all worlds' (Macuch 1965:400),

⁹⁰ For further detail on the inalienable category in CyA, see §IXc.

Qaraq *külleḥə nāše* 'all the people' (Khan 2002:283), Bišm *kullun hal-banāt* 'die Mädchen alle' (Jiha 1964:24), though the influence of Greek on CyA here cannot be entirely ruled out: *όλο το πρωί* 'the whole morning,' *όλη τη νύχτα* 'the whole night.' CyA also extends this trait to *nuss* 'half' (< OA *nīsf*): *fi nussa t-tarp* 'half-way,' *nussu lil-ʿarif* 'half the loaf,' *nūssulayl* 'midnight,' etc.⁹¹

Ethnolinguistic digression

Vernaculars spoken exclusively by members of confessionally defined minority groups often mediate elements of religious heritage that may be of considerable symbolic import to their speakers. Quite apart from its intrinsic formal interest for the Semitist or Arabic dialectologist, the existence of an Aramaic substrate in CyA is vested with ethno-religious symbolism for the Cypriot Maronites since it underpins the community's collective consciousness of its historical continuity with Aramaic-speaking Christianity. It also sustains a myth, rife among CyA speakers, that their vernacular resembles in some respects the Aramaic vernacular spoken by Jesus (Thubron 1975:162)!⁹²

The outcome of popular piety rather than scientific reflection, the belief, dear to the Cypriot Maronites, that CyA retains traces of Galilean Aramaic⁹³ ultimately enhances in their own eyes the significance of their endangered Arabic vernacular and stimulates their intellectual curiosity concerning it. If only for these reasons, I shall here briefly address the issue of possible Galilean Aramaisms in CyA.⁹⁴

⁹¹ For the same feature in Syriac, cf. Nöldeke (1904:172).

⁹² Sokoloff (1978) observed that Galilean Aramaic has tended to attract Christian scholars—e.g., H. Odeberg, G. Dalman, and G. Svedlund—on account of its traditional association with the "language of Jesus." The topic of Jesus' native language has been discussed time and again by scholars working within the interdisciplinary overlap between Semitics and theology. I here indicate the most widely cited literature: Roberts (1877, 1878, 1888), Sanday (1878a, 1878b), Gwilliam (1891), Meyer (1896), Dalm (1902), (1922), Schulthess (1917), Taylor (1945), Griffiths (1945), Patterson (1946), Birkeland (1954), Cantineau (1955), Argyle (1956), Wilson (1957), Black (1957), Segert (1957), Schürmann (1958), Russell (1956), Draper (1955–56), Emerton (1961), Rabinowitz (1962), Ott (1967), Rüger (1968), Barr (1970), Emerton (1973), Lapide (1975), and Goodman (2000:66–68).

⁹³ "The traditional name of this dialect derives from the fact that during the Amoraic Period (200–500 C.E.), the center of the Jewish population had shifted from Judea to Galilee, and the main centers were Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Caesarea" (Sokoloff 1978: 161, fn 4).

⁹⁴ As in other Arabic dialects spoken by Christians, several religious terms in CyA continue concepts taken over from Judaism: CyA *šummās* 'sexton' (< Mediaeval

Theodor Nöldeke considered the task of reconstructing Jesus' Galilean dialect "ein viel zu gewagtes Unternehmen" (1899:39), not least, on account of the relative lateness of the Aramaic materials from Palestine.⁹⁵

Sokoloff (1990:3) designates this vernacular as

the Aramaic dialect spoken and written by Jews, mainly in Palestine during the Byzantine Period (3rd cent. C.E.—Arab Conquest) and for some time afterwards, corresponding to the Amoraic and Gaonic (post-Amoraic) Periods. Together with Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA) and Samaritan Aramaic (SA), JPA forms the western branch of Middle Aramaic which has survived to the present day in the dialect of Ma'lūla in Syria.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 and 1956 yielded Palestinian Aramaic texts from the first century B.C. or A.D. and suggested, to some scholars at least, that "we have been brought very close to the language used in Palestine in the time of Jesus and the Apostles" (Fitzmyer 1966; cf. also 1970). Greenfield (1995:9) has contested this view:

Which type of Aramaic was actually spoken in Palestine during this period? Some scholars have thought that the Qumran texts bring us closer to the vernacular in use, and not only to the literary language. They have assumed that this is the sort of Aramaic that stands behind the Greek of the New Testament books. Others have claimed that Qumran notwithstanding, one must turn to later Palestinian Aramaic for evidence of the colloquial language. The latter position seems more plausible to me, since my view is that Qumran Aramaic is a variety of Standard Literary Aramaic. It would seem to me that the ipsissima

Arabic *šammās*; Fraenkel 276) < JAram *šammās* (Sokol 1990:559), *kassis* 'priest,' etc.; cf. DSS Aram *qaššīš/qašš* 'Presbyter' (Beyer 1984:755); CyA *kirpān* 'H. Communion' < Ar *qurbān* ~ Syriac *qurbōnō* ~ Heb *qorbān*, etc. In Maltese an analogous situation obtains regarding terms carried over from Islam: *għasar* 'Vespers' < Ar *ʿaṣr* 'evening prayer,' and *randan* 'Lent' ~ AA *ramadān* 'Quadragesima' (Corriente 1989:130) and *ʿrmdān* 'Insara 'lkbyr' 'Easter' (Corriente 1997:218) < Ar *ramadān*.

⁹⁵ The Biblical scholar and Semitist Joseph A. Fitzmyer has stated: "If asked what was the language commonly spoken in Palestine in the time of Jesus of Nazareth, most people with some acquaintance of that era and area would almost spontaneously answer Aramaic. To my way of thinking, this is still the correct answer for the most commonly used language, but the defense of this thesis must reckon with the growing mass of evidence that both Greek and Hebrew were being used as well. I would, however, hesitate to say with M. Smith that "at least as much Greek as Aramaic was spoken in Palestine" (1979:38). As far as Hebrew is concerned, it is worth noting that this is "the language of virtually every text believed to have been written within the Qumran sect itself" (Weitzman 1999:35). It is therefore fairly safe to assume that Jesus knew all three languages and that "he may have shifted freely from one to another" (Millard 2001:127), but that his everyday conversation was conducted mainly in Galilean Aramaic.

verba of a Galilean ought best to be recovered by using a later vernacular of Galilean Aramaic than a literary language.⁹⁶

A noteworthy substratal reflex of a Galilean Aramaic trait obtaining in Eastern Arabic, including CyA—incidentally, overlooked in previous work (Diem 1979; Arno/Behn)—is the paradigm of [*fi* + enclitic pronoun] conveying the meaning 'be able': CyA *fīni* 'I can,' *fik* 'you (m sg) can,' etc. (cf. Borg 1985:139), ultimately a loan translation of Aram *ʾt b-* (lit. 'there is in ...' = 'be able'; cf. Sokol 1990:55; Dalm 1938:16). Calques of this Aramaic collocation show up in several Eastern Arabic dialects:

Bišm *fīne* 'je peux' (Feghali 1928:112), *fīyyi*, *fik* 'ich kann, du kannst, usw.' (Jiha 1964:149); Dam *fik* *ʾtsāʿadni?*—*mā fīni sāʿdak* 'can you help me?—I can't help you' (Cowell 1964:547); Çukur *fītni b-sawwi hāda* 'ich kann das machen' (Procházka 2002:138).

Significantly, residues of this construction also occur in at least three Neo-Aramaic languages:

Tur *kibi*, *kibux*, etc. 'können' (Jastrow 1990a:107), Hert *li-be* (Jastrow 1988a: §4.7.3); Mang *ʾibi* 'I can,' *ʾibux* 'you can (m)' (Sara 1974:82); Bēsp *ibe* 'er kann' (Sinha 2000:152); Mlah *hibe*, *hiba*, etc. (Jastrow 1994a:176); Mand *qamb-* 'be able' (Macuch 1993:6–7, 389).

Assuming that the distribution and uses of Syriac *ʾt* have been exhaustively exemplified in R. Payne Smith (1879:172), the aforementioned expression *ʾt b-* seems not to occur in this language;⁹⁷ it also appears to be unknown in Palestinian Targumic Aramaic (Fassberg 1990) and in the language of the Elephantine papyri (Muraoka/Porten 1998); it is, however, attested in the Aramaic of Haggadic Midrashim (Lieberman 1965:169–70); thus, its ancient distribution would seem to point unequivocally to a Jewish Aramaic source.

Outside this trait, it cannot be claimed that CyA displays extensive formal parallels specifically with Galilean Aramaic. As will become evident from the main body of this research, most lexical Aramaisms in CyA tend to have cognates in different literary varieties of this language.

⁹⁶ Concerning the geographical distribution of Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek in Palestine at this time, see Sáenz-Badillos (1993:170); on the Galilee, see (Kee 1992:20).

⁹⁷ It is also not mentioned in Goldenberg (1983:129), which discusses the syntax of *ʾt b-* in Syriac; nonetheless, the ellipsis of this expression to *b-* 'there is in ...' suggests that some such preposition may well have provided the model for the use of Arabic *fī* in existential sentences.

VI. CONTINUITIES WITH CHRISTIAN ARABIC

"Variations in religion may be said to occasion some separateness in culture which, in turn, leaves its mark in the form of language differences" (Weinreich 1980:392). In the case of Christian Arabic, these can sometimes be of a subtractive nature; for instance, the Christian communal provenance of CyA presents the comparatist with a linguistic usage that is virtually devoid of a literary Arabic overlay and of koinéizing trends liable to blur its pristine colloquial character. Gotthelf Bergsträßer has stated:

Der Muhammedaner ... ist vom klassischen Arabisch viel stärker beeinflusst als der Christ ... Echtes Volksarabisch kann man, wenn man (was ja seine Vorteile hat) sich an einen Gebildeten wenden will, nur von einem Nichtmuhammedaner lernen. (1924:3)⁹⁸

The significance of Bergsträßer's viewpoint highlighting the authenticity of 'Volksarabisch' as spoken by non-Muslims may be illustrated by a case of lexical particularism. In his appraisal of the 12th century Spanish Arabic *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, Fück (1955a:11) noted that in the usage of its anonymous, probably Mozarab, author, the term *kāfir*⁹⁹ "soll nicht nur *infidus* und *infidelis*, sondern auch *incredulus*, *perfidus*, *prævaricator*, *sacrilegus*, und *crudelis* bedeuten" adding, in a footnote, that the last meaning ('cruel') also occurs in Maltese: (kiefier 'heartless, cruel'); this is, in fact, the *only* meaning it conveys in the latter language.

On the basis of the available documentation, it would seem meaningful to correlate retention of this semantic trait at the present time mainly with non-Muslim usage, e.g., Yemenī Arabic (J): *qalb kāfir* 'a ruthless heart' (Maatuf 1984:159).¹⁰⁰ That this semantic usage formerly enjoyed wider areal distribution in the Arabic colloquials, including

⁹⁸ Linguistic Islamization of Christians is, however, attested in literary usage, for instance, among Arabized Christians in Al-Andalus (Burman 1994:17) and in 9th century Palestine (Griffith 1990).

⁹⁹ Cf. Corriente (1977:121); Izutsu (1966:142) cites Quran XXXV, 37–39 in support of his view that "a *kāfir* is an arrogant, haughty man in a religious sense." On the probable Talmudic source of this term, see Horowitz (1926:59f).

¹⁰⁰ Note also Malt *qalb kiefra* 'ruthless heart.' Though the specific meaning of Ar *kāfir* under study here approximates some of the nuances outlined for Muslim religious usage in Björkman (1978) and Adams (1995) for *kāfir* and *kufir*, respectively, its striking retention in particularly in the aforementioned vernaculars appears to warrant individual treatment; note also Maghribī *kāfer* 'mécréant' (Boudot-Lamotte 1974:70) and Cairene *kifir/kafar* 'lose patience, be enraged,' *kafrān* 'angry, enraged' (Spiro 1892:522).

those spoken by Muslims, can be inferred from its residual retention in a few mainstream Arabic vernaculars:

Alep *kāfir* 'cruel' (Barth 722); Cai *ʔil-gūr kāfir* 'hunger knows no laws,'
yisʔab ʔala l-kāfir 'it would wring tears from a stone' (Bad/Hi 757);
 Marazig *kāfir* 'se montrer impitoyable ...' (Boris 1958:535).¹⁰¹

Behn/Woid (1994:418) also record this usage for Upper Egypt (Baris): *bihīma kāfra* 'ein bösertiges Tier' without specifying the factor of religious affiliation. Since none of the standard Classical Arabic dictionaries—e.g., Freytag (1830–7), Lane (2622), and Ullmann (1970: 266–7)—give this meaning, it seems reasonable to ascribe to the impact of *fuṣḥā* loss of the Arabic semantic usage *kfr* 'cruel' retained, for instance, among the Bedouin of S. Tunisia (Boris 1958:535).

A question rarely broached in relation to Arabic dialects spoken by Christians, for instance, in various studies by Michel Feghali on Lebanese Arabic, is the nature and extent of their formal continuities with Christian Middle Arabic. Christian Damascene, for instance, has the characteristic expression *r-rōḥ ʔl-qādās* 'the Holy Spirit' (Sto/Ani 103)—embodied in the Christian *basmalah*—continuing standard usage in Christian Arabic texts (Blau 1966–7: II, 350), in place of the normative construct state form without the initial article.

CyA features shared with Christian Arabic include several grammatical traits, such as extensive replacement of the ordinary Imperative by a polite equivalent in the Indicative marked with proclitic {a-} (Borg 1985:102),¹⁰² morpholexical fusion of *kān* with the Imperfect stem: *mā-kayyāʔirfu* 'they did not know' (cf. CMAR *kān yurīdū* 'they wanted'; Blau 1966–7: II, 439) and complete loss of Form IV in the verbal system (as noted, most Eastern Arabic vernaculars retain a handful of verbs in this class; cf. §IV above). The treatment of OA *wāḥid/aḥad* in CyA, yielding the form (*v*)*exen* with a labile reflex of OA **w* is also reminiscent of Christian Arabic, where the differences between these

¹⁰¹ Interestingly, some languages that came in direct or indirect contact with Arabic also retain this meaning: Sp *cafre* 'barbaro y brutal en el mas alto grado, salvaje'; Moliner 1994:454), Mod Gk *καρπος* 'ill-mannered, rude, inconsiderate person' (Babiniotis 1998:880; Triantafillidis 1998:704), and certain Turkish and Azeri vernaculars spoken by Muslims in Persian Azerbaijan, the source of the terms *kapora* 'cruel, kaporula' 'cruelty' (alongside *kafir* and *kafrula*, respectively) in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic of Urmi (Garbell 1965:314) – Zakho (I) *kapora* 'faithless, cruel person, giant' (Saber 2002:188) – Qaraq *kapora* 'infidel, tyrant' (Khan 2002:735). It is probably also not fortuitous that this residual trait circumscribes simultaneously the geographical and socioreligious periphery of the Arabic Sprachraum.

¹⁰² For this shift in Judæo-Arabic, cf. Blau (1965:85, fn 1).

two forms tended to become blurred (Blau 1966–7: II, 375).

Two isolated traits also deserve mention here: the final *imāla* reflex in *naxni* 'we' (cf. Chr Ar *nḥny*; Graf 1905:16), and the reflexes of the *faʔālil* plural scheme in *tisveʔi* 'hours' (< -t + **swāʔi*, sg *saʔa*),¹⁰³ < MAR *sawāʔi* 'die (kleinen) Horen' (Graf 1954:63),¹⁰⁴ in lieu of the standard Old Arabic external plural *sāʔāt*.

In the preceding section, we noted the incidence in CyA of mandatory object-marking with *l-* before animate definite objects. The formal implementation of object-marking in CyA replicates this phenomenon as actualized in Christian Middle Arabic, where no anticipatory pronominal suffix agreeing with the object is required (Borg 1985:138). All present-day varieties of Eastern Arabic that have object-marking with *l-* utilize such a suffix:

Pal Ar (Galilee): *ʔana lli laʔeto lal-iktāb miš-inti* 'I'm the one who found the book, not you' (Levin 1987:33); Bagh (C) *hezzu lḡāsak* 'shake your head!' (Blanc 1964a:129); Beir *ʔAli šāfha la l-bint* 'Ali saw the girl' (Koutsoudas 1967b:512).

In the case of Baghdadi Arabic, this feature can be shown to have characterized its mediaeval antecedent as evidenced in Ḥillī's vernacular poetry: *mā ʔašiqhā li-Šakar* 'he did not love Šakar' (14th cent.; Levin, *loc. cit.*).

CyA also has the odd verbal proclitic *ša-* (< *šyʔ*) conveying the immediate future: *ša-pirūx* 'he's going, he's about to go,' which invites comparison with the Christian Arabic particle *šān* which Graf (1905: 99) derived from Ar *šāʔn* and characterized as

sehr häufig zur Umschreibung des Futurs, bzw. zum Ausdruck des Müssens': *šānnū an tilka as-sāʔa šān malakūt allāh taḥhar* 'sie glauben, daß zur selben Stunde das Reich Gottes erscheinen werde.'

The historical source of CyA *ša* is, however, not entirely clear since a closely similar particle with an analogous function also exists in CyG; cf. CyA *ša-pittitlaʔa š-šimps* = CyG *iša fk'enni o iyyos* 'the sun is about to rise.'¹⁰⁵

The Christian Arabic component in CyA is most transparent in the lexical domain. Arabic terminology relating to the beliefs, institutions, and rituals of the Christian religion, here continuing a Middle Arabic

¹⁰³ Cf. Aleppo *swēʔiyye* 'livre d'heures, de prières, diurnal; bréviaire du rite grec catholique' (Barth 367).

¹⁰⁴ For the reflex of *tāʔ marbūṭa* in certain CyA broken plurals, see (Borg 1985:128).

¹⁰⁵ The apostrophe after the velar stop indicates palatalization.

lexical stratum (cf. Graf 1905) often harking back to Aramaic (cf. Blau 1983). As already noted, the relative interdialectal uniformity obtaining here, also with Neo-Aramaic vernaculars spoken by Christians (e.g., Turoyo), suggests that these terms derive ultimately from literary Syriac (cf. Feghali 1918, Frayha 1974, *passim*):

CyA *l-impšix* 'the Messiah' < Ar *al-masīh*, Ṭur *mšihō* 'Messiah'; *kassīs* 'priest' < Ar *qassīs*, Ṭur *qašo*; *špin* 'godfather, groom's man, pl *šupēn* (< **šabāyin*) ~ OA *šabīn/išbīn*, pl *ašābīn* 'groom's man' (Hava 350), Syriac *šawšābīnā* 'socius' (Brockel 766), GAram *šwšbyn* 'bridegroom's attendant' (Sokol 1990:542); *kaddīs* 'holy', Ṭur *qadišo*; *xadd š-ša'anine*, Ṭur *huššabo d-uša'ne* 'Palm Sunday'; *it l-ixpīr* 'Easter week'; Ṭur *edō-rabo*; *Sarpel* (anthrop) ~ Ṭur *Šarbel*, W. Neo-Aram *Širbel* < Syriac *Šarbel*: martyr Edessenus (R. Payne Smith 1879, col. 4324) < Assyr *Šār-Bēl*; ¹⁰⁶ *šummās* 'deacon' < Chr Ar *šammās* < Syriac *šammāšā* (Feghali 1918:63), etc.

It would be revealing to undertake a cross-dialectal comparative study of differential traits pertaining to lexical, idiomatic, and semantic usage setting apart Muslim, Christian and Jewish dialectal sub-varieties, for instance, in the realm of religious nomenclature inherited from Aramaic. Muslim Arabic *šallā* means 'pray in the Muslim fashion,' and *šalāh* 'prayer.' In CyA, *salla*, *pisalli* renders 'pray' and 'read, study' (cf. *mpšalli* 'educated'); ¹⁰⁷ this usage no doubt harks back to a time when the ability to write in the Cypriot Maronite community was restricted to the clergy (cf. Eng. *clerk* < *cleric*). CyA *sala* designates 'vespers'; whereas in Baghdadi, Muslims and Christians retain its cognate in the general meaning 'prayer'; for Jews, *šlā* means 'synagogue' (Blanc 1964a: 152); in all three cases, the term designates the domain of public prayer ("das rituell geordnete Gebet"; Nöldeke 1910:29).

In CyA, one notes the idiomatic expression *kaddisna tel ay-Yorki* 'we celebrated [the feast or the Mass] of St. George,' which invites comparison with the expression *šalla 'adadīs* 'celebrate Mass' in Christian Damascene Arabic: *yōm žžum'a ... ma bidu'u žrāš lknise 'abadan w la bišallu 'adadīs* (Bergsträsser 1924:68) 'on (Good) Friday ... they don't ring the churchbells at all and they don't celebrate Mass'

¹⁰⁶ According to Harrak (1992:321), "Šār-Bēl is a shortened form of a name parallel to the Assyrian name Ṭāb-Šār-Aššur "Good is the breath of Aššur." In Assyrian sources we find Ṭāb-Bēl (the breath of) Bēl is good," whereas Syriac has preserved Šār-Bēl "The breath of Bēl (is good)."

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Yiddish *lernen* meaning 'read aloud and interpret Talmudic texts' (Heilman 1980).

[my trans., AB]. In Jewish Baghdadi Arabic, the verb *qaddas* means 'he is engaged to marry' (Mansour 1991:185), cf. Heb *qiddēš* קִדְּשׁ.

A salient religious perception that impinges on everyday spoken Arabic usage relates to terms for the deity and the aforementioned issue of untranslatability. Granqvist (1935:12) renders *allāh*¹⁰⁸ in the usage of Palestinian Muslims by the term 'God' so as not to create the impression that Muslims worship, in her terms, "a special deity!" In the present author's view, this brand of 'ecumenism' is misplaced and should not be projected on to the religious *Weltanschauung* of native Arabic speakers since the three monotheistic religions espouse different and incompatible conceptions of the deity (cf. Canaan 1935: 242-3) often blurred at the level of popular piety. In this connection, an arresting trait in CyA is its virtually exclusive designation of the deity by *rabbī* or *rabbna* 'my/our Lord'; a reflex of the OA lexeme **allāh* occurs solely in a few residual and crystallized formulae: *allérixmu*, *allerxāma* 'God rest his/her soul', *smalla* 'in God's name' (uttered against the evil eye), and in the curse, *s-soxtālla* < **suxt* *allāh* 'the wrath of God' (possibly calquing Gk θεομηνία).¹⁰⁹

The terms *rabb* and *allāh* were both current in Old Arabic (Wansbrough 1977:17). Ambros (1981:32, fn 39) has noted:

Bekanntlich findet sich der Gottesname Allah in der ältesten Schicht der Offenbarung noch nicht (vielmehr wird dort *rabb* "Herr" gebraucht).

Goldziher (1889:239) maintained that in early Islam "*rabbī* 'my lord' was specifically applied to God but not to men," Y. Nevo (1994:111) has noted the use of *rabb* referring to Jesus and Moses in Arabic "Pre-Muhammadan" rock inscriptions of Judeo-Christian inspiration. Thus it is tempting to regard the virtually exclusive designation of the deity by this term in CyA as a case of retention since for Christian Arabs, *rabb* encodes a Christological outlook (cf. John 20:16; Mark 14:45). This would seem to suggest that CyA *r-rabb* and *rabbna* may well be calques on Syriac *mārā/mārān* 'the Lord/our Lord' (cf. Graf 1905:92 and Mod

¹⁰⁸ For the velarized lateral in this term, see A. Fischer (1925).

¹⁰⁹ However, cf. also Pal Ar *allāh yiblāha b-ḥariqah* (*b-saxafuh*, *b-darbatuh*) 'May God strike it with fire (with his wrath, scourges; this curse is directed against fields and gardens)' cited in Canaan (1935:259).

Mand *māre(y)* 'mein Herr, Gott'; Macuch 1993:412) circumventing the name 'Jesus Christ' out of respect.¹¹⁰

Today the terms *allāh* and *rabb* both enjoy wide currency among Arabic speakers of all three monotheistic faiths:

Dam *ʿalla* (Sto/Ani 7); S E Anat Ar (Chr): *w kəll yawm kanadʿi lərabbi, kanaqəl yā allāh, ʿsəyyəʿəlli mit maḡidi, ykūnūn nāqəs maḡidi, mō-ridən* 'jeden Tag betete ich zu meinem Herren: "Gott, wenn du mir hundert Maḡidi schickst, an denen ein Maḡidi fehlt, so will ich sie nicht!" (Jastrow 1981:136); liturgical Jewish Bagh Ar *ʿalla, ʿallā* 'God,' regularly for the Tetragrammaton ... alongside *ʿilā(h), tāyəq, ʿlkāfi* (Blanc 1964b:28).

The last source also mentions replacement of *allāh* by *ər-rabb* in certain types of Jewish discourse. The designation *rabb* for the deity in CyA thus calls for some comment.

Like Judaism, though not to the same extent, Christianity discourages frequent resort to the divine name outside the context of prayer. Muslim custom, on the contrary, proliferates its use:

Es giebt kaum eine Verrichtung im gewöhnlichen Leben, vor welcher der Araber sich nicht gedrungen fühlt, den Namen Gottes auszusprechen, um sich dadurch gegen die Macht böser Geister zu schützen, die diese bei jeder Gelegenheit zum Schaden der Menschen ausüben können. (Einsler 1887:160)

In the same vein, Piamenta (1979:21) notes that, for Muslims,

mentioning God's name disgraces demons, repudiates illness, and prevents the affliction of the evil eye: *ḡikr-alla yixzi kull šitān* 'mentioning God's name disgraces every demon.'

The term *allāh* 'God' in spoken Arabic is particularly frequent in "affective communication" (*op. cit.*, 7) and ritualized exchanges, such as God-wishes (Ferguson 1983); thus the purely vestigial use of this term in CyA conceivably reflects an inherited Christian stance of avoidance in reaction to this Muslim cultural trait, particularly since *alla* occurs very frequently in Arabic curse formulae (Canaan 1935:258–259).¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ The use of these terms in relation to Jesus Christ, ultimately continue what Fitzmyer (1979:116) has defined as a 'Palestinian Semitic religious background.' Fox (1994:130) draws attention to the fact that Christians showed "reverence and a certain scruple when writing out holy names in a text: not just the name of God, but of Christ and Jesus too. The evidence lies in the earliest surviving Christian papyri, whose writers followed a regular pattern of shortened "sacred names" ... (cf. Roberts 1979).

¹¹¹ Note, in Muslim usage, the euphemism *šār irāḡhim ʿaləh* 'er begann "Gott erbarme sich deiner" ihm zu sagen, im Sinn von: er begann ihm zu fluchen' (Schmidt/Kahle 1:279).

Interestingly, Christie (2001) has drawn attention to the use of the curse as an instrument of Muslim polemical rhetoric in the context of the "aggressive mood of the Crusades" (Salinger 1967:318):

It is a common feature of many Muslim sources for the Crusades that in their hostile references to the Franks (*Ifanj, Afranj, Faranj, Firanj*) they often suffix an invocation of God's curse on them to their mention of them, such as *xəḡalahum allāh* (May God forsake them) or *laʿanahum allāh* (May God curse them). In the early period of the Crusades, most notably before the Mongol invasions, this form of hostile expression is used almost exclusively of the Franks rather than being applied to the Muslims' enemies in general. (Christie 2001:254)

The facts reviewed here by Christie may not be entirely tangential to the present-day situation of CyA when one recalls the sociohistorical context of its genesis: the sectarian hostilities that transpired on the adjacent mainland during this period.

VII. CENTRE VS. PERIPHERY

(a) Peripherality

CyA is, from the standpoint of linguistic geography, a *relic area*—an erstwhile Arabic colloquial severed from mainstream Arabic in the Middle Ages. So-called 'peripheral' varieties of Arabic are potential foci of major research interest inviting the linguistic scholar to a special engagement with 'historical dialectology.' For, in essence, the formal profiles of these vernaculars present a Janus-like character being, on the one hand, integral (i.e., not pidginized) microcosms of Arabic linguistic evolution—often exemplifying diachronic developments central to mainstream Arabic dialects themselves (e.g., the vocally and consonantly conditioned types of *imāla* actualized in CyA and Maltese, respectively)—and, on the other, exemplars of idiosyncratic evolutionary paths representing the outcome of a far-reaching adaptation to their non-Arabic linguistic and cultural milieu. As already noted, their theoretical significance to the study of mainstream Arabic rests principally on their utility as historical checkpoints for dating linguistic trends in mainstream Arabic. Thus, for instance, Grotzfeld (1967) established that the glottal reflex of OA *qāf* already existed in 13th century Cairene. If the parallel glottal rendition of the OA uvular stop in Maltese can be assumed to have been inherited from its earliest Arabic layer (late 9th c.), this shift can be assigned a considerably earlier chronology.

The scholar can appeal to one of three near-synonyms designating geolinguistic borders in the technical arsenal of linguists addressing the configuration of speech areas: *lateral, marginal, and peripheral*,

each of which conveys a distinctive imagerial content (Malkiel 1983: 11). In the conventional parlance of Arabists, the term 'peripheral,' as applied, for instance, to CyA, Maltese, or Central Asian Arabic, merely objectifies *metaphorically* the fact of their geographical and cultural isolation from the mainstream vernaculars. This is a legitimate technical usage earmarking these vernaculars as (a) vital attestations of colloquial Arabic prior to the onset of modern diglossia¹¹² which has in many cases altered the structure of the mainstream Arabic dialects through the infiltration of literary Arabic influences, and (b) topics of major interest to students of the interface between language contact and linguistic typology.

Romance dialectologists, however, employ the term 'peripheral' in a more concrete sense conveying an "etymological and primordial association with circularity" (*loc. cit.*, 12) which is clearly inapplicable to dialectal landscapes comprising a series of isolated and mutually well-distanced points on the linguistic map such as Malta, Cyprus, S E Anatolia, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, and Chad.

In the case of CyA, its continuities with the Arabic *Sprachraum* as outlined in §IV above, would seem to suggest a position of laterality with respect to the 'Greater Syrian' dialect area, but as far as its affiliations within the Anatolian-Mesopotamian dialectal continuum are concerned, it is worth noting Jastrow's graphic characterization of this linguistic area (1990a:201):

Die *qaltu*-Dialekte treten im Irak nie flächendeckend, sondern immer nur punktuell auf; sie bilden jedoch ein Netz von Punkten, das den ganzen Irak überzieht.

Thus CyA represents, in relation to the *qaltu* dialects, the extension and terminus of a thin line of isolated points (*relic areas*) stretching from S E Anatolia, across N Syria to Iraq—protruding onto a Braudelian Mediterranean ecology of linguistic relationships. Given its centrality as the intersection of three continental land masses with their distinctive

¹¹² Recent work on the evolution of the Arabic language postulates the co-existence of Classical and vernacular Arabic already in the early Islamic centuries (Hopkins 1984: xlv) though, given sociocultural restrictions on the diffusion of literacy in the Arab world from the mediæval period onwards, the existence of a general, full-fledged diglossia should probably not be assumed for the period prior to the revival of Modern Standard Arabic (cf. Blau 1981) that unleashed "die gesteigerte literarische Tätigkeit und die Empfänglichkeit der Massen dafür, die seit etwa Anfang 1897 ein höchst wesentliches Merkmal der arabischen Welt sind ..." (Hartmann 1905:9); for earlier impressions, see Sandreczki (1873). See also Lecerf (1932).

linguistic profiles, the Eastern Mediterranean can be dynamically designated as a perennial *Interferenzzone*, where the notions of 'centre' and 'periphery' are mobile foci liable to periodic historical shifts.

(b) *Peripherality and the lexicon*

Lexical correspondences tend traditionally to play a subsidiary role in comparative linguistics since borrowing between related dialects can introduce an element of uncertainty in claims of historical continuity. Whereas this point is, to some extent, valid with regard to geographically adjacent dialects, it is much less so in the case of mutually distant ones. Thus, lexical research comes into its own in the study of linguistic peripheries, and insular vernaculars, like CyA and Maltese, become objects of paramount interest for the comparatist. Both vernaculars show reflexes of rare Old Arabic lexemes:

CyA: *kitš* 'nothing, anything' ~ Malt *qattx* 'ever' ~ Cen As *qattis* 'nichts' (W-D. Fischer 1961:258), cf. AA *qatt* (Neuvonen 1952) ~ Riš *qatt* 'ausgenommen' (Vo/Wald 341), OA *qattu* 'not at all' (Hava 613); *kanirizz*, *pirizz* 'inherit' < OA *razaʿa* (a) 'he got or obtained, somewhat of his property' (Lane 1074); CyA *tmassex* 'he went away' < OA *msh*; *šaxve* 'hair of head' ~ Qart, Āz *šahfe* 'Haupthaar' (Jastrow 1969:685) < **šahfa* < OA *šāʿafa* 'lock of hair' (Hava 368); *arra*, *piʿarri* (v) 'exhaust, consume' ~ OA, Ugar *ʿrw* (ʔ); *yapāti* 'my father' ~ OA *yā abati* 'O my father!' (W-D. Fischer 1972:85); *ayār* 'clouds' ~ OA *gayr/giyār* 'rain' (*Lisān* V, 40);

Maltese: *ftit*, CyA *fite* 'a little', Upper Egyp *fite minnu* 'ein bißchen davon' (Behn/Woid 388), and Yem *fittah* (Ḥodaydah; Rossi 1938:265); *tina* 'backside' ~ Upper Egyp *fine* 'Hinterteil' (Behn/Woid 1999:383) < OA **fina*; S Leban, N Pal Ar *zakra* 'navel' (noted for Galilee: Kufir Yasif, Saxnīn, Rāmi, etc.); *zokra* 'navel' ~ East Ar *zakra* 'nombriil' (Dozy I, 596, cit. *Muḥit*) ~ OA *zakra* 'small wine or vinegar-skin, non-class Ar 'navel' (Hava 292); *seta*, *yista* 'be able' < *istāʿa*, *yastīʿu* (Lane 1891); *ḡaḡhal* [ḡāl] 'he obliged (s.o. to do s.th.)' < *ḡaʿala* 'he put' (Hava 92); *mindu* 'since' < OA **mindū* (> Cl Ar *mundu* ~ *muḍ*, Wright 1988:174; W-D. Fischer 1972:142); *sejjer* 'going' ~ Yem (I) *sayyir* 'companion (especially on travel)' (Goitein 1941:88) ~ OA *sāʿir*; [iva ~ iwa] 'yes' (continuing the high vowel *ī) < OA *ʿi-wallāhi* 'yea, by God!' (Lane 132; Wright I:285);¹¹³ *hama* 'slime' < OA *hama* 'mud' (Penrice 1873:38);¹¹⁴ *miera*, *imieri* 'contradict' < OA *mārā* (Hava 717); *bosta* 'many' < OA *bašta* (Lane 113); *sa* 'until, up to'; *sa l-hamsa* 'until five o'clock' ~ (?) N

¹¹³ Cf. N Yem *ʿiwah/ʿeywah/ʿaywah*, etc. 'ja' (Behnstedt 1987:231). Whereas most Arabic dialects show a reflex of dialectal *aywa*, Maltese *iva* finds is paralleled in the Judæo-Arabic term *ʿiwāl* noted in Blau/Hopkins (1985: 444, 473) < OA *ʿi-wallāhi* 'yea, by God!' (Lane 132); cf. Ugar *ʿi* 'surely, verily' (Cohen 2004:16*). The shift of Ar *w > Maltese v in this lexical item presumably resolved the phonotactic incompatibility of lip-spreading concomitant with *ī and lip-rounding entailed in *w.

¹¹⁴ Note also Malt *ḡnien* 'garden' continuing the OA pl form *ḡinān* 'gardens' (sg *ḡanna*), a formal shift already attested in the language of the Arabic papyri (Hopkins

Yem si as in *si tll* 'nach unten' (Behnstedt 1987:92); (nambi, tambi, etc.) 'need, want': (dan x'nambih?) 'what do I need this for?' ~ Bahr *baga*, *yabgi* / *yabbi* / *yabi* / *yibga* / *yubba* / *yumba* / *yambi* 'want, desire, intend' (Holes 2001:48) ~ Om (Khāb) *bā*, *ybā* 'want, require' (Brockett 1985:65).

They also retain arresting lexical substrata from Aramaic apparently unknown or rare in mainstream varieties of dialectal Arabic

Maltese: *xandar*, *ixandar* 'broadcast (originally, the word of God)' < Aram *šdr* 'send' (cf. Borg 1996b:147); *xehet* 'throw' (< Aram *šht*); *trux* 'deaf' ~ Mand *trūs* 'taub' (Nöldeke 1875:§101; J. Barth 1894:47); *tariš(a)* 'taub' (Macuch 1965:499);¹¹⁵ *felli*, pl *fili* 'segment (of fruit)' ~ DSS Aram *ply* 'be removed, separated' (Greenfield/Sokoloff:1992:91), cf. JAram *polāh* 'split, cut open' (M. Jastrow 1181); *hobb* 'bosom, space between chest and shirt' ~ GAram *hūbba*/*ūbbā* (Koe/Baum 284) ~ Ma' *oppa* 'Tasche' (Bergsträßer 1921:1) ~ Tur *ebo* 'Brusttasche' (Jastrow 1985:178) ~ Fellihi *ūbbā* 'Tasche' (Sachau 1895:22) ~ Mand *ūmba* 'bosom' (Drower/Macuch 1963:344); *hatar* 'cudgel' ~ GAram *hōtrā* 'rod, staff' (Sokol 1990:197) ~ Tur *hatro* 'Knüppel' (Jastrow 1985:216), etc.¹¹⁶

Rare lexical Aramaisms in CyA have been discussed in §V above.

Reference to the periphery in comparative research can sometimes prove eminently useful for elucidating apparent lexical oddities of individual Arabic vernaculars.

Particularly instructive is the case of Malt *laqat* ['laʔat] 'hit' (< OA **laqat*). Classical Arabic and many Arabic colloquials assign this lexeme a basic meaning 'gather, collect, glean' (cf. Alep, Barth 761; Palest, Bauer 29, etc.) also known from other Semitic languages that have the term: Hebrew, Aramaic, etc. (Koe/Baum 1995:535). Dialectal data suggest that this distinctive Maltese semantic usage is not an internal development, cognate forms being attested, interestingly, in a number of Eastern Arabic vernaculars, e.g., Leban Ar *laqat*,

qui comme en classique, signifie au Liban 'il ramassa, recueillit' a pris dans cette region, le sens contraire, celui de 'il jeta.' (Feghali 1935:137, fn 3).

1984:110). The Maltese language occasionally retains reflexes of nouns pertaining to relatively rare nominal schemes: *bodbod*, pl *bdabad* 'billy goat' (< **bābd*), *bilbla* 'nightingale', *qatqat*, pl *qzieqez* 'pig'; cf. Pal Ar *bilbil* 'nightingale', *hidhid/hudhud* 'Wiedehopf' (Bau 214, 363), Alep *duldul* 'herisson' (Barth 247), etc. (cf. Nöldeke 1904a:107-123).

¹¹⁵ A cognate of this term occurs in Classical Ar *utrūs* 'heavy or dull of hearing' (Lane 1841), apparently unattested in the modern Arabic vernaculars.

¹¹⁶ This meaning is already attested for Akk *xutāru*, *xutartu* 'branch, rod' (Koe/Baum 1307). Heb *hōter*, Bab Talm. *hatar* (Kahle 1902:72), Syriac *hōtrā*, etc., it may be vacuous to derive the Maltese form from OA *xitr* 'a branch of a tree' (Lane 764).

Both Maltese and Lebanese usages can be suggestively linked with that occurring in a folktext from Arbəl:

Für Säen von Melonen, Kürbissen etc. verwendet man nicht den Ausdruck *zara*, sondern *laqat*, weil der Samen nicht in weitem Bogen ausgeworfen, sondern in Reihen gestreut wird. (Jastrow 1981:100, fn 2)

A Palestinian Arabic cognate shows up in Dalman (I/1:262):

Pal Ar *ṭili* *er-rungus wil-hammūn—dubb ibdārak ya maḡnūn* 'die Tazetten und die Frühlingsblumen sind gekommen, pack' ein deine Saat Kasten!' *ibdār* gibt dabei an, daß es sich um die Saat von Weizen und Gerste handelt, die durch Wurf ausgeführt wird. Andersartige Saat mit *leqāt*, wobei man sie Samen einzeln fallen läßt, wie es bei der Sommersaat geschieht, soll nicht ausgeschlossen sein.

In the same work (II, 183), the author explains:

Der Pfluger streut dann nicht den Saaten vor dem Pflügen, sondern läßt ihn beim Pflügen hinter dem Pfluge einzeln in die Furche fallen (*bilaqqit*).

The Form II derivate cited here has the Egyptian Arabic cognate *laggaṭ*/*naggaṭ* 'den Tieren Stroh vorwerfen, aussäen' (Behn/Woid 1994:435)¹¹⁷ presumably also related to the non-classical literary usage *laqqat* 'throw (coins) at' (Hava 794) and to the nominal form

naqaṭ, pl *nuqūt* 'pièces de monnaie qu'on jette ou qu'on donne aux musiciens dans une fête, à la mariée dans une noce.'¹¹⁸ (Dozy II, 722)

All things considered, what Feghali (*loc. cit.*) adjudged, on the basis of his dialect, to be a peculiar dialectal trait in Lebanese Arabic turns out to be an eminently interesting case of retention with cognates in at least four other Arabic vernaculars; the semantic distinction lexified in the Arbəl colloquial would seem to represent the older meaning from which the others can be derived.¹¹⁹

The afocited examples of lexical particularism in CyA and Maltese corroborate the afocited viewpoint that a global dictionary of

¹¹⁷ Cf. the free variation of *l* ~ *n* in Rabbinic Heb *nāqaṭ* 'nehmen' (syn. mit *laqat*), cognate with JAram *nāqaṭ* (same meaning), in Levy (III, 436); cf. also Babyl Aram *nqṭ* 'take a certain direction' (Sokol 2002:774).

¹¹⁸ Cf. Pal Ar *nqūt il-ʿarīs* 'money collection for the bridegroom' (Granqvist 1935: II, 112, fn 1).

¹¹⁹ Cf. the Biblical categorization ('scattering' vs. 'putting' seed): *halōʾ im-šiwwāh pāneyhā wā-hēfiš qešah wā-kammōn yizroq wā-sām hiṭṭāh šōrah u-šōrah nismān wā-kussemet gōḥūlātō* 'after he has levelled it, will he not scatter fennel, sow cummin, put in wheat and barley and, on the edges, spelt?' (Is. 28:25); cf. Om (Khāb) *rama*, *yirma* 'sow' (Brockett 1985:112). Note also the parallel semantic categorization: 'throw, cast' vs. 'put, place' in Indo-European (Hock/Joseph 1996:512).

dialectal Arabic should ideally entail a scrutiny of peripheral Arabic for residues of archaic lexical usage typifying the margins of the Arabic *Sprachraum*, beyond the range of contact with regional *koinés* or of classicizing trends.¹²⁰

(c) *Language contact at the periphery: the Greek impact*

Wansbrough (1996:7) has expressed the view that "to conceive of any Mediterranean language unaffected by contact is difficult, if not indeed impossible." In fact, most modern Arabic dialects spoken along the shores of this waterway and beyond have integrated elements from several languages used in the region: Turkish as an erstwhile language of administration (Littmann 1954; Halasi-Kun 1969; Belguedj 1971; Abu-Lughod 1975:33; Tietze 1983; Prokosch 1983; Heath 1989), Italian, Spanish, French (Butros 1973) and, latterly, English as colonial languages or languages of wider communication (see below).

Peripheral dialects of Arabic usually differ from mainstream vernaculars in the intensity of their contacts with foreign languages and their selective patterns of receptivity to such influences. In effect, communities speaking peripheral Arabic dialects can be said to resemble colonialized ones in one important respect: their symbolic and linguistic domination by one principal foreign language, often their speakers' present or erstwhile second language: Italian (and, more recently, English) in Malta, Greek in Cyprus, etc. Linguistic acculturation to Greek in CyA is fairly extensive if measured by Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale (1988), and involves transfer of allophonic rules, function words, and virtually unrestricted borrowing of content words in the context of codeswitching. CyA also shows a significant degree of calquing on Greek idioms:

CyA *mat pian moδ'u* 'he died for his country' (= CyG *pebtane ya ton topon tu*), *le'epu ma f-^oipetto* 'he shot him with a rifle' (= CyG *epksen ton me to oplon*), *xatt sipu* 'he made the sign of the cross' (= CyG *evale to stavro tu*), *mimparra* 'by heart' < **min barra* (= *αν'εβω*), CyA *lxex* 'herbs for salad' (= Gk *χορτα*) < OA *hasā'is* 'herbs, grasses, weeds' (Hava 125), *tinye* 'world, people' (= Gk *κόσμος*) < Ar *duyūd* 'world,' etc.

¹²⁰ The sociohistorical typology of CyA bears a particularly close resemblance to that of Maltese, both vernaculars being the outcome of "virtually complete separation from the Arabic-speaking world, linguistic interaction across genetic boundaries, the Christian and Catholic affiliation of their speakers, as well as their Mediterranean and insular habitat" (Borg 1985: vii).

The upshot is that the semantic content of many inherited Arabic terms has been modified in alignment with Greek equivalents. Thus, for instance, the CyA verb *xatt*, *pixótt* < OA *hatt* 'put' covers a semantic range virtually isomorphic with that of Mod Gk *βάζω*.

The same goes for several other CyA terms so that one can almost say impressionistically, that the vernacular of the Kormakiti Maronites is "Greek in transparent Arabic garb!"¹²¹ The degree of hellenization undergone by CyA speakers tends at first blush to be concealed by the patent anisomorphy obtaining between the morphological systems of CyA and CyG, the inflectional pattern of the former having largely resisted significant intrusion of Greek morphological elements.

The Greek component in the CyA lexicon also comprises older loans inherited from its parent Arabic vernacular. The earlier Greek layer can often be teased apart from the later one by reference to other Arabic dialects showing reflexes of the same Greek lexemes often filtered via Aramaic:

CyA *kammín*, pl *kmemín* 'charcoal furnace' (~ CyG *kammini* 'id.') ~ Alep *qamimín*, pl *qmēmín* 'four qui sert à chauffer un *hammadm*' (Barth 683) < Syriac *qamīna* - GAram *qmīn* 'oven' (Sokol 1990:496) < Gk *κάμινος* < Lat *camīnus*.

The *imāla* in the plural forms cited here suggests that this CyA lexeme is not a recent loan from CyG but a *Rückwanderer* into the Greek linguistic landscape. Its occurrence in late Rabbinic usage underscores the salient role of Aramaic as a conduit for koiné Greek *Sprachgut* into the earliest strata of colloquial Arabic.¹²²

A less transparent form of Greek influence in CyA occurs in the phonological realm; observe, for instance, the syllabic redistribution of CyA liquids in consonant clusters, [l] being preferred as syllabic onset and [r] as coda:

CyA *slupén* 'crosses' < Ar *šulbān*; *arka* 'so much' < **dlqa* < Ar **hal-qādr*, *kúrsine* 'every year' < Ar *kull-sana*; *korkás* 'kind of potato' < Ar *qulqās* < Gk *κολοκασία*.

On this specific trait of Greek phonology, Schulze (1933:297) noted:

¹²¹ I here adapt a metaphor coined by Bergsträsser (1928:47) about Modern Hebrew being "eine europäische Sprache in durchsichtiger hebräischer Verkleidung."
¹²² The currency of specific CyA Grecisms already in Jewish Aramaic suggests an early dating for these loans in Eastern Arabic presumably mediated by what Lieberman (1965:28) called "a kind of Aramaic Greek jargon." Cf. also S. Levin (1995) and Frejne (1980:139f) on Greek in Jewish Palestine. On the later impact of Greek on Jewish languages, cf. Wexler (1992:37).

Die Verwandlung von λ vor Konsonanten im ρ ist im modernen Vulgärgriechisch ein weitverbreiteter Vorgang.¹²³

Observe CyG φταρμός 'evil eye' < Anc Gk ὀφθαλμός 'eye', and κικτάριν/κλιθάρριν/κλιττάριν 'barley' < Anc Gk κριθάριον (Yangoullis 1997:136; cf. Beaudouin 1887:69).¹²⁴

While this work sets out principally to adumbrate the lexical commonalities of CyA with the mainstream Arabic vernaculars, the Greek component in this peripheral vernacular's word stock sometimes invites special treatment on account of the areal ramifications of Greek *Wanderwörter* both within and beyond the Arabic language area.

A striking example of a Greek loan in CyA with an impressive areal trajectory is the term *zumí* (zwm↓) 'juice, sap, etc.' < ζουμί < ζωμίον, diminutive of Gk ζωμός 'Brühe, ausgedrückter oder ausgezogener Saft' (Fleischer II, 546):

> Syriac *zūmā* 'broth' (J. Payne Smith 113) > Alep *zūm* 'lavage, suc, jus d'un fruit' (Barth 324) ~ Leban Ar *zūm* 'jus, sauce, bouillon, suc' (Feghali 1918:53) ~ Pal Ar *zūm* 'Saft' (Bauer 250) ~ Yem *zōm* 'broth made from buttermilk and flour' (Deboo 1989:291; cf. Bustan I, 1029) ~ MLA *zūm*, pl *azwām* 'juice, sap' (Wehr 450), etc.

This hellenism evidently enjoyed considerable currency in the Mediterranean *Sprachraum* since it has the AA cognate *zimpi* 'small wine' (Corriente 1997:232).¹²⁵ In the West, dialectal Arabic mediated ζουμί to Iberian Romance yielding Sp *zumo* and Port *suma* (Meyer-Lübke 1935:803); its eastern diffusional trail extends across Greater Syria to

¹²³ The treatment of liquids here yields a parallel with an earlier case of language contact, i.e., between koiné Greek and Rabbinic Aramaic/Hebrew: φλόιν < προλήνεια; φλάτοριν 'palace' < πραιτώριον (= Lat *praetorium*) (Sokol 1990:434, 435); κίπλις 'a measure' < κύπρος (op. cit., 256), *isklā* 'Bratrost' < ἐσχάρα; *bartiyā* 'Staat, Stadt' < πολιτεία (Krauss 1898:98, 165), *parkēl* 'Stab' < φραγέλλιον < Lat *flagellum*; *turyānos* (name) < Lat *Trajanus*; *plumopīlon* 'Hauptbataillon' < Lat *primopilus* (op. cit., 477, 271, 99), etc. Within Greek itself, cf. κλιβανάριος 'armoured cavalryman' < Middle Pers *grībān* 'coat of mail' (Szemerényi 1974:156). In Borg (1994:55), I noted that this syllabic treatment of liquids obtains in other areas for which Greek substrata can be postulated, e.g., S Italian (Orioles 2003:79; Rohlfs 1933; Varvaro 1981:75f) spilling over into Maltese.

¹²⁴ The rule also affects loanwords: CyG *klatsa* 'stocking' < It. *calza* (Yangoullis 1997:136).

¹²⁵ A Cypriot Greek source for this Andalusian Ar term is not to be ruled out since "the medieval Cyprus wine industry was commercially the most important in the Middle East ... The Crusader and Venetian expansionism made the island part of the Latin west, which soon became fond of its wines ... The earliest record of Cyprus wine being drunk in the west is dated 1178 when Count Baldwin of Guines offered it to the archbishop of Rheims" (Robinson 1994:309).

Southern Arabia (cf. N Yem *zōm↓*), conceivably via a Jewish linguistic conduit: Rabbinic Heb *zōm*, *zōmīt* 'broth, gravy' (Klein 1987:196) ~ Jaram *zōmā* 'broth, pulp' (M. Jastrow 387).¹²⁶

Another hellenism with a Mediterranean profile is CyA *faskie* 'swaddling band' (< *fsq*) ultimately < Lat *fascia*, mediated by Greek to Aramaic (Feghali 1918:64): Syriac *pesqītā* (Brockel 585), GAram *psyqyā/pasqyā*, etc. 'Binde am Busen (der Frauen)' (Krauss 1898:472), and thence to Eastern Arabic: Leban Ar *fōsqiyye* 'langes, maillot pour attacher l'enfant dans le berceau' (Feghali 1918:56), eventually reaching the central and western Mediterranean: Malt *fiṣ'iyya* 'swaddling band', AA *faṣqiyya*, pl *faṣāqī* 'bande' (Dozy II, 271).

The impact of Greek on Arabic, paralleled in Late Hebrew (Krauss 1898; van der Horst 2001) and Aramaic (e.g., Syriac and Palmyrene; Schall 1960, H. Drijvers 1995) was one salient facet of a process of 'globalization' in the ancient world. As a one-time ancient lingua franca "that might take a man from Marseilles to India, from the Caspian to the Cataracts" (Tarn 1938:3), Greek was still the "Weltsprache des Hellenismus" (Schwyzer 1953:116) when the Arabs experienced "the processes of Romanization and Hellenization for four centuries or so" (Shahid 1984:153). Schwyzer (op. cit., 47) observed:

Der Alexanderzug hat dem Hellenismus Vorderasien und Ägypten geöffnet; bis nach Baktrien und Indien entstehen griechisch-makedonische Städte. Aber diese griechischen Inseln; der Islam nahm dem Hellenismus auch die äußern Möglichkeiten einer Ausdehnung. Immerhin war Kleinasien noch im 10. Jahrhundert n. Chr. geradezu das Kernland des Hellenismus. Erst die kleinasiatische Katastrophe des griechischen Heeres im Jahre 1922 hat die Reste des mittelalterlichen kleinasiatischen Griechentums und spätere griechische Zuwanderer beseitigt; ein großer Teil ist nach dem Lande zurückgekehrt von dem drei Jahrtausende vorher ihre Vorfahren ausgezogen waren. [emphasis added]

The impact of Greek on Classical Arabic has been discussed in Schall (1982) and profusely surveyed in (Endress/Gutas 2002). The pervasiveness of Greek loans and their remarkable stability over time in vernacular Arabic, for instance, in Greater Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt (on the latter, cf. Vollers 1897:294–305), constitutes an as yet unstudied case of continuity between ancient and modern 'Mediterranean linguistics.' Observe, by way of example, Rabbinic Aram ⟨prgl⟩ 'whip' (Sokol 1990:444)¹²⁷ ~ Syriac *purkālā* 'bond, strap'

¹²⁶ This term is not listed in Goitein (1941).

¹²⁷ Kaufman (1994:247) here prefers the gloss 'rebuke, warn.'

(Klein 1987:529) < φραγέλλιον < Lat *flagellum* (Brockel 592) and its dialectal Arabic reflexes: Cai *far-illa*, pl -āt, *fara'il/farā'il* 'drover's whip' (Bad/Hi 653; Dozy II, 260) and rural Egyp Ar *furtu'illa* 'Peitsche' (Behn/Woid 346). Some terms in the Ancient Greek nautical lexicon have proved to be remarkably long-lived along the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean; for instance, the lexeme γαλήνη 'stillness of the sea, calm' (*Odyssey* VII, 319; X, 94; Liddell/Scott 336)—continued in Mod Gk γαλήνη [galini] 'calme, sérénité' (Mirambel 1960:318)—yielded Late Heb *gallēnē* 'stillness of wind and wave' (M. Jastrow 1903:249) and cognates in several Arabic colloquials:

Cai *gallini* 'calm weather on the sea' (Spiro 1895:434) ~ Alep *galline* 'bonace, calme plat sur la mer; *gallan*, *ygallen* 'se calmer, s'apaiser (: vent, mer)' (Barth 581).

Similarly, Late Gk χελάνδιον 'espèce de navire' (Dozy I, 783) attested in MAR *šalandā/šalandī* 'transport de troupes byzantin' (Fück 1955b: 166) is continued in Cai *šlndy/šrndy* 'Fahrzeug' (Vollers 1897:298).¹²⁸

Thus a striking comparative aspect of the Greek impact on CyA of potential relevance to the diachrony of mainstream colloquial Arabic relates to instances of semantic patterns and categorizations (including metaphorical usage) shared by this vernacular with certain mainstream Arabic dialects, suggesting that the latter retain significant lexico-semantic traces of Greek substrata:

CyA *mimparra* 'by heart' = Gk απ' έξω 'id' = nonclass Ar *gayban/alā l-gā'ib* 'by heart' (Hava 540) = Pal Ar 'an *gēb* 'id' (cf. Rabbinic Heb *bā-'al peh*);¹²⁹ CyA *morōs* 'child' = Mod Gk μωρός 'id' = GArām *mōrōs* 'fool' (Sokol 1990:296), cf. Bagh (M) *gāhil* 'baby, child' (Wood/Bee 79) = Sa'd *gāhilin* 'Kleinkind' (Behnstedt 1987:242); CyA *xtanak* 'choke (intr), drown' = Mod Gk πνίγω 'id' = Alep *xtanāq* 'être étouffé, se noyer' (Barth 220), cf. Çukur *mixnūk bi l-baḥīr* 'und so ertrank er im Meer' (Procházka 2002:258); Mod Gk το χέρι μου με τρωεί 'my hand is itching' = OA *akala* 'itch (head)' (Hava 11) = Pal Ar 'idi *btākulni* 'my hand is itching; Malt 'idi qed ticolni' 'id.; etc. ~ OA *gild'i ta'kuluni* 'my skin itches' (Lane 71).

These casually noted semantic correspondences, apparently also with historical Asia Minor, whose "coastal regions had undergone early

¹²⁸ Cf. also the Maltese toponym *Xlendi* [šlendi] < Ar **šalandī*. For the shift of Gk $\chi > \lambda$, cf. Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994:383 and *passim*). The *chelandia* were the "bateaux légers" that the Byzantines kept at their naval base in Malta (Ahrweiler 1966:91). In the western Mediterranean, the Latin impact is to also be reckoned with: Colin (1926), Wagner (1936), Lewicki (1951), Rössler (1962), Fanciullo (1992), etc.

¹²⁹ It is striking to note that the underpinning Greek metaphor later also infiltrated the European *Sprachraum*, cf. Austrian Gm *auswendig* (Wahrig 1975:550).

"hellenization" (Horrocks 1997:63) intimate that a systematic study of Greek influences on colloquial Arabic in this region will almost certainly throw new light on the nature, extent, and chronology of the historical interaction between these two languages.

The impact of Arabic on Greek has yet to be systematically investigated. Several Arabic lexemes in CyA are shared with CyG and Turkish; they appear to have been acquired from Turkish in part via CyG mediation: CyA *xazz* 'luck' ~ CyG *xazzi*, *kkef* 'fun' ~ CyG *kkefin*; CyA/CyG *patania* (pl -es) 'blanket,' *mpakkal* (pl -es) 'grocer,' etc. ~ Tk *haz*, *keyif*, *battaniye*, *bakkal* (Iz/Hony 289, 53, 61), etc. ~ Ar *ḥaḍḍ*, *kayf*, *battāniyya*, *baqqāl*, etc.

VIII. DIACHRONIC TRENDS

Undoubtedly the clearest symptom of this dialect's terminal condition, the relatively depleted character of the CyA lexicon exemplifies a trend towards systemic reduction (not uncommon in languages spoken by isolated emigrant communities; cf. Gal 1992) induced by a natural erosion process of native *Wortgut* concomitant with the dwindling size of its speaker community and by contact with Greek.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, the CyA word-stock remains, not infrequently, of special intrinsic interest to the diachronist since the impact of external influences has not blurred the lines of significant internal shifts in this vernacular's lexical profile.

(a) Relexification in CyA

The researcher of this vernacular is struck as much by the thoroughly Arabic character of its basic word-stock as by lexical gaps for cognates of virtually pan-dialectal Arabic terms such as *rās* 'head,' *dār* 'house,' *gār* 'neighbour,' *šağara* 'tree,' *aṣfūr* 'bird,' *sakan* 'he dwelt,' *waṣal* 'he arrived,' *daxal* 'he entered,' *zār* 'he visited,' *baqa* (< OA *baqiya*) 'he remained,' *gamīl* 'beautiful,' *marīd* 'sick,' the relative pronoun *illi*, etc. Since cognates of these terms show up in most varieties of Eastern Arabic and beyond, it is reasonable to assume that they were available at an earlier evolutionary stage in the history of CyA or in that of its immediate parent vernacular.

¹³⁰ For reductive formal concomitants of language death, cf. Dorian (1989:440 and *passim*). There are, as far as I know, no statistical surveys of lexicon size for languages spoken by small communities lacking a written tradition. For a discussion of this problem in relation to Romani speakers, cf. Boretzky (2001:480f.).

Significantly, the semantic slots of many discarded Arabic terms in CyA have been mostly reassigned to Arabic lexemes and not filled by CyG equivalents, which suggests a relatively early chronology for these lexical shifts and a consequent need to examine each case independently within a tentative framework of interdialectal word history for clues of areal convergence as opposed to internally generated change. The postulated relexification process can be exemplified in part by the following word pairs, each comprising a putatively obsolete Old Arabic lexeme and its substitute in CyA:

CyA *rās* 'head' ⇒ *moxx*; *ḡamīl* 'beautiful' ⇒ *kaes*; *sakana* 'dwell' ⇒ *ke'e*, *pkya'k'o* 'sit, to dwell' (< OA *qa'ada* (*u*) 'sit'); *wašala* 'arrive' ⇒ *xilek* 'reach (e.g., a place)' (< OA *laḥiq*); *daxala* 'enter' ⇒ *'anta* (< OA *'addā*); *'amila* 'make' ⇒ *sava* (< OA *sawwā*); *baqiya* 'remain' ⇒ *kaf*, *pikáf* (< OA *waqafa*, *yaqifu*); *marīd* ⇒ *pxal* (< **bi-ḥāl*); *faqīr* 'poor' ⇒ CyA *sa'ālūk* (< OA *su'lūk*), *nār* 'fire' ⇒ *okit*, etc.

Some of these lexical gaps and concomitant relexifications in CyA can be plausibly motivated by reference to comparative data from areally relevant Arabic vernaculars or from substratal languages. Significantly, Procházka (2002:163) has observed an analogous trend in the Çukurova dialect area, which shares several traits with CyA:

Das Lexikon der Çukurova-Dialekte unterscheidet sich in vielen Einzelheiten von dem der bekannteren Stadtdialekte wie Aleppo oder Damaskus. Nicht wenige sonst hochfrequente Wörter oder Wurzeln sind nicht repäsentiert oder haben eine andere Bedeutung. Genannt seien hier z.B. *wšl* und *bqy* wo in der Çukurova nur *lḥq* 'ankommen' und *dqr* 'bleiben' gebraucht wird. *rama* heisst nur "verlassen" ("werfen" ist *šalah*) ...

The following speculative remarks on some of lexical shifts in CyA may be of interest in this regard:

(i) CyA continues the ancient semantic opposition *head* : *top of the head* (cf. Ugaritic *r'is* vs. *qdqd*; Sivan 1997:7) yielding CyA *moxx* 'head': *šaxve* 'hair of head' < **šahfe* < OA *ša'afa* 'lock of hair'; Hava 368). The metonymic relexification of OA *rās* 'head' by OA *moxx* 'brain' and complete loss of the former lexeme calls for comment.¹³¹ The change was no doubt heralded (at a pre-Cypriot stage) by semantic complementarity between the two terms as in the modern Lebanese and N Syrian Arabic colloquials:

¹³¹ The lack of a reflex for OA *rās* in CyA is not unique in spoken Arabic. Marçais (1911:304) states: "Il est remarquable que *rās* (*rās*) qui est le mot panarabe pour «tête» ne soit pas le plus courant dans ce sens à Constantine; dans le parler de cette ville, le mot habituel pour «tête» est *dmāg*." On Cai *dimāg*, cf. also Kremer (1883:59).

Leban Ar *moxx*, pl *mxāx* 'tête proprement dite, la tête d'un homme (au point de vue physique), d'un animal; ... *rās*, pl *rās* 'tête (au point de vue intellectuel), esprit, caractère ...' (Fegh M/J 188, fn 26); Alep *rās*, pl *rās* 'tête'; *moxx*, pl *mxāx* 'somet de la tête, chez l'homme' (Barth 264, 779).

Reflexes of Ar *moxx* for 'head' in Eastern Arabic are realistically ascribable to an Aramaic substratum: JAram *mohā* 'brain, head' (M. Jastrow 740). As for the phasing out of the reflex for *rās* in CyA, it is suggestive to note that this term has tended, in several S E Anatolian Arabic dialects, to assume the grammatical functions of a preposition and adverb encoding spatial relationships:

Mard *marrās* 'von vorne'; *lārāsū* 'dorthin'; *Āz fā rās al-* 'auf' (Vo/Wald 170), 'gegen': *lamīr yaqqān sawa 'askar rāh arrās* Šarnax 'der Emir hat Truppen aufgestellt und ist gegen Šarnax (Širnak) gezogen; *gya sawat fārāsī* 'Das hat sie mir gemacht' (Jastrow 1981:170, 210); cf. also N Yem *rās im-kirs* 'oben auf dem Berg' (Behnstedt 1987:92, 259).

Neo-Aramaic evidence suggests that grammaticalization of OA *rās* in S E Anatolian Arabic itself continues older linguistic strata:

Neo-Aram: *Ṭur 'al - b-riše d-* 'oben auf' (Jastrow 1990a:177); Hert *reša* 'auf' (Jastrow 1988a:105), Urmi (J) *reš* 'on, upon' (Garbell 1965:328), Ma'l *b-rays* 'auf' (Arnold 1990:387), Fellihi *riš gārē* 'oben auf dem Hause' (Sachau 1895:33), Arbəl *reš* 'upon' (Khan 1999:579).

The Neo-Aramaic usage may be ultimately modelled on Akk *muḥḥu/ina muḥḥi* 'on, upon, over, on top' (CAD, X, 172).¹³² At all events, these remarks suggest that the semantic pattern *moxx* = 'head' in CyA is unlikely to be an internal development, but is almost certainly the outcome of regional linguistic convergence.

(ii) For 'face,' CyA has two terms: *užž* < **wuḡḡ* < OA **wiḡh*¹³³ (~ OA *waḡh*) and the odd term *fantūs* (pl *-āt*), the former being now practically obsolete. Cognates of the first term are widely diffused in the Syrian dialect area (Behnstedt 1997: map 312) and, significantly, cognates of OA *f(n)ts*, showing a range of phonological variation, all refer to the nose:

Pal Ar *'aftas* 'platt (Nase)' (Bauer 232); Soukhne *aftas* 'eine dicke Nase haben' (Behnstedt 1994:333); Mor. *fneš* 'flatnosed' (Harrell 1966:37); Gulf Arabic *fansIn* 'flat-nosed' (Qafisheh 1979:249); cf. OA *finfīs* 'a nose wide in the nostril, and expanded in the end; a man broad in the nose'

¹³² As already noted (§V), the multiple stratification of the E. Arabic lexicon awaits systematic study. On the impact of Akkadian on Arabian vernaculars, see Zimmern (1917); its influence on Neo-Aramaic has yet to be studied (cf. Kaufman 1974:15, 159, and 165).

¹³³ On this reconstruction, see Barthélemy (1906:218-9).

(Lane 2449) ~ *faṭis* (emphatic *s*) 'he had the bone of his nose wide and depressed' (*ibid.*, 2410).

CyA *fantūs* appears to have undergone the metonymic shift 'nose' ⇒ 'face,' possibly on the model of Aram *ʿaṣ* 'face, nose' (Fassberg 1990: 283) ⇒ *ʿappin* 'Gesicht' (Dalm 1938:48).¹³⁴

The reflex of the low back vowel *[ū] in the second syllable of CyA *fantūs* suggests contamination between **fanṭīs* with **farṭūs* ~ OA *fur-tūs*, *fiṭīs* ~ Syriac *parṭūšā* 'proboscis, rostrum'¹³⁵ ~ Leban Ar *farṭās* 'il sēpata (du nez)'; Feghali 1918:34).

(iii) For the semantic categorization *house* : *courtyard* inherited from Common Semitic (cf. Ugar *bt* vs. *ḥṣr*), Lane gives OA *bayt* 'tent, house, chamber, etc.' (p. 280) and *dār* 'house, dwelling, room, apartment, household, family' (p. 52), noting that in the meaning 'a man's house,' the two forms are "synonymous" (p. 280).¹³⁶ CyA has only *payt* 'house' as in Lebanese Arabic:

... les parlers libanais, certainement sous l'influence syriaque, ne connaissent plus dans le sens général de «maison» que le mot *bayt* (pl *byūt*). La notion de «chambre» qui est de date récente est rendue par un emprunt également récent au turc: *ʿūda* ou *ʿawḍa* < turc *oda*. En ce qui concerne *dār* (pl *dyār*), le mot, très peu usité, désigne dans quelques régions libanaises «un palais = *qaṣr*» ou «une maison princière». (Feghali 1925:165-6)

Thus the lexical gap of the lexeme *dār* in CyA may also be inherited.

(iv) The substratal impact of Aramaic can be plausibly adduced regarding the replacement of the Old Arabic root *ʿmy* 'blind' by *ʿwr* 'one-eyed' > CyA *ʿiver* 'blind s.o.' ~ Neo-Aram (Maʿlūla) *ʿwḍra* 'der Blinde' (Arnold 1990:364). The Arabic vernaculars generally retain the OA meaning: Alep *ʿawar* (*e*) 'rendre borgne, éborgner' (Barth 561);

¹³⁴ Cf. also DSS Aram *ʿanpīn* 'face,' the dual of *ʿaṣ* 'nose' (Greenfield/Sokoloff 1992:85); for this pseudo-dual, cf. Anat Ar *wāḥḥayn* 'Gesicht, Oberfläche, etc.' (Vo/Wald 454). For the metonymic shift, cf. French *nez* 'visage' (Robert 1991:1269).

¹³⁵ Regarding this scheme, cf. Syriac *parṣūfā* 'face' (Brockel 605) < Anc Gk *πρόσωπον* (Krauss 1898:495).

¹³⁶ On the meaning of OA *dār*, cf. Wellhausen (1889:17-18): "Das Wort wird öfters irreführend mit Haus wiedergegeben, es bedeutet stets einen Komplex zusammengesetzter Wohnungen." The semantic categorization of colloquial Arabic reflexes of OA *bayt* and *dār* continues Aramaic usage since the semantic pair *bay(t)* 'Haus' : *dārā* 'Hof' (Beyer 1984:530, 548) are reflected in modern colloquial Arabic usage: Pal Ar *baṣarātuk lid-dār* 'Im März entlasse deine Kühe in den Hof' Dalm VI, 164), as opposed to *ḥer* 'Haus' (Bau 150). Note also the reference to *ḥaṣerim* in relation to settled nomads in Is. 42, 11; the Hebrew term corresponds to Negev Bedouin Arabic *dār* 'the land on which the tent stands.'

Pal Ar *ʿaʿwar* 'einäugig' (Bauer 84), etc., but note Om *ʿewār* 'blind' (Reinhardt 1894:63).

(v) The CyA lexical gap for **baqā* < OA *baqiya* and its replacement by a reflex of *waqafa* may well be an old trait; note also the purely vestigial retention of *baqa* in the expression *mā baqa* 'nicht mehr' and its relexification by *damm*, *daqqa*, *dall*, and *tamm* in the Çukurova dialects of Arabic (Procházka 2002:155). Semantic shifts affecting this lexeme in E. Arabic are also widely typified in certain Eastern Arabic vernaculars (e.g., Iraqi, Lebanese, and Palestinian).¹³⁷

Bagh (J) *baqa dawa mā-aṣḡab* 'now, I don't take any medicine' (Mansour 1991:282); Bišm: *mabaʿ/ labaʿ* 'nicht mehr,' "Im Imperfekt und Imperativ wird *yibʿa*, *bʿā*, *bʿaw* oft in der Bedeutung *doch* als Verstärkung einer Aufforderung gebraucht" (Jiha 1964:4, 149, fn1); Pal Ar *baqat-iddinya-kaṣir* 'Es war um die Vesperzeit' (Bir Zet: Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 37; see also Blau 1966-7: II, 440).

(vi) Peripheral vernaculars often retain genuine colloquialisms replaced by classicisms in mainstream dialects; thus whereas many urban dialects show the *koiné* form *saʿal* for 'he asked' (cf. Levin 1993: 327), CyA here has *sael*, *pisael* 'ask' < Ar **sāyal*, **bisāyil* ~ rur Pal Ar *sāyal* (Bauer 116) ~ S E Anat Ar, Bagh (J) and (C) *sāyal* (Jastrow 1978: 156; Blanc 1964a:151); cf. the OA variants *sāʿala/sāyala* 'he asked' (Lane 1283) and mediaeval Mesopotamian Ar *sāyal* typified in the vernacular poetry of the 14th century Iraqi poet Safiyy ad-Dīn al-Ḥillī (Levin 1993:327).

A rare lexical archaism in E. Arabic is CyA *kisel*, *pkyiksel* 'be lazy' < OA *kasila* (*a*) (Hava 655); Barthélemy (718) notes for Form I in Aleppine: "verbe inusité au passé et à l'aoriste"; no underived verbal cognates of *ksl* occur in Damascene, Palestinian, S E Anatolian and Baghdadi Arabic (*kslā*).

Also striking here is the archaizing phonemic form of CyA *axar*, *f oxre*, pl *oxar* 'other, next; different' continuing OA *āxar*, *f uxrā*, pl *uxar* 'other.' In most vernaculars of Eastern Arabic (Aleppine, several S E Anatolian dialects, and rural Palestinian), this lexeme has acquired an initial *l-* harking back to the definite article amenable to gemination when the pronoun is determined:

Alep *lāxar*, adj. et pron. indéf., m sg. 'autre,' *llāxar* 'l'autre'; *lāxar/lāxra* *lāxra* (plus rarement) *lāxriyye*, f sg. 'autre,' *llāxar* 'l'autre'; *lāxra* pl 'autres, d'autres'; *llāxara* pl 'les autres' (Barth 750) ~ Hama *allāxre*.

¹³⁷ On the specialized function of Bagh (J) *baqa*, see Mansour (1985).

f *allāxre(a)*, pl *allāxra* 'anderer' (Lewin 1966:224) ~ Ka^b *allāxre*, f *allāxre*, pl *allāxre* 'der, die andere(n)' (Vo/Wald 4) ~ Pal Ar (Fellachisch) *illuxri*, f *illuxra*, pl *illuxriyyin* 'der andere' (Bauer 14) ~ Eyp Ar *rāxar*, f *rāxara* pl *rāxrin* 'der andere' (Behn/Woid 1994:159).

(vii) Like certain other Eastern Arabic dialects, CyA tends to proliferate the factitive second verbal scheme as the semantically unmarked form replacing the historical Form I:

CyA *fatek* 'unstitch' (OA *fataqa*); cf. Alep *fataq* 'découdre', *fattaq* 'découdre en plusieurs endroits' (Barth 593); Pal Ar *fataq/fattaq* 'auf-trennen' (Bauer 30); CyA *kalla* 'he fried', Alep *qalla*, Ka^b *qala*, Pal Ar *qala* (non-class Ar *qalā*); CyA *kattaf* 'gather (honey)', Alep *qattaf*, Cai *attaf* 'pick or pluck (successively)' in contrast with Dam, Pal Ar *qataf*; CyA *kašef* 'he uncovered', Alep *kašaf*, Pal Ar *kašaf*; CyA *kabber* 'to bury', Leban Ar *qabber*, Alep *qabar*, Qarš *qabar*; cf. OA *aqbara*, MLA *qabara*, etc.

(b) Sound shifts and homophony

The distinctive surface phonology characterizing CyA lexemes when compared with cognates in other Eastern Arabic vernaculars attests to extensive diachronic restructuring of the CyA sound system, whose consonant inventory, comprising twenty-six segments, falls considerably short of those of most sedentary dialects in the area. Significantly, Cypriot Greek, the main source of adstratal interference on CyA, has twenty-five. Three paradigmatic shifts in CyA phonology merit special notice: (i) reduction in points of articulation along the back of the vocal tract arising from fusion of the three Old Arabic consonant pairs: *ʿ* and *g*, *h* and *x*, and *k* and *q* into CyA *ʿ*, *x*, and *k*, respectively; (ii) merger of historical emphatics with their plain counterparts; and (iii) absolute neutralization of the historical voicing contrast in stops (Borg 1984:71-2; 1985:12-16; 1997a). The following display presents a bird's-eye view of the principal correspondences between the consonant systems of CyA and OA:

OA	CyA
t, t, d >	t ~ [θ]
s, s >	s
k, q >	k ~ [x]
ʿ >	θ
b >	p ~ [f]
θ >	θ
δ, δ >	δ
j >	ž
ʿ, g >	ʿ
h, x, h >	x

The cumulative effect of this diachronic streamlining process has occasioned fairly extensive re-etymologization yielding a proliferation of homophonic roots in this vernacular:

prk 'bless, to flash (lightning)' < OA *brk, brq*; *ktp* 'write, to frown' < OA *kth, qtb*; *xlk* 'be born, to shave, to arrive' < OA *xlq, hlq, lhq*; *lk* 'hang, to shut' < OA *ʿlq, glq*; *sp* 'finger, to dye' < OA *šb, šbg*; *tute* 'mulberry-tree, silkworm' < OA *tūta, dūda*; *xetan* 'walls, pieces of thread' < OA *hitān, xitān*; *xtepe* 'writing, betrothal' < OA *kitāba, *xiṭāba*, etc.

Root homophony on a closely comparable scale, also arising from permanent loss of certain Old Arabic consonantal oppositions, has transpired in Maltese.

IX. SOME FORMAL ASPECTS OF THE CYPRIOT ARABIC LEXICON

(a) CyA participles

Reckendorf (1906:260) defined the temporal character of OA participles as follows:

Vom Partizip kann man weder sagen, es sei praeterital oder futurisch, noch es sei perfektiv oder imperfektiv. Zeitliche Bestimmungen beziehen sich oft auf die Partizipialhandlung, nicht auf die Zeit, für die die Eigenschaft beigelegt wird, z.B. *matā huwa kā'inun* "wenn ist es geschehend" = "für wann ist sein Eintritt bestimmt" ...

A striking evolutionary trait attested in Middle Arabic (Blau 1965:106) and actualized in many varieties of colloquial Arabic is the trend of elevating participles to verbal functions (cf. Erwin 1963:337-339; Wild 1964; Mitchell 1978) encoding temporal, aspectual, and modal distinctions. Observe, for instance, the use of the *fāʿil* active participle in Middle Arabic conveying the perfective meaning: *ʿanā qātīlu ḡulām-ika* 'j'ai tué ton esclave' (Fück 1955b:74) paralleled in modern colloquial usage: Damascene *fāteḥ* 'having opened', *lābes* 'having put on, wearing', etc.: *hiyye kātbe hal-aktāb* 'she's written this book' (Cowell 1964:258), Pal Ar *šāyfaḥ rāḡe* 'I see you have come back' (Piamenta 1966:169; cf. Bauer 1910:69).

The inventory of genuine active participles retained in CyA is small being virtually restricted to statives and translocative verbs: *nem* 'sleeping' < *nāyim*, *keʿe* 'sitting' < *qāʿid*, *rekep* 'riding' < *rākib*, *rex* 'going' < *rāyih*, *žey* 'coming' < *ḡāy*, *nezal* 'descending' < *nāzil*, *teʿe* 'rising' < *tālī*, *režʿe* 'returning' < *rāḡi*, etc. These ordinarily have a durative meaning: *o keʿe fil-pistān* 'he's sitting in the garden'; *enne re(y)xin l-imtine* 'they're going to Nicosia'; *int kunt lepsu* 'c'est toi qui le portais'; *ie kant rexpita* (< **rākbithā*) 'c'est elle qui la montait (l'ânesse)' (Roth 1979:116).

The resultative meaning in CyA active participles is rare: *ep* (< Ar *ḡāyib*) 'having disappeared': *epe oxre ḡšina pale* 'another goose is

missing' (Borg 1985:179), *dece* (< Ar *dāyīc*) 'having lost': *mankapel za v-ādak ta de^clxxon* 'on voit arriver aussi celui qui les avait perdus (les = *masriāt*)' (Roth 1979:116). My field notes also display a *fa^clān* participle with resultative meaning: *ipnu o xerpān* (< **hrb*) *ma exte xawtikie* (< *hwdk^u*) 'his son has eloped with a Greek girl.'¹³⁸

Participles in *status constructus* with a pronominal clitic (cf. Woidich 1993:34): Dam *hiyye ʾāklitha* 'sie hat es gegessen'; *gāršitak hayye* 'hat dich eine Schlange gebissen?'; Grotzfeld 1980:185) are also rare in CyA outside the aforesaid examples; note, in this respect, the differential treatment of the lexeme *misek* in CyA and Palestinian Arabic: CyA *ana pimpsikak* 'I'm holding you,' Pal Ar *ʾana māskak* 'ich halte dich' (Bauer 1910:69).

CyA retains a few reflexes of the Form IV participial scheme: *mitlef* 'leaking,' *mixpi* 'weeping, a cry-baby,' though, as already stated, CyA lacks the Form IV verbal class. Though marginal in CyA, this participial scheme is, nonetheless, noteworthy since it reflects trends more widely evidenced in other varieties of Eastern Arabic, for instance, the shift **muf^cil* > *mif^cil*, which is old (cf. Sībawayhi II: 402, 3–6; Levin 1994:231)¹³⁹ and the proliferation of new agentive adjectives on the *mvCCvC* scheme for roots of Form I verbs, which suggests that this morphological scheme has attained formal autonomy within Eastern Arabic. In Damascene it generates *inter alia* adjectives depicting their referent "as doing—or tending to do—what is designated by a paronymous transitive verb" (Cowell 1964:278f): *mā^ceb* 'tiring, tiresome,' *mā^clef* 'ruinous,' *mā^cḥek* 'funny, laughable,' etc.; adjectives on this scheme can also derive from nouns: *msāⁿn* 'aged,' *mā^cxer* 'dangerous,' from *sāⁿn* 'age' and *xā^car* 'danger,' respectively.¹⁴⁰

A noteworthy innovation in the CyA participial class is the occurrence of a scheme *miCCāC* as in CyA *mi^cḥār* 'numb (limb)' (cf.

¹³⁸ For dialectal Ar participles on the *fa^clān* scheme in Damascene, cf. the variants *fā^ham/fā^hmān* 'understand (dur.)'—the latter is also used adjectivally in the meaning 'who understands (stative)'. For the Perfective aspectual use, cf. *sām^cān/sām^cas* 'having heard; listening' (Cowell 1964:259), and the singleton forms *kabrān* '(having) grown up,' *nasyān* 'having forgotten,' *harbān* 'having fled, fleeing' (*op. cit.*, 259, 132); see also (Jiha 1964:131) for a comparable usage in Lebanese Arabic.

¹³⁹ New adjectives on this scheme have been proliferated in the Arabic dialects to encode both participial and adjectival functions: *bawā^gh meḥ^hak* 'with a laughing countenance,' *mā^hasna* 'beautiful (f sg),' *mā^gḥaba* 'angry (f sg),' etc. (Blanc 1964a:26). Alep *mā^ceb* 'fatigant' (Barth 86), Dam *mā^cḥen* 'greasy' (Sto/Ani 107), etc. Such colloquial forms are amenable to integration into MLA: *mud^hin* 'greasy' (Wehr 342).

¹⁴⁰ For the same trend in Andalusī Arabic, see Corriente (1991:21)

Mhallami *maxdōr* 'ingeschlafen [Glieder]'; Vo/Wald 55, 135) and the deviant forms: *miš^cāl* 'busy,' *maxtāt* (< OA *ʾxδ*) 'estranged,' *mistrāx* (< OA *rw^h*) 'at ease,' and *mistāx* (< OA *hyy*) 'ashamed,' apparently remodelled on the canonic form of the Form VIII scheme for Perfect participles:

CyA encodes the Perfect participle 'sold' with the VII form: *mimpa^ca* (m/f), pl *mimpa^cin* (pp) 'sold' (< OA *munbā^c*); this is a notable departure from the common *maf^cūl* scheme for participles with hollow roots: Dam *mabyū^c* 'sold,' *madyūn* 'in debt' (Cowell 1964:258, fn 1).

(b) Infinitives

In CyA, the infinitive (or *maṣdar*) appears often to have been generated anew on the OA *CaCC* pattern, which not infrequently happens to coincide with the Old Arabic form: *pals* (< *blš*) 'pressing,' *žarr* 'carrying, drawing,' etc. Reflexes of the OA infinitive scheme *fi^cūl* seem not to occur: *lazk* 'sticking,' *raḡ^c* 'returning,' for OA *luzūq*, *ruḡū^c*.¹⁴¹ The CyA verbal noun *nak* 'sexual intercourse' (OA *nayk*) suggests that speaker awareness of the weak radical consonant *y* in root morphemes has been lost.

Another innovation in this vernacular is the proliferation of the historical scheme *CiCāCa*: *stete* 'blocking' < OA *sidāda*, *šelele* 'sewing' < OA *šilāla*, etc. A highly productive infinitive scheme is OA *tafa^cul* which has proliferated secondary CyA forms (see *e* below): *stuntor* 'waiting' (< *ntr*), *tmuddo* 'stretching' (< *mdd*), *thuvos* 'chewing' (< *lws*), etc. In a few cases, doublets exist: *lips/thubbos* 'dressing' (< *lbs*), *naft/tmuffot* (vn) 'shaking (of trees to reap fruit),' etc.

(c) The inalienable category

CyA nouns can be divided into two classes on the basis of their formal behaviour with respect to possessive enclitic pronouns. The majority of CyA nouns are not amenable to suffixation; the distribution of these enclitics is restricted to a relatively closed list of nouns denoting, principally,

(i) body parts:

CyA *it* 'hand,' *dufr* 'fingernail,' *ist* 'backside,' *ižr* 'leg, foot' *ḥaxr* 'back,' *moxx* 'head,' *iḍn* 'ear,' *kitf* 'shoulder,' *ʾayn* 'eye,' *maxxār* 'nose,' *xank* 'mouth,' *taken* 'beard,' *suḍr* 'breast,' *kalp* 'heart,' *kaspe* 'liver,' *patn* 'belly,' etc;

¹⁴¹ Hopkins (1984:71) notes a marginal case of *wasl* instead of *wisūl* in the language of the Arabic papyri.

(ii) kinship terms:

CyA *umm* 'mother,' *yapāt* 'father,' *ipn* 'son,' *pint* 'girl, daughter of,' *xayyt-* 'brother of,' *axt* 'sister,' *kinne* 'daughter-in-law,' *sexr* 'son-in-law,' *mprat-* 'wife of,' *xawm* 'father-in-law,' *xmat-* 'mother-in-law of,' *amm* 'paternal uncle,' *ammt* 'paternal aunt,' *špin* 'godfather,' *špine* 'godmother,' *žawz* 'husband,' *exl* 'parents,' etc.

Some nouns in this closed list are inseparable from possessive suffixes: *yapāt-* 'father of,'¹⁴² *xayyt-* 'brother of,' etc. Others have evolved unsuffixed forms in which the feminine ending has been lexicalized: *ammt* 'paternal aunt,' *xalt* 'maternal aunt,' etc;

(iii) immovable property:

CyA *payt* 'house,' *art* 'land,' *risk* 'landed property,' *móda'a* 'country, fatherland,' etc;

(iv) traits, attributes, states, activities, and material objects closely associated with a person:

CyA *ism* 'name,' *xiss* 'voice,' *rux* 'soul,' *xusn* 'beauty,' *akl* 'intelligence,' *xops* 'livelihood,' *apn* 'grief,' *slavāt* 'studies,' *θkyep* 'clothes,' etc.

This constitutes an original feature of CyA since most Arabic vernaculars attach pronominal suffixes to most native nouns in unrestricted fashion: Pal Ar *kalbi* 'my dog,' *ktābi* 'my book,' etc. Semantic marking for inalienability does, however, exist in Eastern Arabic, and often attaches to the iconicity of suffixation itself rather than to a specific noun class: Egyp Ar *lahmi* 'my flesh': *l-lahm bitā'i* 'my meat'; cf. also Jer Ar *lahmi: il-lahim taba'i/šeti* (Piamenta, p.c.). Furthermore, genitive constructions fulfill a highly grammaticalized function and implement numerous semantic roles (cf. Goldenberg 1998:[47]). It is my impression that, as in Maltese (Borg 1994:58), pronominal suffixation in CyA interacts with the semantic category of 'alienability' such that certain inalienable nouns require an object marker.

As already noted, this CyA semantic category is plausibly ascribable to substratal influence from Aramaic. One factor that argues for such an ascription is the co-existence in this vernacular of a special genitive construction (already commented on in §V) also largely restricted to inalienable nouns: CyA *špinu l-ipni* 'my son's godfather,' *mpratu l-ammī* 'my paternal uncle's wife,' *exla l-arūs* 'the bride's parents,' showing a proleptic pronominal suffix copying the gender and number marking of the following noun as in certain varieties of Aramaic:¹⁴³

¹⁴² Cf. the inalienable use of the otherwise separable Maltese equivalent: *kien għalija it-tieni missieri* 'he was a second father to me' (Mifsud 1939:5).

¹⁴³ On inalienable possession in Semitic, see Diem (1986) and Garr (1990).

Bibl Aram: *baytēh di ʔelāhā* 'the house of God' (Rosenthal 1974:25);
Syriac: *bāreh d-alōhō* 'the son of God' (Nöldeke 1904a:163).¹⁴⁴

(d) The diminutive

Old Arabic had a highly productive morphosemantic category encoding the diminutive in nouns, adjectives, prepositions, etc., and conveying a range of meanings (smallness, endearment, contempt, etc.; Wright, II:261–262).

In CyA the OA diminutive scheme has been completely phased out and replaced by a new diminutive category integrated from CyG and utilizing the suffixes *-ui*, *-ua*, etc. < Gk *-ούδι* (m sg), *-ούδα* (f sg) etc. (for details, see Borg 1985:125). Most CyA nouns have a diminutive form: *paytúi* 'a small house,' *fornúi* 'a small oven,' etc. This trait presumably reflects the salient pragmatic function of the diminutive in Modern Greek (cf. Sifianou 1992). Use of the diminutive tends to be very marginal within Eastern Arabic as a whole, thus, Cowell (1964:310) notes for Damascene: "Only a few Syrian Arabic nouns have diminutives derived from them."

(e) Lexical creativity

Not surprisingly, given its external history of geographical and cultural isolation from mainstream Arabic, CyA has tended to expand its lexicon by recycling native morphemes and/or merging compound constructions as in the following adverbs of time and place:

<i>tvállayl</i>	'all night'	< * <i>twāl il-layl</i>
<i>tváxxar</i>	'all day'	< * <i>twāl in-nhār</i>
<i>ʔalepukra</i>	'in the early morning'	< * <i>ʔalā bukra</i>
<i>θénixar</i>	'next day'	< * <i>θāni-nhār</i>
<i>nússuxar</i> ¹⁴⁵	'at midday'	< * <i>nússu n-nhār</i>
<i>nússulayl</i>	'at midnight'	< * <i>nússu l-layl</i>
<i>štmoð'a</i>	'somewhere, anywhere'	< * <i>šī-mawðī</i>
<i>xókrex</i>	'further up'	< * <i>fawq-rāyih</i>
<i>awnarex</i>	'in one's direction'	< * <i>hawnā-rāyih</i>
<i>ánaxok</i>	'up here'	< * <i>hānā-fawq</i> ¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ For Neo-Aramaic reflexes of this construction, see §V.

¹⁴⁵ Concerning the enclitic [u] in the element /nussu-/, cf. Intro, §V.

¹⁴⁶ For further examples, see under *hn*. These spatial deictics in CyA invite a systematic *in situ* investigation to clarify the nature of the difference encoded in certain contrasting pairs which I have here glossed tentatively: *anataxt* 'down here (specific)'; *awnataxt* 'down here somewhere'; *antaxt* 'down there (specific)'; *awnkataxt* 'down there somewhere,' etc.

The semantic distribution of the lexified adverbial compounds here was probably to some extent modelled on Greek compounds: μεσημέρι 'midday', μεσάνυχτα 'midnight', etc. As noted in §V above, a common trait entailed in this form of component merger in CyA is the shift of word stress away from its phonologically natural domain (i.e., the heaviest syllable closest to the final word boundary), to more dominant positions within the word, e.g., word-initial syllables. Though isolated instances of a closely analogous form of restructuring in the service of lexical creativity can be observed across the Arabic dialect area: Palest. Malt *issa* 'now' < **is-sā* < **is-sā'a* (cf. Borg 1994:61), Syrian Ar *hállaq* < **hal-wáqt*, San'ā' *ḍālḥin* 'jetzt' < **ḍālḥin* (Goitein 1930:172), it may be historically meaningful to link this phenomenon in CyA to a set of conditions indicated for S E Anatolian Arabic vernaculars and Central Neo-Aramaic in relation to so-called *Akzentkomposita* (Jastrow 1981: XI-XII; 1985:26f). For further detail, see §V dealing with Aramaic substrata in CyA.

New adverbs coined via a morphemic recycling process in CyA pertain principally to the deictic class. Bertrand Russell (1905) remarked that deictic paradigms encode directions egocentrically. Arabic dialects often resort to the dynamic metaphors of 'coming' and 'going' to convey directions to and away from the speaker:¹⁴⁷ Pal Ar *ḡādi uḡāy* 'hin und her', *min ḡāy* 'diesseits' (Bīr Zēt; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 85*, 89*), *ta' bi-ḡāy* 'komm her!', *u rāyih* 'jenseits', *la-ḡāy* 'hierher' (Bauer 166, 156, 178), *ḡāy* 'hither' (Spoer/Haddad 1909:20), Dam *rāyha rāž'a* 'both ways' (Cowell 1964:275), Bišm *rāyih žāy* 'hin und her' (Jiha 1964:36), Biqā' *hakrah* 'dorthin', *hakḡā(n)* 'hierher' (Grotzfeld 1980:189), N Yem *jay* 'hierher' (Behnstedt 1987:92). These metaphors can also be transferred by analogy to the temporal dimension: CyA *mnalok u teriux* 'from now on', Qart *ḡāh w ḡāḡ yawm* 'Tag für Tag' (Vo/Wald 471), Pal Ar *ḡāy-ḡāy* 'bisher, von jeher' (Bauer 61, 166). CyA utilizes a reflex of the participle **rāyih* 'going' to encode movement both 'to' and 'from' the speaker (cf. Wilkins/Hill 1995): *dwnarex* 'in one's direction' < **hawnā-rāyih*, and *dwnkerex* 'further away (from the speaker)' < **hawnakā-rāyih*, *táxtrex* 'further down' < **taht-rāyih*, *xókrex* 'further up' < **fawq-rāyih*.

Outside the adverbial class, the lexicalization process in CyA can entail the merger of historically construct state forms or other types

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Greek «ἀπὸ ἐλα ὡς ἐλα», literally, 'from come here to come here' = 'from this end to the other' (Dawkins 1950:510).

of noun phrase structure: in kinship terms and certain high frequency nouns. Sublexical complexity has here been eliminated via deletion of intervening word boundaries: CyA *matxál* 'wife of maternal uncle' < *mart xál*, CyA *muvárt* 'rose water' (cf. *al-māward*, 11th cent.; Hopkins 1984:179); cf. Leban Ar *māzahr* 'Orangenblütenwasser' (Jiha 1964: 164), Malt *ḡhajnbazar* 'plums', etc. This restructuring process in CyA presupposes systemic replacement of construct state in the synchronic grammar by the analytical genitive.

CyA has expanded its lexicon for gerunds and abstract nouns, the favoured morphological matrix being the OA Form V *tafa'ul* scheme. Alongside a few items retained from Old Arabic: *ḡubbot* 'Confirmation (Chr)' < **tḡubbot* < *taḡabbut*, CyA shows a fair number of new analogical forms on this scheme serving reflexes of Form II verbal stems:

<i>'abba</i>	'he filled'	⇒	<i>t'ubbo</i>	'filling to capacity'
<i>paxxer</i>	'he fumigated'	⇒	<i>ḡpuxxor</i>	'fumigation'
<i>xallek</i>	'he shaved'	⇒	<i>txullok</i>	'shaving'
<i>'aššep</i>	'it barked'	⇒	<i>t'uššop</i>	'barking' (*šf)
<i>'allek</i>	'he hung'	⇒	<i>t'ullok</i>	'suicide' (*lq)
<i>paed</i>	'he bleached'	⇒	<i>ḡpuyod</i>	'bleaching'
<i>sael</i>	'he asked'	⇒	<i>tsuyol</i>	'asking'

(f) Historical morphophonemic change

A striking innovation in CyA verbal morphophonemics relates to the class of Form VII verbs with final geminate consonants. The 3rd pers. masculine singular form has been augmented by final *-a* under *Systemzwang* from the class of finally weak verbs: *žarr* 'carry' but *ntžarra*, *pkyintžarra* 'withdraw', *nkabba*, *pkyinkabba* 'become wet', etc. An analogous shift on a wider scale has also been noted in Central Asian Arabic: *inḡalla* < *inḡall*, *iltamma* < *iltamm*, etc. (W-D. Fischer 1961:248-9).

(g) A note on word iteration

This introduction presented CyA as typifying systemically centrifugal trends noted in other 'small languages' in the Mediterranean Sprachgebiet. A striking trait here shared with several languages spoken in this region is word iteration, which Stolz (2003) has convincingly proposed as a pan-Mediterranean trait. Though infrequent in the main body of this work — *'akel 'akel* 'take it easy!'; *ze'ir ze'ir* 'very small', etc. — (cf. It *piano piano*, Ar *šwayy-šwayy*, Gk σιγά σιγά, etc.), this feature appears to constitute a fairly productive iconic device in CyA ('reduplication with corroborative force'; Justice 1987:144)—a pragmatic trait that

certain languages have fully grammaticalized: CyA *fittē fittē* 'slowly, gradually,' as opposed to It *poco a poco*, Eng *little by little*.

X. A CULTURAL NOTE ON COLOUR TERMS

Wierzbicka (2001:21) has noted that

the task of understanding languages in their cultural uniqueness and specificity has been of pressing concern in language study from the time of Johann Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt.

The need for this branch of linguistic study is particularly acute in regard to Arabic, where traditional approaches to the spoken language within the discipline of dialectology tend, largely on the basis of shared phonological and morphological categories, to assume in *a priori* fashion far-reaching homogeneity and structural continuity across the Arabic *Sprachraum*, in effect, precluding the possibility that certain allegedly 'dialectal' profiles within mainstream Arabic may well be distinctive enough to constitute virtually discrete languages.¹⁴⁸

A more realistic viewpoint that takes cognizance of this extensive geographical continuum and of the persistence of older linguistic and cultural boundaries crosscutting contemporary dialectal configurations in the Arabic-speaking world renders self-evident the need to elaborate, in each case, the workings of *cultural* isoglosses pertaining to different varieties of colloquial Arabic (for instance, setting nomadic dialects apart from coterritorial sedentary colloquials; cf. Borg 1999). By the same token, the unique character of 'small' quintessentially ethnic languages like CyA ideally calls for a study that probes beyond conventional ethnolinguistics into the realm of cultural psychology, defined in Shweder (1990:1) as

the study of the way cultural traditions and social practices regulate, express, and transform the human psyche, resulting less in psychic unity for humankind than in ethnic divergences in mind, self, and emotion.

Above all, serious progress is unattainable in the lexical semantics of dialectal Arabic without extensive onomasiological research on individual dialects as discrete language systems.¹⁴⁹ As already noted, in the

¹⁴⁸ This is the case of many Bedouin dialects that are virtually incomprehensible to local sedentaries. Furthermore, the geographically extensive nature of the Arabic *Sprachraum* where this language has overlaid several different older languages renders the semantic categorization implicit in individual Arabic vernaculars an issue meriting attention.

¹⁴⁹ Outside Fück (1957), the lexicon of Classical Arabic has rarely been subjected to systematic diachronic study. Ullmann (1967:182) has stated: "Eine der Ursachen

case of the so-called peripheral vernaculars of Arabic, like CyA itself, one can easily defend the view that these linguistic varieties constitute, despite their external conformity to an Arabic prototype, autonomous codes, each embodying the outcome of "a particular social, cultural and historical experience" (Wierzbicka 1995:290). Contemporary work on colloquial Arabic may do well to integrate some of the insights and methodology of field research in linguistic anthropology in order to ensure accurate and insightful semantic descriptions for individual dialects.¹⁵⁰

Exploring the lexicon in a systematic and methodical way we can discover how 'ordinary people' (in contrast to experts and scientists) conceptualize the world; and we can learn to discern the line which separates language-related everyday-knowledge from the language-independent specialists' knowledge. (Wierzbicka, *loc. cit.*)

One might propose as a research objective the hypothesis that, for instance, semantic categorizations lexified in contemporary colloquial Arabic constitute significant *cultural* isoglosses. The point here is not merely to establish to what extent a dialect or dialect area is *sui generis* but, more importantly, to introduce into the routine study of vernacular Arabic the notion of a 'cultural linguistic category' underlying the lexical data obtained in fieldwork. Wierzbicka's observation about discovering how "ordinary people," in contrast to experts, scientists and, one might add, dialectologists, conceptualize the world, is pointedly illustrated in the important recent survey of the Arabic dialects of Upper Egypt undertaken in Behn/Woid (1987:15), where the authors state in relation to the colour term *'ahmar*:

Die Farben "rot" und "braun" gehen für unsere Auffassung manchmal durcheinander; starker Tee ist z.B. nach Meinung der Oberägypter "rot."¹⁵¹

für die unbefriedigende Lage der arabischen Lexikographie liegt in dem Mangel an wortkundlichen Vorarbeiten. Insbesondere besitzen wir nur sehr wenige onomasiologische Studien.' Zammit's (2002) comparative study on the Quranic lexicon has laid solid foundations for a global investigation into historical aspects of the Old Arabic word stock.

¹⁵⁰ As far as CyA is concerned, a beginning has been made in ethnolinguistic research in Roth (1976), (1984), and (1996b), which display a concern for cultural aspects of language use in approaches to the study of colloquial Arabic in the French tradition.

¹⁵¹ The fact that the aforementioned Arabic speakers in Upper Egypt classify the colour of tea as *ahmar* also conforms to a tendency of designating food colours by one of the three basic colour terms: white, black, and red: *Weißwein*, *vin blanc*, *Rotwein*, red wine, *Schwarzbrot*, CyA *'asel apkyad*, lit. 'white honey' (= 'bee honey'), *'asel isfet*, lit. 'black honey' (= 'carob syrup').

This anomaly disappears once a folk-category 'red' (= macro-red, comprising roughly the hue range from pink to light brown as in Old Arabic; W-D. Fischer 1965:334f) is postulated for this Arabic vernacular, in contradistinction to the basic category of *focal red* obtaining in several European languages. In fact, the distinction between popular and learned classifications of colour is a particularly appropriate research theme within the domain of Arabic dialectology since the Arabic speaker's internalization of colour categories is essentially based on his native idiom rather than on classical Arabic.

The following tentative remarks relate to the basic colour categories of CyA as reflected in my fieldnotes.¹⁵² Further informant work is required for a systematic presentation of this vernacular's colour system.

CyA has five native colour adjectives satisfying the main criteria for 'basic term' status set up in Berlin/Kay (1969:6): monolexemic structure, non-hyponymous meaning, general applicability across the lexicon, and psychological salience:

CyA *apkyad*, *peða* (f), *pið* (pl) 'white, light-coloured'; *isfet*, *sawta* (f), *sut* (pl) 'black, dark'; *axmar*, *xampra* (f), *xumpr* (pl) 'red, light brown'; *xoder*, *xodra* (f), *xodrín* (pl) 'green, fresh'; *asfar*, *saфра* (f), *sufr* (pl) 'yellow'

Significantly, virtually the same five basic colour categories characterized Pre-Islamic Arabic: *abyad* 'white,' *aswad* 'black,' *aḥmar* 'red,' *axdar* 'green, blue,' and *asfar* 'yellow' (W-D. Fischer 1965:237). Other colour terms used by CyA speakers tend to be of Greek provenance.

Comparison with other Semitic languages, such as Biblical Hebrew (Brenner 1985), suggests that this five-term categorization of basic colours plausibly harks back to a cultural synthesis already reached in the ancient Near East. It persists, for instance, in the colour paradigms of certain sheltered Semitic languages, e.g., the Neo-Aramaic vernacular of the Jacobite Christians of Ṭūr 'Abdīn in S E Turkey (i.e., Ṭuroyo):

heworo 'white,' *komo* 'black,' *semoqo* 'red,' *yaroqo* 'green,' *ša'uθo* 'yellow'
(- Syriac *ša'ūṭā* 'flavus'; Brockel 792).¹⁵³

In both CyA and Ṭuroyo, retention of this restricted set of colour categories can also be correlated with the small size of their speaker communities.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Systematic data on colour-naming in the Arabic dialects is in short supply. The following works merit notice: Hess (1912), Marçais (1955), Fischer (1965, *passim*), Wald (1978), Roth (1986), and Taine-Cheikh (1989), Stewart (1999), and Borg (1999).

¹⁵³ I am indebted to Ar'ad Sawma (Stockholm) for these data.

¹⁵⁴ Ember (1978) has claimed that the size of basic color lexicons in the world's

Despite the influence of a western *Weltanschauung*, the semantic content of CyA colour categories retains some archaic traits. As in the aforementioned rural dialects of Egyptian Arabic, in Lebanese and other Arabic vernaculars, the CyA 'red' category includes the hyponym 'light brown' (or yellowish brown):

CyA *x-xops pkyixmarra xost il-forn* 'the bread turns brown in the oven,' *truntz xumpr* 'red (= brown) citrons'; *pakra xampra* 'reddish brown cow'; *žeže xampra* 'red hen'; *Bišm arð il-ḥamra* 'rote Erde, lehmhaltige Ackererde, die lange die Feuchtigkeit hält,' *mžaddra ḥamra* 'Gericht aus Linsen und Burgul; rot bzw. braun durch in Olivenöl gebratene Zwiebeln' (Jiha 1964:104, fn1, 7); *Dēr izZōr* (Jastrow 1981): *gebratene Zwiebeln* (448), *mḥammar mḡammar* 'knusprigbraun' (448, fn 14), *Sii šawf lē lās'er dībyayy, əlhənta-məne təḥmarr* 'wo sich die Gerste weißlich färbt, wird der Weizen goldgelb' (299); rural Egypt Ar (alDāxila) *ḥamrā* 'hellbraun (Tier)' (Behn/Woid 1994:94) ~ Omani Ar *yəhmarr* 'become brown (of cooking meat)' (Brockett 1985).

Lacking a specific 'brown' category, CyA speakers ordinarily classify dark shades of this colour under 'black':¹⁵⁵

CyA *x-xarrúp pikammel zmanon l-awsto. kyipsu kaes, kyisfaddu kaes* 'carobs ripen in August; they become quite dry and dark (lit. black) in colour.' (Borg 1985:167)

This usage seems also to have characterized CyG; thus Rivers (1901: 68-69) noted that Cypriot Greek speakers called a dark brown object *μαύρος* 'black,' while others designated it as *κόκκινο* 'red,' which could also apply to brilliant scarlet (cited in Berlin/Kay 1969:28). In their linguistic atlas of Upper Egypt, Behn/Woid (1985: map 34) note:

'schwarz' als Farbe ist i.a. *ʿasmar* ... Als Nachtrag zu Behnstedt (1982) sei noch erwähnt, daß *ʿazrag* in weiten Teilen Oberägyptens 'braun,' 'dunkelbraun' ist, z.B. *ṭūb ʿazrag* 'ungebrannter Ziegel aus Nilschlamm,' *ʿarð zarga* 'dunkler (schlammiger) Boden im Gegensatz zu *ʿarð ram-liyya* 'sandiger Boden.'

For green, CyA has the term *xoder* (m sg, < OA *xudr* 'green pl') which does not relate exclusively to colour but, as in many other Arabic dialects also conveys the meaning 'fresh, unripe, succulent':

CyA *iš-šummār maxxottu xoder xost l-akl* 'we put fresh fennel in the food'; *ful xodra* 'fresh beans' (fem. like CyG *kukkyá freska*) as opposed to *ful yepse* 'dry beans'; *pasal xodrín* 'fresh onions'; *l-laymín enne* *xodrín pa'a* 'the lemons are still unripe'; *alok o xoder l-im'all* 'the wheat is unripe now'; *m-má'āzen pkyaklu tšerka^G xodrín u yepsin* 'goats eat both fresh and dry grass'; *xatap xodrín* 'green wood'; cf.

languages also tends to correlate with complexity in socioeconomic stratification and with biological factors (i.e., "humans with dark eyes and dark skins are less able to make certain color distinctions than those with lighter pigmentation").

¹⁵⁵ The purely hyponymic status of the brown hue in this and several other Arabic dialects is noteworthy; cf. the analogous situation in the N Yemeni colloquial *sawwad* 'schwarz, braun werden' (z.B. U. ...)

N Yem *xaḍīrah* 'sehr saftiges grosses Blatt' (Behnstedt 1987:249),¹⁵⁶
 Naḡd *taww an-nima xaḍar* 'the palm fruit is still green (not ripe)'
 (Sowayan 1995:253).

Interestingly, on this point, Old Arabic and Ancient Greek converged. Of particular interest to us here is *khlōros*, which is used more particularly of plants and foliage. It was this word that I had in mind when I said that Ancient Greek was similar to Hanunoo. Standard dictionaries of Greek will say that *khlōros*, like the English word green, has two meanings, in one of which it denotes a colour and in the other of which it can be paraphrased by such words as fresh, unripe or even moist and full of sap, according to context. But this is not so. The colour-term sense of *khlōros* is inseparable from its more general sense in which it is used typically, to describe fresh, green foliage. (Lyons 1999:60)

The use of Anc. Gr. *χλωρος* to encode 'freshness,' as in green wood, fresh cheese, fresh fish (i.e., not salted), etc. (Liddell/Scott 1996:1995) is paralleled in modern Arabic vernaculars: Syrian Arabic *ḡabne xaḍra* 'fromage frais' (Aleppo; Barth 103), Negev Bedouin Ar *'ard xaḍra* 'moist ground after a rainfall' (own observ.), Egyp Ar *tūb 'axadar* 'ungebrannte Lehmziegel'¹⁵⁷ (as opposed to *tūb 'ahamar* 'gebrannte Lehmziegel'; Behn/Woid 1994:292).

CyA also retains the Old Arabic grammaticalization of color terms in a semantic class of verbs deriving from the Arabic IXth verbal scheme *f'alla*, which in the contemporary Arabic dialects also tends to convey mainly chromatic information, e.g.,

CyA *pkyaḍḍa* 'become white, light in colour'; *sfadda* 'become dark';
xmarra 'blush'; *sfarra* 'turn pale.'

XI. THIS GLOSSARY

The Arabic lexical sources consulted for this work have generally been cited in a standardized phonological notation, in order to facilitate interdialectal comparison. For phonetic detail (e.g., relating to the distribution of fronted vs. backed allophones of /ā/ and /a/ in Cairene), the original sources should be consulted. The notation adopted for CyA material here is virtually identical with that used in Borg (1985); one

¹⁵⁶ N Yemeni also has *xiḍīr* 'Schönheit' (Behnstedt 1987:249); cf. also *iyād xaḍira* 'grüne, d.i. frische, unvergessene Wohltaten' (Kremer 1883:49).

¹⁵⁷ An analogous range of non-chromatic meanings for 'green' occur in English and German: green cheese 'unreifer Käse' (Betteridge 1978:1083), green meat (freshly killed), green mortar (freshly set and not completely hardened); green bricks or pottery (not fired), etc. (RHD, 620), grüne Häute 'undressed skins', grüner Hering 'fresh herring', etc. (Betteridge 1978:280). De Haas's 1954 survey of the lexical coding of the semantic spectrum of moisture in Classical Arabic oddly makes no reference to the 'green' category. It is tempting to suggest an etymological link between the root *xḍr* and the verb *xadila* 'be moist wet'; note especially the Xith verbal form *ixdalla* 'be moistened.'

notable departure relates to the recognition of a /pp/ : /bb/ opposition arising from the integration in this vernacular of CyG terms with geminated /pp/: /žabbint/ 'I made cheese,' /pappūti/ 'my grandfather.' Greek loans were largely left out of consideration in my previous study. CyA /bb/ is voice-indifferent and unaspirated, whereas /pp/ is voiceless and aspirated. In Borg (1985), I adopted the unmarked representation /pp/ for the reflex of OA /bb/ on the grounds that the voiced bilabial was isolated in the OA sound system and did not yield a source for a voicing opposition.

This contrast in the CyA labial series is paralleled by that of the dental series /tt/ : /dd/, which was lineally inherited: /fatt/ 'he stripped (fruit trees),' /madd/ 'he measured.' As previously noted in Borg (1985: 28f; 1997b), CyA /tt/ is voiceless and aspirated, whereas /dd/ is voice-indifferent but unaspirated. Loss of the voicing contrast in CyA simplex stops was the outcome of language contact with Greek.

CyA displays complex surface treatment of underlying stops in the matter of voicing. The CyA consonantal paradigm shows the voice-indifferent stop series /p, t, k/. As already noted in Borg (1985:12f; 1997b: 226f), however, these stops (subjacenty unspecified for voicing) often undergo automatic voicing in certain morphophonemically generated dyadic clusters: /rikep/ 'he rode,' but /rixpet/ [yb] 'she rode'; /tapax/ 'he slaughtered,' but /ṭpaxt/ [ḍb] 'I slaughtered.' Briefly, the first stop is spirantized in contact with the second (i.e., manner dissimilation), and then both segments undergo voicing. Given the conditioned nature of the secondary voicing in these grammatically generated clusters, I have found it descriptively more meaningful to mark it by underlining than by augmenting the CyA segmental inventory as suggested in Hopkins (1990) and Singer (1991).

With a view to facilitating the interpretation of phonological representations of CyA material cited throughout this work, I have here adopted morphophonemic norms with respect to gemination of consonants in contexts where CyA neutralizes consonant length.

CyA word stress is mostly left unmarked since it ordinarily falls on penultimate syllables. To the extent that it represents a reflex of a historically long OA vowel, it can also occur word-finally. CyA stress is indicated in the present work only when it is not penultimate.

Adjacent vowels in CyA words always represent distinct syllabic peaks, e.g., *pitsaion* (4 syllables) 'she makes them.'

As in my previous work, I have here endeavoured to throw into relief the originality of the vernacular under study and have some-

times retained in the transcription phonologically redundant but unsystematic features, such as epenthetic consonants, that, in certain cases at least, have conceivably undergone lexicalization: CyA *imps* 'yesterday,' *xumpr* 'red (pl),' etc. (< OA *amsi*, *humr*) as in Fr *chambre*, etc. Similarly, I write *pyakol* 'he eats' (< *byākul*), where the reflex of historical *b-* is often elided in surface phonology and the epenthetic velar stop is retained: *kyakol*.

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The Glossary

Cypriot Arabic—English

{a-}—a verbal prefix in the Imperfect paradigm encoding the polite Imperative or the Cohortative (cf. Borg 1985:102) and entailing gemination of a following consonant: *a-ttaxtop* 'do write!'; *attintúrna - pikullu - ta lá-nuká'a xost l-páxr* 'veille sur nous,' dit-il, '(afin) que nous ne tombions pas à la mer' (Roth 1996:79); *atxottúx fi palkon* ^Goti^G *ttažú žava texte (< wqt) l-layle* 'remember to come home early tonight!' *anniftax r-^Građyo^G annisma^a* 'let's turn on the radio and listen!'; *arrúx antsael* 'let's go and ask!'; *attáxirpu kúitkon* 'all of you had better leave!';

[Note the contrast between the polite and ordinary Imperative in *mnan lakaytuon?*—*atrúx atfatteš. avá lakáyt laxm; kol u sko* 'where did you find them (the chickens)?—it's up to you to find out (some time). There's meat before you; be quiet and eat up!'

In Central Yemen the verbal prefix *a-*, with doubling of the following consonant, marks the future tense, the conditional, and imminent action (Rabin 1951:38; cf. Goitein 1934:xix). Rossi (1939:28) notes: "Con 'a- prefisso all'Imperfetto si indica azione futura con particolari significati. Es. 'a-yuktub «egli scriverà forse, in tal caso scriverà»"; cf. also N Yem 'ad-asir 'ich werde gehen' (wohl aus 'ad 'noch'; Behnstedt 1996:797) alternating with 'a (Behnstedt 1992a:1). For grammaticalization of 'ad, cf. Malt 'ghad jasal il-waqt li ... 'the time will surely come when ...']

ipre, pl *ipár* 'needle': 'abbri *l-ipre* 'thread (f) the needle!'; OA *ibra*, pl *ibar/ibār* (Lane 5-6), *abār* (Kraemer 1952:2);

~ Alep *2abre*, pl *2abar* 'aiguille à coudre' (Barth 2) ~ Kənd *əbre*, pl *əbəri* (Vo/Wald 1) ~ Çukur *ibri*, pl *abar* 'Nadel' (Procházka 2002:164) ~ Bagh (M) *2ubra*, pl *2ubar* 'needle' (Wood/Bee 2) ~ Mos (C) *2abgi*, pl *2abağ* (infor) ~ Pal Ar *2ibre*, pl *2ibar* (Pianta 2000:190) ~ Cai *2ibra*, pl *2ibar* (Bad/Hi 3) ~ Malt *2abra*, pl *2abar*.

[Cf. the rur Egyp Ar pl forms *2ubar*, *2ibar*, *2ibar*, and *2abar* (Behn/Woid 1985, map 121).]

yapát-, pl *-át* 'father of': *yapáti*, *yapátak*, etc. 'my/your father, etc.': *meno yapatak* 'who's your (m) father?'; *sma^a l-yapatak u vassi l-ipnak* 'listen to your father and advise your son!' (pop. saying, Frangiskou 230) < **yabāt-*; OA *yā abati* 'O my father!' (Quran 12, 4, Lane 11; Nöldeke 1904b:69-72; W-D. Fischer 1972:85).

[The CyA designation for 'father' clearly originated from an address form. Rabin (1951:70) suggests that Quranic [yā] *ʔabati* developed from *ʔabā*. Note, in this regard, the reflex of long **ā* in Yem Ar *yā ʔabā(h)* 'father!' (Piamenta 1989:169), Hadramawt *bā* (Landberg 1905:81), Pal Ar *yā bāyi* 'O my father' (Rabin, *op. cit.*, 71), and rur Egyp Ar *yabāy* 'Vater' (Behn/Woid 1999:381).]

~ Alep *ʔabb/ʔabu-*, pl *ʔabbāt/ʔabbahāt* 'père' (Barth 1) ~ Dam *ʔabb/ʔabb-/ʔabu-/ʔabū-* (with a pron suff), pl *ʔabbāt/ʔabbahāt* 'father' (Sto/Ani 87) ~ Bagh (M) *ʔab/ʔabu-*, pl *ʔābāʔ* 'father' (Wood/Bee 1, 2) ~ Cai *ʔabb/ʔabu-/ʔabū-* (with a pron suff), pl *ʔabbahāt* (Bad/Hi 1) ~ Pal Ar *ʔab/ʔabu/ʔabu-*, pl *ʔabbahāt* 'Vater' (Bau 327) ~ rur Egyp Ar *ʔabb/ʔabu-*, pl *ʔabbā*; OA *ab/abū-*, pl *ābāʔ* (Hava 2).

yapó 'father!' (address form): *yapó ana pri tarúx tar'allem slavát* 'Dad! I want to get an education'; < Ar **yābā*;

~ Alep *yābo* 'papa; par extension se dit par familiarité à un petit garçon pour *ya ʔabi* avec la terminaison familière o des mots employés au vocatif qu'on retrouve dans *xēto, xayyo, yāmmo ...*' (Barth 914) ~ Kənd *yābo* 'mein Lieber!' (auch Anrede an mehrere Personen) (Vo/Wald 1) ~ Cai *ʔāba* 'Daddy!' (Bad/Hi 1) ~ Pal Ar *yāba, yā yāba* 'mein Vater!' (Bau 327) ~ rur Egyp Ar *yāba/yāba/yabāy(a)* (Behn/Woid 1994:1).

[Tur *ʔābo* 'Vater (Anrede an Geistliche)' (Jastrow 1985:176).]

ʔ-h-d

xadd, pl *-āt* 'Sunday'; CMar *aḥad/hadd* (Graf 1905:82); Syriac *ḥad* [*b-šabō*] 'Sunday' (J. Payne Smith 1903:127);

~ Alep *lahhad*, pl *-āt* 'dimanche', *yōm əllāḥḥad* 'le jour de dimanche' (Barth 748) ~ Mard (*yōm*) *əlahhad* 'Sonntag' (Vo/Wald 3, 471) ~ Aq, Arb (J) *yōm əl-ʔahhad* (Jastrow 1990c:312) ~ Bagh (M) *yōm il-ʔahhad* 'Sunday' (Wood/Bee 4), (J) *yom lahhad* (Mansour 1991:98) ~ Pal Ar (*yōm*) *il-hadd* [*il-ʔahhad*] (Bau 280) ~ Cai *yōm ʔahhad* 'a Sunday', *yōm il-ʔahhad* 'this Sunday' (Bad/Hi 9) ~ Malt <(nhar) il-Hadd, pl il-ḥdud> '(on) Sunday, Sundays.'

yamuxádd 'on Sunday': *yamuxádd marrúx l-iknise* 'on Sunday we go to church'; *yamuxádd ttana^cmet* 'on Sunday we're going to hold a baptism'; < **yawm l-hadd*.

xadd š-ša^cānine 'Palm Sunday': (*lē-*)^cit *l-ixpír pkyipti mil-xadd š-ša^cānine* 'Easter Week begins on Palm Sunday' (*š^cnn*↓);

~ Dam *ʔahad əš-ša^canīn/ʔahad əš-ša^cnīn* 'Palm' Sunday' (Sto/Ani 167; Bergsträßer 1924:68) ~ Cai *ḥadd eš-ša^cnīna* (Spiro 1895:125).

[Ma^c *ša^cnīna* 'Palmsontag' (Arnold 1991:154).]

l-ixxadd tel-^cit l-ixpír 'Easter Sunday' < Ar **l-hadd dēl l-^cid l-ikbīr*.
ʔ-x-δ

xe, pkyaxo (v/t) 'take; catch fire (*l-okit*)'; < **xēδ* < **xiδ* < **ixiδ* (cf. Grotzfeld 1980:183), **yāxuδ* (Imptv: *xo, xuti, xutu*): *xutni žava* 'take (m) me home!'; *palsunna k-kilp, l-^cafra teaxtu* 'our dog has been run over, the devil take it!'; *an^c pixubba ma kalpu, pkyaxuta ma ašma pkyatua exla* 'if he loves her deeply, he takes her with whatever [dowry] her parents give her'; *pixotton xost l-iknise k-kassis, pkyaxuton xok l-^cayia trápeza^c u pisalli l-islavát ta pkyá^cāref uo* 'the priest admits them (the baby's godparents) into the church building, takes them up to the altar and says his usual prayers'; *x-xava šala b-babe u xita awnke t-tarp* 'the wind unhinged the door and swept it down the road'; *xe b-bayt l-okit* 'the house caught fire'; *lé^cepu yapati u misku u xitilyaxa* 'my father shot it (the fox), picked it up and took it up to him'; OA *axada* (*u*) (Hava 4);

~ Alep *ʔaxad, yāxod* 'prendre, recevoir, ...' (Barth 4) ~ Kənd *axaδ, yāxəδ* 'nehmen, übernehmen, wegnehmen' (Vo/Wald 3) ~ Kfar^cab *ʔexed, (b)yāxod* (Feghali 1919:142) ~ Bišm *ixid* (Jiha 1964:38) ~ Pal Ar *ʔaxad, yāxud* (Bau 217) ~ Cai *xad/ʔaxad, yāxud* (Bad/Hi 9) ~ Om (Khāb) *xad, yāxuδ/yūxaδ* (Brockett 1985:90) ~ Malt <ḥa, jiehu> 'take': <id-dar ḥadet n-nar> 'the house caught fire.'

[Loss of the first syllable in the Perfect stem is paralleled in several Arabic dialects. Surface elision of the final voiced interdental fricative **δ* in this CyA lexeme is paralleled in several Arabic dialects, both Eastern and Maghribi: Hama *xo kəlon* 'Da iβ!' (Lewin 1966:112), Dēr izZōr *xə 'da!*' (Jastrow 1981:438, f 10) and other Syrian Arabic dialects: *axe* < *axaδ* (Behnstedt 1997, map 167). On the morphophonemics of the final radical in this CyA lexeme, cf. (Borg (1985:86); note also Maltese: <jiehu> 'he takes,' but <johoda> 'he takes it/her.')

maxtát, f -a, pl -in 'estranged; at odds': *xayytak o maxtát ma^ci* 'your brother is not on speaking terms with me'; cf. OA *āxada* 'blame, reprehend' (Hava 4).

[On the CyA *mifāl* participial scheme, see Intro, IXa.]

cf. Alep *lā twāxədni* 'excuse-moi, pardon' (Barth 887); Bask *ma twaxidniš* 'please excuse me!' (Abu-Haidar 1979:41), *mwāxde* 'blâme' (Denizeau 1960:549); Pal Ar *ʔaxad əala xātro* 's'offenser' (Elihai 1973:277); Malt <ḥadu għalihom> 'they took offence.'

ʔ-x-Γ

axar, f oxre, pl oxar (indef pron) 'other, next; different': *oxre sine* 'next year'; *oxre trik* 'once again'; *oxar ... oxar* 'some ... others': *kaθe^c-*

vexen pkyilpes oxar θkyep '(during Carnival) everyone wears special clothes'; *ruyna l-ixkali, oxar ma l-ixmir oxar ma l-^Gitraxtor^G* 'we went to the fields, some [of us] on donkeys, some on a tractor'; OA *āxar*, f *uxrā*, pl *uxar* (Hava 5);

~ Alep *lāxər* (adj et pron indéf), m sg, *lāxər/lāxra/lāxrāye/lāxriye*, f sg, 'autre'; *laxāra* 'autres, d'autres'; *rāxər/raxri/rāxrāni/rāxrēni* adj, et pron indéf m sg '(un) autre'; *raxāra* pl (Barth 750, 273) ~ Bagh (MJC) *lāx* m, (M) *lux/luxra* f, (JC) *lāx/lāxxi* (< **lāxgi*) 'another' (Blanc 1964: 21) ~ Pal Ar *āxar*, f *uxra*, pl *āxarīn* 'other' (Elihai 1999:2) ~ Cai 'āxar, f 'uxra, pl 'āxarīn (Bad/Hi 11) ~ Egyp Ar *rāxar*, f *ruxara*, pl *raxrīn* (Behn/Woid 159) ~ Malt 'iehor, f ohra, pl ohrajn 'other, another.'

[CyA retains the older unaugmented forms. On the cross-dialectal treatment of OA *āxar*, see Marçais (1911:216f).]

l-axar, f *l-oxre*, pl *l-oxar* 'the other, the next' *l-oxre sine ttanninkol inna l-payt l-ižtīt* 'next year we'll move into our new house'; *pikulullu k-kassis kif teā'imtu pšan teā'āref u tetaylep m-moe u ll-oxar šaya ta pkyatéz(z)* 'they tell the priest that they are going to hold the baptism, so that he's informed and proceeds to prepare the water and other things he needs';

~ Alep *llāxər* 'l'autre'; *llaxāra* 'les autres': 'ante *rraxər* 'toi l'autre' (Barth 750, 273) ~ Mard (ə)lāx, f (ə)lāxx, Darag (ə)lāxər/(ə)lāxər, f (ə)lāxre, pl (ə)lāxər 'der, die andere(n)' (Vo/Wald 4) ~ Pal Ar (Fellach.) 'il(l)uxri, f 'il(l)uxra, pl 'il(l)uxriyyīn (Bau 14) ~ Malt l-iehor, f l-ohra, pl l-ohrajn 'the other'.

āxaršik 'otherwise; differently': *pāninni* (< *byn*) *āxaršik* 'I had a different impression' (Frangiskou 19); < **āxar-šikl*.

āxarmo^a 'elsewhere'; < **āxar-mawdi^a*.

ʔ-x-w

xayyt- 'brother of' < OA dim *uxayy-* + empty morph {-t-};
~ Alep *xayy*, dim affectueux, "ami, camarade" (Barth 226) ~ Palm *xawiyye* 'mon petit frère' (Cantineau 1934:58) ~ Hat *xayy* 'Bruder' (Arnold 1998:314) ~ Mard *axu*, pl *əxwe* 'Bruder, Geschwister', *əxūti* 'meine Brüder, meine Geschwister' (Vo/Wald 5) ~ Bagh (M) 'ax/'axu-, pl 'uxwa/'uxwat-'/'uxūt- 'brother' (Wood/Bee 4, 6), (J) *əxwa*, (C) *əxwe* 'brothers', (JC) *əxwāti* 'my brothers' (Blanc 1964:68) ~ Bišm 'aš 'ism *xayyak* 'was ist der Name deines Bruders?' (Jiha 1964:128) ~ Pal Ar 'ax, pl 'ixwān/'ixwe 'Bruder': 'ixwitha 'ihre Brüder' (Bau 67) ~ Cai 'axx, in constr. 'axu '(full or half-) brother' (Bad/Hi 9) ~ Malt 'hu- [address

form hi], 'hija [yy], huk, etc.) 'my/your brother,' pl 'ahwa 'siblings': 'huti 'my brothers and sisters'.

[CyA *xayyt-* is an inalienable noun requiring a pron. suff.: *xayyti*, *xayytak*, etc. 'my brother, your (m) brother,' etc. For the accretion of -t, cf. *yapāt-* 'father' ('bwa), and Alep 'ashart-i 'mon beau-frère' (Barth 363). On the etymologically dim form, Bauer (1957:67) has observed: "Haifa und Libanon benutzen fast durchweg das Diminutiv: 'Brüderchen' xayy." The dim of kinship terms as the unmarked form was also noted for Syrian Bedouin in Wetzstein (1868:171).]

oxt 'sister': *oxti* 'my sister', *oxtu l-Yorko* 'Georg's sister'; OA *uxt*, pl *axawāt* (Hava 5);

~ Alep 'əxt, pl *xawāt* 'sœur', *xayye* «petite sœur» (Barth 4, 227) ~ Mard 'əxt, pl *xawāt* 'Schwester' (Vo/Wald 5) ~ Bagh (M) 'uxut, pl *xawāt* (Wood/Bee 4), (J) 'əxt, (C) 'əxət 'sister' (Blanc 1964:55) ~ Leban *xayye*, pl *xayyāt* ~ Pal Ar 'uxt, pl 'uxwāt/*xawāt* (Bau 270) ~ Cai 'uxt, pl 'ixwāt (Bad/Hi 9) ~ Om *xit*, pl *xwat* (Brockett 1985:89) ~ Malt 'oht- 'sister of'.

[The shift *axawāt* > *xawāt* is old (Blau (1966-1967:104-5). The special possessive construction exemplified here characterizes CyA inalienable nouns, e.g., kinship terms; cf. Borg (1985:130) and Intro, §1Xd.]

xvat 'siblings': *pkytriksu, u exlon, xvaton u m-ma^azumīn kullon pi-^aallkullon flus ma ipār ...* 'they (the bride and groom) dance, and their parents, their brothers and sisters, and all the guests attach money to their (i.e., the couple's) clothes with pins ...'; < **xawāt*; OA *axawāt* 'sisters' (Hava 5);

~ Cai 'ixwāt 'siblings' (Bad/Hi 9) ~ Ša^d 'ax, pl *xawāt* 'Bruder' (Behnstedt 1987:227) ~ Pal Ar 'ax u-'uxt 'Geschwister' (Bau 133) ~ Malt 'hut- (< **ixiwt-*) 'siblings of': 'huti kolla msefrin 'my brothers and sisters are all abroad'.

ʔ-d-y

vadda, pivaddi (v/t) 'send': *vaddaytu δ-δe^a terūx teaxo moe perte tan-nišrap* 'I sent him to the village to bring fresh water [for us] to drink'; *vaddāyt maxtūp l-^aammi parra* 'I sent a letter to my paternal uncle abroad'; OA *addā* 'he made it ... reach, arrive, ...' (Lane 38);

~ Alep *wadda* 'faire parvenir soi-même, porter (qqe), conduire, mener (un enfant, un animal) 'ala ou la- à qqn, à un endroit ...' (Barth 889) ~ Kənd *wadda* 'wegbringen, mitbringen' (Vo/Wald 6) ~ Bagh (M) *wadda* 'convey, transfer' (Wood/Bee 491) ~ Pal Ar *wadda* 'senden, wegschicken, etc.' (Kampff 1936:1), 'schicken' (Bau 257).

mvaddi, f *mvaddie*, pl *mvaddīn* (pp) 'sent.'

ʔ-δ-n

iḏn, pl *ḏanén* 'ear' (no du); *má-pkyati iḏn* 'he doesn't listen' (Frangiskou 156); OA *uḏn/uḏun*, pl *ādān* (Hava 6);

[Malt *ma jaghtix widen* 'he doesn't take heed.']

~ Alep *ʔadən/dān*, pl *dānēn*, du *dāntēn* 'oreille' (Barth 6) ~ Dam *ʔadən*, du *ʔadantēn*, pl *ʔadān/ʔadānēn* 'ear' (Sto/Ani 74) ~ Mard *ʔḏən*, pl *ʔḏān* 'Ohr' (Vo/Wald 6) ~ Bagh (M) *ʔiḏin* 'ear' (sg and pl), pl *ʔiḏānāt*, also *ʔiḏān* (sg and pl), pl *-āt* (Wood/Bee 7, 8) ~ Pal Ar *dān/dēn*, du *dēntēn*, rur *ḏān*, pl *ḏinēn* (Bau 223) ~ Cai *widn*, pl *widān* (Bad/Hi 930) ~ Malt *widna*, pl *widnejn*.

ʔ-r-d

art (no pl) 'earth, land, ground, soil': *l-art e nešfe, má-šatta xtir s-sine* 'the soil is parched; it didn't rain much this year'; *štrayt exen kom-māti² art tapni payt* 'I bought a plot of land to build a house'; OA *ard*, pl *arādūna/ardūna* (Wright I, 195), *ardāt/arāḏin* (Lane 48); on the last form, cf. Durra, 45);

~ Alep *ʔard*, pl *ʔarāḏi* 'terre, globe terrestre, terrain, sol, ...' (Barth 6) ~ Mard *arḏ*, pl *arāḏi* 'Erde, Land, Boden' (Vo/Wald 7) ~ Bagh (M) *ʔarḏ*, pl *ʔarāḏi* 'earth, ground' (Wood/Bee 8) ~ Pal Ar *ʔard*, *larḏ* (Bau 64); [cf. Leban Ar *ʔardāt* 'terres' (Feghali 1919:210)] ~ Cai *ʔard*, pl *ʔarāḏi* (Bad/Hi 14) ~ Malt *art*, pl *artijiet* 'earth, country'; *art twelidw* 'his fatherland.'

ʔ-r-n-b

arnep, pl *ranep* 'wild rabbit'; [the CyG loan *kunnelli* < Mod Gk *κουνέλι* designates the domesticated variety]: *ʔan² plaki ranep ital-ʔapon* 'if I come across wild rabbits, I'll shoot them'; OA *arnab*, pl *arānib* 'the hare, and now applied to the rabbit also' (Lane 1164);

~ Alep *ʔarnab*, pl *ʔarāneb* 'lièvre' (Barth 7) ~ Mard *arnabe*, pl *arānēb* 'Hase' (Vo/Wald 8) ~ Bagh (M) *ʔarnab*, pl *ʔarānib* (Wood/Bee 8) ~ Mos (C) *ʔagnabe*, pl *ʔagēnēb* ~ Leban *ʔarneb*, pl *ʔrāneb* 'lapin' (Fegh M/J 182, fn 6) ~ Pal Ar *ʔarnab*, pl *ʔarānib* 'Hase' (Bau 149) ~ rur Egypt Ar *ʔarnaba* 'Stallhäsin' (Behn/Woid 1994:5) ~ Cai *ʔarnab*, pl *ʔarānib/ʔanārib* 'rabbit' (Bad/Hi 16) ~ Šan² *ʔarnabeh* 'lepre' (Rossi 1939:161);

[Malt *arnēb*, pl *arānēb* 'Hase'; Aram oder arab. (Spitaler 1957:336). For the feminine marking of this lexeme in S.E. Anatolian Arabic and Mosul, cf. Aram *ʔarnabeta* and Heb *ʔarneḏeḏ* (M. Jastrow 123).]

ʔ-s-t

ist, pl *-āt* 'genitals (male and female), backside': ... *yupati rāk²anni exte xok il-ist* ... mon père, il m'en flanqua une sur le derrière' (Roth

1987:32); OA *ist*, pl *astāh* 'buttocks' (Hava 309); ~ Alep *ʔast* 'anus' (Barth 8) ~ Cai *ʔist* 'behind, posterior' (Bad/Hi 18) ~ Šan² *ʔist* 'organo femminile' (Rossi 1939:211) ~ Ša² *ʔistin* 'Hintern' (Behnstedt 1987:228).

ʔ-s-q-f

iskof, pl *skafe* 'bishop': *l-iskof l-iḏtīt o sapi* (< *šby*) 'the new bishop is young at heart'; < CMAR *usquf*, pl *asāqifa* 'Bischof' (Graf 1954:8) < *ἐπίσκοπος* "durch Vermittelung des Koptischen" (Fraenkel 1886:275); ~ Alep *ʔasqof*, pl *ʔasāqfe* 'évêque' (Barth 347) ~ Cai *ʔasquf*, pl *ʔasāqfa* 'bishop' (Spiro 1895:12), *ʔusquf/ʔusʔuf*, pl *ʔasāqifa/ʔasaqfa/ʔasaʔfa* (Bad/Hi 22) ~ Bagh (M) *ʔasqaf*, pl *ʔasāqifa* (Wood/Bee 9) ~ Pal Ar *ʔusquf*, pl *ʔasāqife* 'Bischof' (Bau 61) ~ Malt *isqof*, pl *isqifijiet*.

ʔ-s-m

ism, pl *-āt* 'name': *ayšo ismu xayytik?* 'what's your (f) brother's name?'; *taynāx l-ism tell-ʔayo Antrea²* 'we gave him Saint Andrew's name'; *l-intsān piri l-ism tel yapatu* 'the husband (usually) wants [to give his son] his own father's name'; *tu l-ulaton ismāt til'in* 'they gave their children unattractive names'; OA *ism*, pl *asmā* (Hava 9);

~ Alep *ʔasəm*, pl *ʔasēmi* 'nom' (Barth 8) ~ Pal Ar *ʔism* (Jerus. auch *ʔusum*) pl *ʔasāmi* 'Name' (Bau 215) ~ Malt *isem*, pl *ismijiet* 'name.'

smalla (blessing uttered against the evil eye; but can also express approval and admiration) 'God forbid! what a pity! well done!': *smalla š-inti kaysua!* 'God bless you, how pretty you are!'; *ʔamma² mannišlax x-xops, pkyislax tankūl smalla* 'when we throw bread away, we ought to say *smalla*' (cf. Marçais 1911:127, fn 1; Becker 1909:73; Matt. XIV, 10; John VI, 12); < **ism-allāh* 'God's name';

~ Alep *sm-alla* 'alek' 'que Dieu te protège!' dit-on à qqn qu'on croit fou' (Barth 8) ~ Bagh (M) *smalla* (a word to ward off potential evil, to express solicitousness and occasionally admiration) (Wood/Bee 13) ~ Bišm *smalla* 'der Name Gottes sei gepriesen; grossartig' (Jiha 1964:124) ~ Leban *smalla (udekralla) layk* 'Dieu te protège ...' (expression qu'on doit dire pour conjurer le mauvais œil devant un bel enfant ou devant un enfant malade; Feghali 1928:201) ~ Pal Ar *(i)sm-alla* ('ala ...)' 'may the Name of God guard So-and-So! (blessing or scorning)' (Piamenta 2000:191), *smallah* 'alēna (C) 'der Name Gottes sei über uns' (Einsler 1887:177).

[On Palestinian Arabic usage, Einsler (op. cit. 210) observed: Die bekanntesten Wunschformeln der Christen sind *smallah* 'alek ...

hawtak ballāh, d.h. dein Schutz sei in Gott! *ḍikr allāh*, d.h. Gottes Gedenken! *māš-allāh*, d.h. was Gott will! Letzteres gebrauchen die Muslimen am häufigsten ... For further detail on the use of *smalla* by Muslims, Jews, and Christians, see Piamenta (1979a:64-67).]

ʔ-q-h

okka 'oke' < CyG *okka* (= 4 *okies*): *oxtáyn* 'two okes'; MLA *uqqa*, pl -āt (Wehr 25);

~ Alep ʔ*aqqa*, pl -āt, ʔ*aqaq* 'oqqa ou oque' (Barth 10) ~ Cai *oqqa/wiqqa* 'oke' (Spiro 1895:649), rur Egyp Ar *ugga* 'Unze' (Behn/Woid 1994:6).

ʔ-k-l

kel, *pkyakol* (v/t) 'eat; receive (a blow); wear down or exhaust' (< **kəl* < **kil* < **ikil*; cf. Grotzfeld 1980:183); (Imptv: *kol*, *kuli*, *kulu*): *ana aš takol?* 'what am I to eat?'; *ʔintu ši teakol?* 'does he have anything to eat?'; *kilt* ^G*klotsá* 'I received a kick'; *kilton s-sá* 'ilke' 'poverty has devoured them'; OA *akala* (u) (Hava 11);

~ Alep ʔ*akal*, *yākol* 'manger' (Barth 11) ~ Kənd *akal*, *yākəl*, Imptv: *kəl*, f *kəli*, pl *kəlu* (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Bagh (M) *raḥ-tākulha ġer ʔakla* 'you're going to get a real comeuppance' (Wood/Bee 12) ~ Bišm ʔ*ikil*, *byākul* 'essen' (Jiha 1964:135) ~ Šaʿd *kal/kil*, *yākul* (Behnstedt 1987:296) ~ Cai *kal/ʔakal*, *yākul* 'eat' (Bad/Hi 29) ~ Om (Khāb) *kel*, *yākil/yūkil* (Brockett 1985:186) ~ Malt ʔ*kiel*, *jiokol* 'eat': ʔ*sa tikola* 'you're going to get a smacking.'

mankūl, f -a, pl -in 'eaten'; OA *maʔkūl*;

[Insertion of /n/ here probably reflects both this segment's coarticulatory adaptability before velars (cf. CyA *ma(x)xūr*, pl *mnexír* 'nose') and contamination with the Form VII scheme of the passive participle: mVnCV:C, e.g., Alep *mənqāl* (pp) of *qāl* 'dire' (Barth 690).]

~ Alep *maʔkūl* (pp) of I (Barth 11) ~ Pal Ar *mākūl* 'gegessen' (Bau 126) ~ Malt ʔ*mikul* 'eaten.'

ttekel, *pkyittekel* (v/i) 'be eaten, edible; be worn out; be envious': *aḍa t-tapx má-pkyittékel*, *malu* ^G*me* ^G*milx* ^G*me* ^G*zayt* 'this food is inedible, it contains neither salt nor oil'; *alli l-iskafi*, *fia sintáyn ta pilpison*; *tteklu* 'I have worn these shoes for two years; they're worn out'; OA *iʔtakala* *ġaḍaban* 'he burned fiercely with anger' (Lane 72);

~ Alep ʔ*attākal*, *yəttākal*, pa. *məttēkel* 'être mangé' (Barth 11) ~ Mersin *yittekal* 'gegessen werden' (Procházka 2002:47) ~ Pal Ar *bittākal*

'eßbar' (Bau 104) ~ Cai ʔ*itākil* 'corrode, wear away' (Bad/Hi 30) ~ rur Egyp Ar *itakkal/ittākal* 'aufgebraucht sein' (Behn/Woid 1994:6) ~ Malt ʔ*ittiekel*, *jittiekel* 'be worn out' [not 'be eaten'].

ikl 'food'; OA *akl* (Hava 11);

~ Kənd *akəl* (Vo/Wald 11) ~ Bišm ʔ*ikəl* 'Essen' (Jiha 1964:175) ~ Bagh (M) ʔ*akil* 'eating, dining', ʔ*akla* 'meal, repast' (Wood/Bee 12) ~ Pal Ar ʔ*akl(e)*, pl ʔ*aklāt* 'Speise' (Bau 281) ~ Cai ʔ*akl* 'livelihood' (Bad/Hi 29) ~ Malt ʔ*ikel*, nv *ikla*.

ʔ-l-h

**alla* 'God' (occurs exclusively in a few blessings and curses (see below; cf. Intro, §VI); OA *allāh* 'God' (Hava 12);

[OA short stressed [a] often shifts to CyA [i] as in *kilp* 'dog'; the low vowel is here retained in contact with a historical emphatic [l]. On velarization of the lateral in this lexeme, cf. A. Fischer (1920, 1924) and Ambros (1981).]

~ Alep ʔ*alla* 'Dieu' (dans les prières et les formules de serment; dans les souhaits et jurements familiers' (Barth 14) ~ Mard *alla/allāh* 'Gott' (Vo/Wald 13) ~ Bagh (M) ʔ*alla* 'God, Allah' (Wood/Bee 13), (J) ʔ*alla* [= *anna* to avoid mentioning the Deity in vain] (Mansour 1983:23) ~ Pal Ar *allāh* (a-ā meist dunkel) (Bau 141) ~ Malt ʔ*Alla*, pl *allat* [= *anna* in curses].

allérixmu 'may God have mercy on him!' < **alla-yirhamu*;

~ Kaʿb *alla yərḥāmu* 'Gott hab ihn selig' (Vo/Wald 14) ~ Pal Ar *alla yirhamo* (Elihai 1999:462).

allarxāma 'may God have mercy on her!' < **alla-yirhāmā*.

CyA *vallaxi-pillaxi* 'by Jove!'; (< CyG < Tk; Yangoullis 1997:53) < Ar **wallāhi billāhi*;

~ Qarṭ *wállāhi/wəllāhi* 'bei Gott! doch!'; *bəllāh* 'bei Gott!' (Vo/Wald 13, 14) ~ Bagh (J) *walla-balla* (an oath in the name of God; Mansour 1991:58, fn 16).

CyG, CyA *iššalla* 'would that! if only!'; OA *in šāʔ allāh* 'God willing!' (cf. Piamenta 1979b:204).

[Malt ʔ*jalla* 'would that! if only!': ʔ*jalla l-ġid* 'may good come of it!' < Ar *yā allāh* 'čá, interjection pour commander ou encourager' (Dozy II, 855).]

soxtalla < **suxt-allāh*, lit. 'the wrath of God' (= Mod Gk θεομηνία); *s-soxtalla* 'go to hell!' (*sxt*↓).

ʔ-l-y

ela (m), *eli* (f), *elu* (pl) (v/i; Imptv of *ža* 'he came') 'come!': *ela žava* 'come in!'; *elu texte* 'come (pl) quickly!'; ^G*ela* u kiš'úna ttarrúx x-xaps, lit. 'come and they saw us, we'll go to prison' = 'if they come and see us, we'll go to prison'; < Mod Gk *έλα*, pl *ελάτε* 'come!'

[As in many Arabic dialects, the CyA Imperative of 'come' is suppletive; Arabic gender and plural markers are affixed to the Greek stem. On the Narrative Imperative, cf. Blanc (1970a:140) and Palva (1977).]

ʔ-m-m

umm, pl *-át* 'mother': *ummu l-impšix e l-^catra* 'the mother of Jesus is the Virgin'; *ummáton pkyistantruon* 'their mothers are waiting for them'; OA *umm*, pl *ummāt/ummahāt* (Hava 13);

[For the phrase structure *ummu l-impšix*, cf. Borg (1985:130).]

~ Alep ^ʔ*amm*, pl ^ʔ*ammāt/ʔammahāt* 'mère' (Barth 14) ~ Mard *amm*, pl Fəsk *ammāt* 'Mutter' (Vo/Wald 16) ~ Bagh (M) ^ʔ*umm*, pl ^ʔ*ummahāt* 'mother' (Wood/Bee 16) ~ Pal Ar ^ʔ*umm*, pl ^ʔ*ummahāt* (Bau 212) ~ Cai ^ʔ*umm*, pl ^ʔ*ummahāt* (Bad/Hi 36) ~ Malt *omm*, pl *ommijiet*.

ʔ-m-ā

*amma*¹ 'but' (cf. Dodek Gk *ἀμέ*; Dawkins 1950:536 < Tk *ama*); OA *ammā* 'but, as to, however' (Hava 13);

[Within urban Eastern Arabic, this lexeme appears to have been largely replaced by *bass*, *lāken* (Dam; Sto/Ani 31), Pal Ar *walāken* 'aber,' mit Suff. *lākinni* 'aber ich' (Bau 2). Cf. Urmī *amma* 'but, however' (Garbell 1965:296).]

Alep ^ʔ*ammā* 'mais'; 'dès que' (Chrét) (Barth 14) ~ Mard *amma* ~ Sii *ama* 'aber, jedoch' (Jastrow 1981:236, fn 18) ~ Çukur *ama*, *aman* 'aber' (Procházka 2002:144) ~ Bagh (M) ^ʔ*amma* 'but' (Wood/Bee 16) ~ Hask *amma* (Talay 2002:66) ~ rur Pal Ar ^ʔ*amma/ʔimman* 'aber' (Bau 2) ~ Malt *imma* 'but.'

*amma*² 'when, if': ^G*amma*^G *exte mara pittivlet* ^G*morós, istera*^G *mix-xmenye* *θkyem, pkyintaylpu pšan tea^cimtúx* 'when a woman has a baby, preparations are made after eight days to baptize it'; ^G*amma*^G *pkyilixku, k-kassís pirúššillon moe mpsallie* 'when they arrive (in church), the priest sprinkles them with holy water'; *exen šibb, ^Gamma^G pixúpp l-exte pint, pivaddi ll-exlu u t-^Gtatatu^G žump l-exla u pkyitilpua* 'when a youth falls in love with a girl, he sends his parents and godfather to her parents, and they ask for her hand'; cf. Anc Gk *ἄμα* 'when, as soon as' (Liddell/Scott 1996:75), Mod Gk *ἄμα* 'quand (conj)' (Mirambel 1960:

230): *ἄμ' ἔπος ἄμ' ἔργον* 'no sooner said than done' (Magazis 1995:278); cf. also OA *immā* (< *in mā*) 'when, if' (Hava 13): *fa-immā tarayinna min al-bašari aḥadan* 'And if thou see, of mankind, any one' (Quran XIX, 26; Lane 94);

~ Alep *ammā* 'dès que' (Chrét) (Barth 14) ~ Cai ^ʔ*amma* (conj) 'when': *nādi ^calayya ^ʔamma tuxrug* 'call me when you go out' (Bad/Hi 37).

[Qaraq ^ʔ*amma* 'when' (interrogative or conjunction; Khan 2002:726).]

ammā 'if not'; (^ʔ*n*↓).

ʔ-m-s

imps 'yesterday—excluding the evening (^cšy↓)': *imps kan xtir xarr* 'yesterday was very hot'; OA *amsi* (Hava 14);

~ Alep ^ʔ*ams* 'hier (pendant la journée)' (Barth 14) ~ Sux ^ʔ*ams* 'letzthin, vor ein paar Tagen' (Behnstedt 1994:204) ~ Mard *ams* 'gestern' (Vo/Wald 17) ~ Hask *āmes* 'plötzlich' (Talay 2002:66) ~ Bagh (M) ^ʔ*amis* 'yesterday' (Wood/Bee 16) ~ Ša^cd ^ʔ*ams* 'gestern' (Behnstedt 1987:229) ~ Malt *-iemes* in *ewliemes* (^ʔ*wl*↓).

[Note the long vowel in Hask *āmes* and Malt *-iemes*.]

mnimps 'from yesterday' < Ar **min-ams*.

ávelimps 'the day before yesterday'; OA *awwal amsi* 'vorgestern' (Kraemer 1952:40; Hopkins 1984:130) (^ʔ*wl*↓);

~ Alep ^ʔ*awwal ʔams/ʔawwalt ʔams/ʔawwól ʔams* 'avant hier (dans la journée)' (Barth 15) ~ Bagh (M) ^ʔ*awwal ʔamis* 'day before yesterday' (Wood/Bee 16) ~ Malt *ewliemes* 'the day before yesterday' (^ʔ*wl*↓).

mnávelimps 'from the day before yesterday.'

ávelimps '*ašie* 'two nights ago.'

ʔ-n

an 'if, whether': ^G*an*^G *pkyirk^cullak, maxxallsak* 's'ils te frappent, nous te sauverons' (Roth 1975:99); *má-pa^cāref ^Gan^G piží (y)yawm ^Gi^G pukra* 'I don't know whether he's coming today or tomorrow'; < Mod Gk *av, eáv* (conj) 'if, whether' (Pring 1982:10).

ammā 'if not' < Mod Gk *an* 'if' + Ar *mā* 'not' calquing Mod Gk *av* μη: *ammā kunt ana, Eleni kantaθkáf mpla intsán* 'were it not for me, Helen would have ended up without a husband' (Frangiskou 190).

[Cf. the analogous internal Arabic development of Egyp Ar ^ʔ*imma* < **in + mā*: ^ʔ*imma qataltak* 'if I don't kill you' (Stewart 1994:65).]

ʔ-n-ā

ana (subj pron; emph pron; copula) 'I, me, myself': *ana ta ruḫt aššū v-ṣarak šati, sayluni an ʔepolémisa* 'when I went to collect my papers, they asked me where I had seen action (lit. fought)'; *l-ana kiš-e lá-l-inti* 'it was me he saw, not you'; *ana ana mpsallie* 'I am educated (f)'; *ana mat yapati u xallani zē-ir* 'my father died when I was young'; OA *anā*;

cf. Alep *mānšāni ʔana* 'c'est pour moi, moi et personne autre' (Barth 16) ~ Anat Ar *qəltülkən marīḏ-ana* 'ich sagte euch, ich sei krank' (Jastrow 1995:146) ~ Bagh (M) *ʔāni* 'I' (Cla/Sto/Wo 89) ~ Pal Ar *ʔana*, Nablus *ʔani* (Bau 162) ~ Cai *ʔana* (Bad/Hi 39) ~ Malt *ʔjiena*.

ʔ-n-t

int, *f inti* (subj pron; emph pron; copula) 'you': *izmak l-int* 'it was you he invited'; *kwannitsa et exen mall-axar; ana kuntsa tak ll-int uv-int ll-ana* '(during harvest-time) we used to help one another; I would help you and you would help me'; OA *anta*, *f anti*;

~ Alep *ʔant/ʔante* (m sg), *ʔanti* (f sg) 'tu, toi' (Barth 16) ~ Mard *anta* ~ Kənd *ant*, *f anti* ~ Darag *ante* 'du, (enklit.) du bist' (Vo/Wald 18) ~ Hask *int* (m sg), *inte* (f sg) (Talay 2002:75) ~ Çukur *hint*, *f hinti* (Procházka 2002:64) ~ Bagh (M) *ʔinta*, *f ʔinti* 'you' (Wood/Bee 18) ~ Pal Ar *ʔint*, *f ʔinti* (Bau 79) ~ Cai *ʔinta*, *f ʔinti* (Bad/Hi 40) ~ Malt *int(i)* 'you (c)'

intu (subj pron; emph pron; copula) < **intū* 'you (pl)'; OA *antum* (m pl);

~ Alep *ʔantu* 'vous' (Barth 16) ~ Kənd *antən*, Ka^b *anten* ~ Darag *anto* 'ihr' (Vo/Wald 18) ~ Bagh (M) *ʔintum* 'you' (Wood/Bee 18) ~ Leban *ʔintu* (Jiha 1964:127) ~ Pal Ar *ʔintu*, *f ʔintin* (rur) (Bau 162) ~ Cai *ʔintu* (Bad/Hi 40) ~ Malt *intom/intkom*.

ʔ-n-θ

nayθie, pl *nayθyāt* 'female'; *lu tlax-nayθyāt u xnayn θkura* 'he has three daughters and two sons'; cf. OA *unθā*, pl *ināθ/anāθā* (Hava 15);

~ Alep *ʔantēye* 'femelle' (Barth 10) ~ Pal Ar *ʔunθāye* 'Weib' (Kampff 1936:2), *ʔintāy/ʔintāye* (Piamenta 1979b:234) ~ rur Egyp Ar *nitāyel/nitīya* 'Weibchen' (Behn/Woid 1999:336) ~ Cai *nitāya*, pl *nity / nuty/ nitayāt* 'female (animal or plant)' (Bad/Hi 39).

[Cf. Bloch/Grotzfeld (1964:92, fn1): "Die Sprache zeigt eine Tendenz, feminine Nomina ohne Femininendung mit der Femininendung zu kennzeichnen, vgl. *ʔašā* > *ʔašāye* 'Stock', *ʔunθā* > *ʔantāye* 'Weibchen,' etc."]

ʔ-n-ḡ-ā

intze 'not only; not simply': *fia xtir pikullu, intze ʔmanixā ak l-exen* 'there are many (foxes) around, he said to him, not just that one'; CyG *ántzakki* 'με δυσκολία' (= hardly) (Yangoullis 1997:27); Tk *anjaq/anja/inje* (adv) 'only, barely, hardly' (Redhouse 1890:213), *ancak* 'nur, allein, lediglich' (Steuerwald 1972:44);

[TDK assigns the form *ancak* to the Mersin vernacular.]

~ Alep *warde ʔanḡāye* 'rose à peine éclose' (Barth 16) ~ Hask *ʔanḡaq* 'gerade noch' (Talay 2002:66) ~ Bišm *ʔanḡaʔ*, *ya dawb* (mit oder ohne Suffix) 'kaum': *ʔanḡaʔ yʔaddi li-ʔmāš l-fiḡḡān* 'der Stoff reicht kaum für ein Kleid' (Jiha 1964:172) ~ Pal Ar *ʔanḡaq* 'kaum': *kānu ʔanḡaq xamsin* 'es waren kaum 50' (Bau 171);

[David (1887:168) gives *ʔanḡaq* 'à peine' for Damascene with the comment 'en Mesopotamie on dit ʔanḡaq'. Sto/Ani (1964:112) note mainly the semantic equivalent *yā dōb* + pron suff. Cf. Bəsp *anḡaq* 'nur' (Sinha 2000:157); Qaraq *anjax* 'almost' (Khan 2002:725).]

ʔ-n-s

intsān 'human being; man, husband,' pl *rzel*: *l-intsān teli o ʔnešpér* 'my husband is a farmer'; *áḡak l-intsān ta piritik o mpxabbi ana(x)xóst* 'your boyfriend is hiding in here'; OA *insān* 'human being' (Hava 15);

~ Alep *ʔansān*, pl *nās* 'homme dans le sens général, être humain' (Barth 17) ~ Dam *ʔansān* 'human being' (Sto/Ani 120) ~ Mard *ansān* 'Mensch' (Vo/Wald 19) ~ Pal Ar *ʔinsān* (Bau 204) ~ Cai *ʔinsān* (Bad/Hi 41) ~ Om ... *keénno nsān mitzawwug ḡorme* '... dass ein Mann eine Frau geheirathet hatte' (Reinhardt 1894:390) ~ Ša^d *ʔinsān/sān* 'Mensch, Ehemann' (Behnstedt 1987:98).

[Cf. Tur *insān* 'Mensch' (Jastrow 1990a:166), *ʔisān*, pl *ʔisānat* (Jastrow 1985:200); Hert *ʔensān*, pl *ʔensane* (Jastrow 1988a:182).]

nes 'people': *n-nes má-pkyistxu* 'people have no sense of shame'; < **nēs* (< **inās*) ~ OA *unās* (Hava 15);

~ Alep *nās* 'hommes, gens'; *nēs nēs* 'les uns après les autres, tout le monde' (Barth 855) ~ Bagh (M) *nās* (m/f) 'people' (Wood/Bee 18), (C) *nēs* (Blanc 1964:46) ~ Mard *nēs* 'Leute, man' (Vo/Wald 19) ~ Hask *nēs* (Talay 2002:78) ~ Mos (M) *nās* (Jastrow 1979:60) ~ Pal Ar *nās* (Bau 193, 204) ~ Cai *nās* (f/pl) (Bad/Hi 843) ~ Malt *nies* 'people.'

[For comparative aspects of the *imāla* shift in this lexical item, see Blanc (1964:50), Levin (1992:90), Behnstedt (1997: maps 32, 44), and Arno/Behn (map 12).]

ʔ-h-l

exl 'parents': *kif-enne exlak?*—*taypin* 'how are your parents?—well';
OA *ahl* 'family, house,' *ahlu r-raḡuli* 'wife' (Hava 16);

~ Alep *ahl/ahəl* 'famille composée du père, de la mère et des frères et sœurs ... *ahlek* dit par un mari à sa femme signifie «tes parents» (Barth 18) ~ Mard *ahəl* 'Angehörige, Verwandte, Verwandtschaft; Leute' (Vo/Wald 20) ~ Bagh (M) *ahal*, pl *ahāli* 'family, relatives, wife, people' (Wood/Bee 19) ~ Pal Ar *ahel* 'parents' (Elihai 1999:12) ~ Yem *ahl*, pl *ahlin*: *ahli* 'my family' (for the maternal group of relatives) (Piamenta 1989:166).

ʔ-w-l

avel 'the year before last' < **avel* 'implavel'; OA *awwal*, pl *awā'il* 'principal' (Hava 17);

~ Alep *awwal* 'amnawal 'l'avant dernière année' (Barth 20) ~ Darag *amlol* ~ Fask *amndwal/amnāwel* 'voriges Jahr' (Vo/Wald 296) ~ Sux *awwal al'am* (Behnstedt 1994:206) ~ Malt *awl* (rare) 'before': *awl il-lejl qabel ma miet* 'on the night before he died.'

avelimps 'the day before yesterday'; OA *awwal amsi* (Kraemer 1952:40);

~ Alep *awwal ams* 'avant hier' (dans la journée) (Barth 14) ~ Arb (J) *awwal ams* 'vorgestern' (Jastrow 1990c:316) ~ Malt *ewliemes* 'the day before yesterday' (Aquilina 1987:291).

ʔ-y-y

ays/aš 'what, how, why': *áš* 'alék?' 'what do you care?'; *aš o tvil* 'how tall he is!'; *ays e tvile!* 'how tall she is!'; *xállini tanám, aš piθkaimni mif-fis-saxxar?* 'let me sleep, why do you wake me up so early (lit., at dawn)?'; < OA *ays* < *ayyu šay'in* (A. Fischer 1905:807; Rabin 1951:150; Hopkins 1984:67, fn1); JMar *š* 'what' (Blau 2002:178); CMAR *ʔy šy* 'was': *ʔy šy yrḡw* 'was erhofft er?' (Graf 1905:37, 43); MMar *ʔay šyy* = (?) *ʔš* 'what' (Schen 1973, II:65);

~ Alep *šū* 'quoi, que ...', *ʔš* 'quoi?' ne s'emploie qu'à la pause (Barth 414, 22) ~ Anat Ar *ays/aš*- (Jastrow 1978:115) 'was, was für ein, welcher' (Vo/Wald 24) ~ Bagh (M) *ʔš* 'what?' [used only following prepositions: *al-ʔš/ala-wəš* 'why?'] (Wood/Bee 21) ~ Leban *ʔays* 'quoi?' ~ Pal Ar *šu/ʔš* 'quoi?' (Elihai 1973:326) ~ rur Egyp Ar *ʔeyši* 'was' (Behn/Woid 1994:254) ~ Malt *xi trid?* 'what do you want?'

ayšo 'what is it?'; *ayšo ismak?* 'what's your name?' < **ays-wa* < **ays-huwwa*.

aška 'how much/many': *aška xvat ʔintak?* 'how many brothers and sisters do you have?'; *aška pisáy?*—*pisáy xnayn ʔselinya* 'how much does it cost?—It costs two shillings'; < **aš-qadd* < Ar **ays-qadr*;

~ Alep *šqadd* 'combien?' (Barth 397) ~ Ka^b *ašqa* 'wieviel(e)' (Vo/Wald 24) ~ Sux *škadd* (Behnstedt 1994:294) ~ Bagh (M) *šgad*, (J) *ášqad*, (C) *šqad* 'how much?' (Blanc 1964:137).

[On the derivation of CyA *aška* < **ašqad* < *ašqádd* < **ays-qádr*, see Behnstedt (1997, map 288).]

aška ma 'as much/many as,' *aška ma ... awfa* 'the more ... the more': *ʔamma ʔarí tasáy lipen, prux pištri aška ma xlip pri, ext-ʔokka ʔi ʔxtáyn* 'when I want to make yoghurt, I go and buy as much milk as I need (lit., want), one or two okes'; *aška ma kanisá'a ʔantayna xost tarrúx áxar-mo'a ta má-kaffia fáza'a* 'as many of us as [the car] could hold got inside in order to go to some other place where there was no fear'; *aška ma texte piži, awfa sa'a ttekullina tantúmm šó'olna* 'the sooner he arrives, the more time we'll have to complete our task.'

aššik 'how': *alok ttakullak aššik mantsáy kammin* 'now I'll tell you how we make a charcoal furnace'; < **ays-šikl*;

~ Sii *š-šakel* 'wie?' ~ Qarṭ *bəʔays šakəl kán?* 'wie sah er aus?' (Vo/Wald 229) ~ Çukur *šikl ktēb baddak?* 'was für ein Buch willst du?', *hal-arabāy šikla?* 'wie ist dieses Auto?' *škiř/kif* 'wie?' (Procházka 2002:71, 134); cf. Bask *kif šikl* 'how on earth ... ?' (Abu-Haidar 1979:116).

[Cf. rur Pal Ar *wišhāl ba'd mamāte* 'Wie wird er erst nach seinem Tode sein' (Blau 1960:44).]

ašma 'whatever': *ašma pitri ttakullak* 'I'll tell you whatever you want [to know]'; < **ays-mā*; MAr *aš mā* 'whatever' (Blau 2002:178);

~ Leban *ʔašma* 'quoi que, n'importe' (Feghali 1938:738) ~ Darag *ašma* 'wie?' (Vo/Wald 26).

ašma kan 'anything': *l-má'āzen pkyaklu ašma kan* 'goats eat anything.'

ʔ-y-ā-

-ya-: direct object marker governing pronominal suffixes: *ttalakil-konyaxa* 'I'll find it (c) for you (pl)' (Borg 1985:141); *xittilyáxon/xittil-láxon* 'I took them to him/her'; OA *iyyā-* (Hava 17).

[For analogous grammatically complex phonological strings with a verbal head, cf. Leban Ar *naddafūlnayyāhun* 'they cleaned them for us' (Bask; Abu-Haidar 1979:103), Dēr izZōr *inṭetūkiyāha* 'ich gab dir (m) sie (sg f)' (Jastrow 1978:290), and Bagh (M) *ḡābelhiyāha* 'he brought it (f) to him/her' (Blanc 1964:67), (J) *tḡhhamālyāham* 'she/you (f) will

explain it to them' (Mansour 1991:116). In CyA, *-ya-* can be attached to a prepositional head to yield a sentence: *linyaxa* 'I have it (c)'; *likyaxa* 'you have it (c)'; etc.; *ma'anyaxa* 'we have it here.')

ʔ-y-n

a(y)n 'where, whereto': *ayno xayytak?* 'where's your (m) brother?'; *ayne oxtik?* 'where's your (f) sister?'; *ayn int rex?* 'where are you (m) going?'; OA *ayna* (Hava 18);

[The alveolar nasal in the weak form tends to assimilate to following homorganic segments: *ar-rax?* 'where did he go?' < |ayn rax|.]

~ Kənd *ayn* 'wo, wohin?' (Vo/Wald 27) ~ Bagh (M) *wən* 'where' (Cla/Sto/Wo 198) ~ Bask *wayn/wan* (Abu-Haidar 1979:29) ~ Bišm *wayn* 'wo' (Jiha 1964:169) ~ Pal Ar *wən/fən* (Bau 366) ~ Malt ⟨fejn⟩.

a(y)nma 'wherever': *a(y)nma pitrúx pitlakion* 'you meet them wherever you go'; OA *aynamā* (Hava 18).

anma kán 'anywhere, somewhere or other'; < Ar **aynmā kán*.

mna(y)n 'wherefrom'; OA *min ayna*;

~ Kənd *mən ayn* (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Pal Ar *mnēn* 'woher?' (Bau 366) ~ Malt ⟨mnejn⟩.

ʔ-y-n-ā

ayna 'which?': *ayna δkya'a miskú t-turk?* 'which villages did the Turks capture?'; Syriac *aynā* 'who? which? what? of what sort' (J. Payne Smith 14);

~ Mard *ayna* 'welcher' (Jastrow 1978:117) ~ Alep *ʔəna* 'quel? quelle? quelles?': *ʔəna hū* 'lequel?' (Barth 22-23) ~ Bišm *ʔayna/ʔana* (Jiha 1964:129).

[Tur *ayna* 'welcher' (Jastrow 1985:42).]

B

b-1

p- (prep) 'with (instr)': *p-itu* 'with his hand' < *bi*; lexicalized in *pšan* 'for, in order to' < **bi-ša'n*, *pxal* 'sick' < **bi-hāk*; OA *bi* 'at, during, in, with, etc.' (Hava 19).

b-2

p- (verbal marker of the Indicative mood) < *b-*: *pisáy* 'he does/is doing', *pakser* 'I break, am breaking', etc.

[On the origin of this verbal marker, cf. Spitta (1880:203), Kampff (1900:6f), Nöldeke (1904b:63-68), Cantineau (1934:134-5), Rabin (1951:38), Davies (1981:234), etc. Basing himself, in part, on CyA data, Palva (2000:88) suggests that this marker "goes back at least to the beginning of the second millennium." In CyA, the underlying sequence *[py-]* < **by-* yields the surface cluster */pky/* often reduced to */ky-/: [pyakser] ⇒ pkyakser ⇒ kyakser* 'he breaks/is breaking' (for the Yod-occlusivization rule, see Borg 1985:21).]

~ Cai *bi-* (before 1st person sing *b-*) verb prefix with Imperfect indicating continuous or habitual action: *bi-ti'mil ʔəh* 'what are you doing?' (Bad/Hi 48).

b-ʔ-r

pir, pl *pkyara* 'cistern'; OA *biʔr*, pl *ābār/biʔār*, nonclass Ar *biyāra* (Hava 19);

~ Alep *bīr*, pl *byāra* 'puits' (Barth 72) ~ Mard *bīr* 'Zisterne' (Vo/Wald 30) ~ Bagh (M) *bīr*, pl *byār/ʔābār* (Wood/Bee 49) ~ Pal Ar *bīr*, pl *byār* (Bau 67) ~ Cai *bīr*, pl *ʔabyār/biyār* (Bad/Hi 115) ~ Malt ⟨bir, pl bjar⟩ 'cistern.'

p-t-m-n

paθrún, pl *ftamín* 'river': *fik-^Gkipro^G p-paθrún pkyipes fis-sayf* 'in Cyprus the river runs dry in the summer'; < **patmún* < CyG *potamón* 'river.'

b-ḥ-r

paxr (f, cf. Mod Gk θάλασσα f) 'sea; (fig.) confusion, mess': *b-baxr e mēʔike* 'the sea is deep'; *ruxna b-baxr* 'we went to the seaside'; *savaxon paxr* 'he made a mess of them' calquing CyG τα θαλάσσωσε (Frangiskou 122); cf. Malt ⟨morna l-baħar⟩ 'we're in a mess'; OA *baħr*, pl *abħur/buħūr/biħār* (Hava 22);

[Translocative verbs without a following preposition are discussed in the Intro (Prel). The idiomatic parallel CyA between Maltese derives from shared Indo-European influences; cf. Italian *mare magno* 'grande e confuse insieme di cose o persone' (Zingarelli 1970:1015) and Eng. 'at sea.']

~ Alep *baħar*, pl *bħūr/bħūra* 'mer' (Barth 29) ~ Dam *baħar*, pl *bħūra* / *bħār* 'sea' (Sto/Ani 202) ~ Bagh (M) *baħar*, pl *ʔabħur/bħār/bħūr* (Wood/Bee 25) ~ Pal Ar *baħer*, pl *bħār* 'mer' (Elihai 1973:256) ~ Cai *baħr*, pl *buħūr/biħār/buħúra* (Bad/Hi 54) ~ Malt ⟨baħar, pl iħra⟩.

b-x-r

paxxer, *pipaxxer* (v/t) 'bless with burnt olive branches': *ummi piḥpaxxer b-bayt kúyyom* 'my mother wafts the house with incense every day'; OA *baxxara* 'fumigate' (Lane 158);

~ Alep *baxxar* 'parfumer avec de l'encens, encenser, fumiger' (Barth 30) ~ Bagh (M) *baxxar* 'vaporize, fumigate': *baxxiraw il-gurfa li'an iš-šex 'inda xuttār* 'they burned incense in the room because the chief is having guests' (Wood/Bee 26) ~ Pal Ar *baxxar* 'Weihrauch räuchern, beräuchern' (Bau 239, 52) ~ Cai *baxxar* 'fumigate' (Bad/Hi 55) ~ Malt *baħħar* 'waft with the smoke of burning blessed olive leaves to ward off the evil eye' (Aquilina 1987:62).

mpaxxer, f *mpaxxre*, pl *mpaxxrin* (pp) 'wafted with incense'

θpaxxer, *pkyiθpaxxer* 'waft one another with the smoke of blessed olive branches'; OA *tabaxxara* 'perfume oneself with incense, be fumigated' (Hava 22);

~ Alep *tbaxxar b-ša'nīne* 'jeter sur le feu des rameaux d'olivier, bénis le jour des Rameaux, et en recevoir la fumée pour écarter les influences démoniaques' (Barth 300) ~ Bagh (M) *tbaxxar* 'evaporate' (Wood/Bee 26).

θpuxxor 'wafting with incense': *l-iθpuxxor pišūr maš-ša'anīne l-impšallie* 'the incensing is performed with the blessed olive branch.'

[Cf. Malt *tbahħir* 'wafting with incense'; on this custom, note (Puech 1994:162): "La dernière coutume dont je voulais parler est la Fumigation. Vers Pâques quand les Maltais, au dimanche des Rameaux, ont reçu les rameaux, symbole de paix, ils ont encore les oliviers, les feuilles d'olivier de l'année précédente et c'était dans beaucoup de familles de prendre ces vieilles feuilles d'olivier et de les brûler pendant que la mère, généralement, ou le père, autant que je sache plutôt la mère, faisait le tour de toute la maison et faisait une fumigation. La signification, toujours pour autant que je le sache, était que cela apportait la bénédiction sur la maison."]

paxūr 'incense (from burnt olive branches)'; OA *baxūr* 'incense' (Lane 159);

~ Alep *baxxūr* 'encens' (Barth 30) ~ Bagh (M) *buxūr* 'incense' (Wood / Bee 26) ~ Pal Ar *baxūr* (Denizeau 1960:20), *baxxūr* (Kampff 1936:4; Granqvist 1935, II:63).

b-x-l

pxil, f -e, pl *pxelin* 'stingy, tightfisted' (Frangiskou 74); OA *baxil*, pl *buxxal/buxalā* (Hava 23);

~ Alep *bxil/baxil*, f -e, pl *baxala* 'avare, chiche' (Barth 31) ~ Dam *bxil*, f -e, pl *baxala* 'miser' (Sto/Ani 151) ~ Bagh (M) *baxil*, pl *buxalā* (Wood/Bee 26) ~ Leban Ar *bxil*, pl *bexla* 'avare' (Feghali 1938:739) ~ Pal Ar *baxil*, pl -in 'geizig; Knauser' (Bau 127, 176) ~ Cai *baxil*, pl *buxala* 'miserly' (Bad/Hi 56).

b-d-3

piti, *pkyipti* (v/t/i; Imptv: *pti* m/f, pl *ptu*) 'begin'; (*lē-*)*'it l-ixpir pkyipti mil-xadd š-ša'anīne* 'Easter Week begins on Palm Sunday'; OA *bada'a* (a) (Hava 23);

~ Alep *bādi* (a) 'commencer' (Barth 33) ~ Mard *bada* (i) 'anfangen' (Vo/Wald 33) ~ Bagh (M) *bida* (i) 'begin' (Wood/Bee 26) ~ Pal Ar *bidi* (a) 'den Anfang machen' (Bau 15) ~ Cai *bada/bada'* (a) 'begin' (Bad/Hi 56) ~ Malt *beda*, *jibda*.

b-d-l

pitel, *pkyiptel* (v/t/i) 'change; exchange': *kanipitluna š-šetanin m-^Gmorós^G u kwannipza^a taimiskunna telna u težipunna axar* 'the demons used to exchange our babies, and we used to fear that they would take ours away and bring us another'; *aška flus pitri attiptel?* 'how much money do you want to change?'; *d-dinye pitlet* 'le monde a changé' (Roth 1975:40); OA *badala* (u) (Hava 24);

~ Alep *badal* (ə) 'changer, échanger une chose contre une autre' (Barth 32) ~ Dam *baddal* 'change' (Sto/Ani 38) ~ Bagh (M) *baddal* 'exchange, alter' (Wood/Bee 27) ~ Pal Ar *baddal* /*badal* (i) /*bādal* 'wechseln' (Bau 355) ~ Cai *badal* 'substitute' (Bad/Hi 57) ~ Malt *bidel*, *jibdel*.

npitel, *pkyinipitel* (v/i) 'change, be changed, be replaced': *kanyin-pitlu fi nussa t-tarp* 'they (the coffin bearers) used to be replaced halfway [to the cemetery].'

[On the pronominal suffix in *nuss-a*, see Intro, §V.]

maptul, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'changed';

~ Cai *mabdul* 'child believed to have been substituted by the jinn for another, changeling' (Bad/Hi 58).

pitle, pl -āt 'suit': *^Gan^G int ma'zūm fi 'ors pkyislax attilpes pitle* 'when you're invited to a wedding, it is proper to wear a suit'; OA *biδla* 'shabby clothes, in daily use' (Hava 26), MLA *badla* 'suit of clothes' (Wehr 58);

~ Alep *badle* 'vêtement de rechange, costume complet' (Barth 32) ~ Dam *badle*, pl -āt 'suit' (Sto/Ani 230) ~ Qarṭ *badle*, pl *Āz badlāt* 'Anzug (für Männer)' (Vo/Wald 33) ~ Bagh (M) *badla*, Mos (M) *badli* 'a suit of clothes' (Blanc 1964:7) ~ Bišm *libis il-badli* 'er zog also die Kleider an' (Jiha 1964:37) ~ Cai *badla* '(man's) suit, (woman's) trouser-suit' (Bad/Hi 58) ~ Pal Ar *badle* 'Anzug, Kleidung' (Bau 22) ~ Malt *bidla*, pl -iet 'change of clothes.'

b-ḡ-r

patar, *pkypitor* (v/t) 'sow'; *kintám-kintám kwanniptor ma tena l-im-sáll u kwantsúk ma l-isnút* 'a long time ago, we used to sow wheat with our hands and to plough with (wooden) ploughs'; OA *baḡara* (u) (Hava 25);

~ Alep *badar* (ə) 'ensemencer' (Barth 32) ~ Sux *baḡar* (i) 'säen' (Behnstedt 1994:209) ~ Pal Ar *baḡar* (u) (Bau 250) ~ Cai *badar* 'scatter, broadcast' (Bad/Hi 57).

ptar (coll) < Ar **bdār*, pl of mult *pturát* 'seeds' (cf. Bloch 1989:128); *zra-āt ptar tel-^car fi b-bistán* 'I sowed laurel seeds in the orchard'; OA *biḡār/buḡūr*, sg *baḡr* 'seeds' (Hava 25);

~ Alep *bdār* dans *waqt əl-bdār* 'le temps des semailles' (Barth 32) ~ Bask *bdār* 'seeds' (Abu-Haidar 1979:27) ~ Bagh (M) *baḡra*, pl *-āt, biḡūr* 'seed' (Wood/Bee 29) ~ Pal Ar *biḡr*, pl *bḡūr* 'Same' (Bau 251).

[Ma' *bḡor lhetḡoya* 'Saatweizen' (Spitaler 1957:328).]

[*pizr* 'cotton seed' (*bzr*).]

b-r-r

parra 'outside' < **barrā* ~ JArām *bārā* 'outside, forest' (M. Jastrow 189); OA *barran* 'on land' (Lane 176), MLA *barran* 'outside' (Wehr 61);

[The MLA form *barran* derives from vernacular *barra*; the OA equivalent for 'outside' is *xāriḡan* (Wright I, 288), but note *Lisān* IV, 54: *ḡalastu barran* 'I sat outside,' *xaraḡtu barran* 'I went outside.' Cf. Bēsp *baraye* 'draussen' (Sinha 2000:156), Qaraq *baraye*, f *bareḡa* 'outside' (Khan 2002:728).]

Alep *barra* 'dehors' (Barth 36) ~ Mard *baḡra, baḡrāt* 'außerhalb von' (Vo/Wald 34) ~ Bagh (M) *ḡarra* (JC) *ḡaḡḡa* 'outside' (Blanc 1964:20) ~ Leban Ar *barrāt el-bayt* 'en dehors de la maison' (Feghali 1928:407) ~ Sux *barrāt əlbēt* (Behnstedt 1994:210) ~ Pal Ar *barra*, mit Suffixen *barrīt-o*, etc. 'draußen': *barrīt il-imḡine* 'außerhalb der Stadt' (Bau 78, 37), *barrāt-* and *barrāt-* 'out of' (Piamenta 1979b:234) ~ Cai *barra* 'outside' (prep/adv) (Bad/Hi 64) ~ Malt <barra> 'outside,' <barra min> 'except,' <barra min hawn> 'God forbid!' (cf. Arām <bar min> 'except,' M. Jastrow 188; Mod Mand *elbar* 'ausgenommen, ohne, außerhalb,' Macuch 1993:400).

mimparra (prep/adv) 'from outside, outside (used interchangeably with *parra*; see Intro, §V); by heart': *aš pisúr mimparra* 'what's going on outside?'; *lā-^caris pkyistanter lā-^carús mimparra l-iknise* 'the groom waits for the bride outside the church'; < **min-barra*.

[CyA *mimparra* 'by heart' is calqued on Mod Gk ἀπ' ἐξω which is presumably also the model for colloquial forms such as Pal Ar *an ḡeb*

(Piamenta 2000:228), Dam *hafaz 'al-ḡeb* 'memorize' (Sto/Ani 149), Cai *hafadoh 'alal-ḡayib* 'he learned it by heart' (Spiro 1895:424), and OA *an ḡahri ḡaybin/lḡaybi* 'by memory' (Lane 2313).]

perri, f *perrie*, pl *perrin* 'wild, uncultivated'; *zaytune perrie* 'wild olive'; *šxex perrin* 'weeds'; OA *barriyy* 'belonging to ... the desert or waste' (Lane 177);

~ Dam *barri* 'wild (fruit)' (Sto/Ani 263) ~ Mos (C) *ḡaḡnabi barriyyi* 'hare' [but *baḡḡiyyi* 'countryside'] (infor) ~ Pal Ar *barri* 'wild (Pflanze)' (Bau 364) ~ Cai *ḡamām barri* 'wild pigeons' (Bad/Hi 64) ~ Malt <barri> 'rural, wild; ox, bull' (Aquilina 1987:81).

b-r-ḡ

purž 'tower; also CyA name for Liverá (N.W. Kyrenia)'; OA *burg*, pl *burūḡ/abrāḡ* 'tower, castle' (Hava 27); Syriac *burgō* 'turris' (R. Payne Smith 1879, col. 603; Fraenkel 235) < Anc Gk πύργος (> Malt *Birgu* [topon]; Wetzinger 2000:54);

~ Alep *bəḡḡ*, pl *brāḡ* 'tour fortifiée' (Barth 34) ~ Bagh (M) *burig*, pl *burūḡ/abrāḡ* 'tower' (Wood/Bee 30) ~ Pal Ar *burž* 'turmartliches altes Gebäude' (Bau 68) ~ Cai *burg*, pl *ḡabrāḡ/burūḡ/birāḡ* 'tower' (Bad/Hi 61) ~ Malt <borg>, pl *brāḡ* 'heap (of stones)'.]

b-r-d¹

parat, *pkyprot* (v/i) 'cool down, become or feel cold': *kol, lá-txalli l-ikl pkyiprot* 'eat up, don't let the food get cold!'; *kuntiprot* 'I was feeling cold'; OA *barada* (u) (Hava 27);

~ Alep *barad* (o) 'prendre froid, avoir froid, devenir froid' ~ Kənd *bərad* (a) 'erkalten, abkühlen, kalt werden' (Vo/Wald 35) ~ Pal Ar *barad* (u) 'erkalten, sich erkälten' (Bau 99) ~ Cai *birid* (a) 'become cold' (Bad/Hi 62) ~ Malt <bired, jibred> 'get cold.'

peret, f *perte*, pl *-in* 'cold (adj), chilled'; OA *bārid* (Hava 28);

~ Alep *bəred* 'froid' (Barth 35) ~ Mard *bərad* 'kalt' (Vo/Wald 35) ~ Mos (C) *bəḡəd* ~ Bagh (M) *bārid* 'cold, cool, mild': *titin bārid* 'mild tobacco' (Wood/Bee 30) ~ Pal Ar *bārid* 'kühl' (Bau 184) ~ Cai *bārid* 'cold to the touch' (Spiro 1895:39) ~ Malt <biered, f bierda, pl berdin> 'cool' [as opposed to <kiesah> 'cold'].

part 'cold (n)': *ayšo part!* 'how cold it is!'; OA *bard* (Hava 28);

~ Kənd *bard* 'Kälte' (Vo/Wald 35) ~ Bagh (M) *barid* 'coldness, cold, catarrh' (Wood/Bee 30) ~ Pal Ar *bard* (Bau 169) ~ Malt <bard>.

partie 'chill, cold': *xayyti miskitu partie* 'my brother caught a chill'; < Ar **bardiyya*;

~ Alep *bardiye* 'frisson, stade de froid de la fièvre; dérivé populaire de *bard*' (Barth 35) ~ Kfar'ab *bardiyye* 'fièvre précédée du frisson' (Feghali 1919:243) ~ Cai *bardiyya* 'cold, fever and ague' (Spiro 1895:39; not given in Bad/Hi 63).

prute 'coolness': *elu annak'o anaxxullá ta fia prute* 'come on, let's sit over here where it's cool!'; OA *burūda* (Hava 28);

~ Alep *brūde* 'fraicheur' (Barth 35) ~ Pal Ar *brūde* 'feuchte Kühle, Lauheit' (Bau 185, 190) ~ Cai *burūda* (Bad/Hi 63), *burudiyya* 'coldness' (Spiro 1895:39) ~ Malt ⟨bruda⟩.

(?) b-r-d²

pradd, pl -āt land measurement equivalent to an acre or four *štetin*, sg *šaddune* (šdnš); OA *barīd* 'the space, or distance, between two stations, or places of alighting; or two parasangs, or leagues ...' (Lane I, 185; *Lisān* III, 86);

~ Alep *barīd* 'distance de 4 farsax ou 32 km' (Barth 35) ~ Darag *barde*, du *barədtayn* (Maßeinheit) (Vo/Wald 35).

b-r-ġ-š

pir'ás, n un -e 'mosquitoes': *má-xtirt tanám 'ašie mib-bir'ás*: 'last night I couldn't sleep on account of the mosquitoes'; OA *bargāša* 'a gnat' (Hava 29);

~ Alep *bargāš* 'moucheron' (Barth 38) ~ Bagh (M) *bargāš* 'midges' (Wood/Bee 32) ~ Dam *bargāše* 'gnat' (Sto/Ani 104) ~ Bišm *bargāš* 'Moskitos' (Jiha 1964:62) ~ Pal Ar *bargāš* 'Sandfliege' (Bau 251).

b-r-q

pirek, *kyiprek* (v/i) 'flash (lightning)'; OA *abraqa* 'send forth lightning (cloud)' (Hava 30); MLA *baraqat is-samā* 'there was lightning' (Wehr 66);

~ Alep *baraq* (e) 'faire des éclairs' (Barth 38) ~ Bagh (M) *biraq* (u) 'flash (lightning)' (Wood/Bee 32) ~ Pal Ar 'abraqat 'blitzen': *btibriq id-dinya* (Bau 63) ~ Cai *baraq* (u) 'glitter' (Spiro 1895:41) ~ Malt ⟨berraq, iberraq⟩ 'flash (lightning); open wide (eyes)';

park 'lightning': *'ašie vak'a park xok b-bayt žumpna* 'last night lightning struck the house next door'; OA *barq*, pl *burūq* (Hava 30);

~ Alep *barq* coll, n un *barqa*, pl -āt 'éclairs' (Barth 38) ~ Sii *barq* 'Blitz' (Vo/Wald 36) ~ Pal Ar *barq* (Bau 63) ~ Cai *barq* 'lightning' (Bad/Hi 41) ~ Malt ⟨beraq (coll), n un berqa⟩.

prik, pl *prek* (< *brēyeq) 'lightning flash'; OA *barīq*, pl *barā'iq* 'lightning, brightness' (Hava 30).

b-r-k¹

θperrek, *pkyiθperrek*/ *θperrek*, *pkyiθperrek* (v/t) 'kiss a holy image or statue': *manniθperrek l-impšix ta kam u marrūx žava* '(on Holy Saturday) we kiss the [effigy of the] risen Messiah and then go home'; OA *tabāraka biš-šay* 'augur good from,' and *tabarraka b-* 'be blessed by' (Hava 30); *Tāğ al-'Arūs* VII, 106, 4ff; cf. Ahrens (1930:38);

[Roth (1975:81) expresses doubt about the morphological status of the CyA variant with geminated /r/. As can be inferred from the comparative data adduced here, the form showing /rr/ harks back to a lineally inherited Form V variant. The CyA *imāla* reflex here probably harks back to Form III *bērak, *yberik as in Alep *bērak* 'segner' (Sabuni 1980:45) ~ Mard *berak*, *yberak* (Jastrow 1973b), Bagh (J) *bēgak* 'bless' (Mansour 1991:149); Barth (p. 39) gives only *bārak* 'benir' (: Dieu).

~ Alep *tbārak*, *yətbārak* 'saluer (le Saint Sacrement; des reliques)' (Barth 39) ~ Bagh (M) *tbarrak* 'be blessed, get a blessing': *xalli 'atbarrak bil-ḥāyit māl iğ-ğāmi* 'let me get a blessing from touching the wall of the mosque' (Wood/Bee 32) ~ Cai *itbārik/itbarrak* 'be blessed, receive a blessing' (Spiro 1895:42).

b-r-k²

-*purke* in the topon 'ayn-*purke* (< *'ayn-birka) 'watering trough, tank cistern, pool; lake ... a place where water collects and stagnates' (Groom 1983:72);

~ Alep *bərka*, pl *bərak* 'bassin de maçonnerie' (Barth 39) ~ Dam *bərka*, pl *bərak* (Sto/Ani 176) ~ Bagh (M) *burka/birka*, pl *birak* 'puddle, pool, pond' (Wood/Bee 32) ~ Pal Ar *birka*, pl *birak/burak* 'pool, puddle' (Elihai 1999:89).

b-z-z

pizz, pl *pzaz* 'woman's breast'; Syriac *bezzā* 'mamma, papilla' (Brockel 64); Ugar *bz* 'udder' (del Olmo/Sanmartin 2003: I, 253); MLA *buzz/bizz*, pl *bizāz/abzāz* (Wehr 70);

~ Alep *bəzz*, pl *bzāz* 'mamelle' (Barth 42) ~ Leban Ar *bözz* (Feghali 1918:54) ~ Pal Ar *bizz*, pl *bzāz* 'weibliche Brust' (Bau 67) ~ Cai *bizz*, pl *bizāz* 'any small protuberance or projection, e.g., nipple, stud, bud, etc; breast, udder' (Bad/Hi 72).

b-z-r

pizr (coll) 'cotton seed'; OA *bizr/bazr* 'the former the more chaste ... the seed of herbs or leguminous plants' (Lane 199), pl *buzūr* (Hava 32);

~ Alep *bəzər* 'coll. petites graines' (Barth 42) ~ Hal *bəzər* (coll) 'Kürbiskerne' (Vo/Wald 38) ~ Bagh (M) *bazir*, pl *bzūrāt* 'seed(s), semen, offspring, kid(s), brat(s)' (Wood/Bee 33) ~ Sux *bizr* 'Melonenkerne' (Behnstedt 1994:211) ~ Cai *bizr* 'seeds' (Spiro 1895:44).

b-z-q

pizek, *pkypzok* 'spit'; OA *bazaqa/başaqa* (u) (Hava 32, 36); ~ Alep *bazaq* (o) 'cracher' (Barth 43) ~ Mard *bazaq* (ə) 'spucken' (Vo/Wald 38) ~ Pal Ar *bazaq* (u) (Bau 284) ~ Malt *bezaq*, *jobzoq* 'spit.'

pazka 'saliva, spittle'; MLA *başqa* (Wehr 76).

pzak 'spittle, saliva': *yipes pzaku mil-ʿataš* 'he was parched with thirst' (cf. Pal Ar *nišif rīqo* 'lechzen'; Bauer 191); OA *buzāq/buṣāq* (Hava 32, 36);

~ Alep *bzāq* 'matière crachée, crachats, mucosité' (Barth 43) ~ Dam *bzāq* 'spit': *xallīni ʿəmsah l-əbzāq mən ʿala wəšš əl-bēbē* 'let me wipe the spit off the baby's face' (Sto/Ani 220) ~ Pal Ar *bzāq* (Elihai 1999: 74) ~ Cai *bizāq* (Spiro 1895:45) ~ Malt *ʿbzīeq*.

b-s-s

psiši 'a mixture of flour and water in which thread is soaked prior to weaving': *pšan maxxæk, kintām kintām, mannixxol txin, mantsáy psiši u maxxótt l-ʿazl pkyimpalla xost l-ipsiši* 'in order to weave, first of all, we grind flour, we make *psiši* and let the thread soak in this mixture'; OA *bassah* 'wheat etc., broken, or crumbled, or bruised ... and flour, etc. mixed with clarified butter ...'; *bassahu* 'he broke it, crumbled it, or bruised or brayed it ... said of wheat, etc. ; thus making it what is termed *basīsa*' (Lane 201); OA *basīsa* 'dish of flour and oil' (Hava 33); cf. *bss* 'étendre du beurre, du miel, sur du pain' (Dozy I, 82);

[For the specific meaning of CyA *psiši*, cf. Ar ʿaḡīnu saqyi l-ḡazli 'de la colle de farine épaisse, dans laquelle on trempe le fil que l'on veut tisser' (Dozy II, 99).]

~ Alep *bsīse* 'genre de pâtisserie' ... faite de farine pétrie avec du beurre puis frite à la poêle' (Barth 44) ~ Pal Ar (Jer) *bsīse/bsēse el-qidre* 'eine Kochspeise aus einer Mischung von Traubenhonig, Weizenmehl und Öl' (Dalm IV, 384), *bsīse* 'ein Brei aus Mehl und Öl, den man zu Feigen ist' (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 40, n. 18), 'Honig geringster Qualität' (Bau 160) ~ Cai *bisīsa* 'native sweets' (Spiro 1895:46) ~ rur Egyp Ar *basīs* 'Brei aus Kleie und Wasser' (Behn/Woid 1994:24) ~ Mor *bsīsa* 'mixture faite pour apaiser les djinns, composée de grains

de blé rotis et pilés, avec du sucre, malaxés dans l'huile additionnée d'aromates' (Premare 1993: I, 228); cf. Gulf Ar *baḥiḥ* 'dish made from flour, dates, cardamom and butter' (Qafisheh 1979:253).

b-s-t-n

pistān, pl *psetīn* 'orchard, vegetable garden': *l-intsān rax xost b-bistān teisrok rummān* 'the man entered the orchard to steal pomegranates'; *ruḥna b-bistān taxxaveš l-ixyār* 'we went to the orchard to harvest cucumbers'; OA *bustān* 'a garden of sweet-scented flowers and trees ...' (Lane 202); < Pers *bustān*;

[The Kormakiti Maronite family's traditional cultivation of its *pistān* recalls the notion *al-fallāḥ al-bustāniyy* 'the peasant gardener' (cf. Batatu 1999:10) in Syria.]

~ Alep *bəstān*, pl *bsētīn* 'grand potager; grand verger' (Barth 43) ~ Qarṭ *bīstān*, pl *Āz basētīn* 'Garten' (Vo/Wald 38) ~ Bagh (M) *bistān*, pl *bsātīn* 'garden' (Wood/Bee 34), (J) *bsatīn*, (C) *basētīn* 'gardens' (Blanc 1964:43) ~ Pal Ar *bustān/bistān*, pl *basātīn* 'Garten' (Bau 122) ~ Cai *bustān*, pl *basatīn* 'garden, orchard' (Spiro 1895:45).

b-š-l

pasal, n un -e, pl -āt 'onions': *máy-taxter atsáy taklie* (< *qly*) *mpla pasal* 'you can't make *taklie* without onions'; OA *bašal* (Hava 36);

[On the variant *máy-* of the neg. morph. *má-*, see under *m-ā*.]

~ Alep *bašal*, n un -e 'oignon' (Barth 47) ~ Qarṭ *bašal*, n un -e 'Zwiebeln' (Vo/Wald 39) ~ Bagh (M) *bušal*, pl *ʿabšāl* 'onion(s), bulb(s)' (Wood/Bee 36) ~ Pal Ar *bašal* (Bau 385) ~ Cai *bašal* 'onions' (Bad/Hi 48) ~ Malt *basal*, n un *basla*.

posele, pl *posil* 'wine flask originally made from a gourd' (possibly so-called on account of its onion shape): *xitna u posele mplane mpit* 'we also took a flask of wine'; < *bušayla* 'a small onion,' pl **bwāšil*.

[Cf. Gm *der Flaschenkürbis, die Kürbisflasche* 'gourd'.]

b-ṭ-ṭ

CyG, CyA *vatta*, pl -es 'an earthenware pitcher with a narrow opening (for drinking water)'; OA *baṭṭa*, pl *buṭūṭ/biṭāṭ* 'leather bottle' (Hava 35), *baṭṭa* 'cruchon' (Beaussier 38); βούτις, βούτις, βούτη vessel in the shape of the frustum of a cone' (Fraenkel 1886:74).

b-ṭ-x

pattix (coll), n un -a 'watermelons'; OA *biṭṭix*; Syriac *paṭṭihā* (Fraenkel 140; Löw 1973:352); cf. Ar *bss* 'étendre du beurre, du miel, sur du pain' (Dozy I, 82);

[“... a hieroglyphic word *betton-ka*, whence derive the Coptic *betuke* and perhaps Arabic *baṣṣikh*, may denote melons in general, and more particularly *Cucumis melo* L. ... The various Aramaic and Hebrew words of the *baṣṣikh* type in Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, 352 probably all refer to the common melon” (Watson 1983:58, 175, fn. 5).]

~ Alep *baṣṣix* n coll, pl *bṣṣix*, n un *baṣṣixa* ‘melon, pastèque’ (Barth 48) ~ Āz *baṣṣix* (coll) ‘Zuckermelonen’ (Vo/Wald 40) ~ Bagh (M) *baṣṣix* (coll), n un *-a*, pl *-āt* ‘melon(s), cantaloupe(s)’ (Wood/Bee 37) ~ Pal Ar *baṣṣix* (Bau 203) ~ Cai *baṣṣix* ‘watermelon(s)’ (Bad/Hi 81) ~ Hama *baṣṣixa* ‘gelbe Wassermelone’ (Lewin 1966:202) ~ Malt *ḥbettih*, n un *-a* ‘melons’ [as opposed to *ḥdullieh* ‘watermelons’].

*b-ṭ-r

patrūr, n un *-e* ‘mushrooms’; cf. Syriac *pəṭūrtō* ‘fungi’ (Brockel 565), [Aram *piṭrā* ‘Schwammart, etwa Morchel’ (Levy IV, 32); OA *futr* ‘the toadstool, a species of *kamʿa* or fungus ...’ (Lane 2416);

~ Alep *fəṭar*, n coll ‘champignons’ (Barth 614) ~ Leban Ar *futr*, pl *ffūra* ‘Pilz’ (Bau 231) ~ Bagh (M) *ffirra* ‘mushroom’ (Wood/Bee 356).

[Note the retention of the historical bilabial stop in CyA.]

b-ṭ-l

paddel, *pipaddel* (v/i) ‘stop working; be unemployed, retire; be tethered (animal)’: *bbaddel* ‘I’m retired’; *Šarpel pipaddel* (y)yawm *ḡyattḡ yapatu o xtir pxāl* ‘Sharbel is staying away from work today because his father is very sick’; *l-ixmīr pkyir-u mpaddlīn xost b-baytar* ‘the donkeys are grazing tethered on the threshing-floor’; cf. OA *baṭal* (u) ‘be idle, *baṭtal* ‘break a (habit); give up’; in nonclass Ar ‘stop work on a feastday’ (Hava 37-8); Syriac *bəṭel* ‘cease work, be idle, at leisure’ (R. Payne Smith 1879, col. 41), cf. Aram *bṭl* ‘aufhören von der Arbeit, feiern’ (Ges/Bu 93) > Late Heb *bṭl* (Wagner 1966:34);

[The for CyA untypical sound shift *tt > dd here possibly derives via back-formation via contact with the voiced lateral resonant l.]

~ Alep *baṭṭal* ‘cesser, renoncer à (qqe), cesser d’employer (qqn)’ (Barth 49) ~ Dam *baṭṭal* ‘aufhören’ (Grotzfeld 1965:153) ~ Bagh (M) *baṭṭal* ‘stop, cease’ (Wood/Bee 38) ~ Pal Ar *baṭṭal* *yištḡel* ‘il a cessé de travailler’ (Elihai 1973:80) ~ Cai *baṭṭal* ‘discontinue, cancel, cause to be idle’ (Spiro 1895:49), ‘go out of fashion, become obsolete’ (Bad/Hi 83) ~ Malt *ḥbattal*, *ibattal* ‘empty’ [cf. *ḥbtala*, pl *btajjel* ‘vacation, holiday; pl = also ‘religious feastdays.’]

mpaddel, f *mpaddle*, pl *mpaddlīn* ‘retired; out of action; tethered (sheep, donkey).’

b-ṭ-n

patn (f, cf. Mod Gk κοιλιά f), pl *-āt* ‘belly’: *patn plane danén má-lixā* ‘lit. a full belly has no ears, i.e., ‘the well-to-do don’t heed the needs of the poor’ (Frangiskou 231); OA *baṭn*, pl *buṭūn/abṭun* (Hava 38); [For the fem. gender of this CyA lexeme, cf. Maʿl *beṭna* f ‘schwanger’ (Bergsträßer 1921:16).]

~ Alep *baṭən*, pl *bṭūn* ‘ventre’ (Barth 50) ~ Kaʿb *baṭən* ‘Leib, Bauch’ (Vo/Wald 40) ~ Bagh (M) *baṭin*, pl *bṭūn* ‘belly, stomach, pregnancy, delivery’ (Wood/Bee 38) ~ Cai *baṭn*, pl *biṭūn/buṭūn* (Bad/Hi 84) ~ Malt *ḥboton* ‘litter’ (Aquilina 1987:86).

CyG, CyA *patania* (pl *-es*) ‘blanket’ < Tk *battaniye* < MLA *baṭṭāniya* (Wehr 79);

~ Sii *baṭṭāniye*, pl *baṭṭāniyāt* ‘Bettdecke, Decke aus Ziegenhaar’ (Vo/Wald 40) ~ Pal Ar *baṭṭaniyye* (Bau 58) ~ Cai *baṭṭaniyya*, pl *baṭaṭīn / baṭṭaniyyāt* ‘blanket’ (Bad/Hi 84).

b-ṭ-d

paʿa (< **baʿad*) ‘still, not yet (with the neg. particle)’: *yapati paʿa o sapi* ‘my father’s still young-looking’; *paʿa má-ža k-kassīs* ‘the priest has not come yet’; *l-laymūn inne xoḍrīn paʿa* ‘the lemons are still un-ripe’; *ḡostḡ alok fia paʿa ḡkalorkésḡ δ-δεʿa ...* ‘to this day there are still nuns at the village ...’; < OA *baʿdu* (yet, mostly in negative phrases; Wright I, 288); *lam yaʿti baʿdu* ‘he’s not come yet’ (Hava 39);

~ Alep *baʿd* (adv) ‘encore’ ... Dans une proposition négative *baʿd* signifie en lat., *nondum*, ‘ne pas ... encore’: *baʿd mā ʿaḡa* ‘il n’est pas encore venu’ (Barth 52) ~ Bagh (M) *baʿad* ‘still, yet’ (Wood/Bee 39) ~ Leban Ar *baʿd* ‘noch nicht’ (Bau 220) ~ Cai *baʿd* (prep) with a pron suff, also *baʿdī-* ‘after’ (Bad/Hi 86) ~ Malt *ḡghadu ma wasalḡ* ‘he has not yet arrived’.

páʿātu ‘the day after tomorrow’: *xayyti má-tteží pukra*, *tteží páʿātu* ‘my brother won’t come tomorrow, he’ll come the day after tomorrow’: *ttawfik páʿātu attistawfa* ‘I’ll pay you the day after tomorrow when I get paid’ < **baʿduh*;

~ Kənd *baʿda*, Ḥal *baʿd mənna* (adv) ‘später, dann, danach’ (Vo/Wald 41) ~ Alep *baʿd ḡade* ‘après demain’ (Barth 53) ~ Cai *baʿd bukra* ‘the day after tomorrow’ (Bad/Hi 86) ~ Šaʿd *baʿdah/baʿdeh/baʿadah/baʿadeh/baʿdūh/baʿadyowh* ‘übermorgen’ (Behnstedt 1987:233).

pēʿit, pl *pāʿāt* ‘far’: *pikáf fi exte deʿa lá-pēʿit mill-imtine* ‘he’s staying at a village not far from Nicosia’; OA *baʿīd*, pl *-ūn*, *buʿadāʿ* (Hava 39), MLA *biʿād* (Wehr 81);

- Alep *b'ad*, f -e, pl *b'ad/b'adin* 'éloigné, lointain, loin' (Barth 53)
 - Mard *b'ad* 'weit weg, entfernt' (Vo/Wald 42) - Bagh (M) *b'ad/ba'ad*
 (Wood/Bee 39) - Pal Ar *b'ad* 'weit, abgelegen' pl *b'adin/b'ad* (Bau
 358, 3) - Cai *b'ad*, pl *b'ad/b'ada* 'distant, far' (Bad/Hi 86) - Malt
mbieghed, f *mbeghda*: pl *artijiet mbeghda/imbeghdin* 'distant lands'

b-g-l

pā'ale, pl *pū'ul* 'mule'; *kintām kanu b-bū'ul ta kanyiriftu u kanitiru*
t-taxime 'formerly it was the mules that were tied to turn the mill'; OA
baḡl, pl *biḡāl/abḡāl* (Hava 40) < Ethiop *baql* 'Maultier' (Schall 1982:
 147);

- Alep *baḡal*, pl *bḡāl* 'mulet' (Barth 54) - Āz *baḡle* 'Maultier' (Vo/
 Wald 43) - Dam *baḡal*, pl *bḡāl*, f *baḡle*, pl -āt 'mule' (Sto/Ani 154)
 - Sii *baḡal*, Qarṭ *baḡal*, pl *bḡāl* (Vo/Wald 43) - 'Aq *baḡal*, f *baḡle*, pl
bḡəl (Jastrow 1991b:322) - Mos (C) *baḡal*, pl *bḡūl* (infor) - Bagh (M)
baḡal, f *baḡla*, pl *bḡāl* (Wood/Bee 40), (J) *baḡal*, pl *bḡīl* (Mansour 1983:
 57) - Ḥōr *baḡla* (Cantineau 1946:107) - Pal Ar *baḡl*, pl *bḡāl*, but note
bathassar 'ala l-baḡle 'ach, hätte ich noch das Maultier!' (Bau 202, 49),
u baqa la-brahīm bāša baḡle marbūṭa 'und Ibrahim Pascha hatte ein
 Maultier angebunden' (Bīr Zēt; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I,18), *baḡle* (Dalm
 1901:60) - Cai *baḡl*, f -a, pl *biḡāl* (Bad/Hi 89) - Malt *baḡhal*, pl *bḡhula*
 [ba:l, ba:wla].

[Note the adoption of the fem. form *baḡla* as the unmarked member
 of the gender opposition in CyA, Palestinian, and some other E. Arabic
 dialects.]

b-q-r

pakar (coll), n un *pakra*, pl -āt 'cows, cattle'; OA *baqar* (Hava 41);
 - Alep *bāqar* n coll et générique 'bœuf, espèce bovine' (Barth 55) -
 Kānd *baqar* (coll) 'Kühe, Rinder', n un Āz *baqra*, Qarṭ *baqara* 'Kuh' (Vo/
 Wald 44) - Pal Ar *baqara* (Bau 184) - Bagh (M) *baqar* (coll) 'cow(s),
 cattle' (Wood/Bee 41) - Cai *ba'ar* (coll) 'cattle (other than buffalo),
ba'ara 'cow' (Bad/Hi 90) - Malt *baqar*, n un *baqra*.

b-q-l

mpakkāl 'grocer': *ana rex l-impakkāl taštri peḡ* 'I'm going to the
 grocer's to buy eggs'; OA *baqqāl* 'a greengrocer' (Lane 236); cf. CyG
mpakkālliko; Tk *bakkal* 'Krämer' (Steuerwald 1972:85);
 - Sii *bāqqāl*, pl Hal *bāqqelīn* 'Krämer, Lebensmittelhändler' (Vo/
 Wald 44) - Bagh (M) *baggāl*, pl -īn, *bgāḡīl* 'grocer' (Wood/Bee 41)

- Pal Ar *baqqāl* (Elihai 1999:87) - Cai *ba'āl* 'grocer' (Bad/Hi 91) -
 Judaeo-Ar *baqqāl* 'seller of vegetables, in particular beans and so on'
 (Diem/Raden 15).

b-k-r¹

pukra 'tomorrow (daytime)'; OA *bukra*, pl *bukar* 'daybreak' (Hava
 43), "alba, e nell'arabo più tardo, anche, domani" (Meloni 1913:127);
 < pausal **bukrah* = OA *bukrata* (cf. Fleischer 1876:503); Heb *bōqer* 'die
 Frühe', *bkr* 'Frühe sein' (Ges/Bu 112, 98);

- Alep *bakra/bukra* (adv) 'demain; moins usité que *ḡade* ...' (Barth
 57) - Pal Ar *bukra*, (rur) *bu'ra/imbū'ra* 'morgen' (Bau 209) - Cai *bukra*
 'tomorrow' (Bad/Hi 93).

[On the semantic categorization of the evening with the preceding day
 and the morning with the following (Meloni op. cit., 128), cf. CyA 'asie
 'last night' - rur Egyp Ar 'asīya 'gestern' (Behn/Woid 1994:403); but
 note Çukur *illele* 'today' (Procházka, p.c.), Mlah *bāyo* 'letzte Nacht,
 kommende Nacht' < *b- + an- + lilyo 'in dieser Nacht' (Jastrow 1994b:
 170); Urmī *midrelele* 'tomorrow night' (Garbell 319).]

'alepukra 'in the early morning' < **alā bukra: kifta piḡkaimni* 'ale-
pukra 'alepukra 'why do you wake me up so early?'; < **alā bukra*;

[Note the final *imāla* in the CyA reflex of **alā*.]

- Alep 'ala *bakra* 'le matin' (Barth 57) - Hama 'abukra 'früh am
 Morgen' (Lewin 1966:201) - Dam 'ala *bakra* 'in the morning': *bšūfak*
bakra 'ala *bakra* 'I'll see you tomorrow morning' (Sto/Ani 153) - Çukur
 'alambikra 'am frühen Morgen' (Procházka 2002:165) - Bask 'a *bukra*
 'tomorrow' (Abu-Haidar 1979:86) - Bišm (min) 'a *bukra* 'morgens'
 (Jiha 1964:170).

mimpukra 'in the morning': *ttaḡaddel mimpukra amma ttaxtom*
soft'asie 'I'll take the morning off but I'll work in the afternoon'; *ḡen-*
ix(x)ar mimpūkra kumt u ruxt m-ḡmaxazziḡ 'on the following morning
 I got up and went to the workshop';

- Alep *mām bakra* 'dès le matin' (Barth 57) - Pal Ar *min bukra* 'von
 morgen an' (Bau 209).

exen mimpukra 'one morning ...'

b-k-r²

CyA, CyG *mpakara* 'pulley'; OA *bak(a)ra* (Lane 241);
 - Alep *bakara* 'poulie, bobine' (Barth 57) - Bagh (M) *bakra* pl -āt,
bakar 'pulley' (Wood/Bee 41) - Pal Ar *bakara* 'Rolle' (Bau 246) - Eastern

Ar *bakara* 'kleine Rolle für Zwirn' (Almkvist 1891:271) ~ Cai *bakara* 'spool, reel, pulley' (Bad/Hi 93).

b-k-y

xpa, pkyixpi (v/i) 'weep; whimper (dog)': ^Gamma^G *kanyixpi m-^Gmorós épren^G tatzi exte mara ta má-kant ^Gmusučárisa^G—kwan-kül—kantakol min kullon šaya ta tiftáxillu xanku l-i^Gproti^G trik u kanta^Gem m-^Gmorós^G pšan teži nasex* 'when a baby cried, it was necessary for a woman not particular in her diet—so we used to say—to come and open his mouth for the first time and feed him so that he would grow into a healthy child (i.e., with a good appetite)'; *k-kilp pkyixpi; piri terúx tešóxx* 'the dog is whimpering, it wants to go out'; OA *bakā* (i) (Hava 43);

[For metathesis between labial segments and the back consonants *k* and *q* in vernacular Arabic, cf. Bir Zet *bikba* < **bibka* < **bibqa* (Blau 1960:121); substandard Malt [wɪ:fə] 'standing f' < *wāqifa*, [yɪ'pa] 'he remains' < **yibqa*, etc. (Borg 1985:88, fn 4a).]

~ Alep *bəki* (i) 'pleurer' (Barth 58) ~ Sii *bəki* (i) 'weinen' (Vo/Wald 46) ~ Bagh (M) *biča* (i) 'cry, weep' (Wood/Bee 24) ~ Pal Ar *biki* (i) (Bau 357) ~ Cai *baka* (i) (Bad/Hi 94) ~ Malt ⟨beka, jibki⟩.

mixpi, f -e, pl *mixpin* 'weeping, inclined to weeping': *lá-tisim^Gillu, akke uo, mixpi* 'don't pay attention to him; he's like that, a cry-baby!'; cf. Alep *bakyān* (ap) of *bəki* (Barth 58).

pikē (vn) 'weeping': *mnayn piži aḍa b-bike?* 'where's this sound of weeping coming from?'; OA *bukā*/*bukan* (Hava 43);

~ Alep *bəke* 'pleurer' (Barth 58) ~ Çukur *biki* 'Weinen' (Procházka 2002:85) ~ Bagh (M) *bači* (vn) (Wood/Bee 24) ~ Darag *baka* (inf) (Vo/Wald 46) ~ Pal Ar *buka* (Bau 357) ~ Cai *buka* (Bad/Hi 94) ~ Malt ⟨biki⟩.

b-l-l

pall, pipull (v/t) 'moisten'; OA *balla* (u) (Hava 43);

~ Alep *ball* (ə) (v/t) 'mouiller complètement en plongeant un court instant dans l'eau' (Barth 62) ~ Bagh (M) *ballal* 'wet, soak, moisten' (Wood/Bee 43) ~ Pal Ar *ball* (i) 'naß machen' (Bau 216) ~ Cai *ball* (i), *balbil* (Spiro 1895:55) ~ Malt ⟨bill, ibill⟩ 'dip.'

mpalla, pkyimpalla/pkyimpall (v/i) 'become wet' < **nball*: *xattáyt l-iḥkyép tempallu xost ž-žorne* 'I put the clothes to soak in the tub'; *kārani š-šite u mpalláyt mixxók* (< **min fawq*) ^Gos^G *taxt* 'I was caught

in the rain and got drenched to the skin'; cf. OA *ibtalla* 'be drenched' (Hava 44);

~ Alep *mball* (passif de l) (Barth 62) ~ Bagh (M) *tballal* 'get wet' (Wood/Bee 43) ~ Pal Ar *nball* 'naß werden' (Bau 216) ~ Cai *inball/itball* (Spiro 1895:55).

maplúl, f -a, pl -ín (pp) 'wet': *mantsáy xmire, maxxallita ma ll-ismít m-maplúl u mannim^Gakon ^Gost^G teiftax u tesúr pšik x-xalvá* 'we prepare leaven, we mix it together with the moistened semolina, and mash them until they crumble like *xalvá*.'

b-l-ā

mpla [bla] (prep/conj) 'without': *sainni exen ^Gkafē^G mpla ^Gzáxari^G* 'make me a coffee without sugar!'; *ža ipnon min parra mpla teá^Girfu* 'their son arrived from abroad unbeknown to them'; OA *bilā* (Hava 19);

~ Alep *bala* (prép) 'sans' (Barth 58) ~ Bagh (M) *bila* (prep) 'without' (Wood/Bee 41) ~ Çukur *bla* 'ohne' (Procházka, p.c.) ~ Pal Ar *bala* (Bau 223) ~ Cai *bala* (Bad/Hi 95) ~ Malt ⟨bla⟩.

b-l-š

palas, pkyiplos (v/t) 'press, squash, crush; run over (car)': *z-za^Girui tenna palas itu xost b-bape* 'our little boy got his hand caught in the door'; *palsunna k-kilp, l-afra teaxtu* 'our dog has been run over, the devil take it!'; *palsuni* 'orpa' 'visitors detained me'; nonclass Ar *balaša* (u) 'exact a. th. from, despoil a.o. of' (Hava 45);

[No etymon occurs in the standard Classical Arabic dictionaries in this meaning. Ar *blš* possibly continues Aram ⟨pūlsā⟩ (< Lat *pulsus*) 'Stoss, Schlag' (Levy IV, 55); cf. Ar *balš* [ʿind aš-šāga ālah maḥfūrah tutbaʿ ʿalayhā riqāqat aḍ-ḍahab aw al-fiddah likay tatašakkal bi-šaklihā] (Muḥit 121); cf. Eng 'strike a coin.']

~ Alep *balaš* (o) 'soutirer, extorquer' (Barth 60) ~ Pal Ar *balaš* (u) 'erpressen; prellen' (Bau 101, 234) ~ Cai *balaš* (u) 'impose upon, extort' (Spiro 1895:56), 'bribe' (Bad/Hi 98).

mpalas, pkyiniples (v/i) 'be pressed, crushed; run over': *mpalas min-táxt payt ta vak^Ga* 'he was crushed under a falling house';

~ Cai *inbalaš/itbalaš* 'be imposed upon, cheated' (Bad/Hi 98)

maplús, f -a, pl -ín 'pressed, crushed.'

pals (vn) 'act of pressing, pressure'; MLA *balš* (Wehr 88);

~ Alep *baš*, inf of *balas* (Barth 60) ~ Pal Ar *baš* 'Erpressung' (Bau 101) ~ Cai *baš* 'imposition' (Spiro 1895:56).

b-l-t

plat, n un -a, pl -*āt* (= CyG *anarín*) 'a block of hard, white cheese made from the residue of *xallume*': *fia nes ta pitta'āžipon l-iplata awfa mix-xallume* 'there are people who prefer *plata* to *xallumi*'; OA *balāta* 'flagstone' (Hava 45);

~ Alep *balāta* 'dalle de pierre' (Barth 60) ~ Pal Ar *balāt* 'Fliese' (Bau 113) ~ Cai *balāta*, pl -*āt* 'slab (of concrete)' (Bad/Hi 98) ~ Malt *blat*, n un -a 'rocks'.

b-l-k

CyG/CyA *perki* 'perhaps'; Tk *belki*;

~ Alep *balki/barki* 'peut-être' (Barth 61) ~ Dam *barki* 'vielleicht' (Grotzfeld 1965:153) ~ Kənd *balki* (Vo/Wald 47) ~ Çukur *balkit/balki* (Procházka 2002:165) ~ Bagh (M) *balki/balkat/balkan* 'perhaps, maybe' (Wood/Bee 43) ~ Bišm *balki/barki* (Jiha 1964:182) ~ Pal Ar *balki/balkin/barkin*, rur *balči* 'vielleicht', *balčiš* 'vielleicht nicht' (Bau 344) ~ Cai *balki* (Bad/Hi 100).

[Historical delateralization of */ in preconsonantal position is normal in CyG (Beaudouin 1884:43), but is also unsystematically exemplified in cognates of this and other lexemes, e.g., cognates of Tk *belki*; cf. Algerian Ar *dérwoq/délwoq* (Marçais 1956:579-80), and MLA *burkân* 'volcano' (Wehr 67).]

b-l-n

pillane 'large broom made from the dry branches of wild thyme, used for sweeping courtyards, streets, and stables': *b-billane pisaúa miz-za'tára u pikannsu l-^Gavli^G teb-bayt* 'a broom is made from wild thyme and [is used] for sweeping the courtyard of a house'; Ar *billān* 'épithyme' (Dozy I, 115);

~ Alep *ballān* 'herbe des champs à épines, sorte de fougère ou d'épithyme' (Barth 62) ~ Tall al'Abd *ballān/bullān* (Behnstedt 2000:419) ~ Leban Ar *bellāne* (coll. *bellān*) 'une sorte de fougère épineuse, qui est aussi très commune dans tout de Liban et dont on se sert pour faire le feu, pour balayer ... attestée dès le XIIIe siècle chez Ibn el-Baytār' (Fegh M/J 1977:75, fn 2) ~ Bišm *billāni* 'Tennenbesen' (Jiha 1964:88) ~ N Pal Ar *ballān* 'Becherkraut, *Poterium spinosum*' (Bau 43), [also *maqāšše/mišlahā*] 'ein von der Frauen hergestellter Besen' (Dalm VII, 182; Bauer 54).

[Goodrich-Freer (1924:278) gives Pal Ar *billān* 'thorny burnet' with the comment: "common in every part of Palestine, and is sold for fuel, being especially in use for the firing of lime-kilns ..."]

p-n-^c-r

Pān'ara = Gk *Panághra* (name of Cypriot village).

b-n

ipn 'son'; OA *ibn*, pl *banūn/abnā* (Hava 48);

[This CyA lexeme has no cognate pl form; in different contexts, *ulāt*, *špap*, *θkura* are used: *špapu enne* ^G*nešpéryes* 'his sons are farmers'; *lu tlax-nayθyāt u xnayn θkura* 'he has three daughters and two sons.')

~ Alep *ʔabən*, pl *bnīn* 'fils' (Barth 65) ~ Mard *əbən*, pl *bnīn*, du Ka^b *bnayn* 'Sohn, Junge, Knabe' (Vo/Wald 48) ~ Pal Ar *ʔibn/ʔibin*, pl dial. nur *ulād* 'Sohn' (Bau 279) ~ Malt *iben*, pl *ulied*.

pint, pl *pnat* 'girl, daughter of': *pintu š-Šarpeš* 'Sharbel's daughter'; OA *ibna/bint*, pl *banāt* (Hava 48);

~ Alep *bənt/bint*, pl *banāt* 'fille, vierge, ...' (Barth 62) ~ Kənd *bənt*, pl *bənāt* 'girl, daughter' (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Bagh (M) *bint/bitt*, pl *banāt* 'daughter ... by extension, approx., kid, little girl' (Wood/Bee 44) ~ Pal Ar *bint/binit*, pl *banāt* (Bau 301) ~ Cai *bint* (inform *bitt*) pl *banāt* (Bad/Hi 104) ~ Malt *bint-* 'daughter of,' *bniet* 'girls.'

[In the meaning 'daughter,' CyA *pint-* is inalienable; cf. also Hassāniyya *mənt* 'fille de' (Cohen 1963:7). On the structure *pintu š-Šarpeš*, see Borg (1985:130) and Intro, §V. Cf. Bagh (M) *bint wurdān/bitt murdān* 'cockroach' (Wood/Bee 44) ~ Malt *wurdien* (coll), n un -a.]

pintua (< OA *bint* + CyG dim suff. -*ua* < -οὐδα), pl *pnatuδkya* (< **bnāt* + CyG dim suff. -*uδkya* < -οὐδία) 'young girl, unmarried woman, girlfriend': *b-bintua tex-xayyti e xtir tvile* 'my brother's girlfriend is very tall.'

[Cf. Malt *tfajla* 'a young girl, girlfriend' < dim **tufayla*. On the pragmatic function of the diminutive in Greek and CyA, see Intro, §IXd.]

b-n-y

pna, *pkyipni* (v/t) 'build'; OA *banā* (*i*) (Hava 47);

~ Alep *bana* (*i*) 'bâtir, construire' (Barth 65) ~ Mard *bana* (*i*) 'bauen' (Vo/Wald 49) ~ Bagh (M) *bina* (*i*) 'build' (Wood/Bee 45) ~ Pal Ar *bana* (*i*) (Bau 42) ~ Cai *bana* (*i*) (Bad/Hi 108) ~ Malt *bena*, *jibni*.

mipni, f *mipnie*, pl *mipnīn* (pp) 'built.'

pne (vn) 'building' (< **bnēye*): *man'akep fil-ipné* 'we are engaged in construction'; OA *binā*;

~ Alep *bnēye*, pl *-āt* 'action de construire' (Barth 65) ~ Bagh (M) *bināya/binā* (Wood/Bee 45) ~ Pal Ar *buna* (Bau 42) ~ Cai *buna/binā*/*bināya*, pl *-āt* 'building, construction' (Bad/Hi 108; Spiro 1895:60) ~ Malt *bin* 'building' (vn) and (n).

b-w-b

pape, pl *-āt* 'door': *takket b-bape* 'someone's knocking at the door'; *b-bape mā-ilka kaes* 'he did not shut the door properly'; OA *bāb*, pl *abwāb/bībān* (Hava 50);

~ Alep *bāb*, pl *bwāb* 'porte' (Barth 67) ~ Kənd *bāb*, pl *bwāb* 'Tür, Tor' (Vo/Wald 50) ~ Bagh (M) *bāb*, pl *abwāb/bībān* (m/f) (Wood/Bee 46) ~ Pal Ar *bāb*, pl *ibwāb* (Bau 308) ~ Cai *bāb*, pl *abwāb/bībān* (Bad/Hi 110) ~ Malt *bieb*, pl *bibien* 'door', *bieba* 'small door.'

[The fem. gender of this CyA lexeme may be due to contamination with *nōpra*. On the other hand, 'door' is also fem. in certain Iraqi Ar dialects (Blanc 1964:148; Meissner 1903:16; Weissbach 1908:1); cf. also Dam *bābe* 'un des deux battants d'une porte' (Denizeau 1960:52).]

b-w-r

pur (invar) 'fallow': *xkali pur* 'uncultivated fields'; *aška zman ađi x-xakle e pur?* 'how long has this field lain fallow?'; OA (*ard*) *bawr* 'land not sown' (Lane 274) < Syriac *būrā* (Brockel 63; Fück 1955:188);

[Ma'l *būra* (Arnold, p.c.), Tur *buro* 'Brachfeld' (Jastrow 1985:180), Qaraq *bayura* 'fallow ground' (Khan 2002:729).]

~ Alep *ardābūr* 'terrain en friche' (Barth 68) ~ Bagh (M) *arāđi bōr* 'wasteland' (Wood/Bee 47) ~ Pal Ar *būr* 'Brachland' (Dalm II, 39), *ard būr* (Bau 65) ~ Cai *arđi būr* 'wasteland' (Bad/Hi 111) ~ rur Egyp Ar *arđi bāyira* (Behn/Woid 1994:40).

b-w-s

pas, *pipūs* (v/t; lmpvtv: *pos*, f *pusi*, pl *pusu*) 'kiss'; nonclass Ar *bāsa* (u) (< Pers, Lane 275);

~ Qarṭ *bās* (u) 'küssen' (Vo/Wald 50) ~ Bagh (M) *bās* (u) 'kiss' (Wood/Bee 47) ~ Pal Ar *bās* (u) 'küssen (einmal); mehrmals *bawwas*' (Bau 185) ~ Cai *bās* (u) (Bad/Hi 112) ~ Malt *bies*, *ibus*.

mpasu, *pkympasu* 'kiss each other': *miskuon ta kanyimpasu* 'they were caught kissing' (Frangiskou 96);

~ Cai *itbās/inbās* 'be kissed' (Bad/Hi 112).

paws, n un -e 'kissing, kisses'; Ar *baws*;

~ Alep *bōse* 'un baiser' (Barth 69) ~ Mard *bawse* 'Kuß' (Vo/Wald 50) ~ Bagh (M) *bōs* (vn) (Wood/Bee 47) ~ Pal Ar *bōse* (Bau 185) ~ Cai *bōsa* 'a kiss' (Bad/Hi 112) ~ Malt *bews*, (nv) -a.

b-w-l

pal- 'mind, attention, memory' (always with a pronominal suffix): *máy-tži fi pali* 'I can't recall it'; *atxottúx fi palkon* ^Goti^G *ttažú žava texte l-layle* 'make sure you come home early tonight!'; *kat'a pali / ža fi pali / 'anta fi pali* 'it crossed my mind; it occurred to me'; *aθkapli m-morós^G telik^G os^G tesúr xpír, os^G teáxta'a* (< *qt'*) *palu* '(the priest tells the godmother): watch over the child entrusted to you until he grows up and attains maturity'; OA *bāl* (Hava 52);

[On the variant *máy-* of the neg. morph. *má-*, see under *m-ā*.]

~ Alep *bāl* 'esprit, mémoire, pensée, cœur, sentiment, ...' (Barth 70) ~ Āz *ğā lāmbālu* 'es kam ihm in den Sinn' (Vo/Wald 51) ~ Pal Ar *đir* (m) *bāl* 'be careful!' *ma xařar fi bāli* 'it didn't occur to me' (Elihai 1999:69) ~ Cai *bāl* 'memory, mind' (Spiro 30).

b-y-t

payt, pl *pkjut* 'house': *p-payt teli l-ižtít* 'my new house'; *pkjut rfa'a* 'tall houses'; OA *bayt*, pl *buyūt/buyūtāt* (Hava 52);

~ Alep *bēt*, pl *byūt* 'chambre, maison sans cour, appartement' (Barth 72) ~ Syr Ar *bēt*, pl *byūt* 'Haus, Zimmer' (Behnstedt 1997:767) ~ Mard *bayt*, pl *byūt* 'Haus, Hof, Zimmer' (Vo/Wald 52) ~ Bagh (M) *bēt*, pl *byūt* 'house, home' (Wood/Bee 49) ~ Pal Ar *bēt*, pl *byūt* 'Zimmer' (Bau 376): *id-dār dāri il-ibyūt byūti* 'das Haus ist mein Haus, und die Zimmer sind meine Zimmer' (Linder 1952:16) ~ Cai *bēt*, pl *biyūt/buyūt* 'house, home', pl *biyutāt* (obsol) 'aristocratic families' (Bad/Hi 114) ~ Malt *bejt*, pl *bjut* 'terrace' as opposed to *dar*, pl *djar* 'house.'

pažveni 'inner room of a house' (Frangiskou 81) = CyG *σώπιτον* < **éσω+πίτιν* (Yangoullis 1997:316): *umma ta kiš'itni ll-ana, fiz'et u savet exen šaxr má-kant'ánti xost s-^Gsóspito^G* 'when her mother saw me, she got scared and, for a whole month, she did not enter the inner room'; < **bayt-ğuwwenī*.

[The example cited here utilizes the CyG term. CyA *pažveni* attests to the semantic usage *bayt* 'room' at an earlier stage, as in many Arabic dialects of Greater Syria (cf. Behnstedt, *loc. cit.*) continuing older Semitic usage, e.g., in Hebrew and Aramaic: Late Heb *bayit* 'Zimmer' (Krauss 1910:43, 351, fn 563), Syriac *baytā* 'house, room' (J. Payne Smith 1903:43), Ma'l *payṭa* 'Haus, Zimmer' (Bergsträsser 1921:16), etc. Reduction of the merged CyA reflex of **bayt* invites comparison with Aram *byt*

> *by* (cf. *bydri*) and the analogous ellipsis of this lexeme in toponyms (Zadok 1997:123; Wild 1973:256f) and Hask *be šex* 'das Haus des Scheichs' (Talay 2002:69). Commenting on Palestinian usage, Dalman (VII, 77) notes: "Gewiß war das Haus des gewöhnlichen Mannes im Altertum auf dem Lande wie heute [1940, AB] meist einräumig. ... An einen einzigen Hausraum wird gedacht sein, wenn der Hausherr dem vor der verschlossenen Tür um Brot bittenden Freund antwortet, daß er mit den Kindern schon zu Bett ... sei (Lk. 11, 7)." On the notion 'inner room', cf. Heb *bātim ha-pnīmiyim* (Krauss, *op. cit.*, fn 566) and T. E. Shaw's translation 'inner room' in *Odyssey* XIV, 45].

b-y-d-r

paytar, pl *pkyeter/pkyetir* 'threshing-floor': *kintām kanyitirsu k-kampx ma m-moraš xost b-baytar* 'formerly, they used to thresh wheat with a sled on the threshing-floor'; *šel* (< *šyl*) *taxmīn aška sa'a pitri atrux u atzi antaxt l-ipkyetir* 'reckon how much time you need to go down to the threshing-floors and to come back'; OA *baydar*, pl *bayadir* ~ JArām *bey dārey* 'Scheune' (Levy I, 214);

~ Alep *bēdar*, pl *bayāder* 'aire où l'on dépique le blé en y passant le traîneau appelé *darḡar*' (Barth 72) ~ Dam *bēdar*, pl *bayāder* 'Tenne' (Grotzfeld 1965:153) ~ Darag *baydar*, pl *bwēdar* 'Tenne, Kelterplatte' (Vo/Wald 53) ~ Bagh (M) *bēdar*, pl *-āt*, *bayādir* 'threshing-floor, threshing-area, pile, heap' (Wood/Bee 49) ~ Pal Ar *bēdar*, pl *bayādir* 'Tenne' (Bau 300); [cf. Malt <andar> <Aram>].

[Cf. Arām (DSS) *eddār* > *andar* 'Tenne' (Beyer 1984:505); Bēsp *bādra* 'Tenne' (Sinha 2000:80), Tur *adro* 'Tenne' (Jastrow 1985:218). Reflexes of this Aramaic lexeme also occur in the Maghreb: Malt, AA *andar* (cf. Kraemer 1952:42). For the dissimilation of **dd* here, cf. Bibl Arām *tinda* 'you know' < *yd* (Qimron 1995:136).]

b-y-d

paḡet, *piḡpiḡ* (v/t) 'lay (eggs)'; OA *bādat* (i) (Lane 282); ~ Alep *bād* (i) 'pondre' (Barth 73) ~ Darag *bātət*, *tbiz* (Vo/Wald 54) ~ Bagh (M) *bāḡ* (i) 'lay (egg)' (Wood/Bee 49) ~ Pal Ar *bādat* (i) 'Eier legen' (Bau 191) ~ Malt <biedet, tbid>.

peḡ, n un -e 'eggs; testicles'; OA *bayḡ* (Hava 53); ~ Alep *bēḡ*, n un -a, pl *-āt* 'œuf, testicule' (Barth 74) ~ Mard *bayḡ* (coll), n un -a 'Eier' (Vo/Wald 54) ~ Bagh (M) *bēḡa*, pl *-āt* 'egg' (Wood/Bee 50), (J) *bēḡi*, (C) *bēḡa* (Blanc 1964:45) ~ Pal Ar *bēḡ* 'Eier, Hoden' (Bau 83, 159) ~ Malt <bajd, n un -a> 'eggs, testicles.'

[CyA *peḡe* showing the final *imāla* after a historical emphatic (contrasting with *peḡa* 'white f' < OA *baydā*) invites comparison with the parallel form in Jewish Baghdadi.]

paēḡ, *pipaēḡ* (v/t) 'bleach': *pipayḡu sumpsom* 'elles blanchissent du sésame' (Roth 1975:76); OA *bayyada* (Hava 53);

~ Alep *bayyad* 'blanchir à l'eau bouillante (de la toile écrue, de la soie), blanchir à la chaux (un mur), ...' (Barth 73) ~ Bagh (M) *bayyad* 'whiten' (Wood/Bee 49) ~ Cai *bayyad* 'whiten, bleach, whitewash' (Spiro 117) ~ Malt *bayyad* '(only) whitewash.'

pkyadḡa, *pkyipyadḡa* 'turn white'; OA *ibyadḡa* (Hava 53);

~ Alep *byadḡ* 'devenir blanc, blanchir' (Barth 74) ~ Mard *byadḡ* 'weiß werden' (Vo/Wald 54) ~ Bagh (M) *byadḡ* 'turn white' (Wood/Bee 50) ~ Pal Ar *šār abyad/byadḡ* (Bau 358) ~ Malt <bjad, jibjad>.

ḡpuyod 'bleaching, whiteness.'

apkyad, f *peḡa*, pl *piḡ* 'white'; in pl also 'white clothes': *l-ixxār tel-ors*, *piruxu l-pnatuḡkya u pitaylpu lā-ariis*, *piannulla u pilapsulla l-piḡ šata* 'on the wedding day, young girls go and help the bride to get ready; they sing to her and array her in her white clothes'; OA *abyad*, f *baydā*, pl *bīḡ* (Hava 53);

[For the meaning *piḡ* 'white clothes,' cf. OA *bayid* 'weiße Kleidung' noted in W-D. Fischer (1965:273, fn 1) and Syriac *hwr* 'white' (m pl) 'albae vestes' (Brun 1911:146).]

~ Alep *abyad* f *bēḡa/bwēḡa*, pl *bīḡān/bīḡ* 'blanc' (Barth 74) ~ Dam *abyad* f *bēḡa*, pl *bīḡ* 'white' (Sto/Ani 263) ~ Kənd *abyad*, f *bayḡa*, pl *bīḡ* 'weiß' (Vo/Wald 54) ~ Pal Ar *abyad*, f *bēḡa*, pl *bīḡ* (rural *abyad*) (Bau 358) ~ Cai *abyad*, f *bēḡa*, pl *bīḡ* (Bad/Hi 116) ~ Malt <abjad, f *bajda*, pl *bojod*>.

-*peḡa* in the topon *aynpeḡa* (aynū).

b-y-ē

paēa, *pipeē* (v/t) 'sell (also fig.)': *kanixottna papputi tarrīx b-bistān axxaveš xyar tarrīx anpīxxon* 'my grandfather used to make us go to the vegetable garden to pick cucumbers and sell them'; *l-mammū piḡkūillon t-ḡtatāḡ u n-ḡnunniḡ aḡa l-ḡmorōsḡ ttape-ilkonyāxa alok o teli*, *u pkyatua aška ma flus pkyaxtru* 'she (the midwife) would tell the baby's godfather and godmother: "I'll sell you this baby—he's now mine," and they would pay her as much as they could afford'; *ttapeēu u s-soxtalla teaxtu* 'I shall sell him and pack him off to hell!'; OA *imēa* (i) (Hava 53);

[The suff. *-xa* in *ttapeēilkonyāxa* is unmarked for gender (cf. Borg 1985:140-1). The last sentence refers to 'selling' and 'buying back' a baby to foil the evil eye (cf. Torma 1994:364). On general and Near Eastern

perceptions of the evil eye, see Einsler (1889), Seligman (1910), Jaussen (1924), Maloney (1976), Dundes (1981), and Ulmer (1994). Cf. Heb *pidyon ha-bəḵōr* 'redemption of the first-born' (Ex. 13, 13).]

~ Alep *bāc* (i) 'vendre (qqe à qqn, deux régimes directs)' (Barth 75) ~ Mard *bāc*, *ybe* 'verkaufen' (Vo/Wald 55) ~ Bagh (M) *bāc* (i) 'sell' (Wood/Bee 50) ~ Cai *bāc* (i) (Bad/Hi 117) ~ Malt <biegh, ibigh>.

mpa'a, *pyimpa'a* 'be sold'; OA *inbā'a* (Lane 285);

~ Alep *mbāc* 'être vendu' (Barth 75) ~ Mard *nbāc*, *yənbāc* 'verkauft werden' (Vo/Wald 55) ~ Cai *inbāc*/*itbāc* 'be sold' (Bad/Hi 117) ~ Malt <mbiegh, jinbiegh>.

mimpa'a (c), pl *mimpa'in* (pp) 'sold'; OA *munbāc*;

~ Alep *māmbāc* 'vendu' (Barth 75) ~ Darag *məbyāh* (Vo/Wald 55) ~ Bagh (MC) *mabyūc*, (J) *məbyūc* (Blanc 1964) ~ Malt <mibjugh [h]>.

pe'e (vn) 'sale'; OA *bayc*;

~ Alep *bēc* (inf) (Barth 75) ~ Çukur *byē'a* 'Verkauf' (Procházka 2002:166) ~ Bagh (M) *bēc*, pl *buyūc* 'sale', *bē'a*, pl *-āt* (Wood/Bee 50), (J) *bēc* (Mansour 1983:78) ~ Pal Ar *bēc* (Bau 333) ~ Cai *bēc*/*biyā'a* (Bad/Hi 117).

b-y-n

pan, *pipān* (v/i) 'seem; show up, appear': *kanipān paxal* 'he looked sick'; *pāninni āxaršik* 'I thought (lit., it seemed to me) otherwise' (Frangiskou 19); *pipān kif pkyā'āref xtir aš pisáy* 'he seems to know very well what he's up to'; OA *bāna* (i) 'it became distinct, apparent, ... clear, plain' (Lane 286);

~ Alep *bān* (a) 'paraître' (Barth 76) ~ Darag *bān* (a) 'sichtbar sein, werden' (Vo/Wald 56) ~ Pal Ar *bān* (a) (Piamenta 1999:70) ~ Cai *bān* (a) (Bad/Hi 118).

paen, *pipaen* (+ l-) (v/i) 'look like, seem to s.o.': *painni*, *paillak*, *pailla*, etc. 'it seems to me/you/her, etc.'; *mā-pipainlak kif int arka* (qdr.) *snin* 'you don't look so old (i.e., you don't look your age)'; *paillak o xan?* 'does this look to you like an inn?'; OA *bayyana* (Hava 54);

~ Alep *bayyan* 'paraître, être visible' (Barth 76) ~ Dam *bayyan/bān* 'appear' (Sto/Ani 10) ~ Mard *bayyan* 'sichtbar werden, deutlich werden' (Vo/Wald 56) ~ Bagh (M) *bayyan* 'explain, appear' (Wood/Bee 50) ~ Cai *bayyan* (Bad/Hi 118) ~ Pal Ar *bayyan* (Bau 256).

T

t-b-n

tipn, pl *ṭpunāt* 'straw, chaff'; OA *tibn* (Hava 56);

~ Alep *təbən*, pl *təbān* 'paille hachée' (Barth 80) ~ Mard *təbən* 'Stroh, Häcksel' (Vo/Wald 67) ~ Bagh (M) *tibin* 'straw' (Wood/Bee 54) ~ Pal Ar *tibn* (Bau 146) ~ Cai *tibn* 'chopped straw' (Bad/Hi 121) ~ Malt <tiben (coll), n un tibna, pl -iet>.

t-t-n-š

titnās 'gnocchi type of home-made pasta' (etym?).

t-ḥ-t

taxt 'down, below (adv)': *ruxna taxt lakayna exen pikuhullu Keki* 'we went down to meet someone called K.'; OA *tahta* (Hava 57);

~ Alep *taht/tahat* (adv) 'dessous, au-dessous, en bas, ...' (Barth 81) ~ Mard *taht*, *lataht* (prāp) 'unter' ~ Kənd *taht* (prāp) 'unter, unterhalb' (Vo/Wald 67) ~ Bagh (M) *tahat* (prep) 'under,' (adv) 'down below, downstairs' (Wood/Bee 55) ~ Pal Ar *taht* (prāp/adv) 'unter, unten' (Bau 322) ~ Cai *taht* (prep): *tahtīha/tahttha/taht minha* 'under it,' (adv) 'below' (Bad/Hi 122) ~ Malt <taht> (prep).

táxtrex (adv) 'further down, lower down' < **taht-rāyih*;

[Cf. Pal Ar *minno u-taht/minno u-asfal* 'weiter unten' (Bau 322). On new CyA deictic forms, cf. Intro, §IXe.]

-*taxta* in the CyA topon *ayntaxta* (lit., 'the Lower Spring').

~ Pal Ar *tahta*, pl *taḥāta* 'unterer': *il-ōḍa et-tahta/tahtāniyye* 'das untere Zimmer' (Bau 323).

[Cf. the Pal Ar toponyms *bēt 'ūr el-fōqa* and *bēt 'ūr el-tahta* (Socin 1879:148).]

mintáxt (prep) 'under' < Ar **min-taht*: *enne kullon parra, pikumni, xost l-ixkali mintáxt z-zaytunāt u mintáxt x-xarrupāt* 'they are all out in the fields, he said to me, under the olive-trees and carob-trees';

~ Mard *mən taht* (prāp) 'unter; (adv) von unten' (Vo/Wald 67) ~ Bišm *taht/min taht* 'unten' (Jiha 1964:170) ~ Pal Ar *taht* 'unter' (Bau 322).

taxteni, f *taxtenie*, pl *taxtenin* (adj) 'lower'; OA *tahtāniyy* (Hava 57);

~ Alep *təhtēni* 'inférieur, situé au-dessous' (Barth 81) ~ Āz *tahtēni* 'unterer' (Vo/Wald 68) ~ Bagh (M) *tahtāni* 'lower, underneath' (Wood/

Bee 55) ~ Pal Ar *tahtāni*, f -yye; *tahta*, pl *tahāta* 'unterer' (Bau 323) ~ Cai *tahtāni* (Bad/Hi 122).

anatāxt (= CyG *ḍa káto* < Mod Gk *εδώ κάτω*) 'down here (specific); at the village (i.e., Kormakiti)'; < **hāna-taht*.

awnatāxt 'down here somewhere' < **hawnā-taht*.

antāxt (= CyG *ḍi káto* < Mod Gk *εκεῖ κάτω*) 'down there (specific)' < (?) **hawnak-taht*.

awnkatāxt 'down there somewhere' < **hawnkā-taht*.

isatāxt 'straight down' < Mod Gk *ίσια* 'straight' + Ar *taht* 'under.'

t-r-b

trap, pl *trep* 'earth, dust': *mill-itráp žina u l-itráp ttarrúx* 'from dust we came and to dust we shall return'; OA *turāb*, pl *atriba/turbān* (Hava 58);

~ Alep *trāb*, pl *trēyeb* 'de la terre, de la poussière' (Barth 473) ~ Kənd *trāb* 'Erde, Erdoberfläche' (Vo/Wald 68) ~ Mos (C) *tḡāb*, pl *-āt* 'dust' ~ Pal Ar *trāb /trābe* 'Erdart oder Stoff' (Bau 97) ~ Cai *turāb*, pl *atriba* 'dust, dirt' (Bad/Hi 124) ~ Malt *trab*, pl *turbien/torbien/torba*.

t-r-ḡ

truntž (coll), n un -e 'citrons; bitter oranges': *xtá^cinni* (< *qt^c*) *fitte truntž, pri tasdy^G glikó^G* 'cut me some citrons; I want to make candied citron!'; OA *utrūḡḡ/turunḡ/utrūḡ* 'large lemon, citron' (Hava 58);]Aram *eṭrūḡā/eṭrōḡ/tarōḡā/eṭrōḡā/iṭrōḡā* 'orange (tree and fruit)' (M. Jastrow 1903:43), *trog* (Fassberg 1990:304) ~ Syriac *aṭrōḡ/aṭrōḡā* 'most probably < MPers **atrūḡ* (Glidden 1937:381) ~ Judaeo-Ar *utrūḡḡ* 'citrus medica' (Diem/Raden 46);

[Ar *trūḡ* is attested in 10th century CA texts as a less elegant variant of *utrūḡḡ* (cf. Fück 1950a:53).]

~ Alep *trəḡ* 'cédrat à écorce lisse' (Barth 477) ~ Bagh (M) *trinḡ* (coll) 'citron(s)' (Wood/Bee 289) ~ Çukur *trinḡ*, pl *trinḡāt* 'Bitter-orange' (Procházka 2002:174) ~ Pal Ar *trunḡ* 'Zitronatzitrone' (Bau 377) ~ Cai *turunḡ/utrūḡ* (*Citrus medica* var. *cedrata*)' (Bad/Hi 127) ~ Malt *trouḡ* (coll), n un -a, pl -iet.

t-r-k

turk 'Turks': t-*turk xawšuoḡ kullon u sayluon^G an^G kaffia ši^G stratyoti^G* *mpxabbi* 'the Turks rounded them up and asked them if there were any soldiers hiding'; MLA *at-turk/al-atrāk* 'the Turks' (Wehr 113);

~ Alep *tərk* 'Turcs ... y compris les Arméniens de langue turque' (Barth 84) ~ Āz *tərki*, pl *trāk* 'Türke' (Vo/Wald 69) ~ Pal Ar *turki*, pl *turk/atrāk* (Bau 308) ~ Cai *turki* (n), pl *atrāk/tarakwa/turk* 'a Turk' (Bad/Hi 126) ~ Malt *tork*, pl *torok* 'Turk, moor, Muslim.'

t-s-^c

tis^ca 'nine (invar)': *tis^ca pkyut* 'nine houses,' *tis^ca laylát* 'nine evenings'; OA *tis^ca*, *tis^c* (Hava 59);

~ Alep *təs^ca*, *təsə^c-* (Barth 84) ~ Mard *təs^ca* 'neun (selbständige Form)' ~ Darag *təsə^c-* (Vo/Wald 70) ~ Bagh (M) *tis^ca*, *tis(i)^c-*, pl *-āt* 'nine': *tis^c isnīn* 'nine years,' *tisi^c sārāt* 'nine hours' (Wood/Bee 56; Erwin 1963:260) ~ Cai *tis^ca*, *tisa^c(t)-* (Bad/Hi 129) ~ Pal Ar *tis^ca*, *tis^c-* / *tisa^ct-* 'neuf' (Elihai 1999:530-1) ~ Malt *disḡha/disat-* / *disa^c* 'nine': *disat itfal* 'nine children.'

t-^c-b

ta^cap 'exertion, fatigue, involvement': *pkyislax teufua tá^capa ta^casslet m-^Gmorós^G* 'they have to pay her for having bathed the baby'; OA *ta^cab*, pl *at^cāb* 'weariness, fatigue' (Hava 59);

~ Alep *ta^cab* 'fatigue, peine, salaire du travail habituel' (Barth 81) ~ Kənd *ta^cab* 'Mühe' (Vo/Wald 71) ~ Cai *ta^cab* 'inconvenience' (Bad/Hi 129) ~ Pal Ar *ta^cab* pl *at^cāb* 'das sich Mühe geben' (Bau 210).

te^cēpān, f -e, pl *-īn* 'tired'; OA *ta^cbān* (Hava 59);

~ Dam *ta^cbān* 'tired' (Sto/Ani 243) ~ Bagh (M) *ta^cbān* (Wood/Bee 57) ~ Pal Ar *ta^cbān* 'müde' (Bau 210).

t-f-ḡ

tuffāx, n un -e 'apples' (coll/pl); OA *tuffāḡ*, pl *tafāfih* 'apple, apple-tree' (Hava 60);

~ Alep *təffāḡ* (coll), n un -a, pl *-āt* 'pomme, pommier' (Barth 86) ~ Mḡhall *təffāḡ*, n un -a, pl *-āt* 'Äpfel (coll)' (Vo/Wald 71) ~ Pal Ar *tuffāḡ* 'Äpfel,' *šaḡaret tuffāḡ* 'Apfelbaum' (Bau 22) ~ Cai *tuffāḡ/tiffāḡ* (coll) 'apples' (Bad/Hi 130) ~ Malt *tuffieḡ*, n un -a.

t-k-^v

xta, *pkyaxti* 'lean' (*wk^v*).

t-l-l

tallel, *pitallel* (v/t) 'space out (e.g., plants)'; *tallil* 'thin' (*dll^v*).

t-m-m

tamm, *pitumm* (v/t) 'end, complete'; OA *tamma* (i) 'be complete, *tamma bi/āla* 'achieve, accomplish' (Hava 62);

~ Alep *tamm* (a) 's'achever, s'accomplir' (Barth 93) ~ Kənd *tamm* (a) 'beenden, erledigen' (Vo/Wald 74) ~ Pal Ar *tamm* (i) (Elihai 1999: 522) ~ Malt ⟨temm, itemm⟩ (v/t/i) 'complete; come to an end': ⟨temm ix-xoghol⟩ 'he completed the task, ⟨temmet is-sena⟩ 'the year's over.'

ntamma, *pkuintamma* (v/i) 'end': ... *u akke* (p) *kyintamma l-ors*; *pišišu innen kaes u naxni axsen* '... and so the wedding celebration comes to an end; they (the couple) live happily and we better [than they]'; *ntammēt l-moe*, *má-lina šī tannišrap* 'the water is finished; we have nothing to drink';

~ Ka^b *ntamm* 'fertig werden, aufgebracht werden' (Vo/Wald 74) ~ Malt ⟨ntemm, jintemm⟩.

matmūm, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'completed.'

tamme (f, cf. Mod Gk συμπλήρωση f) 'completion, end, conclusion' < **tamma*: *l-islavdt má-lixon tamme* 'there's no end to studying';

~ Cai *tamma/timma* 'completeness, fullness' (Bad/Hi 137).

t-w-ā

tave (adj, invar) 'exact, specific (time)': *kwankullu k-kassís t-tave sa'a u t-tave xar* (nhrū) *ttantzi* 'we used to tell the priest: "On such a day and at such a time, we'll come [to church to baptize the baby]" < **tawwā*; cf. Ar ⟨tawā⟩ 'tout à l'heure, il n'y a qu'un instant' (Dozy I, 153); MLA *tawwan* (Wehr 119);

[Behnstedt (1993b:91): "In der Bedeutung "jetzt" sind Reflexe von *tawwā* recht selten; sie kommen vor allem in den *qaltu*-Dialekten des Nord-Ostens vor als: *tawwun*, *tawwa*, *tawwi* wobei die letztere Form insofern Beachtung verdient, als sich hier Reste einer älteren auf -i erhalten haben, ..." (Behnstedt 1993b:91). This lexeme is inflected in certain vernaculars, e.g., Negev Arabic *taww-i*, *taww-ak*, *taww-u*, etc., 'now I/you/he, etc.: *tawwi dret in al-hbayyib li-furgāy yifrāh* 'now I know that my lover is glad to part from me.' (Bar-Zvi/Borg/Kressel). The flexible form-class affiliation of Ar *tawwa* is also noteworthy; cf. its use as noun in the Benghazi dialect (Owens 1984:188).]

~ Alep *tawwa* (adv) 'tout à l'heure' (Barth 98) ~ Bagh (M) *tawwa-* (+ pron suff) *tawwni wusalit* ... 'just now, just this minute'; 'I just arrived ...' (Wood/Bee 61), (J) *tawwa* (Mansour 1983:108) ~ Pal Ar *ataww* 'nun, gerade, eben': *atawwni qrit* 'eben habe ich gelesen,' *atawwe walid* 'soeben geboren' (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: II, 269), Jer (M) *tawwa/tawwu* 'now' (Piantenta, p.c.) ~ rur Egyp Ar *tawwa* 'jetzt gerade, eben,'

tawwa ma 'noch nicht,' *tawwītha* 'soeben noch hat sie' (Behn/Woid 1994:54) ~ Nağd *taww* 'still': *taww an-nima xaḍar* 'the palm fruit is still green (not ripe)' (Sowayan 1995:253) 'just, just now, recently, only a short time before,' *tawwih* 'just now' (Kurpershoek 1999:340) ~ Bahr *taw(w)* (particle often with enclitic pronoun indicating proximate past action or state): *tawwāna xāṭbīn lih is-sana* 'we've just this year got him engaged to a girl' (Holes 2001:72) ~ Yem *taww* 'di fronte; verso, in direzione di' (Rossi 1939:203, 245) ~ AA *taw ḍa* 'until now' (Corriente 1997:81).

t-w-t

tut coll, n un -e 'mulberry (fruit), mulberry tree'; OA *tūt/tūθ* 'mulberry, mulberry-tree' (Lane 322) < Aram *tūḥā* (Fraenkel 1886:140) < Pers *tūt* (Steingass 333) [> Skt *tūda/tūlā*] (Glidden 1937:382);

~ Alep *tūt*, n (coll) 'mûres' (Barth 96) ~ Mḥall *tūθ*, n un *tūḥāye* 'Maulbeeren' (Vo/Wald 75) ~ Bagh (M) *tūθ* 'mulberry wood, mulberry trees' (coll) (Wood/Bee 60) ~ Pal Ar *tūt* (coll), n un -e (Elihai 1973:265), *tūt baladi* '*Morus alba* (dient der Seidenraupenzucht)' (Dalm V, 36).

[Note here the homophony with CyA *tute* 'silkworm.' Popular etymology assigns these terms a common origin on account of the mulberry's association with silk production. On traditional village production of silk, cf. Dalman (V, 36f). Bagh (M) *tūθ*, shows a residue of the Aramaic *begadkefat* rule); *Durra*, 66 cites *tūθ* as a solecism for standard *tūt*; cf. JMar *ḡālūθ* < Heb *ḡālūt* (Blau 1972:181), Tur *tūθ* f 'Maulbeere' (Jastrow 1985:181), and Urmi *twa* 'mulberry' (Garbell 1965:336).]

tute 'mulberry-tree'; < Ar *tūta*;

~ Alep *tūte* 'un mûrier' (Barth 97) ~ Qəll *tūfe* 'Maulbeerbaum' (Vo/Wald 75) ~ Bagh (M) *tūθ* (coll), n un -a, pl -āt 'mulberry tree' (Wood/Bee 60) ~ Cai *tūta* (Bad/Hi 141).

t-w-z

ttozz 'commotion, boisterousness': *fia xtir* ^G*ttozz* ^G*l-imtine sift fil-layl* 'there is a lot of hullabaloo in Nicosia on Saturday night'; CyG *ttozin* 'dust' (Yangoullis 1997:343) < Tk *toz* 'Staub' (Steuerwald 1972:948);

~ Mard *toz* 'Staub' (Vo/Wald 268).

[Tur *toz* 'Staub' (Jastrow 1990a:181).]

t-y-n

tin (coll) 'figs'; OA *tīn* (Hava 64);

[*Ficus carica* — "production is centred in the Mediterranean region"; "introduced into the western Mediterranean by Greek and Phoenician colonists" (Zohary 1995:368).]

~ Alep *tīn* 'figuiers, figues' (Barth 98) ~ Dam *tīne*, coll *tīn*, pl -*āt* 'fig' (Sto/Ani 89) ~ Mard *tīn*, n un *tīnāye* 'Feigen' (Vo/Wald 76) ~ Bagh (M) *tīn* (coll), n un *tīna* 'fig(s), fig tree(s)' (Wood/Bee 61) ~ Pal Ar *tīn*, sg -*e*, *habbet tīn* (Bau 109) ~ Cai *tīn* (*barsūmi*) coll 'fig(s)' (Bad/Hi 143) ~ Malt <tin, n un -a>.

tīne, pl -*āt* 'fig-tree'; OA *tīna* 'fig-tree, fig' (Hava 64);

~ Alep *šagret tīn* 'figuier' (Barth 98) ~ Pal Ar *šag(a)rit* (it)-*tīn* 'Feigenbaum' (Bau 109) ~ Malt <sigra ta' t-tin> 'fig-tree.'

θ

θ-b-t

θabbet, *piθabbet* (v/t) 'confirm (Chr)': *l-iskof θafftu* 'the bishop confirmed him'; CMAr *θabbata* 'administer Confirmation' (Hava 66);

~ Alep *tabbat* 'administrer le sacrement de confirmation' (Barth 79) ~ Āz *sabbat* 'sicherstellen (Geld)' (Vo/Wald 77) ~ Bagh (M) *θabbat* 'set firmly' (Wood/Bee 61) ~ Pal Ar *θabbat* 'konfirmieren' (Bau 178) ~ Cai *sabbit* 'fix, fasten' (Bad/Hi 393).

ttabbet (v/i) 'be confirmed (Chr)': *ipni ttettabbet* (=|tta-yitθabbet|) *ž-žum'a ž-žey* 'my son will be confirmed next week';

[The absence of the expected feminine form of *ž-žey* here is either a case of phonetic redundancy of the final *imāla* reflex after the palatal glide or, more interestingly, one of lexicalization with concomitant component merger and neutralization of morphological concord; cf. Syrian Arabic *sint algey* 'Nächstes Jahr' (Behnstedt 1997, map 304).]

~ Dam *min ba'd l'imāde byitsebbat lwaled* (*byidhnu kull mafāšlo bizzet*) (Bergsträsser 1924:66) 'after Baptism, the baby is confirmed (they anoint all his joints with oil)' (my trans.) ~ Pal Ar *itθabbat* (pass) (Bau 178).

mpθabbet, f *mpθaffte*, pl *mpθafftīn* 'confirmed (Chr)';

θubbot 'Confirmation (Chr)' (local formation < **tθubbot* < **taθab-but*): *kintām kanižī l-iskof mil-Verūt teθabbet*; *alok pisaúon exemmo'a la-amete u θ-θubbot* 'formerly the bishop used to come [specially] from Beirut to administer Confirmation; nowadays they perform baptism and Confirmation together';

~ Pal Ar *taθbīt* 'Konfirmation' (Bau 178) ~ Alep *tatbīt* (Barth 79) ~ Dam *tasbīt* 'Confirmation' (Sto/Ani 50) ~ Cai *sirr it-tasbīt* (Chr) 'sacrament of confirmation' (Bad/Hi 393).

θ-d-r

mar Taδro 'St. Theodore'; cf. Late Heb *thodros* = θεόδωρος — "man vergleiche ngr. θεόδωρος" — (Krauss 1898:92).

θ-r-d

l-iθraddi (name of lieu-dit in Kormakiti).

θ-q-l

θikel, *pkyiθkel* (v/i) 'become heavy; put on weight'; OA *θaqula* (u) 'be heavy' (Hava 70);

~ Alep *təqel* (a) 'devenir pesant, lourd' (Barth 87) ~ Bagh (M) *θigal* (a) 'be/become heavy' (Wood/Bee 63) ~ Cai *ti'il* (a) 'become heavy' (Bad/Hi 393) ~ Yem *θigil* (a) 'be/become heavy' (Qafisheh 2000:69).

θkil, f -*e*, pl *θkal* (adj) 'heavy'; OA *θaqīl*, pl *θuqalā'*/*θiqāl* (Hava 70); ~ Alep *tqīl*, f -*e*, pl *tqāl* 'lourd, pesant' (Barth 88) ~ Mard *θaqīl*, pl *θqāl* 'schwer (von Gewicht)' (Vo/Wald 77) ~ Hask *saḡīl* (Talay 2002:80) ~ Bagh (M) *θigīl* 'heavy, burdensome, grave' (Wood/Bee 63) ~ Pal Ar *tqīl*, pl *tqāl* (Elihai 1973:243) ~ Malt <tqil, f -a, pl tqal>.

θukl 'weight'; OA *θiql*, pl *aθqāl* (Hava 70); ~ Alep *təqəl* 'poids, pesanteur, lourdeur' (Barth 87) ~ Kənd *θəqəl* 'Gewicht' (Vo/Wald 77) ~ Bagh (M) *θuqul/θuquḷ* pl *'aθqāl/θgāl* 'weight' (Wood/Bee 63) ~ rur Pal Ar *θuql* (Bau 136) ~ Cai *tu'l* (Bad/Hi 131) ~ Malt <toqol>.

θikl 'constipation.'

aθkal (elat) 'heavier; heaviest'; OA *aθqal*;

~ Alep *'atqal* 'compar. de *tqīl*' (Barth 88) ~ Kənd *aθqal* (elativ) (Vo/Wald 77) ~ Bagh (M) *'aθqal* 'heavier, heaviest' (Wood/Bee 63) ~ Cai *'at'al* (Bad/Hi 131) ~ Malt <itqal>.

θ-l-θ

tlaxe, *tlax-* (construct form) 'three': *tlax-trúk* 'three times'; *tlax-laylát* 'three nights'; *xatinni tlax-pasal ixpár* 'hand me three large onions!'; *tlax-vak* 'three okies'; *tláxitna* 'the three of us'; *tláxiton* 'the three of them'; OA *θalāθa*, *θalāθ* (Hava 71);

[The stop reflex /t/ of the interdental fricative in **θl* is probably an Aramaic trait; cf. Bagh Ar (J) *tlāθi* (Blanc 1964:46) and the remarks in Borg (1985:127, fn 26); note Mod Mand *tlāθa/klāθa* 'drei' (Macuch 1993:10, 443), Urmi *taha* 'three' (Garbell 1965:336). On the shift of medial **θ* > *x*, cf. also rural varieties of CyG: *epéxanēn* < *epéθanēn* 'he died'; *xálassa* 'sea' < Anc Gk θάλασσα (Newton 1972a:26, map 8).

(Within Arabic, cf. N Yem *θintayn* ~ *hintayn* 'drei (f)' (Behnstedt 1985: 45), Malt *ħemm* 'there' < OA *ħamma*.)

~ Alep *tlāte/tlāt*- 'trois', *tlātātna* 'nous trois' (Barth 90) ~ Mard *θāθe* /*θāθ*- 'drei': *θāθātən* 'diese drei, alle drei' (Vo/Wald 78) ~ Bagh (M) *tlāθa/tlāθ*- 'three' (Wood/Bee 63; Erwin 1963:260) ~ (J) *tlāθi/tlāθ*- (C) *tlāti/tlat*- (Blanc 1964:90) ~ Hask *sāse* (Talay 2002:81) ~ Pal Ar *tlāte/tlāt*- (meistens *tlat*) (Bau 78) ~ Cai *talāta/talat(t)*- : *talat riggāla* 'three men', *talatt alāf* 'three thousand' (Bad/Hi 133) ~ Malt *tlieta/tlett*- : *tlett ijiem* 'three days', *tlett iklieb* 'three dogs.'

tlaxárpä'a 'three or four': *maxxallion tlaxárpä'a θkyem žava* 'we keep (the harvested olives) at home for three or four days'; < **θlāθ-arba'a*;

~ rur Pal Ar *hāða qa'ad θalθ, arba't-yām lā-irūh walā yīgi* 'Drei bis vier Tage saß er ohne Arbeit und Beschäftigung und ging nicht aus und ein' (Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 70) ~ Bagh (J) *tlaθ 'ağba' šnadīq* 'three or four boxes' (Mansour 1983:102).

t-tlaθe/t-tlaxe 'Tuesday', *yamutlaθe/yamutlaxe* 'on Tuesday': *xnayn tlaxe u árpē'ci lina* ^G*stasis*^G 'on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday (of Holy Week) we make the Way of the Cross'; OA *yawm aθ-θulāθā'* /*θalāθā'* (Lane 348);

~ Alep *ətlātā/yōm ətlātā/nhār ətlātā* 'mardi' (Barth 90) ~ Bagh (M) *yōm iθ-θilāθā* 'Tuesday' (Wood/Bee 63) ~ Pal Ar *yōm eθ-θalāθā* 'Dienstag' (Bau 76) ~ Cai *'it-talāt* and *yōm it-talāt* (Bad/Hi 133) ~ Malt *(nhār) it-tlieta*.

tretin 'thirty' (possibly a recent loan from mainland Arabic); OA *θalāθin* (obl case).

θ-m-n

xmenye (invar) 'eight': *xmenye pnatuδkya* 'eight girls'; *xmenye θkyem* 'eight days' *xmenye varak* 'eight books'; OA *θamāniya, θamānin* (Hava 72);

[For the shift **θ* > *x*, see under *θiθ* above and Borg (1985:28).]

~ Alep *tmēnye/tmēne/tmān*- 'huit': *tmənt-əšhor* 'huit mois' (Barth 93) ~ Bagh (M) *θmānya/θmān*- 'eight' (Wood/Bee 64): *θman-guraf* 'eight rooms' (Erwin 1963:261), (J) *θmīni*, (C) *tmēni* (Blanc 1964:46) ~ Kənd *θmēnye* (Vo/Wald 79) ~ Pal Ar *θamānye/θaman(t)*- ~ Cai *tamantiyyām* 'eight days' (Bad/Hi 137) ~ Malt *tminja/tmin(t)*- : *tmin kotba* 'eight books', *tmin itfal* 'eight children', *tmin idjar* 'eight houses.'

θ-n-y

θnayn/xnayn 'two': *xnaytna, xnayθkon, xnayton* 'the two of us, you, them'; *kunna xnaytna* 'there were two of us'; OA *iθnāni, f iθnatāni*; obl, *iθnayni, f iθnatayni* (Hava 73);

[Possibly under the influence of Greek, CyA has not retained a reflex of the OA feminine form. Gender inflection in Greek cardinal numerals is restricted to 'one' (Tzermias 1969:97; Ruge 1986:51). On the shift *θ* > *x*, see under *θiθ* and *θmn*.]

~ Alep *tnēn, f təntən* nom de nombre cardinal 'deux' (Barth 95) ~ Kənd *θnayn, f θəntayn* (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Bagh (M) *θnēn, pl -āt* 'two, pair' (Erwin 1963:65) ~ N Yem *θintayn* ~ *hintayn* 'zwei (f)' (Behnstedt 1985: 45) ~ Malt *tnejn, žewg(t)*- : *žewg itfal* 'two children.'

xnāyn 'Monday': *m-mārfa'a e exte žumā'a* ^G*prin*^G *s-syam*; mill-*iθnāyn u kúyyom mannitxallet kullon s-sinkenís*^G: *l-ixvát, l-ulát, u kullon* 'carnival is one week before Lent; everyday from Monday onwards, we all get together with our relatives: our brothers and sisters, our children and everybody'; OA *al-iθnayn* (Hava 73).

θnayn/xnayn and *yamuθnāyn/yamuxnāyn* 'on Monday': *xnayn fil-layl, lā-^carūs u lā-^carīs pisāw snie* 'inton' 'on Monday night, the bride and bridegroom give a party at their home'; < **[yawm θ-]θnayn*;

~ Alep *yōm ət-tnēn* 'le lundi' (Barth 95) ~ Pal Ar *yōm it-tnēn* (Eliḥai 243) ~ Cai *yōm l-itnēn* 'Monday' (Bad/Hi 139).

θéniyawm/θénix(x)ar 'the next day': *θénix(x)ar mimpukra* 'the following morning'; < **θānī-yawm, *θānī-nhār*;

~ Alep *tēni yōm* 'le lendemain' (Barth 95) ~ Kənd *θeni yawm* 'am nächsten Tag' (Vo/Wald 81) ~ Qarṭ *θeni nhār* (Vo/Wald 81) ~ Çukur *tānit yōm* (Procházka 2002:166) ~ Mos (M) *θāni yōm* (Jastrow 1979: 62) ~ Bišm *tāni yawm* (Jiha 1964:46) ~ Cai *tāni yōm* 'the following day' (Bad/Hi 140).

[Cf. CA *θāniya marratin*, ascribed in Wright (1997, §86) to "later writers."]

θ-w-b

θawp (f), pl *-āt* 'shirt': *θawp xampra* 'a red shirt'; *θ-θawp šaytak e leš* (< *lyš*) *iftis* 'your shirt is filthy'; *lpes θawpak!* 'put your (m) shirt on!'; OA *θawb*, pl *θiyāb/aθwāb* 'a garment that is worn by men ... not what is cut out of several pieces, such as the shirt, and trousers, or drawers, etc. ... though often applied to a shirt or shift ...' (Lane 362); cf. also Almkvist (1891:344);

~ Alep *tōb*, pl *twāb* 'vêtement des Nomades, hommes et femmes ...' (Barth 93) ~ Āz *sawb*, pl *swēb* 'Ballen, Rolle (Stoff, Tuch, Schnur etc.)' (Vo/Wald 81) ~ Bagh (M) *θōb*, pl *θyāb* 'shirt, blouse' (Wood/Bee 65) ~ rur Pal Ar *θōb*, pl *θyāb* 'Hemd des Bauern als leichtes Gewand' (Bau 153) ~ Cai *tōb*, pl *ʾatwāb* 'bolt (of cloth), dress' (Bad/Hi 141) ~ Yem *θawb*, pl *ʾaθwāb* 'men's or women's garment' (Qafisheh 2000:73).

θkyep 'clothes; cloth': *k-kassīs pišillu θkyepu u piʿassilillu moxxu* 'the priest removes his (the baby's) clothes and bathes his head'; OA *θiyāb* 'garments' (Hava 74);

~ Alep *tyēb* 'linge de corps, habits' (Barth 96) ~ Dam *tyāb* 'clothes' (Sto/Ani 44) ~ Pal Ar *tyāb* 'habits' (Eliḥai 1973:207) ~ Yem *θyāb* 'clothes' (Qafisheh 2000:72).

θ-w-r

θor 'ox' (no pl); OA *θawr*, pl *aθwār/θīrān/θiyār/θīra* (Hava 74);

~ Alep *tōr*, pl *twār* 'taureau' (Barth 97) ~ Mard *θawr*, pl *Mḥall θwār* 'Stier, Ochse' (Vo/Wald 81) ~ Bagh (M) *θōr*, pl *θīrān* 'bull, steer' (Wood/Bee 65), (J) *θōg* (Mansour 1983:121) ~ rur Pal Ar *θōr*, pl *θīrān* (Bau 290) ~ Cai *tōr* (Bad/Hi 141).

Ġ

[The usual CyA reflex of OA *ġim* is the voiced alveopalatal fricative *ž*. Given the formal affiliations of CyA with the S.E. Anatolian—N. Syrian dialect continuum which retains the affricate reflex [ġ] of OA *ġim* (e.g., Mardin, Aleppo, etc.), CyA deaffrication of this segment is intriguing, especially since the voiceless correlate [č] is well established in CyG (Newton 1972:24). CyA *šrizze* 'saddle' < *sariġe* and *škyez* 'fence' < *siyāg* attest to interaction of sibilants with historical [ġ] prior to its deaffrication via cluster simplification (*dž* > *ž*) typifying urbanized Arabic speech in 'Greater Syria.' (Note the occlusivization of *ġim* > [g] via backing of its point of articulation in Cairene, possibly triggered off in environments where sibilants co-occurred with the voiced alveopalatal affricate.)]

ğ-b-l

žipel, *pkyižpol* (v/t) 'pétrir' (Roth 1975:36); OA *ğabala* (*i, u*) 'form, create a. th.; mix clay with water' (Hava 76);

~ Alep *ğabal* (*o*) 'délayer avec de l'eau (du plâtre, du mortier); pétrir' (Barth 102).

žipel 'mountain, hill'; OA *ğabal*, pl *ağbāl/ğibāl* (Hava 76);

~ Alep *ğabal*, pl *ğbāl/ğbel* 'montagne' (Barth 102) ~ Bagh (M) *ğibal*, pl *ğbal* 'mountain' (Wood/Bee 67) ~ Pal Ar *ğabal*, pl *ğbāl* 'Berg' (Eliḥai

1999:93) ~ Cai *ğabal*, pl *ğibāl* 'hill, mountain' (Bad/Hi 148) ~ Malt *ğebel* (mass n), n un *ğebla* 'stone'.

ž-žipel = Gk *Vunó* 'mountain' (name of Cypriot village); < Ar *l-ğabal*.

ğ-b-n¹

žpin 'forehead': *li-^Gproto^G (x)xar tes-syam marrúx l-iknise mim-pukra texóttinna k-kassīs l-irmát xok ž-žpin u pikunna: mill-itrap žitu u ll-itrap ttatruxu* 'on the first day of Lent, we go to church in the morning so that the priest can put ashes on our foreheads, and say to us: From dust you came and to dust you will return!'; OA *ğabīn*, pl *ağbun/ağbina* (Hava 76);

~ Alep *ğbīn* 'front' (sans pl) (Barth 103) ~ Mard *ğbēn* 'Stirn' (Vo/Wald 83) ~ Pal Ar *ğbīn*, pl *ʾağābīn* (Bau 290) ~ Cai *ğibīn*, pl *ğibīna* 'forehead' (Bad/Hi 148) ~ Malt *ğbin*.

ğ-b-n²

žabben, *pižabben* 'make cheese'; cf. OA *ağbanahu* 'he made cheese of it (milk)' (Lane 376);

~ Alep *ğabban* 'faire du fromage' (Barth 103) ~ rur Egyp Ar *žabbin* 'käsen, zu Käse werden' (Behn/Woid 1994:56).

župn 'cheese filling for *kúlluri* (rolls)': *tlax-okkát župn* 'three okes of cheese filling'; OA *ğubn* (Hava 77);

~ Alep *ğabən* 'du fromage', pl *ğbūnāt* 'des sortes de fromages' (Barth 103) ~ Dam *žabən/žabne* 'cheese' (Sto/Ani 83) ~ Ka'b *ğabən* 'Käse' (Vo/Wald 83) ~ Bagh (M) *ğibin* (Wood/Bee 67) ~ Pal Ar *ğibn* (Bau 170) ~ Cai *ğibna*, pl *ğiban* (Bad/Hi 148) ~ Malt *ğobon* (mass n), n un *ğobna*.

mížipne 'rennet'; *Gamma^G pišidd l-ixlip, e kayse l-mížipne* 'if the milk curdles, the rennet is good'; OA *mağbana* 'dairy' (Hava 77);

~ Alep *mağbana* 'caillette, présure' (Barth 103) ~ Pal Ar *mağbana* 'Käserer' (Bau 170).

ğ-h-š

žaxš, f -e, pl *žxuš* 'young donkey; foolish person'; OA *ğahš* 'young ass', pl *ğihāš/ğihšān/ğahaša* (Hava 78);

~ Alep *ğahš/ğahaš*, pl *čḥēš* 'âne de petite taille, bourriquet, ignorant, sot' (Barth 104) ~ Darag *daḥš* 'Füllen (Pferd, Esel)' (Vo/Wald 84) ~ Pal

Ar *ḡaḥiš*, pl *ḡhāš/ḡhūš* 'Esselfüllen, aber auch Esel schlechthin' (Bau 104) ~ Cai *ḡaḥš*, pl *ḡuḥūš/ḡuḥūša* 'young donkey' (Bad/Hi 149).

ḡ-d-d

ḡtit, f -e, pl *ḡtat* 'new'; OA *ḡadīd*, pl *ḡudud* (Hava 79);
~ Alep *ḡdīd*, pl *ḡdad* 'neuf' (Barth 105) ~ Dam *ḡdīd*, pl *ḡdād/ḡdad* 'new' (Sto/Ani 157) ~ Mard *ḡdīd*, pl *ḡdād* 'neu, frisch' (Vo/Wald 84)
~ Bagh (M) *ḡidīd* (Wood/Bee 68) ~ Leban Ar *ḡdīd*, pl *ḡdād* (Feghali 1919:119) ~ Pal Ar *ḡdīd*, pl *ḡdād/ḡudud* (Bau 216) ~ Cai *ḡidīd*, pl *ḡudād* (Bad/Hi 150) ~ Malt *ḡdid*, f -a, pl *ḡodda*.

ḡ-d-y

ḡtie [ḡdī'e] (sg and pl) 'young nanny goat': *pi'ipu ḡtie* 'some young nanny goats are missing' (Frangiskou 158) < **ḡdiyye*; OA *ḡady* 'kid', pl *ḡidā/ḡidyān*; [Aram *ḡadiyyāh* 'she-kid' (M. Jastrow 212);

[For the f sg ending -ie < *-iyyah in this term, cf. Negev Ar *ḡ'iriyih* 'a small goat', *rīmiyyih* 'young gazelle', *ḡ'iniyyih* 'two-year-old (f)', etc. (Bar-Zvi/Borg/Kressel, forthcoming), etc. The identical m and f forms in CyA here presuppose homonymy via phonological fusion of the singular with some such plural form as Alep *ḡadāya*; for the shift **iyy* < *ay*, cf. CyA *xkie* (< **ḡkiyye*) 'speech, talk' < OA *ḡikāya*.]

~ Alep *ḡadi*, pl *ḡadāya/ḡadyān* 'chevreau' (Barth 106) ~ Darag *ḡadi*, pl *ḡade* 'Zicklein' (Vo/Wald 84) ~ Bagh (M) *ḡadi*, pl *ḡidyān* 'kid' (Cla/Sto/Wo 98) ~ Pal Ar *iḡdayyāna* 'Ziegenböckchen' (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 273) ~ Cai *ḡidi*, pl *ḡidyān* (Bad/Hi 152) ~ Malt *ḡidi* (*sic*), pl *ḡidien*.

ḡ-r-r

ḡarr, *pižorr* (v/t) 'pull, carry, draw'; *mannáxta* 'a fitte fitte lā-*ažin* u *mantžorru pisúr tvil u maffayltu xost z-zayt mixmi* 'we slice the pastry into small pieces, we pull it to stretch it, and we drop it into boiling oil'; *pžorr moe* 'I'm drawing water'; OA *ḡarra* (u) 'draw, drag' (Hava 82);

~ Alep *ḡarr* (ə) 'tirer, trainer après soi' (Barth 108) ~ Kənd *ḡarr*, *yḡarr* 'ziehen, herausziehen' (Vo/Wald 85) ~ Bagh (M) *ḡarr* (u) 'pull, tug, jerk' (Wood/Bee 70) ~ Cai *ḡarr* (u) (Bad/Hi 154) ~ Malt *ḡarr*, *iḡorr* 'carry, drag.'

ntžarra, *pkyintžarra* (v/i) 'leave, withdraw; move towards': *ntžarra žumpi* (or *awnarex*) 'move close/closer to me!'; < **nḡarr*; OA *inḡarra* 'be drawn, dragged, pulled' (Hava 83);

~ Alep *nḡarr*, passif de I (Barth 108) ~ Āz *nḡarr* 'aus dem Wege gehen' (Vo/Wald 85) ~ Cai *ḡingarr/ḡitgarr* (Bad/Hi 155).

ḡarr (vn) 'carrying, drawing'; OA *ḡarr* (Hava 83).

ḡ-r-b

ḡraype (f, cf. CyG *vrka* f), pl -āt 'kind of leather bag, haversack; bagpipe'; < dim **ḡrayba*; OA *ḡirāb*, pl *ḡriba/ḡurab*, etc. (Hava 83);
~ Alep *ḡrāb* 'sac de cuir' (Barth 106) ~ rur Pal Ar *ḡrāb*, pl *ḡurban* 'Ledertasche für Mehl' (Bau 191, 302), 'der Schafschlauch' (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 273) ~ Cai *ḡirāb*, pl *ḡirabāt* 'sheath, holster, small bag or pouch (usually of leather)' (Bad/Hi 153).

*ḡ-r-d-š

ḡartuše (etym ?) 'the Feast of the Ascension; sprinkling day': *tvax-xar* (< *ḡwl*) ^{Gos^G} *l-^catte tel-šimps* ^{Gos^G} *ḡospu^G tetir l-ixxār mankiul o tel-ḡartuše* [*y*]yawm ... *tvaxxar mannitxakka u akke mantsūr* ^{Gos^G} *suppa^G exen ma ll-axar* 'all day until sundown, until nightfall, we say: "It's Ascension day today," ... all day we get even with one another by drenching one another with water'; cf. the metaphor in Malt *ḡajtu hasla* (< *ḡsl*) 'I gave him a piece of my mind.'

[Mez (1909:424-425) notes: "It was customary both at the Persian and the Coptic New Year for people to sprinkle water over each other. ... Today it is associated with the Christian Feast of the Ascension ...; the day is named the 'sprinkling Thursday' (*xamīs r-rišās*)."] Cf. Whitsuntide rain rituals discussed in Gesemann (1913:79f) and Frazer (1994:274). Note also *umm al-ḡayḡ* (Jaussin 1948:323) and N African rain rituals (Doutté 1984:583f).]

ḡ-r-ḡ

ḡartuna, pl -es 'rat' < CyG *čartuna*, pl -es; < Ar *ḡarḡon* < *ḡirḡawn* (Wehr 143); OA *ḡuraḡ*, pl *ḡirḡān* 'large rat' (Hava 85);
~ rur Pal Ar *ḡarḡon*, pl *ḡarḡān* 'Ratte' (Bau 238) ~ Bagh (M) *ḡrēdi*, pl -iyya 'rat' (Wood/Bee 71) ~ Dam *ḡarḡon*, pl *ḡarḡān* (Sto/Ani 186) ~ Malt *ḡurdien*, pl *ḡrieden*.

ḡ-r-š

ḡaruše, pl *ḡveriš* 'handmill for grinding flour; a kind of hard stone'; cf. OA *ḡāriša*, pl *ḡawārīš* 'handmill for groats' (Hava 85);

~ Alep *ḡaruše* 'moulin de ménage, à bras, pour concasser le *bərgol*, les lentilles' (Barth 108) ~ Dam *ḡaruše* 'Schrotmühle (für Burgul, Linsen o.ä.)' (Grotzfeld 1965:154) ~ Ka'b *ḡārūše* (Vo/Wald 86) ~ Bagh (M) *ḡārūša*, pl -āt 'grinder' (Wood/Bee 70) ~ Pal Ar *ḡārūše* 'Handmühle, kleine Grützmühle' (Dalm III, 222; VII, 148).

ġ-r-n

žorne, pl *žran* 'tub; hollowed-out stone for washing clothes' (*grn*); OA *ġurn* 'a hollowed stone, [or stone basin] from which the [ablution termed] *wuđū*' is performed' (Lane 414), pl *aġrān*, also *ġurūn* 'barns' (Hopkins 1984:111); MLA *ġurn al-ma'mūdiya* 'baptismal font' (Wehr 144); Syriac *gurnā* 'yoūpva, large vessel, stone bath, urn' (J. Payne Smith 66), 'lacus' (Brockel 134), 'urn, sarcophagus' (Murtonen 1989:141); cf. the Indo-European cognates: OEng *cweorn*, ONorse *kverna*, Gothic *quairnus*, etc. 'millstone' (COD 1265);

~ Alep *ġarn*, pl *ġrān* 'auge de pierre où boivent les chevaux et le bétail, ...' (Barth 110) ~ Mard *ġarān*, Fəsk *ġarān* 'Waschtrog, Mörser' (Vo/Wald 86) ~ Leban Ar *žern* (Fegh M/I 258, fn 3) ~ Pal Ar *ġurn*, pl *ġrūne* 'steinerner Mörser' (Dalm VII, 125), *žuren*, pl *žrān/žrāne* (Elihai 1973:263) ~ Cai *gurn/m* 'grosser hölzener Mörser' (Behn/Woid 1994:448), *gurn*, pl *girān/agrān* 'threshing floor; wooden mortar, baptismal font (C)' (Bad/Hi 157) ~ rur Egyp Ar *ġurn/ġrūn/gurn/ġunn/ġarn/ġurm/gōrn* 'Dreschplatz' (Behn/Woid 1999:198).

[Tur *gurno* 'Mörser' (Jastrow 1990a:163). The meanings 'threshing floor' and 'basin, mortar' are probably too different to derive from the same etymon; pace Murtonen (1989:141) and Dolgopolsky (1987:15) the second meaning (significantly, restricted to Aramaic and Arabic) is more plausibly ascribed to a homonymous Greek *Kulturwort* such as that cited by J. Payne-Smith still continued in Mod Gk *yoūpva* 'hole, pothole, basin, watering trough' (Magazis 1995:325), 'auge, bassin' (Mirambel 1960:321).]

ġ-r-y

žiri, *pkýižri* (v/i) 'run, hasten': *žawza pkýižri terúx tekúl l-ummu l-yapatu š-šupenu l-xawmu l-ixmatu ...* '(when a woman's delivery is imminent) her husband hastens to inform his mother and father, his godparents, his in-laws ...'; OA *ġarā* (i) 'run, transpire' (Hava 87);

[Unlike Aleppine and Anatolian Arabic, CyA shows a formal and semantic split of this lexeme along the distinction between plain and emphatic reflexes of OA *r as in Egyptian Arabic, Maltese, and several N African Arabic dialects; for details, see Marçais (1911:249f).]

~ Alep *ġara* (i) 'couler, courir, avoir lieu' (Barth 110) ~ Kənd *ġari* (i) 'fließen (Wasser), sich abspielen' (Vo/Wald 86) ~ Bagh (M) *ġira*, (i) 'flow, stream, run; happen' (Wood/Bee 71) ~ Cai *giri* (i) 'run' (Bad/Hi 157) ~ Malt *ġera*, *ġigri*.

žara/žra, *pkýižra* (v/i) 'happen'; Ar **ġarā* (a) < OA *ġarā* (i); ~ Bask *ġara* 'happen, come to pass' (Abu-Haidar 1978:45) ~ Pal Ar

ġara (i) 'passieren' (Bau 227) ~ Cai *gara* (a) 'happen, occur' (Bad/Hi 157) ~ Malt *ġara*, *ġigri*.

žara fi- + (pronominal suffix) 'undergo, be subjected to' < **ġarā fi-* *n-munnūt u t-tatāt lixon xarka tem-^Gmorós ost^G sitt isnin ta lá-težra fix šī* 'the godparents are responsible for the child until the age of six so that no mishap should befall him'; *aš žara fina!* '(if you only knew) what we've been through!'

[This is often rendered as a phonological word: *žarafini*, *žarafik*, etc. 'I/you (m) underwent', etc., and probably conveys Mod Gk παθαίνω. For the shift *ry > *rky > rk, cf. Beaudouin (1884:45f) and Kaisse (1992).]

žeri, f *žerkye*, pl *žerkín* (ap) 'running'; OA *ġārin*;

[Note here the fronted reflex of OA *ā* absent in other Arabic dialects otherwise showing the *qaltu* variety of the *imāla* shift: Aleppine, etc.]

~ Alep *ġāri* (pa) (Barth 110) ~ Kənd *ṁay ġāri* 'fließendes Wasser' (Vo/Wald 86) ~ Bagh (M) *ġāri* (ap) 'flowing, running, circulating' (Wood/Bee 71) ~ Malt *ilma ġieri* 'running water' (note contrast with *ġari* 'my neighbour').

žark/žri (vn) 'running' < **žarky*;

~ Cai *gary* (vn) (Bad/Hi 157) ~ Malt *ġiri*, (nv) *ġirya*.

žirk (n) 'pace, speed' (< **žiry*): *ž-žirk tel-ixmār akke uo* 'such is the donkey's trot!' (said of a slow-witted person; Frangiskou 230) < **žirky* < **žiri*; OA *ġary*.

ġ-z-r

žazar, n un -a 'carrots'; OA *ġazar* (Hava 88);

~ Alep *ġazar* 'carottes' (Barth 113) ~ Mard *ġazařa* (n un) 'Karotte' (Vo/Wald 86) ~ Bagh (M) *ġizar* (coll), n un *ġizra* 'carrot(s)' (Wood/Bee 71) ~ Pal Ar *ġazar* (Nablus *zazar*) (Bau 247) ~ Cai *gazar* (Bad/Hi).

[On loss of the palatal articulation in Nablus *zazar*, cf. David (1887:172) who also cites Dam *zōz* 'couple, mari' < OA *zawġ*, etc.]

ġ-f-y

žefi, f *žefkye*, pl *žefkín* 'rough, hard, dry': *xatap žefkyin* 'dry logs'; OA *ġāfin* 'thick, coarse, rough' (Lane 436);

~ Alep *ġefi* 'épais, gros, rond et cylindrique (: tronc d'arbre, charbon de bois, taille de femme)' (Barth 115) ~ Pal Ar *ġāfi* 'hart' (Bau 149) ~ Cai *gāfi*, pl *gafyīn/gufāh* 'rough, harsh' (Bad/Hi 163).

ġ-m-r

žampr, n un -a 'embers'; OA *ġamr* (Hava 98);
 ~ Alep *ġamər* 'charbon ardent, braise allumée' (Barth 120) ~ Qarṭ *ġaməri* (pl) 'glühende Kohlen' (Vo/Wald 89) ~ Bagh (M) *ġamur* (coll) 'embers, live coals,' n un *ġamra*, pl -āt (Wood/Bee 75, 76) ~ Pal Ar *ġamr* (Bau 176) ~ Cai *gamr* n un -a (Bad/Hi 169) ~ Malt *ġamar*, n un -a.

ġ-m-^c

žumā^ca, pl *tižma^ca* 'week': *žumā^ca žum^catáyn* 'a week or two'; OA *ġum^ca* 'week,' pl *ġuma^c/ġum^cāt* (Hava 98);
 ~ Alep *ġam^ca*, pl *ġama^c* 'semaine' (Barth 120) ~ Qarṭ *ġam^ca* 'Woche, Freitag' (Vo/Wald 89) ~ Pal Ar *ġum^ca* (rur *ġim^ca*), pl *ġuma^c* 'Woche' (Bau 366) ~ Cai *ġum^ca*, pl *ġuma^c* /-āt (Bad/Hi 171).

žumā^ca 'Friday': *ž-žumā^ca fil-layl mannirká'illu* (< r^c) ^Gyiró^G *ḏ-ḏe^ca kulla u kullon maxxon šamā^cát, u pkyiθkarrpu l-impšix u marríx žava 'inna* 'on [Good] Friday night, we make a procession [with Jesus' effigy] all round the village and everyone carries a candle; they receive Communion and afterwards we go home'; OA *al-ġum^ca/yawmu l-ġum^cati/yawmu l-ġum^cati* 'Friday' (Lane 475);

~ Alep *ġam^ca*, pl *ġama^c* 'vendredi' (Barth 120) ~ Dam (*yōm*) *əž-žam^ca* (Sto/Ani 98) ~ Bagh (M) *yōm il-ġum^ca* (Wood/Bee 76) ~ Bišm *iž-žum^ca* 'Freitag' (Jiha 1964:169) ~ Cai (*yōm*) (*ig*)-*gum^ca* 'Friday' (Bad/Hi 171) ~ Malt *(nhar) il-ġimgha*.

yamužumā^ca 'on Friday'; OA *yawm al-ġum(u)^ca* (Hava 98);

ž-žumā^ca l-ixpire 'Good Friday; Holy Week'; *θénix(x)ar ž-žumā^ca l-ixpire ta pimūt l-impšix lina l-^Gepitáfyo^G u min-nússuxar u awnke n-nes piruxu pipusu l-impšix u pkyaxtu ^Gfkyora^G* 'on the following day, Good Friday, when Jesus dies, we hold the Good Friday procession and, from midday onwards, people go to kiss [the effigy of] Jesus and bring flowers with them'; cf. Syriac *šabtō rabtō* (J. Payne Smith 558);

~ Cai *il-gum^ca l-ħazīna/azīma/kibīra* (Chr) 'Good Friday' (Bad/Hi 171) ~ Malt *(il-ġimgha l-kbira)* 'Good Friday' ~ Dam *žam^cet əl-ālām, ž-žam^ca l-ħazīne* 'Good Friday' (Stow/Ani 106) ~ Pal Ar *ġum^cat l-ħazīne* 'Karfreitag' (Bau 170).

ž-žumā^ca tel-^cit 'Holy Week';

~ Alep *ġam^cet əlħazīne* 'la semaine sainte' (Barth 156) ~ Dam *žam^cet əl-ālām* 'Holy Week' (Stow/Ani 117) ~ Cai *l-gum^ca l-ħazīna, l-azīma* or *k-kibīra* (Bad/Hi 171).

ġ-n-n

žann, pižinn (v/i) 'go mad': *žannet* 'she lost her sanity'; cf. OA *ġunna* 'be mad, be possessed' (Hava 99);
 ~ Alep *ġann* (ə) 'devenir fou' (Barth 125) ~ Mard *ġann* 'verrückt werden' (Vo/Wald 90) ~ Bagh (M) *ġann* 'be/become insane' (Wood/Bee 78) ~ Pal Ar *inġann* 'verrückt werden' (Bau 337) ~ Cai *gann* (i) 'drive mad' (Bad/Hi 176).

žannen, pižannen (v/i) 'go mad' (sic); OA *ġannana/aġanna* (v/t) (Lane 462);

~ Alep *ġannan* 'rendre fou' (Barth 125) ~ Cai *ġannin* 'drive insane' (Bad/Hi 176) ~ Bagh (M) *ġannan* 'make insane' (Wood/Bee 78) ~ Pal Ar *ġannan* (Bau 337) ~ Cai *gannin* (used in apposition) 'something wonderful, fantastic' (Bad/Hi 176) ~ Malt *ġennen, iġennen* 'madden s.o.'

ġ-n-b

žump 'beside; to, towards': *žumpi, žumpak*, etc. 'beside me/you, etc.'; *awfa žump* 'closer'; *žump l-paxr* 'by the sea'; *exen šibb, ^Gamma^G pixiupp ll-exte pint, pivaddi l-exlu u t-^Gtatatu^G žump l-exla u pkyitilpua* 'when a youth falls in love with a girl, he sends his parents and godfather to her parents, and they ask for her hand'; OA *ġanb* 'side of a man's body' (Hava 100); MLA *ġanba* (prep) 'beside' (Wehr 164);

~ Alep *ġamb* 'à côté de (qqe ou qqn)' (Barth 122) ~ Kənd *ġamb* 'neben, bei' (Vo/Wald 91) ~ Bišm *žanb/žamb* 'neben, an ... vorbei': *mši žanb il-ħayt* 'geh an der Mauer vorbei' (Jiha 1964) ~ Cai *gamb*, pl *gināb/agnāb/gunāb* 'side' (Bad/Hi 173) ~ Pal Ar *ġamb il-bet* 'neben dem Haus' (Bau 217) ~ Malt *(gemb)* 'beside' (prep/adv), pl *(gnub)* 'side' (n): *(gemb)* 'beside me,' *(oqghod fil-gemb)* 'step aside!'

žump-žump (adv) 'close by, very near.'

ġ-w-w

žava 'inside; at home': *^Gela^G žava* 'come in!'; *e žava* 'she's at home/she's a housewife'; < Ar *ġawwā* (cf. Blau 1988a:117); JArām *gawwā* 'innermost' (M. Jastrow 216);

~ Alep *ġuwwa* 'dedans, au dedans' (Barth 131) ~ Mard *ġawwa*, Kənd *ġūwa* 'Inneres, innen, drinnen,' Darag *fəl-ġawwa* 'im Haus' (Vo/Wald 92) ~ Bagh (M) *ġawwa* (Wood/Bee 81) ~ Pal Ar *ġuwwa* 'innen' (Bau 163) ~ Cai *guwwa* 'inside' (Bad/Hi 184) ~ Malt *(gewwa)* (adv), *(go)* (prep): *(god-dar)* 'in the house.'

[Besp *gwaye* 'drinnen' (Sinha 2000:156), Qaraq *gawa* 'interior' (Khan 2002:732).]

živi, f *žvie*, pl *žvin* 'cultivated (plant); not wild (*perrī*): *zaytune žvie* 'cultivated olive-tree'; < nonclass Ar *ḡuwwiyy* 'domestic (animal)' < *ḡawwiyy* (Hava 103);

– Alep *ḡuwwi* 'apprivoisé, domestique (: animal), opposé à *barri* 'sauvage' (Barth 131) – Pal Ar *ḥaywān ḡuwwi* 'Haustier' (Bau 150).

pažveni 'inner room of a house' (Frangiskou 81) < **bayt ḡuwweni* (*byti*) (Hava 103);

– Alep *ḡūwēni* (adj) 'intérieur' (Barth 131) – Bagh (M) *ḡawwāni* 'inner, lower' (Wood/Bee 81) – Pal Ar *ḡuwwāni* 'innerer' (Bau 163) – Cai *ḡawwāni* (adj) 'inner, internal' (Bad/Hi 184) – Malt *ḡewwieni*.

ḡ-w-z

žawz (coll), n un -e 'the open pods or capsules of the cotton plant'; OA *ḡawz* 'the middle of a thing ...' (Lane 485);

– Alep *ḡōz* 'noix, noyer' (Barth 129), *ḡawzat al-qutn* (Al-Asadī 1988: VI, 420) – Bagh (M) *ḡōz* (coll) 'walnut(s)' (Wood/Bee 80) – Arb (J) *ḡawz* 'Walnuß(baum)' (Vo/Wald 94) – Cai *ḡōz* 'walnuts, walnut trees' (Bad/Hi 182) – Malt *ḡewż*, n un -a 'wallnuts.'

ḡ-w-^c

žā'a, *pižo'o* (v/i) 'be hungry': *žet s-sa'a tel-tirvike, žō'ōna* 'breakfast-time came and we were hungry'; OA *ḡā'a* (u) (Lane 487);

– Alep *ḡā'* (u) 'ressentir la faim; avoir faim' (Barth 130) – Dam *ḡā'* (u) 'go hungry' (Sto/Ani 120) – Mhall *ḡā'*, *ḡō'* 'Hunger haben' (Vo/Wald 94) – Bagh (M) *ḡā'* (u) (Wood/Bee 80) – Pal Ar *ḡā'* (u) (Bau 161) – Cai *ḡā'* (u) 'become hungry' (Bad/Hi 182).

žō'o 'hunger': *stusna miž-žō'o* 'we nearly starved to death!'; OA *ḡū'* (Hava 105);

– Alep *ḡū'* 'faim' (Barth 130) – Mard *ḡō'* 'Hunger' (Vo/Wald 94) – Bagh (M) *ḡō'* (vn), *ḡū'* 'hunger, starvation' (Wood/Bee 80) – Pal Ar *ḡū'* (Bau 161) – Cai *ḡū'* (Bad/Hi 182) – Malt *ḡuħ*.

žā'an/žā'an f -e, pl -in 'hungry'; OA *ḡaw'an* (Hava 105);

– Alep *ḡā'an* 'ayant faim, qui a faim' (Barth 130) – Hōr *žā'an* (Cantineau 1946, map 42) – Ka'b *ḡā'an*, Qart *ḡō'an*, pl Mard *ḡawā'e* 'hungry' (Vo/Wald 94) – Bagh (M) *ḡā'an*, pl -in, *ḡwā'a* 'hungry, starved, famished' (Wood/Bee 80) – Bišm *žā'an* (Jiha 1964:122) – Pal

Ar *ḡā'an/ḡā'an* (Bau 161) – Cai *ḡā'an*, pl *ḡawā'a* (Bad/Hi 182) – Malt *ḡewhan*, pl -in.

ḡ-w-l-q

žavlak, pl *žvalek/žvelik* 'large sack'; OA *ḡuwāliq/ḡuwālaq*, pl *ḡawāliq/ḡawāliq* (Lane 445); cf. Syriac *ḡawālqā*, *ḡwālqā*, [Aram *ḡū'alqā*, *gulqā*, Mand *gualqa* (Cohen 1970:108);

[Both CyA plural forms are old. Durra, 190 also notes the pl *ḡuwāliqāt* adding: *fa-'amma ḡuwāliq fa-ḡakara Sibawayhi 'annah lam yusma' 'anhum fi ḡam'ihī 'illā ḡawāliq, wa-'aḡāza ḡayruhu 'an yuḡma'a 'alā ḡawāliq bi-faḡhi l-ḡim ...* "As for *ḡuwāliq*, Sibawayhi noted that the only plural of this form in actual use is *ḡawāliq*, but other grammarians allow the plural *ḡawāliq*, vowelizing *ḡim* with *fatha*" (my trans.). On the derivational relationship obtaining between these forms, Siddiqi (1919:64) observes: "*ḡuwāliq* hat zwar drei Plurale *ḡawāliq*, *ḡawāliq* und *ḡuwāliqāt*; der äußere Plural, den Sibawaihi aber nicht gelten lassen will, gibt jedoch keine Veranlassung zum Verdacht. Dagegen erregt einer der beiden inneren Plurale starken Verdacht, weil man von ihm einen Singular **ḡawlaq* erwarten muß." The dialectal proto-form **ḡawlaq*, continued in Maltese and CyA, would seem to be a back-formation from the plural.]

– Snēb *ḡwālq*, pl *ḡawāliq* – Hal *ḡwāloq* 'Sack' (Vo/Wald 94) – Malt *ḡewlaq*, pl *ḡwielaq* 'straw basket.'

[Cf. Hert *ḡwāla*, pl *ḡwāle* 'Sack' (Jastrow 1988a:187) – Tk *čival* 'Sack' (Steuerwald 1972:193) > Hama *čwāl*, pl *čwālāt* 'grosser Sack für 128 kg. Weizen' (Lewin 1966: *34*), Pal Ar *šuwāl* 'Sack mit Trockenfrüchten' (Bau 41).]

ḡ-w-y

žva, *pkyižvi* (v/i) 'stink'; OA *ḡawiyā* (a): *ḡawiyati l-arḡu* 'the land stank' (Lane 491);

– Alep *ḡawa* (i) 'puer' (Barth 131); cf. Pal Ar *ḡā'wa* 'stinkender' (Kampff 1936:12)

žayye, pl -at 'bad smell, stench'; cf. OA *ḡawin/ḡawan* 'stinking water' (Lane 491);

– Alep *ḡayye* 'puanteur' (Barth 131) – Leban Ar *ḡayyi* 'putrid smell' (Abu-Haidar 1979:61) – Pal Ar *ḡayye* 'Gestank' (Kampff 12).

g-y

ye/nke [nye] 'yes'; < (?) Anc Gk *ye* (Denniston 1934:130; Smyth 1956:642).

[On this Ancient Greek particle, (Denniston, *loc. cit.*) observes: "This extremely common form and diversified use is an offshoot of emphatic *ye*. It is not strictly true to say, as has often been said, that *ye* here means 'yes', though 'yes' is sometimes a convenient rendering." The CyA

reflex has two variants: the first shows palatalization of the voiced velar stop, the second requires a nasal onset to ensure retention and voicing of the velar obstruent (cf. [gidel] - /nkitel/ 'he was killed').

ğ-y-ʔ

ža, piži (v/i) 'come, arrive at; to derive from; to turn out': žina δ-δe'a 'we arrived at the village': *xost s-syam, má-pkyaklu* ^{GmeG} *laxm* ^{GmeG} *šikits ta piži mil-laxm* 'during Lent, they (the Cypriot Maronites) abstain from meat or anything deriving from meat'; *má-ttaži žava l-layle* 'I shan't come home tonight';

[For CyA retention of the old stress pattern in the Imperfect, cf. Syr Ar *yigi* (map 215, Behnstedt 1997:431) and Leban Ar *biži* (Jiha 1964:143). CyA Imperative forms of this verb are suppletive (cf. Borg 1985:91).]

~ Alep ʔağa, ʔaği 'venir à, auprès de (qqn)' (Barth 3) ~ Dam ʔža, ʔži 'come' (Sto/Ani 46) ~ Bagh (M) ġā/ʔiġa (i) (Wood/Bee 81) ~ Pal Ar ʔağa/ʔiġa, biği/biği 'kommen' (Bau 178) ~ Cai ga/gih, yigi (Bad/Hi 184) ~ Malt ǵie, jigi [ʔyidzi].

žey, f žeyye, pl žein 'coming'; OA ġāʔin;

~ Alep ġeye (m/f sg), pl ġeyin, f ġeyāt (Barth 3) ~ Dam žāye (Sto/Ani 46) ~ Bišm žāy, f žāyi, pl žāyīn (Jiha 1964:143) ~ Pal Ar ġāy, f -e (Bau 214) ~ Cai gayy/gāy (Bad/Hi 184) ~ Malt ǵej, f ǵejja, pl ǵejjin.

ğ-y-b

žap, pižip (v/t) 'bring'; MAr ġyb 'bringen' (Graf 1905:86); OA ġāʔa bi ilā 'bring a.o. to' (Hava 106);

~ Alep ġāb (i) 'apporter, amener, mettre au monde, ...' (Barth 131) ~ Mard ġāb (i) 'bringen, herbringen, holen' (Vo/Wald 97) ~ Bagh (M) ġāb (i) 'bring, fetch' (Wood/Bee 82) ~ Pal Ar ġāb (i) (Bau 66) ~ Cai gāb (i) 'bring' (Bad/Hi 184) ~ Malt ǵab/ǵieb, iǵib.

ğ-y-d

žit (n) 'good (n), good deeds': *sava žit* 'he performed good deeds'; OA ġūd, inf. of ġāda (u) 'he was liberal,' and ġayyid 'good' (Lane 481);

~ Leban Ar žid, pl ʔžawīd 'bien né' (Feghali 1938:751) ~ Pal Ar ġūd/ǵūde 'Güte' (Bau 145) ~ Cai gūd 'generosity' (Bad/Hi 180) ~ Yem ġīd, pl ʔaǵwād 'generous, kind person' (Qafisheh 2000:92) ~ Saʔd ġīd 'gut, schön' (Behnstedt 1987:242) ~ Malt ǵid 'good (n); wealth': ǵhamel hafna ǵid 'he did much good (i.e., performed many good deeds).'

H

h-b-b¹

xabb, pixubb (v/t) 'love'; OA *ħabba* (i)/*aħabba* (Hava 108); ~ Alep *ħabb* (ə) 'aimer qqn ou qqe' (Barth 140) ~ Mard *ħabb* (ə) 'lieben, sich verlieben, gern mögen, wollen' (Vo/Wald 107) ~ Bagh (M) *ħabb* (i) (Wood/Bee 89) ~ Pal Ar *ħabb* (u/i) (Bau 193) ~ Malt ʔħabb, iħobb 'love, like.'

txabba, pkyitxabba 'love one another; fall in love': ^{GanG} *pint u šibb pkyitxabbu, u exlon má-pirītu tentžawzu, š-šibb pkyisrok l-pint u piruxu pkyintžawzu vaxton* 'if a girl and a youth fall in love and their parents don't allow them to marry, the youth elopes with (lit., steals) the girl and they marry on their own' (*srqū*); cf. OA *taħābba* 'have mutual love' (Hava 108), *taħābbū* 'they loved ... one another' (Lane 496); ~ Alep *thābab* 's'aimer l'un l'autre' (Barth 141) ~ Bagh (M) *thābab* 'love each other' (Wood/Bee 89) ~ Cai ʔithabb (Bad/Hi 188) ~ Yem *thābab* 'fall in love with each other' (Qafisheh 2000:97).

xabb 'love'; OA *ħubb*;

[CaC(C) is the unmarked scheme for CyA verbal nouns.]

~ Leban Ar *ħebb* 'amour' (Feghali 1938:752) ~ Pal Ar *ħubb* 'Liebe, Beliebtheit' (Bau 193, 50) ~ Cai *ħubb* (Bad/Hi 188).

h-b-b²

ximplās, n un -e, pl -āt 'myrtle'; < **ħabb l-ās* (Bau 212, Barth 175); OA ʔās 'myrtle' (Lane 125);

~ Alep *ħamblās* 'graines de myrte' (Barth 175, 178) ~ Dam *ħabbelās* 'die Myrtenbeere' (Wetzstein 1857:524) ~ Pal Ar *ħemblās* 'Myrthe' (Bau 212), *Myrtus communis* (Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:39).

h-b-s

xaps (no pl) 'prison'; OA *ħabs, pl ħubūs* (Hava 109); ~ Alep *ħabs, pl ħbūs* 'prison' (Barth 143) ~ Mard *ħabs* 'Gefängnis' (Vo/Wald 108) ~ Pal Ar *ħabs, pl ħubūs* (Bau 125) ~ Cai *ħabs* (Bad/Hi 189) ~ Malt ʔħabs, pl ħabsijiet.

h-b-l¹

xapl, pl xpel 'rope'; OA *ħabl, pl ħibāl/aħbul/ħubūl* (Hava 110);

~ Alep *habəl*, pl *hbəl* 'corde' (Barth 144) ~ Kənd *habəl* 'Strick, Seil' (Vo/Wald 108) ~ Pal Ar *habl*, pl *hbāl* (Bau 272) ~ Cai *habl*, pl *hibāl* 'ihbāl' 'rope, cord' (Bad/Hi 190) ~ Malt *ħabel*, pl *ħbula*.

ħ-b-l²

xiplet, *pittixpel* (v/i) 'become pregnant'; OA *ħabilat* (a) (Lane 504); ~ Alep *ħəblet* (a) 'devenir enceinte' (Barth 104) ~ Arb *ħəblət*, *təħbal* 'schwanger werden' (Vo/Wald 108) ~ Cai *ħiblet* 'she conceived' ~ Pal Ar *ħiblat* (a) (Bau 268) ~ Malt *ħoblot* (animal).

xabbel, *pixabbel* (v/t) 'make pregnant': *xabbila* 'he made her pregnant' (Frangiskou 142); OA *ħabbala/ahbala* (Hava 110);

~ Alep *ħabbal* 'rendre enceinte, féconder' (Barth 144) ~ Bagh (M) *ħabbal* 'make pregnant' (Wood/Bee 90) ~ Pal Ar *ħabbal* 'schwängern' (Bau 268) ~ Cai *ħabbil* (Bad/Hi 190).

xuple, pl *xpala* 'pregnant'; OA *ħublā*, pl *ħabālā* (Hava 110);

~ Alep *ħəble*, pl *ħabāla* 'enceinte' (Barth 144) ~ Dam *ħablāne/ħāmel/ħāmle*, pl *ħawāmel* 'pregnant' (Sto/Ani 178) ~ Hama *ħəble* 'schwanger' (Lewin 1966:30*) ~ Ka'b *ħəble* (Vo/Wald 108) ~ Bagh (M) *ħibla*, pl *-āt*, *hbāla* 'pregnant' (Wood/Bee 90), (JC) *ħəblē* (Blanc 1964:52) ~ Pal Ar *ħibla/hubla/ħāmle*, pl *ħabāla* (Bau 269) ~ Cai *ħibla*, pl *-īn*, *ħabāla* (Bad/Hi 190) ~ Malt *ħobla* (animal), *ħqila* (human).

[Malt *ħqila* 'pregnant' ~ Neo-Aram *yaqurta* 'heavy, pregnant' (Kurdistan, Mutzafi, p.c.). Final *īmāla* in reflexes of OA *ħublā*, is discussed in Rabin (1951:116), Blanc (1964:150), and Levin (1992:86-7); cf also Bergsträßer (1915:189 and map 6), Behnstedt (1997, maps 55-57).]

ħ-t-y

*ta*¹ (= [te-] before an underlying 3rd pers marker [y-])—subjunctive verbal proclitic in: (a) subordinate clauses: *mísikni tesainni* ^G*katigoría* 'he arrested me in order to charge me'; *piti teaxki* 'il se mit à parler' (Roth 1975:60, fn 2); (b) Optative verb forms: *l-itrúntž tekunu xumpr* 'let the citrons (for making candied fruit) be red!' = [ta-ykunu]; *rabbi tesa'itna* 'Dieu nous vienne en aide', *teipes moxxak* 'que ton cerveau se dessèche' (Roth 1975:106); (c) rhetorical questions: *aš tantsáy?* 'what are we to do?';

~ Çukur *šū ta-nsawwi* 'was sollen wir denn machen?' (Procházka 2002:116).

*ta*² (conjunction introducing final clauses of the jussive); *azimnāx teži ta nit'ašša* 'we invited him to dinner'; *pá'ivru* (^G*wrv*) *k-kammín ta*

lā-tetaxxen ixtir 'I block (lit. blind) a vent of the charcoal furnace to reduce the discharge of smoke'; *attintúrna pikullu ta lá-nuká'a xost l-páxr* 'veille sur nous, dit-il, (afin) que nous ne tombions pas à la mer' (Roth 1975:106; 1996:79); *aða š-šo'ol ta lá-ysur oxre trik* 'this must not happen again!';

~ Alep *brök ta-ħkīlak* 'assieds-toi afin que je te raconte l'histoire'; *ʔağa ta-yəkməš ət-tēr* 'il vint pour saisir l'oiseau' (Barth 78) ~ Āz *ħatta* 'bis daß, damit' (Vo/Wald 109) ~ Bask *ta ħatta* 'so that' (Abu-Haidar 1979:80) ~ Bišm *ʔana baddi ʔiṭṭalla* ^G*ʔaš-šmāl wa ʔal-yamīn ta-fīn ʔišt-gil* 'ich muß nach rechts und links sehen, damit ich arbeiten kann' (Jiha 1964:149, 30) ~ Pal Ar *ta* 'damit' (Bau 71): *int tūl is-sane bittāğir ta tirbah* 'du handelst das ganze Jahr, bis/damit du gewinnst' (Blau 1960:234).

*ta*³ 'when' (temporal conjunction): *ta ʔantu namu, tfu l-^Glampa* 'when they retired, they put the light out'; *ana ta ruxt ašil v-varak šati, sayluni an* ^G*epolémisa* 'when I went to collect my papers, they asked me where I had seen active service';

[Closely comparable usage of *ta* as a temporal subordinating conjunction occurs in other Eastern Arabic vernaculars; cf. Cantineau (1946:408-9) on the Arabic dialects of the Hōrān: ... *Ta* a pris des sens variés, assez éloignés de sa valeur primitive de 'jusqu'à ce que'; ... *ta inām mnösreg* ^G*anezto* 'quand il dormira, nous volerons sa chèvre.']

~ Hask *tā tsīr gbīr* 'wenn du groß geworden bist' (Talay 83) ~ Pal Ar *ta rāhu n-nās ʔalla* 'when the people went away, he told her' (Piamenta 1966:8).

*ta*⁴—a general relative pronoun referring back to antecedents irrespective of gender, number, definiteness, or animacy marking = Mod Gk *πov* "ein multifunktionales Einleitungswort von Relativsätzen" (Ruge 1986:56): *k-kišk mannakūla š-šitvie ta o part* 'we eat kišk during the winter when it's cold'; *pisalli l-islavāt ta pkyá'āref úo* 'he recites his usual prayers'; *mannimpsek ʔosk* (< ^G*šy*) *u marrúx l-ixkālī ta fia xarrupāt* 'we grab sticks and go to the fields where the carob-trees are (to pick them)'; *o kaes ta piθkúl* 'that's a great idea! (iron.)'

[For more details on the CyA rel. pron. *ta*, see Roth (1987a).]

*ta*⁵ [+ Perf.] 'because': *pkyislax teufua tá'apa ta ʔasslet m-^Gmorós* 'they have to pay her (the midwife) for having bathed the baby'; *kanyislax atxallunni* (^G*ln*) *ši kōmmāti laxm ta kilt l-i^Gklotšá u uká'at xullá* 'you should have [at least] left me a piece [of meat] if only for having been kicked and knocked over.'

*ta*⁶ or *te*—adjunct to an adverbial head: *aḏak kifta ta lá-terúx u- v ana tarúx?* 'why should I go [into the army] when that fellow isn't going?'; *aḏa s-sunt ntxitem ixtir mix-xayyti* ^{Gprin} *te mat* 'this plough was highly perfected by my brother before he died': *alli l-iskafi, fia sintáyn ta pilpison; tteklú* 'I have worn these shoes for two years; they're worn out'; *k-kampánes* ^G *pitokku tváxxar u tvállayl* ^{Gost} *ta marrúx nússulayl l-knise manniθkaddes* '(on Holy Saturday) the church bells ring all day and night till we go to church at midnight to hear Mass';

~ Alep *hallaq ta-ḡitu?* 'c'est maintenant que vous venez?' (Barth 78) ~ Bask *'iddayš ba'id ta txalliš?* 'how much longer have you got before you finish?' (Abu-Haidar 1979:115).

*-ta*⁷—(enclitic variant of preceding) in the conjunction *mixta* 'such as when' (Ar **miθl-tā*): ... *mixta pi'átirfik k-kassís máy-taxtri aθkúillu* ^{Gpsémata} *'de même, que quand le prêtre te (f) confesse, tu ne peux lui dire de mensonges'* (Roth 1975:97); cf. also the interrogative *kifta* 'why?'; [equivalent to *-ma* in other Arabic dialects; cf. Pal Ar *la-haddit-ma* ~ *la-haddit-ta* 'until' (Piamenta 1966:39)];

~ Jab *kif hatta* 'why?' (Lewin 1969:22) ~ Bask *lašta/kifta* 'why' (Abu-Haidar 1978:116).

tta- (Fut marker): *ttaxrop pukra* 'I shall leave tomorrow'; (⇒ [tte-] before the underlying 3rd pers marker [y-]: *tterúx* 'he'll go');

~ Kənd *ta-* (Verbmodifikator zum Ausdruck der Zukunft, ... vor ergibt sich immer *tī-*) (Vo/Wald 66): Qarṭ *tīqattəl kəllətna* 'er wird uns alle umbringen' (Jastrow 1995:147f).

[Cf. also Leban Ar *ta* (Feghali 1938:746). For future markers deriving from OA *hattā*, see Marçais (1902:193, fn 1) and Nöldeke (1904:64).]

kifta 'why?' < **kif-hattā*;

~ Leban Ar *kefta* 'pourquoi?' (Feghali 1928:229) ~ Cabali *kif hattā* *'axaḏ?* 'how (why) did he take?' (Lewin 1969:22).

[Cf. Darag *tay* 'warum?' (Vo/Wald 109) and Pal Ar *tay* 'how?' (in a proverb; Canaan 1935:253).]

ḥ-ḡ-r

xazar (mass n) 'stone,' n un *xazra*, pl *xzar*; OA *ḥaḡar*, pl *aḡḡār/hiḡāra/hiḡār* (Hava 112);

~ Alep *ḥaḡar*, n coll, pl *ḡḡār*, n un *ḥaḡara* (Barth 146) ~ Kənd *ḥaḡar*, pl *ḡḡeyar*, Āz *ḥaḡer* 'Stein' (Vo/Wald 109) ~ Bagh (J) *ḡḡāḡa* 'stone,' *ḥaḡar* 'jewel' (Blanc 1964:20) ~ Mos (C) *ḥaḡāḡa* 'jewel' (infor) ~

Pal Ar *ḥaḡar* (sg and mass n), pl *ḡḡār*: *mīn rama hal-ḥaḡar?* 'qui a jeté cette pierre?' (Elihai 1973:297) ~ Malt *ḥaḡar* (coll), n un *ḡaḡra*.

ḥ-r-r

xarr, f -a, pl -in 'hot': (y) *yawm pisáy xarr* 'it's hot today'; OA *ḥārr* (Hava 117);

~ Alep *ḥarr*, f -a 'chaud' (Barth 150) ~ Pal Ar *ḥārr* 'Heiß' (Bau 152) ~ Cai *ḥarr/ḥār* (Bad/Hi 197).

xrarāt 'pepper' < **ḥarārāt*; OA *ḥarāra* 'a burning in the mouth from the taste of a thing ...' (Lane 539);

~ Alep *ḥarāra* 'chaleur, inflammation' (Barth 150) ~ Kənd *ḥarāra* 'Hitze' (Vo/Wald 111) ~ Bagh (M) *ḥarāra* 'heat, warmth (also of emotions), temperature, fever blister, cold sore' (Wood/Bee 95-96) ~ Pal Ar *ḥarāra* 'innerliche Hitze' (Bau 158) ~ Cai *ḥarāra* 'heat, warmth, fervour, rash' (Bad/Hi 198) ~ Malt *ḥrara* 'religious fervour.'

xrire, pl *xrer* (< **ḥrēyer*) 'a sweet dish made with flour'; OA *ḥarīra* 'a kind of soup of flour and grease or gravy; or flour cooked with milk ...' (Lane 539); cf. Ar *ḥarīr* 'flour mixed with milk and oil' (Levey 1966:258).

~ Alep *ḥarīre* 'nom d'un mets doux et rafraîchissant où il entre de la farine' (Barth 150); cf. Leban Ar *ḥrīre* 'bouillie, purée' (Feghali 1938:754) ~ Hal *ḥarīre* 'eingedickter Sirup, Süßmasse' (Vo/Wald 111) ~ Bagh (M) *ḥarīra* 'a pudding of starch and sugar; served hot' (Wood/Bee 95) ~ Mor Ar *ḥrīra* 'brouet, soupe très relevée, à base de levain délayé, contenant tomates oignons, lentilles, pois chiches, vermicelles, petits morceaux de viande, œufs, coriandre, curcuma' (Dict. Colin II, 301).

ḥ-r-ḡ

xraš 'uncultivated land; countryside, open country'; OA *ḥirāš/ahḡrāḡ/ahḡrāš* 'woodland'; OA *ḥaraḡa* 'a wood' (Lane 543);

~ Alep *ḥərš* 'bois, forêt' (Barth 151) ~ Bask *ḥirš* (Abu-Haidar 1979:10) ~ Pal Ar *ḥirš*, pl *ahḡrāš* 'Wald' (Bau 352).

ḥ-r-š

širex, f *šerxe*, pl *šerxīn* 'greedy, avaricious' < Ar **ḥiriš*; cf. OA *aḡrašu*, f *ḥaršā*, *ḡur(u)š* 'rough, harsh' (Lane 547);

[Apparently generated on the *fi'cil* adjectival scheme (< OA *fa'cil*) encoding negative traits; see under 'tl.]

~ Alep *ḥarīš* 'reglé dans ses dépenses, économe' < *ḥarīš* 'avare' (Barth 151) ~ Cai *ḥiriš* 'rough, coarse' (Bad/Hi 198) ~ Malt *ahḡrax*, f *harxa* [ʔa:rša], *horox* 'hard-hearted.'

šarax 'greed, avarice.'

h-r-q

xarak, pkyaxrak (v/t) 'burn'; OA *haraqa* (u) *bin-nāri* 'burn down a th.' (Hava 119);

~ Alep *haraq* (e) (v/t) 'brûler' (qqe ou qqn) (Barth 152) ~ Dam *haraq* (e/o) (Sto/Ani 31) ~ Kənd *haraq* (ə) 'verbrennen, abbrennen, in Brand halten, ...' (Vo/Wald 112) ~ Bagh (M) *hirag* (i) 'burn' (Wood/Bee 97) ~ Pal Ar *haraq* (i) (Bau 329) ~ Malt ⟨haraq, jahraq⟩.

xtarak, pkyaxtrek (v/i) 'catch fire, burn': *pittaxtrek kaes z-za'tāra* 'wild thyme burns well'; *xtarku mil-ataš* 'they were parched with thirst'; OA *ihtaraqa/taħarraqa* 'be burnt down' (Hava 119);

~ Alep *htaraq, yəhtəreq* 'être brûlé' (Barth 152) ~ Dam *yəhtəreq hal-ħatab yəhtəreq əmnih* 'this wood burns well' (Sto/Ani 31) ~ Bagh (M) *htirag* 'catch fire' (Wood/Bee 97) ~ Pal Ar *inharaq* 'sich brennen' (Bau 66) ~ Malt ⟨inharaq, jinħaraq⟩.

maxruk, f -a, pl -in 'burnt.'

xark (vn) 'burning'; OA *ħarq*.

xarka 'worry, concern, responsibility': *āḏak ta lu t-taken lu u l-xarka* 'the person with the beard (i.e., the older person) bears the responsibility' (Frangiskou 229); OA *ħurqa* 'heat' (Lane 552), cf. nonclass Ar *ħaraqa qalbahu* 'distress a. o.' (Hava 119);

~ Alep *ħarqa* 'une perte irréparable' (Barth 152) ~ Bagh (M) *ħurqa* 'stinging, burning sensation (of heartburn)' (Wood/Bee 97) ~ Cai *ħur'a* 'intense mental or emotional pain' (Bad/Hi 200) ~ Malt ⟨herqa⟩ 'zeal.'

xrik 'conflagration'; OA *ħarīq* (Hava 120);

~ Alep *ħarīq* 'incendie' (Barth 152) ~ Çukur *ħarīqa* 'Brand' (Procházka 2002:32) ~ Leban Ar *ħrīq* 'grandes incendies, embrasement général' (Fegh M/J 1977:188, fn 1) ~ Pal Ar *ħarīqa*, pl *ħarāyiq* (Bau 65) ~ Cai *ħarī*?, pl *ħarāyi* 'conflagration, fire' (Bad/Hi 200).

h-r-k

xarrek, pixarrek (v/t) 'move'; OA *ħarraka* (Hava 120);

~ Alep *ħarrak* 'mouvoir, remuer, bouger' (Barth 153) ~ Pal Ar *ħarrak* 'rühren' (Bau 248) ~ Malt ⟨harrek, iharrek⟩ 'move (v/t)';

txarrek, pkyitxarrek (v/i) 'move'; OA *taħarraka* (Hava 120);

~ Alep *tharrak* 'bouger de sa place' (Barth 153) ~ Dam *tharrak* (v/i)

'move' (Sto/Ani 154) ~ Pal Ar *tharrak/htarak* 'sich rühren' (Bau 248) ~ Cai 'itharrak' 'be stirred' (Bad/Hi 131) ~ Malt ⟨tharrek, jitharrek⟩.

h-r-k-š

xarkeš, pixarkeš (v/t) 'move; ferret around; stir (liquid)': *pxarkeš mnawnke pxarkeš mnawna lakāyt* ^Gsakkulla^G 'I ferretted around and found a bag'; ^Gamma^G *l-ixlīp teixxon fitte, maxxarkeš xost mīzīpne* 'when the milk warms up a little, we stir it with a rennet (to make yoghurt)'; MLA *ħarkaθa/ħarkaša* 'stir up, agitate' (Wehr 201); Syriac *ħarkeš* 'caud-am movit' (Brockel 256);

~ Alep *ħarkaš* 'agiter, remuer, troubler, exciter' (Barth 153) ~ Leban Ar *ħarkeš* 'il agita, troubla, excita, remua (la poussière)' (Feghali 1918:35) ~ Cai *ħarkiš* 'agitate, excite, thrill' (Bad/Hi 200).

txarkeš, pkyitxarkeš (v/i) 'move about, flap; be stirred, mixed up': *antāyt xost k-konn u txārikšu ž-žēž* 'I entered the coop and the chickens flapped about'; *āḏak ta pkyitxārkeš ma l-ixxale pkyaklūx ž-žēž* 'he who gets mixed up in the bran will end up being eaten by the chickens' (pop. saying; Frangiskou 231);

~ Cai 'itharkiš' 'be agitated, excited' (Bad/Hi 131).

[Ma'1 *yīħarkeš* 'sich an ein Mädchen heranmachen' (Arnold, p.c.).]

mpxarkeš, f *mpxārikše*, pl *mpxarikišīn* (pp) 'moved; mixed up, muddled.'

txurkoš (vn) 'stirring, moving about, movement.'

h-r-m

xarrem, pixarrem (v/t) 'steal'; a denomin. derivation from CyA *xram*;

~ Alep *ħarram* 'interdire au nom de la religion šī' *ala ħada qqe. à qqn.* (Barth 153) ~ Pal Ar *ħarram* 'verboten (religiös)' (Bau 328) ~ Cai *ħarram* 'forbid' (Bad/Hi 131).

xram 'theft'; OA *ħarām*, pl *ħurum* 'sin, unlawful thing' (Hava 120);

~ Alep *ħarām* 'tout ce qui est interdit par la religion, vol, adultère' (Barth 154) ~ Mħall *ħarām* 'rituell verboten' (Vo/Wald 112) ~ Pal Ar *ħarām* (Bau 328).

xrami, f *xramie*, pl *xramīn* 'thief, burglar'; MLA *ħarāmī*, pl *ħarāmīya* (Wehr 201);

~ Leban Ar *ħrāmī* 'Dieb' (Jiha 1964:100) ~ Āz *ħarāmīya* 'Räuber' (Vo/Wald 112) ~ Pal Ar *ħarāmī*, pl *ħarāmīyye* (Bau 76).

h-s-s

xass, *pixiss* (v/t) 'feel, perceive, notice': *pxiss pxal* 'I feel sick'; *xassdyt exen kanyitfušni* 'I felt someone pushing me'; *ana pxissu má-piri teriux* 'I suspect he doesn't want to go'; OA *ḥassa/aḥassa* (Hava 122);

~ Alep *ḥass* (ə) 'sentir par le toucher' (Barth 157) ~ Mard *ḥass* (ə) 'entdecken, bemerken' (Vo/Wald 113) ~ Bagh (M) *ḥass* (i) 'feel, sense' (Wood/Bee 102) ~ Pal Ar *ḥass* (i) (Bau 51) ~ Egypt Ar *ḥass* 'hören' (Behn/Woid 1994:84) ~ Malt *ḥass*, *iḥoss* 'feel.'

xiss 'voice': *xissu kaes* 'his voice is beautiful'; OA *ḥiss* 'feeling, pre-sentiment, voice' (Hava 122);

~ Alep *ḥass* 'ce qu'on perçoit, bruit, voix' (Barth 157) ~ Kənd *ḥass* 'Stimme, Ton, Klang, Laut, ...' (Vo/Wald 114) ~ Bagh (M) *ḥiss* 'feeling, sensation; voice, noise' (Wood/Bee 102) ~ Pal Ar *ḥiss*, pl *ḥsūs* 'Stimme' (Bau 290) ~ Cai *ḥiss* 'voice' (Bad/Hi 205) ~ Malt *ḥoss*, pl *hsejjes* 'noise.'

h-s-b

xisep, *pkyaxsop* (v/t) 'compter, estimer' (Roth 1975:36); OA *ḥasaba* (u) (Hava 122);

~ Alep *ḥasab* (o) 'compter, calculer' (Barth 156) ~ Dam *ḥasab* (ə) 'calculate' (Sto/Ani 33) ~ Qarṭ *ḥasab* (ə) 'rechnen, berechnen' (Vo/Wald 114) ~ Bagh (M) *ḥisab* (i) 'compute, reckon' (Wood/Bee 100) ~ Pal Ar *ḥasab* (i) (Bau 240) ~ Cai *ḥasab* (i) (Bad/Hi 205).

txesep 'he settled accounts with s.o.': *txesipna* 'we settled our accounts'; OA *taḥāsaba* (Hava 123) (Hava 122);

~ Bagh (M) *thāsab* 'settle a mutual account' (Wood/Bee 101).

xsep 'bill, account'; OA *ḥisāb* (Hava 122);

~ Alep *ḥsēb* 'compte, calcul' (Barth 156) ~ Mard *ḥsāb* 'Kosten (pl)' (Vo/Wald 114) ~ Bagh (J) *ḥsīb* (C), *ḥsāb* 'account' (Blanc 1964:43) ~ Pal Ar *ḥsāb* 'Rechnung' (Bau 240), 'consideration' (Piamenta 2000:202) ~ Cai *ḥisab*, pl -āt (Bad/Hi 203) ~ Malt *ḥsieb* 'thought.'

xsepe (f, cf. Mod Gk λογιστική f) 'accountancy, arithmetic' < Ar *ḥisāb* + a.

h-s-k

xassek, *pixassek* (v/t) 'lay aside, save (e.g., money), preserve, put away (e.g., blessed olive branches)'; Syriac *ḥassek* 'épargner, économiser' (Barth 157; Feghali 1918:27); Heb *ḥāsaq* (Ges/Bu 264); Ugar *ḥšk* 'seize,

grasp' (Del Olmo/Sanmartín 2003:375); OA *ḥašika* (a) 'collect in the udder (milk)'; *ḥašāka/ḥiṣāk* 'muzzle for preventing a kid from sucking' (Hava 125-6), *ḥašūk* 'a she-camel collecting milk in her udder quickly' (Lane 576);

~ Alep *ḥassak* 'épargner, mettre de côté' (Barth 157) ~ Kənd *ḥšk* 'schieben, stecken' (Vo/Wald 115).

mpxassek, f -e, pl -in (pp) 'collected, preserved': z-zaytune *maxxas-sika linaxa mpxasske* 'we put away the olive branch and keep it.'

txussok (vn) 'preservation.'

h-s-n

xusn 'beauty': *xusna o xtir amma* 'akla o fitte' 'she has much beauty but little sense'; *lu xtir xusn* 'he's very handsome'; OA *ḥusn* 'beauty, goodness' (Hava 124);

~ Alep *ḥasn* 'beauté' (Barth 158) ~ Bagh (M) *ḥisin* 'beauty, ḥusin' 'goodness, excellence' (Wood/Bee 102) ~ Pal Ar *ḥusn* 'Schönheit' (Bau 264) ~ Cai *ḥusn* 'excellence, (good) quality' (Bad/Hi 206).

axsen 'better, best': *pkyaxki* ^G*ellínika*^G *axsen minni* 'he speaks Greek better than I do'; *x-xadd tel-*^G*anástasi*^G, *kullon pkyitipxu l-axsen tapxát mix laxm* ^G*arní súvla*^G 'on Ascension Sunday everybody cooks the finest dishes, such as lamb roasted over a spit'; OA *aḥsan* (Hava 124);

~ Alep *ʔaḥsan* 'plus beau, meilleur' (Barth 158) ~ Āz *aḥsan* 'besser, Bestes' (Vo/Wald 115) ~ Bagh (M) *ʔaḥsan* 'better, best' (Wood/Bee 103) ~ Pal Ar *ʔaḥsan* (Bau 56) ~ Cai *ʔaḥsan* (Bad/Hi 206).

txassen, *pkyitxassen* (v/i) 'become handsome/beautiful'; ^G*os*^G *ta pitrux pittitxassen* 'she's becoming progressively more beautiful'; OA *taḥassana* 'be beautiful' (Hava 124);

~ Alep *thassan* 'devenir beau' (Barth 158) ~ Dam *thassan* 'improve (v/i)' (Sto/Ani 123) ~ Cai *ʔithassin* (Bad/Hi 206).

h-s-w

xasie, pl *xasyát* 'pot, casserole' < **ḥasiyya*; cf. OA *ḥasā* (u), *taḥassā*, *iḥtasā* 'sip (broth) little by little' (Hava 124), MLA *ḥasw*, *ḥasā* 'Suppe, Brühe' (Wehr 209);

Cf. Mos (M) *ḥasū* = *ḥasā* = 'naw^c min aṭ-ṭabīx al-laḏīd yuṣna^c min aṭ-ṭahīn al-muḥammaṣ bid-duhn wa mā^c al-laḥm aw al-ḥalīb ma^c a l-bayd wa-t-tawābil' (al-Bakrī 169) ~ AA *ḥasū* 'porridge' (Corriente 1997: 127).

h-š-š

šxex (= Mod Gk χόπρα) 'herbs for salad' < *xšēš < *hšēš < *hšēyeš;
šxex perrin 'weeds'; OA *hašā'is*, sg *hašīš* 'dry herbage' (Hava 125);

[A metathesis at root level: *hšš > šhš > šxx; cf. the analogous trend in
 Pal Ar *warra* 'zeigen' (Bau 372) ~ Sa'd *rawwā* (Behnstedt 1987:200).]

~ Alep *hšēyeš* 'diverses espèces d'herbe', sg *hašīš* 'de l'herbe' (Barth 159) ~ Darag *hšīš* 'Gras, Unkraut' (Vo/Wald 115) ~ Hask *hašīš* pl -āt 'Gras, angebautes Getreide' (Talay 2002:73) ~ Bagh (M) *hašīša* 'hemp, hashish' (Wood/Bee 103) ~ Pal Ar *hašīš* 'Gras' (Bau 141) ~ Malt *ħaxix*, pl *ħexjex* 'grass, vegetables, herbs.'

h-š-y

šxa (f *šxiet*), *pkysišxi* 'insert, thrust, put inside': *šxayt x-xops xost f-form* 'I put the bread inside the oven'; OA *hašā* (u) 'fill up, stuff (cushion)' (Hava 126);

[Cf. the analogous metathesis in *bky*, and *wkʷ*.]

~ Alep *haša* (i) 'farcir, bourrer' (Barth 160) ~ Āz *haša*, *iħši* 'stopfen, füllen' (Vo/Wald 115) ~ Bagh (M) *hiša/hašša* 'stuff' (Wood/Bee 104) ~ Pal Ar *haša* (i) 'ausfüllen' (Bau 291) ~ Cai *haša* (i) (Bad/Hi 208) ~ Malt *ħexa*, *jaħxi*.

h-š-d

xiset, *pk yaxset* (v/t) 'reap, harvest'; OA *hašada* (i/u) (Hava 127);

~ Alep *hašad* (o) 'moissonner, faucher (le blé)' (Barth 161) ~ Mard *hašad* (ə) 'ernten, mähen (Getreide, Gras)' (Vo/Wald 116) ~ Bagh (M) *hišad* (i) 'reap, harvest' (Wood/Bee 105) ~ Pal Ar *hašad* (u) (Bau 100) ~ Cai *hašad* (u) 'harvest' (Bad/Hi 191) ~ Malt *ħasad*, *jaħsad*.

maxsūt, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'reaped' < Ar *maħšūd*.

xsat 'harvest': z-zman *tel-ixsāt* 'harvest-time'; OA *hišād* (Hava 127);

~ Alep *hšād* 'moisson' (Barth 161) ~ Snēb *hšād* 'Ernte' (Vo/Wald 116) ~ Bagh (M) *hašid/hašād* (Wood/Bee 105) ~ Cai *hašd/hašād* (vn) (Bad/Hi 208) ~ Malt *ħsad*.

h-š-r

xsire, pl *xser* (< *hšēyer) 'mat'; OA *hašira*, pl *hašā'ir* 'drying-floor for dates, nonclass 'mat' (Hava 127);

~ Alep *hašira*, pl *hšər* 'natte' (Barth 161) ~ Pal Ar *hašira*, pl *ħušor* 'straw mat' (Spoer/Haddad 1909:60) ~ Cai *hašira*, pl *ħušr/hašāyir* 'reed mat' (Bad/Hi 208) ~ Malt *ħasira*.

h-š-l

maksūl 'yield (harvest)' < *maxsūl: x-xakle *pittati maksūl* 'the field yields a harvest'; < CyG το μαζούλιν (Yangoullis 1997:178) < *maxsūl < Tk *mahsul* 'Erzeugnis' (Steuerwald 1972:599) < OA *maħšūl* 'result' (Hava 128), MLA 'yield' (Wehr 213);

~ Alep *maħšūl* 'dime perçue par le gouvernement ottoman sur les récoltes' (Barth 162) ~ Dam *kān fi maħšūl hā'el mn əl-batāta has-səne* 'there was a giant crop of potato this year' (Sto/Ani 103) ~ Bagh (M) *maħšūl* pl *maħāšīl* 'produce, crop, harvest, yield, grain' (Wood/Bee 106) ~ Pal Ar *maħšūl* 'Ertrag' (Bau 103) ~ Egyp Ar *maħšūl* 'Erntezeit' (Behn/Woid 1999:93).

[Cf. Dodek Gk μαζούλι 'product of a field' (Dawkins 1950:546).]

h-d-r

xader, f *xadre*, pl *xadrin* 'ready, ready-made; on the point of, nearly': *alok l-^casel pšal-^Gkulluruδkya^G manništrix xader*, *má-lina xarrúp alok mnawna* 'nowadays we buy ready-made carob syrup (lit. honey) for doughnuts; carobs are no longer available here'; *kan xader teži u kat'ix orpa* 'he was on his way here but visitors detained him'; *kan xader temút* 'he nearly died'; *o xader tetfaδda miš-šo^col* 'he will shortly knock off work'; OA *hādir* 'present' (Lane 590);

~ Alep *hāder* 'présent, prêt, tout préparé' (Barth 163) ~ Bagh (M) *hādir* 'present, ready' (Wood/Bee 107) ~ Pal Ar *hādir* 'dabei' (Bau 71), *hādir/bi-hādir* 'rechtzeitig' (Kampff 1936:15).

xader (n) 'memorial, namesake (e.g., of a dead person)': *šalu fil-ism tel-yapati, saváx xader tel-yapati u šal Antoni* 'he conferred on him (his godson) my father's name to preserve his memory and called him Anthony'; OA *hādir* 'present.'

[On papponymy, see Borg/Kressel (2001, *passim*).]

h-d-n

xiden, *pk yaxden* (v/t) 'embrace': *xidna tepusa* 'he embraced and kissed her'; OA *hadana* (u) (Hava 129);

~ Alep *hadan* (o) 'tenir dans son giron, presser sur son sein (enfant)' (Barth 163) ~ Cai *hadan* (u) 'embrace' (Bad/Hi 211) ~ Malt *ħaddan*, *iħaddan*.

txidnu, *pk yitxidnu* 'embrace one another'; der. from Form I.

xadne 'armful' < *hadna, n un of OA *hadn* (infinitive of *hadana*) 'take in the bosom' (Hava 129);

Cf. Egyp Ar *ḥidna* 'brassée' (Boc, Dozy I, 299), Cai *ḥudn* 'bosom, armful, armload' (Bad/Hi 211).

xḏan 'bosom'; OA *ahdān*, pl of *ḥidn* 'bosom, breast' (Lane 501); ~ Alep *ḥdān*, pl of *ḥadān* 'giron' (Barth 163) ~ Malt *ḥdan*.

h-t-t

xatt, *pixótt* (v/t) 'put, place; add (l-); admit (*xost*); determine; appoint; make (*slip* = sign of the cross); chase s.o. (*mik-kintám*): *m-masl maxxóttillu milx u mantsubbu xost v-ve'i ta lu x-xallúm* 'we add salt to the whey and pour it into a bowl containing the *xallúmi*'; *xatt slipu* 'he made the sign of the cross' (= CyG *évale to stavro tu*); *pixotton xost l-iknise k-kassís* 'the priest admits them into the church building'; *pixottu aška zman pkyá-átezzu pšan tentžawzu* 'they determine how much time they require to get married'; *k-kassís pixótt ḡḏḡdeka maḥités yiró*; *pixótt exen ḡPetroḡ u k-kassís pisáy l-impšix* '(on Maundy Thursday) he (the priest) appoints twelve apostles around (him); he appoints someone to be Peter, and he takes the role of Jesus'; *kanixottuna mik-kintám* (= CyG *evállam mas pomprostá*) 'they used to chase us (at games)'; OA *ḥatta* (u) (Hava 129);

[CyA *xatt* is largely co-extensive in meaning with Mod Gk βάζω.]

~ Alep *ḥatt* (ə) 'poser' (Barth 164) ~ Mard *ḥatt* (ə) 'setzen, stellen' (Vo/Wald 117) ~ Pal Ar *ḥatt* (u) (Bau 288) ~ Cai *ḥatt* (u) (Bad/Hi 211).

h-t-b

xatap 'firewood': (*y*)*yawm ttaríx l-ixkali páxta'a xatap* 'today I'll go to the fields to cut firewood'; OA *ḥatab*, pl *aḥtāb* (Hava 130);

~ Alep *ḥatab* 'bois à brûler' (Barth 164) ~ Hal *ḥatab* 'Holz, Brennholz' (Vo/Wald 118) ~ Pal Ar *ḥatab* (Bau 66) ~ Cai *ḥatab* 'dry stalks of harvested crops ... used for fodder or kindling' (Bad/Hi 211) ~ Malt *ḥatab* 'firewood.'

h-ḡ-ḡ

xazz 'luck'; CyG *xazzi*, Tk *haz* 'Lust, Freude' (Steuerwald 1972:379); OA *ḥaḡḡ* 'luck, portion, lot' (Hava 130);

~ Alep *ḥaḡḡ* dans *bḥaḡḡi wdini* 'je le jure par ma destinée et ma foi' (Barth 163) ~ Dam *ḥazz* 'luck' (Sto/Ani 143) ~ Pal Ar *ḥazz* 'chance' (Elihai 1973:81) ~ Cai *ḥazz*, pl *ḥuzūz* 'luck, fortune' (Bad/Hi 212).

h-f-f

xaff, *pixoff* (v/t) 'rub; grate (e.g., cheese)'; nonclass Ar *ḥaffa* (u) 'rub out a.th.' (Hava 131);

~ Alep (no Form 1): *ḥaffaf* 's'épiler (le visage, le haut des joues, les tempes)' (Barth 166) ~ Pal Ar *ḥaff* (u) 'reiben (mit Werkzeug)' (Bau 241).

[Cf. Malt *ḥaffiefa* 'pumice-stone.']

maxvúf, f -a, pl -ín (pp) 'rubbed, grated (e.g., cheese)': *xallume maxvufa* 'grated *xallumi*.'

h-f-r

xiver, *pkyaxvor* (v/t) 'dig': *xvurt* 'I dug'; OA *ḥafara* (i), *iḥtafara* (Hava 131);

~ Mard *ḥafaṛ* (ə) 'graben, aufgraben' (Vo/Wald 119) ~ Alep *ḥafar* (o) 'creuser, fouiller (le sol, une tombe, une fosse, un trou)' (Barth 165) ~ Bagh (M) *ḥufaṛ* (u) 'dig' (Wood/Bee 108) ~ Malt *ḥaffer*, *iḥaffer*.

maxvúr, f -a, pl -ín (pp) 'dug.'

xivr/txuvor (vn) 'digging'; OA *ḥafr*.

h-f-n

xafan, *pkyaxfon* 'clasp in the hand'; OA *ḥafana* (u) 'scoop up (sand, flour) with both hands' (Hava 133).

[Not listed for Aleppine, Palestinian, and Damascene; all three dialects have derivatives of *kms*.]

xafne, pl *xfen* 'handful'; OA *ḥafna*, pl *ḥafanāt* and *ḥufna*, pl *ḥufan* 'handful of (sand); a little' (Hava 133);

~ Alep *ḥafne* 'quantité que peut contenir la main ouverte' (Barth 166) ~ Pal Ar *ḥafne* 'Handvoll beider Hände nebeneinander' (Bau 148) ~ Malt *ḥafna* 'much, a lot.'

[Note also *kamsē* 'handful' with slight semantic differences, in Aleppine, Damascene, and Palestinian (Barth 166; Bauer 148).]

h-f-y

xefi, f *xefkye*, pl *xefkin* 'barefoot'; OA *ḥāfin*, pl *ḥufāh* (Hava 133); ~ Dam *ḥāfi*, pl -yīn and *ḥawāfa* (Sto/Ani 18) ~ Bagh *ḥāfi* (MC) pl (M) *ḥiffāy*, (C) *ḥəffāy* 'barefoot' (Blanc 1964:58) ~ Mos (C) *ḥefi*, pl *ḥayāfi* (infor) ~ Pal Ar *ḥāfi*, pl -yīn (Bau 41) ~ Malt *ḥafi*, f *ḥafja*, pl *ḥafjin*.

h-q-q

txakka, *pkyitxakka* 'attain one's due; get even (with one another)'; *tvaxxar* (< *fwl*) ^{Gos} l-*atte tel-šimps* ^{Gospu} *tetir l-ixxár mankiúl o tel-žartuše* (< *grds*) [*y*]yawm ... *tvaxxar mannitxakka u akke mantsúr* ^{Gsuppa} *exen ma ll-axar* 'all day until sundown, until nightfall, we say: "It's Ascension day today" ... throughout the day we get even with people by drenching [one another] with water'; OA *tahāqqū* 'they disputed ... together for a right or due' (Lane 607).

xakk 'one's right or due'; OA *haqq* 'right, truth' (Hava 133);

~ Alep *haqq* 'droit' (Barth 167) ~ Dam *haqq*, pl *hqūq* 'right' (Sto/Ani 193) ~ Pal Ar *haqq* 'Preis' (Bīr Zēt; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 275) ~ Malt *ħaqqul* 'serves him right!'

h-q-l

xakle, pl *xkali* 'cultivated field': *xkali mantsukin* 'ploughed fields'; *ta kumt zē'ir ana yapati kallu xkali xtir* 'when I was a child, my father had a lot of fields [under cultivation]'; OA *haql*, pl *huqūl* 'fertile field' (Hava 135), *haqla* 'seed-plot' (Lane 612); GAram *haqlā* 'field' (Sokol 1990:213); JAram *hlq* (Fassberg 1990:289; cf. Fraenkel 1886:129) ~ Heb *helqāh* 'a portion of ground' (BDB 324; cf. Thiel 1980:135);

~ Alep *haqle* 'champ cultivé' (Barth 167) ~ Leban Ar *haqle* 'champ' (Feghali 1938:756); cf. *haql/haqla* 'champ' (Dozy I, 308) ~ Cai *haql*, pl *huqūl/hu'ūl* (Bad/Hi 217).

[Ma'l *haqla* 'Feld' (Arnold 1990a:291), Hert *haqla*, pl *haqlata* (Jastrow 1988a:188). The fem. marking of this lexeme in Arabic dialects may reflect its feminine gender in Aramaic (cf. Bar-Asher 1999:33).]

h-k-k

xakk, *pixokk* (v/t) 'scratch': *xakk daxru* 'he scratched his back'; OA *ħakka* (u) (Hava 135);

~ Alep *ħakk* (ə) 'gratter': *ħakk raqəbto* 'se gratter la nuque' (Barth 168) ~ Sii *ħakk* 'auskammen' (Vo/Wald 120) ~ Pal Ar *ħakk* (i) (Bau 182)

~ Cai *ħakk* (u/i) 'rub' (Bad/Hi 217) ~ Malt *ħakk*, *iħokk* 'scratch.'

xakk (vn) 'scratching'; OA *ħakk*.

mpxakke 'grater'; OA *mihakk* 'touchstone' (Hava 135); MLA *mihakka* 'currycomb' (Wehr 227);

~ Alep *mahakk* 'pierre de touche' (Barth 168) ~ Bišm *mħakk* 'Prüfstein' (Jiha 1964:161) ~ Pal Ar *mahakk* 'grater' (Piamenta, p.c.) ~ Malt *mħakka* 'grater (for cheese, etc.)'.

h-k-r

xakura, pl *xvekīr* 'cultivated plot adjoining a house'; < Ar *ħākūra* 'a piece of land retained and enclosed by its proprietor ... for sowing [and planting] trees ... near to the houses and abodes; ... of the dialect of Syria' (Lane 616); cf. Dozy I, 309; note also JAram *ħākīrā* 'tenant on a fixed rent payable in kind' (M. Jastrow 462);

~ Alep *ħākūra* 'petit champ contigu à la maison d'habitation' (Barth 168) ~ Leban Ar *ħākūra*, pl *ħawākīr* 'un petit champ semé de plantes légumineuses et bien exposé au soleil ...' (Fegh M/J 1977:264, fn1) ~ Pal Ar *ħākūra* 'Gartenstück am Haus' (Bau 122), *ħākūra* 'petit jardin potager à côté de la maison (Gal)', 'cour ou terrain vague entre des maisons (Jer)' (Elihai 1989:195) ~ Judaeo-Ar *ħākūra* 'orchard' (Diem/Raden 45).

h-k-y

xka, *pkyaxki* (v/t/i) 'speak, recount': *xka šfé-šfe* 'he whispered'; OA *ħakā* (i) 'relate a thing on the authority of' (Hava 136);

~ Alep *ħaka* (i): *ħaka šī laħada* 'raconter, conter qqe à qqn'; *ħaka ma' ħada* 'parler à qqn, causer avec qqn' (Barth) ~ Kənd *ħaka* (i) (Vo/Wald 121) ~ Bagh (M) *ħiča* (i) (Wood/Bee 92) ~ Pal Ar *ħaka* (i) (Bau 240).

xke (vn) 'talk'; OA *ħikāya*.

xkie 'speech, conversation, talk, manner of talking': *mil-ixkie šaytu pipān šiklu* 'his manner of talking reveals his character'; OA *ħikāya* 'narrative, story, tale' (Hava 137);

[From OA *ħikāya*, CyA derives the contrasting pair *xke* (< **ħkəye*) and *xkie* (< **ħkiyya*) displaying two degrees of the medial Umlaut of OA *ā. Analogous split of this lexeme occurs in other dialects: colloquial *ħkiyi* 'story' vs. elevate *ħəkāya* in Jewish Baghdadi (Blanc 1964a:21).]

~ Alep *ħkəye/ħakāya* 'conte, histoire imaginaire' (Barth 170, 662) ~ Dam *ħkāye/ħakāya* 'tale' (Sto/Ani 234) ~ Tərtūs *ħkiyi* 'Geschichte' (map 57, Behnstedt 1997:115) ~ Qarṭ *ħakāya/ħakkəye*, Mard *ħakkəye*, (Vo/Wald 121) ~ Bagh (J) *ħkiyyi*, (C) *ħkayyi* 'story' (Blanc 1964:43) ~ Kirk *ħkiyi* (Jastrow 1992:250) ~ Leban Ar *ħkāye* 'conte, affaire' (Feghali 1938:757) ~ rur Egyp Ar *ħakāwa* (Behn/Woid 1994:90) ~ Cai *ħikāya*, pl -āt, *ħakāwi* 'matter, affair; story, tale' (Bad/Hi 219).

h-l-l

xall, *pixūll* (v/t) 'loosen, untie'; OA *ħalla* (u) (Hava 137);

- Alep *hall* (ə) 'déliier, dénouer' (Barth 172) ~ Pal Ar *hall* 'losbinden' (Bau 196) ~ Cai *hall* (i) 'undo, untie' (Bad/Hi 221) ~ Malt *ħhall*, *ħholl*, *ntxalla*, *pk̄yintxalla* 'be untied, loosened'; MLA *inhalla* (Wehr 232), *maxlul*, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'loose, untied': *l-má^cāzen enne maxlulín* 'the goats are running loose.'

xlele (vn) 'loosening'; OA *ħall*.

h-l-b

xilep, *pk̄yaxlop* (v/t) 'milk'; OA *ħalaba* (u/i) (Lane 623);
- Alep *ħalab* (o) 'traire' (Barth 170) ~ Darag *ħaləb* (ə) 'melken' (Vo/Wald 122) ~ Pal Ar *ħalab* (i) (Bau 203) ~ Cai *ħalab* (i) 'milk' (Bad/Hi 219) ~ Malt *ħaleb*, *ħahleb*.

maxlup, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'milked.'

xalp/xlepe (vn) 'milking' o *l-izmán tel-ixlepe* 'it's milking time'; OA *ħalb*;

- Cai *ħalb/ħilāba* (vn) (Bad/Hi 219).

xlip, pl *xlep* 'milk'; OA *ħalīb* 'fresh milk' (Hava 138);
- Alep *ħalīb* 'lait' (Barth 170) ~ Ka^cb, Darag *ħlīb*, Āz *ħalīb* 'Milch' (Vo/Wald 122) ~ Pal Ar *ħalīb* (Bau 205) ~ Malt *ħhalīb*.

h-l-ġ

maxlūž 'cotton divested of seeds'; OA *ħalaġa* (i/u) (Hava 138);
cf. Alep *ħalaġ* (o) 'monder (le coton) en séparant la graine' (Barth 171) ~ Dam *ħalaž* (o) 'gin' (Sto/Ani 103) ~ Malt *ħhaleġ*, *ħahleġ*.

h-l-š

xileš, *pk̄yaxloš* (v/t) 'reap by hand (wheat); pull out (a plant)' (Imptv: *xloš*, f *xluši*, pl *xlušu*); cf. nonclass Ar *ħalaš* (i) 'pluck out (grass)' (Hava 139) ~ OA *xalasahu* 'he seized it or carried it off by force' (Lane 784); Akk *ħalāšu(m)* 'aus-, abkratzen' (von Soden 1965:311); Heb **ħlš* (Ex. 17, 13; Is. 14, 12; Job 14, 10) 'besiegen' (Ges/Rüt/Don 1995:362);

[Ar. *ħlš* may be related to *šlħ* by metathesis, cf. Tur *šoləh*, *šləhle* 'ausziehen, abreißen', Jastrow 1985:180). On possible continuity between Heb and Pal Ar *ħlš*, cf. Eitan (1924:42-46).]

- Alep *ħalaš* (e) 'faucher (les menus céréales), arracher' (Barth 171) ~ Leban *ħalwaš* 'couper (l'herbe, les cheveux)' (Denizeau 1960:121) [cf. Pal Ar *ħallaš* 'Schnitter als Tagelöhner' (Bau 263)].

nxileš, *pk̄yinxileš* 'be reaped by hand (wheat).'

xleš (vn) 'pulling out wheat by hand' < **ħilāš*;
- Alep *ħleše* 'fauchaison' (Barth 171) ~ Pal Ar *ħilāšit il-qaṭāni* 'Hülsenfrüchtere' (Bau 161).

h-l-f

xilef, *pk̄yaxlef* (v/i) 'swear, take an oath'; OA *ħalafa* (i) (Hava 139);
- Alep *ħalaf* (e) *yamīn* 'préter serment, jurer' (Barth 171) ~ Kənd *ħalaf* 'schwören' (Vo/Wald 123) ~ Pal Ar *ħalaf* (i) (Bau 270) ~ Cai *ħilif/ħalaf* (i) 'swear an oath' (Bad/Hi 220) ~ Malt *ħhalef*, *ħahlef*.

xilfán, f -e, pl -in 'swearing, taking an oath': *ana xilfán takúl l-ħaliθkya*^G 'I swear I'm telling the truth.'

[Participles on this scheme are common in Syro-Lebanese dialects and in Çukurova (Procházka 2000:82): Dam *kabrān* '(having) grown up', *nasyān* 'having forgotten', *ħarbān* 'having fled, fleeing' (Cowell 1964:259, 132); cf. also Lewin (1969:28) and Jiha (1964:131).]

xilfe 'oath': *xe xilfe* 'he took an oath'; OA *ħalf/ħilf*.

[The feminine ending may hark back to a historical *nomen vicis*, or to a loan translation of Mod Gk βρισιά 'oath, curse'.]

- Pal Ar *ħalf* 'Eid' (Bau 83) ~ Cai *ħilf* 'oath' (Spiro 1895:149).

h-l-q¹

xallek, *pixallek* (v/t) 'shave'; cf. OA *ħalaqa* (i) (Hava 139);
- Alep *ħallaq* 'raser, faire la barbe à qqn' (Barth 172) ~ Mħall *ħalaq* (ə) 'rasieren' (Vo/Wald 123) ~ Pal Ar *ħalaq* (i) (Bau 238).

txallek, *pk̄yitxallek* (v/i) 'be shaved.'

txulloq (vn) 'shaving.'

*h-l-q²

xilek, *pk̄yaxlak* 'arrive' (*lhq^l*).

h-l-m

xallūm, n un -e (> CyG *xallumi*) 'hard, salted cheese traditionally made in Kormakiti': *aḏi x-xallume e teš-šaxráyn* 'this *xallumi* is two months old'; OA *ħalūm* 'a kind of cheese' (9th cent.; Hopkins 1984:257), 'a sort of *aqīṭ* [i.e., a certain preparation of dried curd]: or milk that is made thick, so that it becomes like fresh cheese; but it is not—a word of the dial. of Egypt' (Lane 633, cit. *Tāġ al-ʿArūs*); MLA *ħalūm/ħālūm* 'a kind of Egyptian cheese' (Wehr 236), 'cream cheese' (Elias 1925:147); <? Coptic *ħalōm* (Vycichl 1983:8, 298);

- Leban Ar *hallūm* 'sorte de fromage' (Frayha 1947, s.v.) ~ Cai *hālūm* (17th c.) 'du fromage salé qu'ils (les Egyptiens) appellent *dgibn halūm*' (Dozy I, 318), *gibne halūm* 'weicher Käse' (Spitta 1880:257), *halūm* (Copt) 'mild white cured cheese, sometimes braided' (Bad/Hi 222); cf. Judaeo-Ar *hālūm* 'salted cheese' (Diem/Raden 46).

[Incidentally, the transcription *dgibn* cited by Dozy from Jean de Thevenot's *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (Paris, 1669) bears out the idea that the stop reflex [g] < OA [gīm] in modern Cairene is a relatively recent case of depalatalization.]

h-l-w

xilv, f -e, pl *xelvin* 'sweet, pretty': *awfa xilv* 'sweeter (m)'; *pnat xelvin* 'pretty girls'; OA *hulw* (Hava 140);

- Alep *həlw/həlu*, f *həlwe*, pl *həlwin*, f pl -āt 'doux au gout' (Barth 174) ~ Qarṭ *həlu*, f *həlwe*, pl Mḥall *həlwin* (Vo/Wald 124) ~ Pal Ar *həlw/helu*, f *həlwe* 'süß' (Bau 295) ~ Malt *həlu*, *helwa*, *helwin* 'sweet.'

xlave 'sweetness; taste, sense of taste'; *maxxótt l-xarrúp pkyimpallu pšan teitla'a l-asei*; *l-ixlave tel-xarrúp pittitla'a xost l-moe* 'we soak the carobs so that the sugar content (lit. honey) comes out; the sweetness (or taste) of the carobs is imparted to the water'; OA *halāwa* 'sweetness' (Hava 140);

- Alep *halāwe* 'saveur douce, douceur' (Barth 174) ~ Pal Ar *halāwe* 'Süßigkeit' (Bau 295) ~ Cai *halāwa* 'sweetness' (Bad/Hi 222) ~ Malt *hlewwa*.

h-m-r

xmarra, *pkyaxmarra* (v/i) 'become red; blush; turn reddish brown': ⁶*amma* *teixmarra*, *teipes*, *mannáxistu l-im'áll*; *alok o xoðer* 'when the wheat turns brown and becomes dry, we reap it; now it is unripe (lit. green)'; *amma teixmarra x-xops xost l-forn mantšilu* 'when the bread turns brown in the oven, we take it out'; OA *iḥmarra* (Hava 142);

- Alep *ḥmarr* 'devenir rouge' (Barth 175) ~ Sii *šawṭ le ləš'er dībyayy*, *əlḥanṭa-māne təḥmarr* 'wo sich die Gerste weißlich färbt, wird der Weizen goldgelb' (Jastrow 1981:448, fn 14, 299) ~ Pal Ar *ḥmarr* [häufiger *šār aḥmar*] (Bau 247) ~ Om (Khāb) *yehmarr* 'become brown (of cooking meat)' (Brockett 1985:85).

axmar, f *xampra*, pl *xumpr* 'red': *truntž xumpr* 'red (= reddish brown) citrons'; *pakra xampra* 'reddish brown cow'; *žeže xampra* 'reddish hen'; OA *aḥmar*, f *hamrā*, pl *ḥumr* (Hava 142);

- Alep *aḥmar*, f *hamra*, pl *ḥamr* 'rouge' (Barth 176) ~ Diyarbakar *aḥmar*, f *hamrā*, pl *ḥamr* 'rot, dunkelrot (Trauben), hellbraun (Ziegenhaar)' (Vo/Wald 126) ~ Der izZor *aḥmar mḥammaṣ*, *mḥammaṣ* 'knusprigbraun' ~ Bišm *ard il-ḥamra* 'rote Erde, lehmhaltige Ackererde, die lange die Feuchtigkeit hält'; *mzaddra ḥamra* 'Gericht aus Linsen und Burgul'; rot bzw. braun durch in Olivenöl gebratene Zwiebeln' (Jiha 1964:104, fn. 1 and 7) ~ rur Egyp Ar (alDaxīla) *hamrā* 'hellbraun (Tier)' (Behn/Woid 1994:94) ~ Malt *aḥmar*, f *hamra*, pl *ḥomor* 'red.'

xmura 'redness' < Ar *ḥumūra* 'rougeur' (Dozy I, 321);

- Alep *ḥamra* 'fard rouge' (Barth 175) ~ Pal Ar *ḥamr*, *ḥumra* (Bau 247) ~ Malt *ḥmura* 'redness.'

xmar, pl *xmir* 'donkey'; OA *ḥimār*, pl *ḥamīr* (Hava 142);

- Alep *ḥmār*, pl *ḥamīr* 'âne, de grande taille' (Barth 175) ~ Kənd *ḥmār*, pl *ḥamīr* 'Esel' (Vo/Wald 126) ~ Hask *ḥammār*, f *ḥammāra*, pl *ḥamīr* (Talay 2002:81) ~ Pal Ar *ḥmār*, pl *ḥamīr* (Bau 104) ~ Malt *ḥmar*, pl *hmir* 'donkey.'

h-m-d

ximeð, *pkyixmað* (v/i) 'turn sour; se gâter (viande)' (Roth 1974:34); OA *ḥamūda* (u) 'it was/became sour (plant, milk, wine)' (Hava 143);

- Alep *ḥəmed* (a) 'aigrir' (Barth 116) ~ Dam *ḥammað* 'turn sour' (Sto/Ani 218) ~ Pal Ar *ḥimid* (a) 'sauer werden' (Bau 252).

xmuða 'acidity'; OA *ḥumūda* 'acidity; the quality of being sharp or biting to the taste; ... of that which is termed *ḥāmid*' (Lane 644);

Alep *ḥmūda* 'aigreur, saveur acide' (Barth 177) ~ Pal Ar *ḥumūda* 'Säure' (Bau 252).

xameð (adj/n) 'sour; lemon, lemon juice': *āsór x-xampðin* 'squeeze the lemons!' (Frangiskou 92); OA *ḥāmid* 'sour, acid' (Hava 143); MLA *laymūn ḥāmid* 'lime' (Wehr 1041);

- Alep *ḥāmoð*, f *ḥāmda* 'aigre, acide'; *lēmūn ḥāmoð* nom. coll 'des citrons, du citron' (Barth 175, 773) ~ Mḥall *ḥāməð* 'sauer' (Vo/Wald 126) ~ Pal Ar (*lēmūn*) *ḥāmid* '*Citrus medica*' (Bau 377; Dalman I/2, 561), as distinct from (*lēmūn*) *ḥīlu* 'süße Zitrone' (Bau, loc. cit.); *ḥāmda*, pl *ḥāmoð* 'lemon' (Jer, Piamenta 1979b:240).

[In Syrian Arabic, the lemon is mostly designated by the term *ḥāmid* (Behnstedt 2000:149, fn 5).]

xampōie, pl -*āt* 'lemon tree'; MLA *hamdīya* 'citrus fruit', *šaḡar hamdī* 'citrus trees' (Wehr 240).

h-m-l

xammel, *pixammel* 'load'; OA *hammala* (Lane 647);
~ Alep *hammal* 'faire porter qqe ...' (Barth 177) ~ Dam *hammal* 'load' (Sto/Ani 140) ~ Kənd *hammal*, Ka^b *hammel*, Darag *hammal* 'beladen' (Vo/Wald 127) ~ Çukur *hammal* (Procházka 2002:168).

mpxammel, f *mpxamample*, pl -*in* (ap) 'carrying.'

txammel, *pkyitxammel* 'carry, take upon oneself': *txammel ž-žavlak fi k-kitf u žapu žava* 'he loaded the basket on to his shoulders and brought it home'; *txámmila*, *pikunni*, *u xuta žava* 'carry it, he said to me, take it home! he said to me'; OA *tahammala* (Lane 648).

[The CyA phonological word *txámmila* < Ar **thammilhā* displays a striking instance of grammaticalized stress; cf. Intro, §V.]

~ Alep *thammal* 'être chargé de ... (: bête de somme)' (Barth 177).

txummol (vn) 'load, burden'; OA *tahammul* (Hava 144).

xemel, f *xemple*, pl *xemplin* 'carrying, loaded, weighed down': *x-xar-rupāt enne xemplin* 'the carob trees are weighed down [with carobs]'; OA *hāmil* 'pregnant (woman)' (Hava 145);

~ Alep *hēmel* (pa) of *hamal* 'porter sur son dos' (Barth 177) ~ Pal Ar *hāmel* 'carrying' (Elihai 1999:160).

ximpl, pl *xmule* 'load'; *fta^cem k-kammín kaes*, *pxóttillu tloxárpa^a* *xmule*, *aška má-kan* '(to make charcoal) I stoke up the furnace well, feeding it three or four loads, whatever!'; OA *himl*, pl *aḥmāl/humūla* (Hava 144);

~ Alep *hāmāl*, pl *hāmāl/hmūl* 'charge d'une bête de somme' (Barth 178) ~ Āz *hāmāl*, pl *Sii aḥmāl* 'Last, Traglast' (Vo/Wald 127) ~ Pal Ar *himl*, pl *hmāl* 'Last' (Bau 189).

h-m-w

xawm, pl -*āt* 'father-in-law': *xawmu l-išpini* 'my best man's father-in-law'; OA *hamū/hamw/hamā/ham^o/ham*, pl *aḥmā^o* 'father-in-law; any male relation on the side of the husband' (Hava 145);

~ Alep *hamw/hamu* 'père du mari par rapport à la femme, père de la femme par rapport au mari' (Barth 178) ~ Qarṭ *hamu* 'Schwie-gervater' (Vo/Wald 124) ~ Pal Ar *hamu*: *hamwi* 'my father-in-law' (Elihai 1999:173) ~ Cai *hama/hamā* 'father-in-law' (Bad/Hi 223).

[For the metathesis **mw* > *wm*, cf. **rw* > *wr* in Darag *ḡawr* 'Hunde-junges' < OA *ḡarw* (Vo/Wald 93).]

xmat, pl -*āt* 'mother-in-law': *Katina kant xmati* 'my mother-in-law was Katina'; OA *hamāh*, pl *hamawāt* 'mother-in-law, any female relation on the side of the wife' (Hava 145);

~ Alep *hamāye* à l'état absolu, *hamāt* à l'état construit 'mère du mari par rapport à la femme; mère de la femme par rapport au mari; belle-mère' (Barth 178) ~ Pal Ar *hamāy/hamāye/hamāt* 'Schwiegermutter' (Bau 270) ~ Cai *hama/hamāt*-, pl *hamawāt* 'mother-in-law' (Bad/Hi 224).

h-m-y

xma, *pkyaxmi* (v/i) 'become warm, hot; boil': *f-forn pkyaxmi kaes* 'the oven is perfectly hot'; *maxxótt z-zayt pkyaxmi kaes* '(to make doughnuts) we boil the oil well'; OA *hamiya* (a) 'become hot' (Hava 145);

~ Alep *hama* (i) 'chauffer au feu, exciter (qqn) 'ala contre (qqn)' (Barth 180) ~ Kənd *həmi* (a) 'heiß werden' (Vo/Wald 127) ~ Cai *himi* (a) 'become hot' (Bad/Hi 228) ~ Malt *ħema*, *jaħmi* (v/t) 'heat, bake': *qed jaħmi l-ħobz* 'he's baking bread.'

mixmi, f *mixmie*, pl *mixmín* 'heated.'

xme (vn) 'warming' < **hmēye*; OA *himāya* (Hava 145);

~ Alep *hmēye* 'bois mort reserve pour combustible' *hamāwe/həme* 'partie la plus chaude du jour' (Barth 180) ~ Cai *humuww/hamayān* (vn) (Bad/Hi 228).

h-n-n

xnun, f -*e* 'kind-hearted, compassionate'; OA *hanūn* (Hava 146);

~ Alep *hanūn* 'compatissant pour la misère des pauvres, charitable' (Barth 182) ~ Āz *hanūn*, f -*e* 'barmherzig' (Vo/Wald 128) ~ Pal Ar *hanūn* (Bau 41) ~ Cai *hanūn* 'kind-hearted' (Bad/Hi 229).

Xanna 'John' < CMAr *Yūhannā*.

Xannú 'Joanna': *l-irvie tel Maritsa e axsen min tex-Xannú* 'Maritsa is prettier than Xannú.'

h-n-k

xank, pl -*āt* 'mouth': *yipes xanki mil-^cataš* 'my mouth is parched with thirst'; *l-mara pittiftáxillu x-xank^o protí^o trik* 'the woman opens (the baby's) mouth for the first time (to augur him/her good eating habits)'; nonclass Ar *hanak* 'mouth' (Hava 147); Aram *ḥēnek* 'palate';

~ Alep *hanak*, pl *hnāk* 'chacune des deux moitiés de la mâchoire'

inférieure de l'homme' (Barth 181) ~ Dam *hanak*, pl *hnak/hnük* 'jaw' (Sto/Ani 128) ~ Mos (C) *hənək* 'chin' (infor) ~ Cai *hanak* 'animal's mouth' (Bad/Hi 229) ~ Alex *hanak* 'Mund' (Behnstedt 1980:40) ~ Om *hank* 'Mund' (Reinhardt 1894:293) ~ Malt *hanek* 'gums.'

[Mar] *hanka* 'Wange' (Arnold, p.c.)

h-w-ğ

xaz(ē) 'enough!'; *xazti*, *xaztak*, etc. 'I/you have had enough, etc.'; *xazkon xnayn* 'two are enough for you (pl)'; OA *hāga* 'want, need' (Lane 663); cf. Syriac *sōpeq leh* 'sufficient' (J. Payne Smith 1903:386); Heb *dayyēkā* 'enough for thee' (M. Jastrow 293);

~ Alep *hāge* 'besoin; ... construit avec les suff. pron. équivaut à «assez»' (Barth 182) ~ Bask *hāgtak* (*baʔa*) 'stop (m sg) that!' (Abu-Haidar 1979:114) ~ Dam *hāztak tātmanfax* 'aliyyi' 'stop acting the tough guy with me!' (Sto/Ani 245) ~ Egyp Ar *hāgti* 'j'en ai assez' (Boc, Dozy I, 334).

[For contemporary Cairene, Bad/Hi 231 gives 'oddments, giblets.']

xayts 'a little; a small quantity';

~ Çukur *hayğ/hayç* 'genug' (Procházka 2002:168); cf. Malt *hağa zghira* 'a trifle.'

xvez 'bedclothes; kitchen utensils': *xost l-ixvéž* 'in bed'; Ar *hawāyig* 'les objets qui servent à l'usage d'un homme, ses utensiles, ses meubles, ... les provisions destinées pour la cuisine et la table du prince' (Dozy I, 333-4);

~ Alep *hwēyēğ* 'besoins, objets' (Barth 182) ~ Kənd *hwēyēğ/hwēgāt* 'Sachen, Eigentum' (Vo/Wald 128) ~ Pal Ar *hawāyig* 'Kleider' (Bau 175) ~ Cai *hawāyig* 'clothes' (Spiro 1895:116) ~ Malt *hwejjēğ* 'clothes; things (sg *hağa*).'

h-w-š

xaveš, *pixaveš* (v/t) 'gather, collect': *ruxna b-bistān taxxaveš l-ixyār* 'we went to the orchard to harvest cucumbers'; *xavišna zaytūn* 'we harvested olives'; OA *hawwaša* (Lane 668);

~ Alep *hawwaš* 'trouver après avoir cherché (qqe ou qqn) ... amasser, tenir en réserve' (Barth 183) ~ Çukur *hawwaš* 'pflücken, sammeln' (Procházka 2002:168) ~ Bagh (M) *hāš* (*u*) 'gather, collect, amass' (Wood/Bee 123) ~ Pal Ar *hawwaš* 'Geld anhäufen' (Bau 251).

txaveš, *pxyitxaveš* (v/i) 'be picked (fruit); assemble (v/i); shrink (articles of clothing)': *kintām kanyitxawšu* ^G*morá* ^G*xtir* ^G*u* ^G*kaθe morós*

kallu ^G*nunna* ^G*ta kantimpsiku u kantaxutu fill-iskof u kaniθafftu* 'formerly, several children used to assemble (for confirmation) and every child had a godmother to fetch him and take him to the bishop, and he would confirm him';

~ Alep *thawwaš* passif de II (Barth 183).

mpxaveš, f *mpxawše*, pl *mpxawšin* 'gathered, assembled.'

txawoš (vn) 'collecting; assembly, shrinkage (of clothes).'

h-w-ṭ

xet, pl *xetān* 'wall': *lixon u l-xetān danén* 'the walls too have ears' (Frangiskou 230); MAR *hayṭ* 'Wand' (Graf 1905:88); OA *hāṭ*, pl *hītān/hiyāt* (Hava 150);

~ Alep *hēt*, pl *hītān* 'mur' (Barth 184) ~ Kənd *hayṭ*, pl *hītān* ~ Mard, Āz *hāyət*, pl *hawāyət* 'Wand' (Vo/Wald 129) ~ Pal Ar *hēt(a)*, pl *hītān* (Bau 352) ~ Malt *hajt*, pl *hitan*.

h-w-l

ftaxel, *pxyiftxel* (v/i) 'fall ill' (Perf. *ftxilt*, etc.); Form VIII verb from *pxal* 'sick': *ftaxlu l-latuḏkya* 'the children fell ill.'

[This fusional outcome of the prepositional phrase **bi-hāl* (> CyA *pxal* 'sick') finds formal parallels in Sa'd *itbaxyar*, *yitbaxyar* 'genesen' (Behnstedt 1987:194, fn 15) < **bi-xayr*, and rur Pal Ar *uqbāl* 'hof-fentlich' < *uqbā li* (Bir Zēt; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: II, 289); for the same term in Cairene, cf. Vollers (1891:92).]

xal 'sickness'; OA *hāl* 'condition ... considered as subject to change' (Lane 675); Ugar *hl* 'sickness, anxiety, pain' (Del Olmo/Sanmartin 2003: I, 389), Heb *hyl* I, 'unter Geburtsschmerzen beben, II 'beben vor Angst' (Ges/Bu 227) < Sem **hyl* 'be sick' (Mil/Ko 291-2);

~ Eastern Ar *hāl* 'maladie grave' (Dozy I, 340 cit. *Muḥīt*) ~ Alep *fi hāl il-mōt* 'à l'article de la mort, *hāle* 'état (d'un malade)' (Barth 185, 186) ~ Sii *əš-hālu* 'was ist los mit ihm?' (Vo/Wald 130) ~ Cai *hāla* 'case of sickness; fit, bout (of sickness, depression, etc.)' (Bad/Hi 234).

pxal, f -e, pl -in 'sick': *pxiss pxal* 'I feel sick'; *mā-enne pxalīn* 'ils ne sont pas malades' (Roth 1996:76); < Ar **bi-hāl*.

h-y-y/h-y-w

rabbi yaxvillak mpratak, *yaxvillak xvatak* 'may God keep your wife and your brothers and sisters! (blessing addressed to a newly wedded couple)' < **aḥwā* < OA *aḥyā* 'spare a.o.' (Hava 153);

Alep *hawā*, *yəhwi* (v/t) 'receuillir (des pauvres, un orphelin); garder chez soi (un chat, un chien, etc.)' (Barth 186) ~ Mard *hawā*, *yəhwi* 'beherbergen (jmd. = 'ala), Zuflucht bieten' (Vo/Wald 131) ~ Pal Ar *ʔahyāk* (pl *ahyākum*) *aḷlāh*, *hayyāk allāh* 'God keep you alive!' (Piamenta 1979a:160) ~ Cai *ʔihyīni n-nahar-da w-mawwitri bukra* [prov] 'sustain me today and you can do what you like with me tomorrow' (Bad/Hi 236).

staxa, *pkystxi* 'be shy, ashamed': *n-nes má-pkyistxu* 'people have no sense of shame'; *má-staxayt arka* (< *qdr*↓) *xtir fi kulla lliz^zzof^z šayti* 'I never felt so ashamed in my entire life'; OA *istahyā/istahā* (Lane 680);

~ Alep *staha*, *yəstəhi* 'éprouver un sentiment de honte honnête, ...' (Barth 189) ~ Mard *staha*, *yəstəhi* 'sich schämen' (Vo/Wald 132) ~ Malt *staha*, *jisthi*.

mistāx, f -a, pl -in 'shy, ashamed'; OA *mustahin*;

[A formally deviant participle deriving from metanalysis of this lexeme as a hollow Form VIII verb. On the pattern *mif'al*, cf. Intro, §IXa.]

~ Alep pa. *məstəhi* (Barth 189) ~ Pal Ar *misthi* (Elihai 1999:282) ~ Malt *misthi* 'shy'.

xevān, pl -āt 'animal': *sarkunni x-xevanati* 'they stole my cattle'; OA *haywān*, pl -āt (Hava 152);

~ Alep *həwān*, pl *hawānīn* 'animal, bête' (Barth 189) ~ Kənd *haywān*, pl *haywānāt* ~ Darag *hīwān*, pl *hīwānāt* 'Tier, Vieh, Last-, Reittier' (Vo/Wald 132) ~ Bagh (M) *haywān*, pl -āt 'animal, beast' (Wood/Bee 127) ~ Kfar^{ab} *hīwān* 'animal' (Feghali 1919:84) ~ Pal Ar *haywān/hīwān*, pl -āt 'Tier' (Bau 300).

h-y-k

xaek, *pixaek* 'weave'; cf. OA *hāka* (u) (Hava 150);

~ Alep *hayyak* 'tisser' (Barth 188) ~ Bagh (M) *hāk* (u) 'weave' (Wood/Bee 124) ~ Pal Ar *hayyak* 'weben' (Bau 355).

X

x-b-ʔ

xabba, *pixabbi* (v/t) 'hide': *ie sarket l-impla^{ek} u xabbiton* 'she stole the spoons and hid them' (Frangiskou 191); OA *xaba^a/xabba^a* (Hava 154);

~ Alep *xabba* 'cacher (qqe ou qqn)' (Barth 192) ~ Dam *xabba* 'hide' (Sto/Ani 116) ~ Mard *xabba* 'verstecken' (Vo/Wald 133) ~ Bagh (M) *xabba* (Wood/Bee 129) ~ Pal Ar *xabba* 'verbergen' (Bau 328) ~ Cai *xabba* 'conceal' (Bad/Hi 241) ~ Malt *heba*, *jahbi*.

sxabba, *pkysisxabba* (v/i) 'se cacher' (Roth 1975:90): *sxabba xost l-iknise* 'he hid inside the church' < **stxabba*; cf. OA *ixtaba^a*;

[Note the parallel development in CyA *slakka* 'catch a thrown object' ~ Alep *slaqqa* 'recevoir (un objet jeté ou tombé d'en haut)' explained in Barth (763) as "forme hybride, Xe forme greffée sur une Ve" ~ Kfar^{ab} *stlaqqa* 'il saisit à la volée' (Feghali 1919:190-1; 1928:251-2).]

Cf. Dam *txabba* 'hide oneself' (Sto/Ani 116) ~ Ka^b *txabba/xtaba* 'sich verstecken, sich verbergen' (Vo/Wald 133) ~ Bagh (M) *txabba/xtiba* (Wood/Bee 129) ~ Malt *stahba*, *jistahba* (v/i) 'hide'.

mpxabbi, f *mpxabbi*, pl *mpxabbin* (pp) 'hidden': *t-turk xawšuoṇ kullon u sayluon ... ʔan^g kaffia ši ʔstratyoti^g mpxabbi* 'the Turks rounded them up and asked them ... if there were any soldiers hiding';

~ Cai *mixabbi* (ap/pp) (Bad/Hi 241).

txubbo (vn) 'hiding'.

x-b-r

xapar 'piece of news' (no pl): *aš xapar?* 'what's new?'; *ttansailkon xapar* 'we'll let you know'; CyG *xaparin* 'news' (Yangoullis 1997:360) = Mod Gk χαμπάρι; OA *xabar*, pl *axbār* 'information, news' (Hava 152);

~ Alep *xabar*, pl *xbār* 'nouvelle' (Barth 191) ~ Āz *xabar* 'Nachricht, Botschaft' (Vo/Wald 134) ~ Pal Ar *xabar*, pl *ʔaxbār* (Bau 213) ~ Cai *xabar*, pl *ʔaxbār* '(item) of news' (Bad/Hi 239) ~ Malt *aḥbar*.

x-b-z

xops 'bread, livelihood': *xops esi* 'dry bread'; *pifatteš teakul xopson* 'he's trying to rob them of their livelihood (lit., eat their bread)'; OA *xubz* (Lane 697) < Ethiop *xəbəst* (Schall 1982:147), MLA pl *axbāz* (Wehr 263);

~ Alep *xəbz/xəbəz* 'pain, du pain' (Barth 191) ~ Dam *xəbəz*, *xəbze*, pl -āt 'bread' (Sto/Ani 28) ~ Kənd *xbayz* 'Brot' (Vo/Wald 134) ~ Pal Ar *xubez* 'Brot' (Bau 66) ~ Malt *hobz*, n un -a.

xops maštūl 'poorly made bread' (*štlū*).

xpaz 'baked items: bread, cakes (*ka^{ak}*), pretzels, etc.': *xpaz efnin* 'mouldy bread'; MLA *axbāz*, pl of *xubz* 'bread' (Wehr 263).

x-b-t

xaft (n) 'beating'; < *xabt*, v.n. of OA *xabaṭa* 'he struck, or beat' (Lane 697).

maxpāt, pl -āt 'mallet for beating linen'; OA *mixbāt* 'a staff, or stick with which the leaves of trees are beaten off' (Lane 699);

[Dalman (V, 145): "Seidenstoff und Halbseidenstoff behandelt man mit Schlichte, spült sie dann zur Entfernung der Schlichte, wenn Gelegenheit vorhanden ist, in Flußwasser, schlägt (*xabat*) sie auf einen glatten Stein (*dozga*) zuweilen mit Benutzung eines Schlegels (*mixbāt*), ..."]

~ Alep *māxbāt* 'battoir des blanchisseurs' (Barth 192) ~ Kənd *xābōt* 'flacher Schlegel' (Vo/Wald 134) ~ Pal Ar *mixbāt*, pl *maxābit* 'Dreschflegel; Klopffholz zum Waschen' (Bau 78, 175; cf. also Dalman III, 91-2) ~ Yem *mixbāt* 'wood stick used to thresh sorghum heads' (Varisco 1985:87).

x-d-r

xiḏer, *pkyaḏar* (v/i) 'go numb': *xiḏret izri* 'my leg is numb'; OA *xadira* (a) 'it was, or became benumbed, or torpid, ...' (Lane 707);

~ Alep *xāḏer* (a), *xḏarr* 's'engourdir, être engourdi' (Barth 206) ~ Mhall *xādər* 'einschlafen (Glieder)' (Vo/Wald 135) ~ Bagh (M) *xidar* 'become numb, tingle' (Wood/Bee 130) ~ Leban Ar *xeder* 'il s'engourdit (se dit du pied, de la main)' (Feghali 1919:57-8) ~ Pal Ar *xḏarr* 'schlafen (Fuß)' (Bau 88, 258) ~ Cai *xḏr* 'intoxicate' (Spiro 1895:163), *xidil* (a) 'become numb': *rigli xidlit* 'my leg went numb' (Bad/Hi 242) ~ Yem *xidir* (a) 'be/become numb' (Qafisheh 2000:160) ~ Malt *ḥedel* 'be benumbed' (Aquilina 1987:532).

[The irregular CyA interdental reflex of OA *d* here may continue emphatic *ḏ < secondary ḏ attested in the Syrian and Lebanese cognates cited.]

mixḏār, f -a, pl -in 'numb'; OA *xadir* 'numb (limb)' (Hava 158); ~ Alep *māxḏarr* 'engourdi' (Barth 206) ~ Mhall *maxḏər* 'eingeschlafen (Glieder), lahm (Arme), betäubt' (Vo/Wald 135) ~ Pal Ar *ḏigri* *xadrāne* 'mein Fuß schläft' (Bau 258) ~ Cai *xadlān* (Bad/Hi 242).

x-d-m

xitem, *pkyaxtom* (v/i) 'work at one's occupation': *oxar kanyaxtmu nūssuxar*, *oxar tlax-trúk ž-žúmā'a* 'some were working halfdays, others three times a week'; OA *xadama* (i, u) 'serve' (Hava 159);

~ Alep *xadam* (o) 'servir (qqn.)' (Barth 194) ~ Āz *ixdām* 'arbeiten' (Vo/Wald 135): *w lena xams sətt wlād w ana axdām w at'ab w ašqa*

w ašḥābān 'wir haben fünf, sechs Kinder, ich arbeite und mühe mich ab und schufte, um sie zu versorgen ...' (Jastrow 1981:205) ~ rur Egyp Ar *xadam* (i) 'bearbeiten, arbeiten an' (Behn/Woid 1994:109) ~ Cai *xadam* (i) 'serve, wait on' (Bad/Hi 242) ~ Om *xdum fiššems u kil fiddalle* 'arbeite in der Sonne und esse im Schatten' (Reinhardt 1894:399) ~ Malt *ḥadem*, *jaḥdem* 'work'.

[Urmi *xdm* (< Ar) 'work, till (soil)' (Garbell 1965:293).]

(n)*txitem*, *pkyaixitem* (v/i) 'be worked by hand; be elaborated': *aḏa s-sunt ntxitem ixtir mix-xayyti ḡprinḡ te mat* 'this plough was highly perfected by my brother before he died.'

xitme 'work': *aška xitme savallon!* 'he did such a lot of work for them!' (Frangiskou 157); OA *xidma* 'service' (Lane 711).

xaddūm 'worker'; OA *xadūm*, a variant of *xaddām* 'one who does much service' (Lane 712);

~ Alep *xadūm* 'serviable' (Barth 195) ~ Bagh (M) *xadūm* 'obliging' (Wood/Bee 130) ~ Āz *xaddām* 'Diener' (Vo/Wald 135) ~ Malt *ḥad-diem*, pl -a 'worker.'

x-r-ʔ

xiri, *pkyaixri* (v/i) 'defecate'; OA *xariʔa* (a) (Lane 715);

~ Alep *xəri* (a) 'satisfaire un gros besoin' (Barth 200) ~ Darag *xəri* (i) 'scheißen' (Vo/Wald 136) ~ Bagh (M) *xira* (a)/*xarra* 'excrete' (Wood/Bee 133) ~ Cai *xiri* (i) 'defecate' (Bad/Hi 248) ~ Malt *ḥara*, *yahra*.

mpxarri, f *mpxarrie*, pl *mpxarrin* 'coward; lit. one who is scared to the point of having a bowel movement' (calque on CyG *šesi*; cf. Mod Gk *χέστης* 'coward', *χέζω* (v) 'defecate').

xre (vn) 'defecating'; OA *xirāʔ* (Lane 715).

xara, pl *xerkanāt* (< **xirkyanāt* < **xiryānāt*) 'faeces'; OA *xurʔ*, pl *xurūʔ*; nonclass Ar *xarāʔ* (Hava 160);

~ Alep *xara*, n un *xərye* 'excréments' (Barth 200) ~ Qarṭ *xara* 'Scheiße' (Vo/Wald 136) ~ Bagh (M) *xiryān/xaryān* 'feces' (Wood/Bee 133) ~ Pal Ar *xara* 'Kot' (Bau 181) ~ Cai *xara* (Bad/Hi 248) ~ Malt *ḥara*.

x-r-b¹

xirep, *pkyaixrep* (v/t) 'destroy'; OA *xaraba* (i) 'ruin' (Hava 160);

~ Alep *xarab* (o/e) 'détruire, ruiner', *xəreb* (a) 'être détruit, tomber en ruine' (Barth 195) ~ Pal Ar *ʔallah yixrib betak* 'may God ruin

your house!' (Canaan 1935:258); *il-mara yā bit^cammir il-bēt yā bti-xirbo* 'a wife either builds up the house or she ruins it' (Granqvist 1935: II, 173), cf. also *xarrab* 'zerstören' (Bau 143, 374), Dam *xarrab* 'destroy' (Sto/Ani 65) ~ Cai *xarab* (i) 'destroy': *ʔallāh yixrib betak* '(God) damn you!' (Bad/Hi 243).

ntxirep, pkyinixrep (v/i) 'be broken off or cancelled': *ʔan^G mā-lixon ašma pkyitlop lā-ʔarīs, ʔtote^G l-ʔiproksenyá^G pkyintxirpu* 'if they (the bride's family) don't have what the groom requests (by way of dowry), the engagement is broken off' < **nxarab*;

~ Çukur *nxarab, yinxirib* 'zerstört werden' (Procházka 2002:168) ~ Cai *ʔixarab* 'be destroyed, ruined' (Bad/Hi 244).

[Aleppine here shows the contrast *xarab* 'détruire': *xāreb* 'être détruit' (Barth 195).]

maxrúp, f -a, pl -ín 'broken, out of order';

cf. Dam *xarbān* 'in ruins' (Sto/Ani 197) ~ Pal Ar *xarbān* 'ruiniert' (Bau 248) ~ Bagh (M) *xarbān* 'broken, out of order' (Wood/Bee 131).

x-r-b²

xarrúp (coll) 'carobs': *x-xarrúp sfadda* 'the carobs have darkened in colour'; *rixna affútt xarrúp mal-ʔosk* (<ʔsy) 'we went to harvest carobs with sticks'; *pzin xarrúp* 'I'm weighing carobs'; *ʔasel tex-xarrúp* 'carob syrup'; OA *xarrüb/xurnüb* (Hava 160);

~ Alep *xarnüb* 'caroube, carouge' (Barth 200) ~ Pal Ar *xarrüb* 'Johannisbrot' (Bau 167) ~ Malt *ħarrub*.

xarrupe, pl -āt 'carob tree': *lina xarrupāt ta piritu tlukkop* 'we have carob-trees that need picking';

~ Pal Ar *šāgarat xarrüb* 'Johannisbrot(baum)' (Bau 167) ~ Malt *šigra tal-harrub* 'carob tree.'

x-r-ğ

xorž, pl xraš 'saddle-bag'; OA *xurğ, pl xirağa* (Hava 161);
~ Alep *xarğ, pl xrağ* 'grand bissac de selle, en laine, en étoffe à tapis ou en filotin' (Barth 197) ~ Dam *xarž, pl xrūže* (Sto/Ani 198) ~ Kənd *xarğ, pl xarūğ* 'Tragetasche' (Wo/Wald 137) ~ Pal Ar *xurğ, pl xurūğ* 'Satteltasche' (Bau 251) ~ Cai *xurg, pl ʔaxrāğ* 'cloth saddlebag' (Bad/Hi 245) ~ Malt *ħorğ* 'knapsack.'

x-r-z

xaraz, n un xarze 'beads'; OA *xaraz* 'shells, beads' (Hava 162);

~ Alep *xaraz* (coll), n un *xaraze* 'anneau de verre, grain ou perle de verre percé' (Barth 198) ~ Qarṭ *xaraze* 'Ringstein, Gemme' (Vo/Wald 138) ~ Mos (C) *xaraz, n un xarazi* 'beads' (infor) ~ Cai *xaraz* 'beads' (Bad/Hi 246).

x-r-k

xork 'anger' (xlq^{ll}).

x-z-q

xazziúk, pl xvezík 'post, stake' < Ar *xāzūq, pl xawāzīq* 'pole, stick, stake for impaling a man'; according to Hava, a dialectal form; cf. OA *xazaqahu* 'he made a hole in it' (Hava 166; Lane 733); (~ Tk *kazık* 'Pfahl, Pfosten, Pflock'; Steuerwald 1972:509);

~ Alep *xāzūq, pl xwezīq* 'piquet de tente, ...' (Barth 190) ~ Bask *xazū* (Abu-Haidar 1979:59) ~ Kfarʔab *xāzūq* (Feghali 1938:60) ~ Cai *xazū* pl *xawazī* 'impaling stick' (Bad/Hi 249).

x-š-b

xāsep 'wood'; OA *xāšab, pl xušub/xušbān* 'wood, timber' (Hava 168), MLA pl *axšāb* (Wehr 278);

~ Alep *xāšab* n de matière 'bois de construction' (Barth 203) ~ Pal Ar *xāšab* 'Holz' (Bau 160) ~ rur Egyp Ar *xāšab* 'Palmholz' (Behn/Woid 1994:114).

xāšpe 'roof beam'; OA *xāšaba* 'a piece of wood or timber' (Lane 741) ~ MAr *xāšba* 'board, plank' (Blau 2002:199), CMAr *xšbh* 'Kreuz' (Graf 1905:89);

~ Alep *xāšabe, pl -āt* 'une poutre' (Barth 203) ~ Dam *xāšaba* 'pole' (Sto/Ani 176) ~ Riš *xāšab* 'Pflug,' Arb (J) *xāšab, n un xāšabe, pl -āt* 'Stab, Stück Holz' (Vo/Wald 139) ~ Bagh (J) *xšaba* 'piece of wood' (Blanc 1964:41) ~ Pal Ar *xāšabe* 'Stange' (Bau 286), 'der Holzpflock, Penis' (Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 277), 'Deckbalken' (Dalm VII, 130).

[Cf. Tang *xāšba* 'poutre' (Marçais 1911:280).]

x-š-n

xāššen, pixāššen (v/t) 'use for the first time (house, car, clothes)'; nonclass Ar *xāššan* 'inhabit (a house) for the first time' (Hava 169).

[Cf. Malt *ħzanžan, ižanžan* 'id.']

x-d-d

xādδ, pixúδδ 'battre le linge' (Roth 1975:54); OA *xādδa* 'stir' (Hava 171);

- Alep *xadd* 'secouer' (Barth 207) ~ Mard *xaδδ* 'hin und her bewegen, ausschwenken (Eimer)' (Vo/Wald 140) ~ Pal Ar *xadd* (u) 'schütteln (Rahm zum Buttern im Schlauch)' (Bau 267) ~ Cai *xadd* (u) 'churn (milk)' (Bad/Hi 255).

x-d-r

xoder, f *xodra*, pl *xodrin* 'green, fresh, unripe, uncooked': l-laymān inne *xodrin* pa'a 'the lemons are still unripe'; *alok o xoder l-im'all* 'the wheat is unripe now'; m-mā'āzen *pkyaklu* ^Gtšerka^G *xodrin* u *yepsin* 'goats eat both fresh and dry grass'; *iš-šummār maxxottu xoder xost l-akl* 'we put fresh fennel in the food'; *ful xodra* 'fresh beans' (= CyG *kukkyū freska*) as opposed to *ful yepse* 'dry beans'; *pasal xodrin* 'fresh onions'; OA *axdar*, f *xadrā*, pl *xudr* 'recent, green' (Hava 172), 'grün, schwarz, aber auch: himmelblau' (Kremer 1883, I:49); OA *šābbun axdaru* 'a young man whose hair has begun to grow upon the sides of his face' (Lane 756);

[For the CyA pl form, cf. Palm *sufrin* (pl) 'jaune' (Cantineau 1934:75).]

- Alep *axdar*, f *xadra*, pl *xadər* 'vert': *ğəbne xadra* 'fromage frais' (Barth 207) ~ Pal Ar *damm* *ixdar* 'frisches Blut' (Blau 1960:108) ~ rur Egyp Ar *tūb* *axadar* 'ungebrannte Lehmziegel' (as opposed to *tūb* *ahamar* 'gebrannte Lehmziegel'; Behn/Woid 1994:292) ~ Cai *axdar*, f *xadra*, pl *xudr* 'green, green-blue, pale blue, greenish-grey, greyish-brown; not fully processed (leather); fresh, not salted or cured (fish); damp, moist; blessed with good fortune' (Bad/Hi 254) ~ Negev Bedouin Ar *arḏ xadra* 'moist ground after a rainfall' (own observ.), cf. *Ša'd xadīrah* 'sehr saftiges grosses Blatt' (Behnstedt 1987:249) ~ Nağd *taww an-nima xadar* 'the palm fruit is still green (not ripe)' (Sowayan 1995:253) ~ Malt *ahdar*, f *hadra*, pl *ħodor* 'green; unripe; cruel.'

x-t-ʔ

xtie 'blame, fault; pity': *xtitak* 'your (m) fault!': l-latuδkya *šata mā-pirixu* ^Gskoyyō^G, o *xtie!* (cf. Mod Gk εἶναι κριμα) 'her children don't go to school; it's a shame!'; OA *xatī'a*, pl *xatāya* (Hava 174);

- Alep *xīya*, pl *xatāya* 'un péché', *xṭayy(e)* 'ce serait dommage ...' (Barth 209) ~ Pal Ar *xṭayye* 'what a pity!' (Piamenta 2000:205) ~ Āz *xatīya* 'Sünde; es ist schade' (Vo/Wald 141) ~ Bagh (J) *xīye* 'a sin', commonly a sentence-word used to deplore regrettable acts: *ğānu xīye* 'ala'he felt sorry for' (Blanc 1964:150) ~ Malt *ħtija* 'blame.'

x-t-b

xitep, *pkyaxtop* 'propose marriage; become engaged': *ana l-imprati kuntrita xamps-isnīn* ^Gprin^G *tānixtep* 'I courted my wife for five years before we got engaged'; OA *xatāba l-mar'ata* 'he asked or demanded the woman in marriage' (Lane 762);

- Alep *xatāb* (o) 'demander en mariage' (mslm.; les Chrét. disent *ṭalab*) (Barth 207) ~ Pal Ar *xatāb* (u) 'verloben' (Bau 335) ~ Cai *xatāb* (u) 'propose marriage' (Bad/Hi 255).

(n)*txitep*, *pkyīnixtep* (v/i) 'get engaged': *txetift* 'I got engaged'; *txiṭpu u sawu exte sine maxtupīn* 'they got engaged and were fiancés for a whole year' < **nxatāb*; cf. OA *ixtātaba* (Lane 762);

- Alep *nxatāb*, passif de l. (Barth 207) ~ Pal Ar *inxatbat* (von der Jungfrau) (Bau 335).

maxtūp, f -a, pl -īn (pp) 'engaged.'

xtip 'fiancé'; OA *xitīb* (Hava 174); MLA *xatīb* (Wehr 286);

- Alep *xatīb* 'fiancé (Chr)' (Barth 207) ~ Dam *xatīb* 'fiancé' (Sto/Ani 88) ~ Pal Ar *xatīb* 'Verlobter' (Bau 335) ~ Cai *xatīb* (Bad/Hi 255).

xtipe 'fiancée': *xtiftu* 'his fiancée'; OA *xitība* (Hava 174), MLA *xatība* (Wehr 286);

- Alep *xatībe* 'fiancée (Chr)' (Barth 207) ~ Dam *xatībe* 'fiancée' (Sto/Ani 88) ~ Pal Ar *xatībe* (Bau 335) ~ Cai *xatība*, pl -āt (Bad/Hi 255).

xtepe/xtepāt 'engagement, betrothal' < **xitāba/xitābāt*; cf. OA *xitba* 'betrothal' (Hava 174);

[On the scheme *fi'ala* for verbal nouns, see Intro, IX (b); the CyA pl form here presumably calques Mod Gk ἀρραβονιάσματα 'fiançailles' (Mirambel 1960:140).]

cf. Alep *xatba* 'accordailles, fiançailles (Chret.)' (Barth 207) ~ Pal Ar *xuṭbe* 'ala' 'Verlobung mit' (Bau 335) ~ Malt *ħotba* 'request for a girl's hand through a matchmaker' (Aquilina 1987:552).

x-f-f¹

xaffef, *pixaffef* (v/t) 'alléger, soulager' (Roth 1975:77); OA *xaffafa* 'alleviate, lighten' (Hava 176);

- Alep *xaffaf* 'alléger' (Barth 210) ~ Pal Ar *xaffaf* (Bau 100) ~ Malt *ħaffef*, *iħaffef*.

txaffef, *pkyitxaffef* (v/i) 'être soulagé' (Roth, loc. cit.); MLA *taxaffafa* 'relieve oneself of a burden.'

xwaf, *f* *xwaf*, pl *xwafin* 'light (weight); frivolous, out of one's mind' < Ar dim **xafayif*; OA *xafif*, pl *xifaf* (Hava 176);

cf. Alep *xafif* 'léger, vil, leste, preste' (Barth 210) ~ Kənd *xafif*, *f* - 'leicht, schnell' (Vo/Wald 142) ~ Hask *xafef* 'leicht' (Talay 2002:85) ~ Pal Ar *xafif* 'leicht (Gewicht und Arbeit)' (Bau 192) ~ Malt *ħafid*, pl *ħafid* 'light.'

x-f-f²

xfif (coll), n un -*e* 'gourds'; Ar *xafif* 'citrouille' (Dozy I, 386, cf. *Mshif*).

x-l-l

xall 'vinegar'; OA *xall* (Hava 178);

- Alep *xall* 'vinaigre' (Barth 215) ~ Bagh (M) *xall*, (JC) *xall* 'vinegar' (Blanc 1964:20) ~ Pal Ar *xall* (Bau 104) ~ Malt *ħall*.

x-l-s

xalles, *pexasalles* 'save, free, acquit': δ-^G*δικαστήριον* *xallismi* 'the court acquitted me'; an *pkirik* *ullak*, *maxxallsak* 's'ils te frappent, nous te sauverons' (Roth 1975:99); OA *xallaša* 'save, free' (Hava 180);

- Alep *xallas* 'délivrer, sauver; débarrasser, dégager' (Barth 211) ~ Kənd *xallas* 'beenden, fertig sein' (Vo/Wald 142) ~ Pal Ar *xallas* 'beendigen, befreien' (Bau 44) ~ Malt *ħallas*, *ihallas* 'pay.'

mpxalles, *f* *mpxalle*, pl *mpxallsin* (pp) 'saved, freed.'

txalles, *pkixalles* *min* 'be freed (from prison); be rid of, 'se débarrasser' (Roth 1975:78); OA *txallaša* *min* (Hava 180);

- Alep *txalles*, *passif* et *réflexif* de II (Barth 211) ~ Pal Ar *txallas* 'se libérer, se débarrasser' (Eihai 1973:240).

txalles 'release, liberation.'

x-l-l

xallet, *paxallet* 'mix'; OA *xalata/xallata* (Hava 180);

- Alep *xallet* 'mélanger souvent ou à plusieurs reprises ou en grande quantité' (Barth 212) ~ Kənd *xallet* 'mischen, umrühren' (Vo/Wald 143) ~ Pal Ar *xalat* (u) (Bau 206) ~ Malt *ħallat*, *ihallat*.

txallet, *pkixallet* (v/i) 'assemble, socialize with': *mill-ibnātyn u kix-yom manntxallet kullon s-^Gninkenis*, ^G*l-ixvāt*, *l-ulat*, *u marriħ* ^G*pot* ^G*li-cen* *payt* ^G*pot* ^G*li-axar* *u manniħħox mtzaffrin* '(during carnival) every day, from Monday onwards, we socialize with all our relatives.'

with our brothers and sisters, and the children, going now to one house and now to another, and we cook fatty foods (i.e., meat, eggs, etc.) foods'; cf. OA *txallaša* 'they commingled together in social intercourse' (Lane 788);

- Alep *xallaš* 'fréquenter, hanter' (Barth 212) ~ Pal Ar *txallaš* *ma* 'verkehrten' (Bau 334).

mpxallet, -*e*, pl -*in* (pp) 'mixed; mingled (people)': *ma-pkyu* *zīpni l-mpir* *mpxallet* *ma moe* 'I don't like wine mixed with water'; *kintām fl-iskayy* ^G*kunna m'arrpin*, *nayθyūt* *ma l-iθkura*, *alok* *naxni* *mpxalltin* 'formerly we were segregated at school, boys and girls, now we are mixed.'

maxħit, *f* -*a*, pl -*in* 'adulterated, not pure': *sanna* *maxħuta* 'notre langue est mélangée' (Roth 1975:21, fn 1).

txallor (vn) 'mixing, mixture.'

x-l-f

xallef, *pixallef* (v/t) 'walk behind s.o.': *kūitna* *maxxalfu* *m-^Gmorōs* *ma iamā-āt* 'we walk [in procession] behind the [baptized] baby holding candles'; < CyA *xalf*.

xalf (prep/adv) 'back, behind'; ^G*amma* ^G*kal akke rza-āt* *xalf* 'when he said that, I went back (home)'; *kapel* *xalfu* 'he cast a glance behind him'; OA *xalfu* (Lane 795);

- Āz *xalf* 'hinter, nach' (Vo/Wald 143) ~ Alep *xalf* (prep) 'derrière' (Barth 213) ~ Pal Ar *xalf* (Bau 158).

mixxalf 'from behind' < Ar **min-xalf*;

- Alep *mən xalf* 'par derrière' (Barth 213) ~ Kənd *mən xalf* 'auf der Rückseite, von hinten' (Vo/Wald 143).

xalfeni, *f* *xalfenie*, pl *xalfenin* 'back (adj)'; < Ar **xalfāni*;

- Alep *xalfeni* 'qui est derrière, postérieur' (Barth 213) ~ Āz *xalfeni*, 'hinterer, dann, xalāfne hintere' (Vo/Wald 144) ~ Bask *xilfāni* 'behind (adj)' (Abu-Haidar 1979:21).

x-l-q

xilek, *pkyxildak* (v/t) 'bring children into the world': *xlakna* *l-ulatna* *u naxni* *kaysin* 'we brought our children into the world and we're glad of it'; OA *xalaqa* (u) 'create' (Hava 182);

~ Alep *xalaq* (e) 'créer'; *xəleq* (a) 'être mis au monde' (Barth 214) < OA *xuliqa*; [Pal Ar *xalqān fi* 'Gebürtig' (Bau 124)] ~ Āz *xalaq* (ə) 'zur Welt kommen lassen' (Vo/Wald 144) ~ Malt *ħhalaq, johloq* 'create.'

(n) *txilek, pkyinixlek* (v/i) 'be born': ^{Gan} *pkyinixlek m-Gmorós* 'fil-exen 'it, pkyimpsek l-ism tel-Gayo' 'if a child is born on a certain feast day, he/she receives the saint's name';

~ rur Egyp Ar *inxalaq* 'geboren werden' (Behn/Woid 1994:124); cf. Dam *kazzāb mən waqət-ma xəleq* 'he's a born liar' (Sto/Ani 26).

xleke 'birth' < **xilāqa*;

cf. Egyp Ar *xilqa* 'naissance' (Boc, Dozy I, 399).

xork 'anger, bad temper, bad humour': *til'e xorku* 'he lost his temper'; *kat'a xorku* 'his wrath abated'; *šal xork ma oxtu* 'he told off his sister'; OA *xulq/xuluq*, pl *axlāq* 'nature, temper, disposition' (Lane 801); cf. nonclass Ar *taxallaqa* 'alā' 'zürnen auf jemand' (Kremer 1883:51), 'se mettre en colère, s'emporter' (Dozy I, 399).

~ Alep *xəlq* 'caractère, naturel, colère' (Barth 214) ~ Judaeo-Ar *xulq* 'rage' (Blau 1988:120); cf. Syr Ar *xulqa* 'Gesicht', *dāyiq xulqu/dāyiq əlxulq/mitxallaq/tāli* 'xulqu' 'verärgert' (Behnstedt 1997, map 357) ~ Hama *dayya' xlā'i* 'er langweilt mich' (Lewin 1966:208) ~ Bagh (M) *mā-ʔali xulug*, (I) *mā-ləni xəlq*, (C) *mā-ʔali xəlq* 'I don't feel well' (Blanc 1964:121) ~ Cai *haddi xul'ak fi š-šar(r), tiksab we-ʔaduwwak yindarr* 'beruhige deine Natur beim Streit; du gewinnst, und dein Feind kommt zu Schaden' (Littmann 1937:37).

[For the metaphor 'face = anger,' cf. Heb *ʔaḇ* 'Zorn'; Moabite *ʔnp* 'zürnen' (Ges/Bu 57); cf. also *ʔerek ʔappəkā* (Jer. 15, 14), *ʔerek ʔappayim* (Prov. 25, 15) 'patience,' and Mod Mand *āppa* 'Gesicht, Mut' (Macuch 1993:367).]

x-l-k

xilek, pkyaxlak 'arrive' (lhqʔ).

x-l-y

xalla, pixalli (v/t) 'let, leave, abandon; bide one's time; leave posterity': *kanyislax axxalli pkyutna u annaxrop mniδ-de'a* 'we had to abandon our houses and flee from the village'; *t-turk kanixallūna arrīx u antzi* 'the Turks used to allow us to come and go (i.e., across the armistice lines)'; *xalla y-yapati u ll-ummi xarpu u za pilakini* 'he waited for my father and mother to leave and came to see me'; *ana mat yapati u xallani zē'ir* 'my father died when I was small'; *xállini tanám* 'let me sleep!'; *xallayta l-ixmāra raxet antáxt l-yapati uv-ana xruft zit*

δ-de'a 'I let the donkey go down to where my sister was and I left and came to the village'; OA *xallā* (Hava 183); ~ Kənd *xalla* 'lassen, übriglassen' (Vo/Wald 144) ~ Alep *xalla* 'laisser' (qqn ou qqe) (Barth 215) ~ Malt *ħhalla, ihalli* 'leave.'

x-m-r

xmire 'leaven'; OA *xamīra* (Hava 185); Aram *xamīrā* (Fraenkel 1886:33-34);

~ Alep *xamīre* 'levain pour la pâte' (Barth 216) ~ Mħall *xamīre* 'Sauerteig' (Vo/Wald 145) ~ Pal Ar *xamīre* 'Hefe' (Bau 151) ~ Malt *ħhmira* 'yeast.'

[Tur *ħmiro* 'Hefe' (Jastrow 1987:182).]

x-m-s

xampse, xamps- 'five': *xamps-iksús* 'five priests'; *xamps-tišxūr* 'five months'; *xamps-tá'irfe* 'five loaves'; *xamps-isnín* 'five years'; *xamps-xumpr* 'five Cypriot pounds (a cryptic term to foil Greek salesmen)'; *xámpsiθkon* 'the five of you'; OA *xamsa, xams* (Hava 185);

~ Alep *xamse, xams-* : *xamst-ālāf* 'five thousand'; *xamst-əδro* 'cinq coudées'; on dit même qqf. *xamst-əħmāl* 'cinq charges'; *xamst-əħwāš* 'cinq cours ou maisons' (Barth 216) ~ Dam *xamse, xaməs(t-)* : *xams əwlād* 'five children'; *xaməst əšhor* 'five months' (Stow/Ani 92) ~ Darag *xamše* (selbständige Form), *xamš-* (Vo/Wald 145) ~ Pal Ar *xamse, xams, xam(e)st-* (Elihai 1999:193) ~ Malt *ħhamsa, ħhames(t-)* 'five': *ħhames snin* 'five years', *ħhames qtates* 'five cats', *ħhamest elef* ['elef] 'five thousand.'

xampsitt(e) 'about five or six': *naxni kunna xampsitt rzel* 'we were about five or six men';

~ Alep *xamsətt* contracté de *xams sətt* 'cinq, six ...' (Barth 217).

[Cf. MMar *xams sitt fawāris* 'five or six knights' (Schen 1973: II, 85).]

xmis 'Thursday'; OA *al-xamīs/yawm al-xamīs* (Hava 185);

~ Alep *xamīs et nhār əlxamīs* 'jeudi' (Barth 217) ~ Pal Ar *yōm əlxamīs* 'Donnerstag' (Bau 77) ~ Malt *ħhnar il-ħhamis* 'Thursday.'

yamuxmīs 'on Thursday' < Ar **yawm l-xamīs*.

x-m-n¹

ximen, pkyixman (v/i) 'be low, diminish'; cf. χαμηλώνω 'lower, bring down; become lower' (Pring 1982:205).

xammen, pixammen 'lower': *xammen moxxak* 'lower your head!'

mpxammen (adj) 'bent over, stooping': *kānituluppīzan u m-^Gmor-ōs^G texu žrex^G iša^G teži m-^Gmorōs išo^G, ta lā-teži^G kampuri^G, ta lā-teži^G mpxam-men m-^Gmorōs^G, teži šokor min telu* 'they also used to swaddle a baby so that his legs would grow straight, so that it would [be able to stand] stand upright and not develop a hump, or a stoop, so that he would draw compliments from his relatives (*telu*).'

[Note CyG τολουπιζω 'I swaddle' (cf. Yangoullis 1997:328).]

txammen, pkyitxammen 'bend over, bow, lower oneself.'

txummon (vn) 'bending, bowing.'

xmin, f -e, pl *xman* 'low, short (stature)' < CyG χαμηλός 'short in stature' (Pavlou 1993:61); in Anc Gk = 'on the ground, creeping' (Liddell/Scott 1996:1976).

[Hopkins (1990:92) has suggested the relevance of Arabic and Neo-Aramaic etyma; cf. Pal Ar *xmīl* 'dick' (Dalm IV, 133); Tur *hlīmo* 'dick, gedrungen (von Gegenständen)' (Jastrow 1985:228); Arb *xlima* 'thick, strong' (Khan 1999:585). It may be simplest to derive this CyA lexeme from Greek.]

x-m-n²

ttaxmīn (n) 'estimate': *šel ttaxmīn aška sa^a pitri atrux u atzi antaxt l-ipkyetir* 'reckon how much time you require to go down to the threshing-floors and to come back!'; Tk *tahmin* 'Vermutung, Mutmaßung' (Steuerwald 1972:886); cf. OA *xammanahu* 'he spoke of it conjecturally' (Lane 813);

~ Alep *taxmīn* 'peut-être, je suppose, probablement' (Barth 218; cf. also (Al-Asadi III, 359) ~ Dam *taxmīn* 'appraisal' (Sto/Ani 10) ~ Leban Ar *tixmīn baddo yištri* 'maybe he wants to buy' (Frayha 48); [cf. Alep *xammen* 'estimer' (Barth 218); Sii *txammen* 'nachdenken' (Vo/Wald 146); Pal Ar *bitxammin kull en-nās miθlak* 'du meinst, alle Leute seien wie du' (Bau 139), *eš xammantum* 'was dachtet ihr?' (Dalm VII, 94)] ~ rur Pal Ar *ba^d tixmīn šurbit sīkāra* 'nach etwa soviel Zeit, wie man zum Rauchen einer Zigarette braucht' (Blau 1960:164), *qulna taxmīn rawwah* 'wir sagten: "vielleicht ist er nach Hause gegangen"' (Bīr Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918:1, 11) ~ Cai *taxmīn* 'guess, surmise' (Bad/Hi 266).

[Cf. Ma^l *taxmīn* 'possibly, perhaps' (Spitaler 1957:88). Cairene has *xammin* 'guess, surmise' (Bad/Hi 266), noted by Vollers (1896:640) mundartlich as *xammam* 'meinen, glauben,' also recorded in this form for Algerian Arabic (Beaussier 1887:182; cf. Marçais 1905:428); note also Alep *xamman* ~ *xammal* (Al-Asadi III, 359).]

x-n-z-r

xantzīr, pl *xnentsīr/xnezīr* 'pig', *xantzīre*, pl -āt 'sow'; OA *xinzīr*, pl *xanāzīr* (Lane 732);
~ Alep *xanzīr*, pl *xnēzīr* 'sanglier' (Barth 219) ~ Dam *xanzīr*, pl *xanazīr* 'pig' (Sto/Ani 173) ~ Mos (C) *xanzīg*, pl *xanīzīg* (infor) ~ Pal Ar *xanzīr*, pl *xanazīr* 'Schwein' (Bau 269) ~ Cai *xanzīr* f -a, pl *xanazīr* 'pig' (Bad/Hi (267) ~ Malt *ħanzīr*, pl *ħniežer* [also *qažquž*, pl *qzieqez* as term of abuse].

x-n-q

xanak, pkyaxnok (v/t) 'strangle, slaughter (poultry)': *xmunkt žež(ž)e* 'I slaughtered a chicken'; OA *xanaqa* (u) 'throttle' (Lane 818);
~ Alep *xanaq* (e) 'étrangler, étouffer, asphyxier (qqn)' (Barth 219) ~ Pal Ar *xanaq* (u) 'erwürgen' (Bau 103) ~ Malt *ħanaq, joħnoq* 'make hoarse.'

xtanak, pkyaxtnek (v/i) 'suffocate, drown'; OA *ixtanaqa* 'be throttled' (Hava 187);

~ Alep *xtanaq* 'être étouffé, asphyxié'—*xtanaq falmwāy* 'périr submergé, se noyer' (Barth 220) ~ Kənd *xtanaq, yəxtənəq* 'ersticken' (Vo/Wald 146) ~ Bagh (M) *wuga^c bil-ṣāy w-ixtinag* 'he fell into the water and drowned' (Wood/Bee 147) ~ Pal Ar *xtanaq* (v/i) 'ersticken' (Bau 103) ~ rur Egyp Ar *itxanaq* 'erwürgt werden' (Behn/Woid 1994:124) Malt *nħanaq, jinħanaq* 'he became hoarse.'

maxnūk, f -a, pl -īn (pp) 'strangled, drowned' < Ar *maxnūq*;

~ Çukur *w-mixnūq bi-l-baħir* 'und so ertrank er im Meer' (Procházka 2002:258) ~ Malt *ħahnuq* 'hoarse.'

[See Introduction on the semantic pattern 'strangle/drown' for this lexeme in certain Arabic vernaculars of S.E. Anatolia and Syria and a possible substratal Greek influence.]

x-w-θ

axveθ, f *xawθa*, pl *xuθ* 'mad'; *kant^aaet mix* (mθlθ) *xawθa* 'she was yelling like a lunatic';

~ Alep *axwat*, f *xawta/xōta*, pl *xotān* 'idiot, hébété' (Barth 221)
~ Leban Ar *axwet*, f *xawta*, pl *xūt* (Fegh M/J 1977:201, fn3) ~ Bask *axwit*, f *xawta* 'mad' (Abu-Haidar 1979:61, 12) ~ Bišm *xiwit, byixwit* 'aufgeregt, verrückt werden' (Jiha 1964:70) ~ Pal Ar *axwaθ*, f *xōθa*, pl *xūθ/xūθān* 'dumm, töricht' (Kampff 1936:20); cf. Jordanian Ar *nxawaθ* 'go out of one's senses' (Palva 1992:169), Negev Ar *minxiwiθ* 'having become dizzy' (Blanc 1970a:139).

[Cf. Cai *xawat* 'pester, bother' (Bad/Hi 268). M/J Feghali (210, fn 3) state: 'axwet (f *xawta*, pl *xūt*) est employé à côté de *xūtān* et *xāwīta* pour exprimer la notion de «toqué, timbré, insensé». Canaan (1935: 246) notes: "maḡdūb, mafqūc, maḡnūn, habīleh, maxwūt, maš'ūr de- note different degrees of madness." Cf. W. Neo-Aram *inaxwat* 'verrückt werden' (Arnold, p.c.).]

xvaṭa 'madness';

~ Alep *xawte/xōte* 'idiotie, hébétude' (Barth 221) ~ Cai *yaxūya xawat yidīrak* 'my brother—may dizziness make you spin' (Stewart 1994:61).

x-w-l

xal 'maternal uncle'; OA *xāl*, pl *axwāl* (Hava 190);

~ Alep *xāl*, pl *xwāl* 'oncle maternel' (Barth 222) ~ Dam *xāl*, pl *xwāl* 'mother's brother' (Sto/Ani 252) ~ Bagh (M) *xāl*, pl *xwāl*, (JC) *xāl* (Blanc 1964:19) ~ Pal Ar *xāl*, pl *xwāl* 'Oheim' (Bau 223) ~ Cai *xāl*, pl *axwāl/xilān* (Bad/Hi 238).

xalt 'maternal aunt' < *xālt-*; OA *xāla*, pl *-āt* (Hava 190);

~ Alep *xāle*, pl *-āt* 'tante maternel' (Barth 222) ~ Dam *xāle*, pl *-āt* 'mothers' sister' (Sto/Ani 15) ~ Qarṭ *xāle* (Vo/Wald 147) ~ Pal Ar *xāle*, pl *-āt*, *mart il-xāl* 'Muhme (mütterlichseits)' (Bau 210).

x-y-r

xtar, *pk yaxtēr* (v/t) 'choose'; OA *ixtārahu* 'he chose ... or preferred it' (Lane 829);

~ Alep *staxār*, *yastxār* 'choisir' (Barth 224) ~ Dam *xtār* 'choose' (Sto/Ani 41) ~ Pal Ar *xtār* 'wählen' (Bau 351) ~ Malt *ḥatar*, *jāhtar*.

[On metanalysis of Form VIII *xyr*, cf. Mez (1906:254).]

muxtār 'head of a village'; CyG *μouxτάρι* < Tk *muhtar* < Ar *muxtār*; OA *muxtār* 'choosing/chosen' (Lane 831);

~ Alep *māxtār* 'choisi, élu; chef de quartier' (Barth 225) ~ Āz *māxtār*, pl *maxētīr* 'Dorfvorsteher, Dorfältester' (Vo/Wald 148) ~ Pal Ar *māxtār*, pl *maxātīr* 'Dorfschulze' (Bau 77).

xyar, n un *-a* 'cucumbers'; OA *xiyār* (Hava 191);

~ Alep *xyār*, n un *-a* 'concombre comestible' (Barth 225) ~ Mos (C) *xyāḡ* 'cucumbers' ~ Pal Ar *xyār* 'Gurke' (Bau 144) ~ Dam *xyār* (Sto/Ani 58) ~ Malt *ḥjar*.

x-y-ṭ

xetān (mass noun; no sg), pl *-āt* 'thread': *l-implāk pkyāxta'a* (< *qt'*) *x-xetān tel 'ištna u mammūt* 'the angel of death cuts our thread (lit. threads) of life and we die'; nonclass. pl *xītān*, sg *xayṭ*;

~ Arb (J) *xayṭ*, pl *xītān*, Āz *xyōṭ* 'Schnur, Faden, Kettfaden' (Vo/Wald 148) ~ Pal Ar *xēṭ*, pl *xītān* (Bau 106) ~ Cai *xēṭ*, pl *xuyūt/xētān* 'thread' (Bad/Hi 271) ~ Malt *ḥajt*, n un *-a*, pl *hjub*.

D

d-ḡ-ḡ

žež(ž) coll, n un *-e* 'chickens'; OA *daḡāḡ/diḡāḡ* (Lane 852);

~ Alep *ḡeḡ*, n un *-e* 'poule' (Barth 100) ~ Āz *ḡeḡ* (coll) 'Huhn' (Vo/Wald 151) ~ Bagh (M) *ḡāḡ/diḡāḡ* (coll) 'chickens' (Wood/Bee 66), (J) *ḡiḡ*, (C) *ḡeḡ* 'hens' (Blanc 1964:46) ~ Mos (C) *ḡeḡ*, n un *-i* (infor) ~ Pal Ar *ḡāḡ* 'Henne' (Koll) (Bau 153) ~ Yem *daḡāḡ/diḡāḡ* 'chicken' (Qafisheh 2000:197) ~ Malt *ṭigieg* (coll), n un *-a*.

[The OA alternants of this lexeme survive in N Yem *diḡāḡa/daḡāḡin* 'Huhn' (Behnstedt 1987:251). For the *imāla* shift in this CyA lexeme and its *qaltu* and N Syrian cognates, see Levin (1978:201).]

d-x-n

taxxen, *pitaxxen* (v/t) 'emit smoke (e.g., oven)'; OA *daxxana* 'fumigate' (Hava 199), MLA 'smoke (tobacco)' (Wehr 317);

~ Alep *daxxan* (v/t) 'enfumer (un lieu); (v/i) 'jeter de la fumée, fumer (: charbon, bois, etc.)' (Barth 233) ~ Pal Ar *daxxan* 'rauchen (vom Ofen)' (Bau 239) ~ Malt *ḥahhan*, *idahhan* 'emit smoke.'

tixxān 'smoke, tobacco': *ḡkaṭeḡ ut lu d-dixxān telu* 'every type of wood produces its own kind of smoke' (pop. saying; Frangiskou 231); OA *dux(x)ān* (Hava 199);

~ Alep *dāxxān*, pl *dxēxīn* 'fumée, tabac à fumer' (Barth 233) ~ Arb *dāxxān* 'Rauch' (Vo/Wald 152) ~ Pal Ar *duxxān* (Bau 239) ~ Malt *ḥuhhan* 'smoke.'

tixxane 'tobacco plant.'

d-r-b

tarp (f), pl *trup* 'road, street, way': *rvanni t-tarp* 'he showed me the way'; *tarp awža* 'a crooked street'; *enne maftuxīn l-itrup?* 'are the roads are open?'; *aḍi t-tarp ta pitrūx sop l-millaxa* 'this roads leads to

Larnaca; *attinrix ta lá-terúx xost l-itrúp teipilsúx l-^Gaftokínita^G* 'watch over him (the child) so that he doesn't roam the streets and get run over!'; *l-iksús pkyatuon t-tarp k-kayse pšan rabbi* 'the priests impart to them (the children) the righteous way of the Lord'; OA *darb*, pl *durúb* (Hava 201) < Δέρβη 'lykaonischer Grenzstadt, bei den cilicischen Pässen' (cf. Strabo 535. 569 C; cf. Acts 14, 6, 20; Vollers 1897:296), and OA *adraba* 'invade a Greek province (Moslems)' (Hava 201);

~ Alep *darb*, pl *drúb* 'chemin' s.m. [est f en Syr. moy.] *darb ša'b* 'chemin difficile' (Barth 233) ~ Çukur *darb* f, pl *drúb* 'Weg, Straße' (Procházka 2002:117) ~ Sii *darb* 'Weg, Straße' (Vo/Wald 152) ~ Bagh (M) *darub*, pl *drúb* 'street, road' (Wood/Bee 155) ~ Pal Ar *darb* (m/f), pl *drúb* (Bau 355).

[Vollers (*ibid.* 297): *darb* enge Pforte, ist in Ägypten und Nordafrika erhalten, teils als abschliessbares Quartier, teils in den Strassenkämpfen, z.B. der ägyptischen Hauptstadt als "Verhau, Barrikade". Aus *darb* enge Pforte, Durchgang, könnte sich die jetzt in Syrien allgemein gebräuchliche aber schon früh (Jacut a. a. O.) erkennbare Bedeutung "Pfad, Weg", verallgemeinert haben.]

-*trup* in the topon. 'ayntrúp < *'ayn drúb.

[Groom (1983:72) defines *darb* in toponyms: 'place of entrance, gateway; narrow pass; road, track, mountain path; alley lane, etc.']

d-r-s

taras, *pkyitros* (v/t) 'thresh (wheat)'; OA *darasa* (u/i) (Hava 202); ~ Alep *daras* (o) 'dépiquer, égrener (les épis)' (Barth 236) ~ Dam *daras* (o) (Sto/Ani 240) ~ Pal Ar *daras* (u) 'dreschen' (Bau 78) ~ Malt 'dires, jidres' 'thresh.'

ntaras, *pkyinitres* (v/i) 'be threshed (wheat)'; OA *indaras* 'be obliterated' (Hava 202);

~ Alep *ndaras*, *yandáres* 'être dépiqué, égrené (: blé)' (Barth 236).

matrús, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'threshed.'

tars (vn) 'threshing'; OA *dars/dirás* (Hava 202);

~ Dam *darás/drāse* (Sto/Ani 240); cf. Pal Ar *drās* (Bau 78).

d-r-y

ntarra, *pkyintarra* (v/i) 'leap; jump down; copulate (animals)'; *l-oxl* (< wqt) *ta kuntatla'a, ana ntarráyt akke išaxok xost δ-^Gdikastiryo^G u rká'at izri mi f-farxa šayti?* 'as I was going out, I leaped up this high and stamped my foot on the ground for joy'; *ntarráyt parra u xruft* 'I leaped outside and ran away'; *pkyintarrula* (coarse) 'she's a prostitute';

JArām Ithpe. *w-iddārōn habrayyā* ... 'the colleagues jumped up trying to bring him back' (M. Jastrow 323); *'iddārī nokrī* 'der Nichtjude sprang herbei' (Levy I, 424).

[Roth (1975:85) characterizes the source of this lexeme as "peu sûre" and associates it with Pal Ar *trr*: *bittirr* 'du hüpfst' (Kampf 1936:8). An Aramaic origin for the CyA form is possible in view of the last CyA meaning noted here inviting comparison with Neo-Aram *tāh, yīh* 'springen, bespringen, beschlafen' (Arno/Behn 81) < Aram *twh* (Dalm 1938:167; M. Jastrow 522).]

d-s-t

tist, pl *tsut* 'large pot, cauldron': *tist plan moe* 'a pot full of water'; Ar *dst* 'eine Schüssel, ein Gericht' (Fleischer 1836:13) < Ar *dast*, pl *dusūt* < Pers (Dozy I, 441) ~ MLA *dist*, pl *dusūt* 'kettle, boiler' (Wehr 324);

~ Alep *dəst*, pl *dsūt* 'chaudière ou grande marmite de cuivre, munie de deux anses mobiles' (Barth 239) ~ Arb *dəst*, Kənd *dəsd* '(kleiner) Kessel, Teekessel' (Vo/Wald 155) ~ Pal Ar *dist*, pl *dsūt* 'großer Kessel' (Bau 172).

d-^c-s

te^ces (< **di^cis*), *pkyit^cas* (v/t) 'tread, to enter a house (cint-)': *exte layle te^ces cinna* 'one evening he paid us a visit'; OA *da^casa* (a) 'tread upon, to press' (Hava 206);

~ Alep *da^cas* (a) 'fouler aux pieds (qqn, qqe)' (Barth 240) ~ Pal Ar *da^cas* (a) (Elihai 1973:192).

[—], *pkyinit^ces* 'be trodden'; < OA *inda^cas* (Hava 206).

mat^cús, f -a, pl -in 'trodden.'

ta^cas 'tread, footstep, footprint'; OA *da^cs* 'trace, track' (Hava 206); ~ Pal Ar *da^cse* 'Tritt, Fußspur' (Bau 306, 120).

d-f-š

tafaš, *pkyitfoš* (v/t) 'push, shove'; cf. MLA *dafasa* (Wehr 329); ~ Alep *dafaš* (o) 'pousser (qqn. ou qqe), *dafas* (o) 'jeter (un mort) dans le trou, ...' (Barth 242) ~ Dam *dafašni dafše kān laha waqqa'ni* 'he gave me such a shove that I nearly fell over' (Sto/Ani 209) ~ Leban Ar *dafēš* 'pousser, repousser' (Feghali 1938:766) ~ Pal Ar *dafaš il-bāb* 'er stieß gegen die Tür' (Bīr Zēt; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 214) ~ Malt 'deffes, ideffes' 'push cram, thrust' (Aquilina 1987:219) ~ Algiers *dafas* 'heurter' (Dozy I, 448).

ntafaš, *pkyinitfeš* (v/t) 'be pushed, shoved about.'

matfūs, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'pushed.'

d-f-l

tifl, n un -e 'oleander'; OA *diflā* 'Lorbeer' < [ροδο]δάφνη (Blau 1873: 531; Fraenkel 1886:142);

~ Alep *dəfəl* 'laurier-rose' (Barth 243) ~ Çukur *difli* 'Oleander' (Procházka 2002:169) ~ Pal Ar *difle* 'Oleander' (Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:60).

d-q-q

takk, *pitokk* (v/t/i) 'hit, knock, pound; ring (bells); clap (hands)'; k-^G*kampānes*^G *pitokku tváxxar* ^G*ost*^G *ta marrúx nússulayl l-iknise* '(on Holy Saturday) the churchbells ring all day until we go to church at midnight'; *takk moxxu xok x-xet* 'he knocked his head against the wall'; *takket b-bape* 'someone's knocking at the door'; *pkyírku*^u ^G*yirús*^G, *pitokku b-bapát*, *pkyá^cántu žava*, *pkyírriksu u pi^cannu* '(during Carnival) people go about knocking at doors; they enter, dance, and sing'; *takku texon* 'they applauded'; OA *daqqa* (u) (Hava 210);

~ Alep *daqq* (ə) 'piler dans le mortier, égruger, ... taper à coups répétés ...' (Barth 244) ~ Kənd *daqq* (ə) 'schlagen' ~ Malt *daqq*, *idoqq* 'play musical instrument.'

θkik, f -e 'thin'; OA *daqīq*, pl *adiqqa* (Hava 211);

~ Alep *daqīq* 'minutieux, consciencieux' (Barth 245) ~ Mos (C) *dqīq* 'flour' (infor) ~ Pal Ar *daqīq* 'accurate, delicate' (Elihai 1999:116) ~ Malt *dqīq* 'flour.'

d-l-l

tallel, *pitallel* (v/t) 'space out (plants) in the ground; to thin out, dilute': *tallel l-^Glemonáda^G ma moe perte* 'thin (m) out the lemonade with chilled water!'; < Syriac *dll*; cf. OA *δullila* 'be evenly disposed (branches)' (Hava 229): *wa-δullilat qutūfuhā* 'the bunches being evenly disposed ...' (Quran 76, 14; Lane 973);

[Cf. Late Heb *dll* 'herabhängen' (Ges/Bu 163) ~ Ar *δaldala/taδaldala* 'dangle a thing' (Hava 213; cf. also Fraenkel 1886:XIV). The regular sound correspondence is with Hebrew *zll* (Zammit 2002:184) also indicated in Nöldeke (1900:157). The latter rejects an irregular root correspondence, Aram *dll* : Ar *δll*. For another rendering of OA *δll*, note A.J. Arberry's translation of the aforementioned Quranic passage: 'its clusters hung meekly down.']

~ Leban Ar *dallel* 'il ensemença, planta en laissant de l'espace entre les graines ou les plantes' (c'est exactement le contraire de 'ebe') (Feghali 1918:59, 65).

tallil, f -e, pl -in (adj) 'thinned out, spaced out; diluted' (opposite under 'by'); Syriac *dallilā* 'paucus, rarus' (R. Payne Smith 901); ~ Alep *dallil* 'clairsemé, espacé; parsemé' (Barth 248) ~ Leban Ar *dallil* 'rare, espacé' (Feghali 1918:59).

d-l-f

tilef, *pkyitlef* (v/i) 'leak'; s-*sotx pkyitlef* 'the roof is leaking'; Syriac *dəleḫ* (Brockel 155); [OA *dalaf* (i) 'walk gently of leisurely' (Lane 904)]; Ar *dlf* 'leak, drip' in East. Arabic vernaculars and MLA (Wehr 335) continues Aram *dlp* (cf. Greenfield 1958:659, fn 14);

~ Alep *dalaf* (o) 'tomber goutte à goutte par la terrasse de la maison (: eau de pluie)' (Barth 248) ~ Leban Ar *delef* (Feghali 1918:59, 68) ~ Pal Ar *dalaf* (i) 'tropfen durchs Dach' (Bau 306).

[Cf. Darag *dloppe*, pl *dloppāt* 'Tropfen' (Vo/Wald 158); Ma'ī *aḍleḫ* (Arnold, p.c.); Tur *dolufo* 'Rinnsal' (Jastrow 1985:188); Garam *dilpā* 'dripping rain' (Sokol 1990:151).]

ntilef, *pkyínitlef* 'get soaked.'

mitlef 'leaking.'

d-l-y

teyye, pl -āt 'vine'; nonclass Ar *dāliya*, pl *dawālin* 'grape-vine' (Lane 909) presumably continuing Syriac *dalyātā* (R. Payne Smith 905; cf. Fück 1955:168);

~ Alep *dēlye*, pl *dwēli* 'treille' (Barth 249) ~ Çukur *dēl*, pl *dwēli* 'Weinstock' (Procházka 2002:170) ~ Pal Ar *dālye*, pl *dawāli* (Bau 239), pl *dālyāt* (Spoer/Haddad 1909:7) ~ Malt *dielja*, pl *dwieli* 'vine.'

[Cf. Qaraq *dalita* 'vine' (Khan 2002:730).]

d-m-^c

tam^c 'drop (of liquid)': *lā-^cayn tel Naús yipset*; *má-lixā tam^c moe xost* 'the water source at Naús has dried up; there's not a drop of water there'; OA *dam^ca*, pl *dumū^c/admu^c*; *šariba dam^cata l-karmi* 'he drank the tear of the vine (= wine)' (Lane 913); cf. Heb. *dema^c* 'Abgabe v. d. aus Trauben u. Oliven gepreßten Saft', Anc Gk δάκρυον τῶν δένδρων Theophr. (Ges/Bu 165);

[The CyA term can also be used adverbially: *maškya xlip tam^ca* 'there's no milk left at all.' For metaphorical meanings of dialectal Ar *dam^ca* in East. Arabic, cf. Almkvist (1891:379). Cf. also the opposite semantic shift 'drop' > 'tear' in *qaṭrat ayyūb* 'larme de Job (plante)' (Dozy II, 373).]

- Alep *dam'a*, pl *-dt*, et *dmū'* 'une larme, une goutte (de vin)' (Barth 250) - Dam *dam'a* 'spot of s.th.' (Sto/Ani 221) - Hama *dam'at mayy* 'ein Tropfen Wasser' (Lewin 19:33, fn 1) - Pal Ar *dam'a*, pl *dmū'* 'Träne' (Bau 303) - Egyp Ar *dam'a* 'goutte' (Boc, Dozy I, 461), rur Egyp Ar *dm'a* 'Fettbrühe; Soßfond aus Tomate, Zwiebel, Knoblauch, Butterschmalz' (Behn/Woid 1994:143) - Malt *demgha*, pl *dmugh* [h] 'tear'.

d-m-y

timn, pl *tmīāt* 'blood'; OA *dam* (for *damā*), *damm*, pl *dimā'* / *dumiyy* (Hava 217);

- Alep *damm* pl *dmūm* et *dmūmāt* 'sang' (Barth 250) - Āz *damm* 'Blut', Qarṭ *dame* '(Mengen von) Blut', Fəsk *dāmēwāt* '(Massen von) Blut' (Vo/Wald 158) - Pal Ar *damm* (Bau 63) - Malt *dem*, pl *dmija*.

d-n-w

tinye 'world, people': *d-dinye kulla kantizri oxar awnke, oxar awna* 'the people were all running about this way and that'; OA *dunyā* (Hava 218);

[Mod Gk κόσμος 'world, people'; Syriac *ʿalmō* 'mundus, homines' (Brockel 527); Tur *ʿalmo* 'world, people'; Hat *ʿalam* 'Leute' (Arnold 1998:14), Bišm il-ʿalam *kulla sawa* 'die Leute alle zusammen' (Jiha 1964:84).]

- Alep *addānye* 'ce monde, la vie présente' opposée à *alāxra*, ... (Barth 252) - Kənd *dānye* 'Welt, Wetter' (Vo/Wald 159) - Leban Ar *dənyā* 'monde, temps' (Feghali 1938:767) - Cai *dinya* 'world; great crowd; this world (as opposed to the next)' (Bad/Hi 305) - Pal Ar *dinya* 'irdische Welt' (Bau 359) - Malt *dinja*, pl *dinjiet*.

d-h-n

taxn 'grease, fat'; *t-tapx o kullu taxn* 'the food is very greasy'; OA *dahn*, pl *adhān* (Hava 220);

- Alep *dāhən* n coll masc, pl *dhān* 'gras de viande' (Barth 253) - Āz *dāhən* 'Butterfett' (Vo/Wald 160) - Pal Ar *dihn* 'Speck' (Bau 281) - Yem *dahn/dihn* 'fat, butter' (Qafisheh 2000:214).

d-w-d

tut, n un -e 'silkworms'; OA *dūd*, pl *dūdān* 'worm' (Hava 220);

[The second most important article of produce is silk ... The silkworm is treated just as in Tuscany, but runs less risk from the uncertainty of the weather which in the Cypriot spring is more settled ... the finest and whitest comes from Famagusta and the Carpasso, that of a lemon or sulphur hue from Citeera and the villages on the same side of the

northern range, the golden yellow or orange cocoons from villages in the district of Paphos." (Mariti 1769:113)]

- Alep *dūd* 'vers'; *dūd alharir* 'vers à soie' (Barth 255) - Arb *dūde*, pl Riš *dūdāt* 'Raupen, Made' (Vo/Wald 160) - Pal Ar *dūda* 'Made', *dūdet* *rabr'*, pl *dūdān* 'Raupen' (Bau 198, 239), *dūdet qazz* 'silkworm' (Spoer/Haddad 190) - Yem *dūdi*, pl *dūdān* 'very small worm' (Qafisheh 2000:215) - Malt *dud*, n un -a 'ants'.

d-w-r

tar, pitūr (v/i) 'turn'; OA *dāra* (u) (Hava 221);

- Alep *dār* (u) 'faire un ou plusieurs tours, tourner (: roue, machine)' (Barth 255) - Darag *dār, ydūr* 'umherstreifen, herumgehen' (Vo/Wald 161) - Malt *dar*, idur 'turn (v/i)'.
tar, pitūr (v/t) 'turn': *ter it-^Gtavli^G* 'turn (m) the table!'; *tirt daxri* 'I turned my back'; *mantiron mnawnk-u-mnawna* 'we turn them this way and that'; OA *adāra* (Hava 221);

- Alep *dār, ydūr* 'faire tourner, tourner' (Barth 255) - Kənd *dār, ydūr* 'umwenden, sorgen für' (Vo/Wald 166).

[For some speakers, the CyA contrast between *pitūr* and *pitir* is at best weak: *mantir xost d-dē'a* 'we make a procession round the village'; *pitir-pitir u ^Gpanta^G pikāf fi mod'u* 'lit. he turns and turns but remains in the same spot' = 'he frets to no avail' (Frangiskou 228).]

ter, f-e, pl *-in* 'going around, wandering': *tvāxxar o ter xost l-ime* 'he wanders about all day in Nicosia' < **dēyer*; OA *dār* 'turning';

- Alep *dēr səne* 'l'année prochaine', *dāyer* 'tout autour de ...' (Barth 256) - Dam *dāyer* 'around': *rabat habəl dāyer əš-šazara* 'he tied a rope around the tree' (Sto/Ani 12) - Bagh (M) *dāyer*, (JC) *dayyag* 'going around' (Blanc 1964:94) - Bišm *šār dāyer bi had-dini w-yis'al* 'er fing nun an, in der Welt umherzugehen und zu fragen' (Jiha 1964:32) - Pal Ar *dāyer mindār* 'um ihn herum' (Bau 155).

d-y-k

tik, pl *θkyuk* 'rooster'; *att alēx it-tik u fiz'e m-^Gmorōs^G* 'the rooster pounced on the child and frightened it'; OA *dik*, pl *dyūk* (Hava 223);

- Alep *dik*, pl *dyūk* 'coq, chien de fusil' (Barth 261) - Darag *dik*, pl *dwik* 'Hahn' (Vo/Wald 167) Mos (C) *dik*, pl *dyūki* (infor) - Pal Ar *dik*, pl *dyūk*: *dik il-bārūde* 'Hahn der Flinte' (Bau 1957:146).

d-y-n

taen, pitaen (v/t) 'lend (money)'; OA *dāyana* (Lane 943), nonclass Ar *dayyana* 'lend (money) to' (Hava 224);

~ Alep *dayyan* 'prêter (de l'argent, ou qqe. qui se consomme et devra être rendu en équivalent, à qqn, deux rég. dir.)' (Barth 262) ~ Pal Ar *dāyan/dayyan* 'Geld ausleihen' (Bau 35) ~ Malt *dejjen, idejjen* 'sell on credit' (Aquilina 1987:223).

ntaen, pkyintaen (v/t) 'borrow'; cf. OA *iddāna/istadāna* (Hava 224); cf. Alep *əddayyan* 'prendre ou recevoir à crédit; emprunter (de l'argent ...)' (Barth 262) ~ Mard *ddayyan* 'ausleihen' (Vo/Wald 167) ~ Pal Ar *iddāyan* 'entleihen (Geld)' (Bau 94) ~ Malt *ddejjen, jiddejjen* 'incur debt.'

mtaen, f mtaene, pl mtaenín 'in debt.'

tayn, pl tyunát/θkyunát 'debt'; with art. : *d-dayn*; OA *dayn, pl duyūn* (Hava 224);

~ Alep *dēn, pl dyūn* 'dette' (Barth 262) ~ Mos (C) *dēn, pl dyūn* 'debt' (infor) ~ Pal Ar *dēn, pl dyūn* (Bau 266) ~ Malt *dejn, pl djun*.

D

δ-b-b

tubbān, n un -e 'flies'; OA *ḍibbān*; nonclass Ar *ḍubbān* (Hava 225); ~ Alep *dabbēn, n coll, pl dbēbīn* 'mouches' (Barth 229) ~ Mard *ḍabbēn, n un -e, pl -āt* (Vo/Wald 168) ~ Bagh (M) (Wood/Bee 175), (J) *ḍabbīn* (C) *dabbēn* 'flies' (Blanc 1964:42) ~ Pal Ar *dubbān* (Bau 113) ~ Malt *dubbien, n un -a*.

δ-b-ḥ

tapax, pkyiθpax (v/t) 'slaughter'; OA *ḍabaha (a)* (Hava 226); ~ Alep *dabah (a)* 'égorger (un animal)' (Barth 229) ~ Kənd *ḍabah (a)* 'schlachten' (Vo/Wald 168) ~ Pal Ar *ḍabah (a)* (Bau 258) ~ Malt *debah, jidboh* 'slaughter (animal).'

ntapax, pkyiniθpax 'be slaughtered';

~ Cai *ʔindabah/ʔitdabah/ʔiddabah* (Bad/Hi 276).

δ-r-c1

tra^a 'armlength': *štrayt exte rok^a lixa tra^aayn vus^a* 'I bought a piece of cloth two armlengths wide'; OA *ḍirā^c*, pl *aḍru^c/ḍur^an* 'forearm, forefoot, cubit' (Hava 227);

~ Alep *drā^c*, pl *ʔadro^c* 'mesure de longueur dont il y a deux sortes: 1^o le *drā^c štambūli*, mesure des marchands d'étoffe, ... 2^o *drā^c nəḡḡeri*, mesure de maçons, des tailleurs de pierres, ...' (Barth 459) ~ Arb *ḍrā^c*,

du *ḍrā^cayn* 'Elle' (Vo/Wald 169) ~ Malt *ḍriegħ* [dri:h], pl *ḍirghajm* 'arm, arm's length, cubit' (Aquilina 1987:262).
[Tur *drā^c* f 'Arm,' m 'Elle' (Jastrow 1985:185).]

δ-r-c2

ḍir^e, *pkyiḍra^a* 'suck' (rd^cḍ).

δ-r-y

tarra, pitarri (v/t) 'winnow': *kwantarri ḡamma^c kaffia xava* 'we used to winnow when there was wind'; OA *ḍard (i), ḍarrā* (Hava 228);

[CyA ordinarily retains OA interdental; the stop articulation of *ḍ here is due to back-formation from the 1st Pers pl of the Imperfect *mintarri* < **miḍarri*; as in Greek, contrast with the corresponding stop is often neutralized after the dental nasal [n]; cf. CyG *ḍeka* 'ten, but *éndeka* 'eleven.']

~ Alep *darra* 'monder, vanner le (blé) en le jetant en l'air avec une fourche sur l'aire à dépiquer' (Barth 238) ~ Pal Ar *ḍara/ḍarra* (Bau 369) ~ Arb *ḍarra* 'Worfeln' (Vo/Wald 169) ~ Malt *derra, jderrī* 'winnow.'

tre (vn) 'winnowing' < **ḍrēye*; OA *ḍary* (Hava 228);

~ Riš *ḍare* (inf) (Vo/Wald 169) ~ Pal Ar *ḍrāye* (Bau 369).

mitre 'winnowing fork'; < **miḍrā* < OA *miḍran, pl maḍārin* (Hava 228);

~ Alep *madrēye* 'fourche à quatre dents avec laquelle on jette le blé en l'air pour le monder' (Barth 238) ~ Leban Ar *medre* (pl *mdāre*) 'grande fourche ... utilisée pour remuer la tige déjà écrasée ou pour vanner' (Fegh M/J II, 90, fn 14) ~ Pal Ar *miḍrā(t)* (Bau 370) ~ rur Egypt Ar *midra/midrāya* (Behn/Woid 1994:548) ~ Malt *midra, pl mdieri*.

δ-f-r

zaffer, pizaffer (v/i) 'serve or consume meat-based or fatty food'; OA *ḍafira (a)* 'be pungent (odour)'; non-class. Ar *zaffar* 'eat fatty food' (Hava 291); MLA *zaffar* 'soil with grease, begrime'; cf. CMAr *ḥalabā* 'az-zaffar' 'Mardi Gras, Shrove Tuesday' (Wehr 440); Syriac *zafra* 'evil-smelling' (J. Payne Smith 1903:119);

~ Alep *zaffar* 'graisser, poisser de gras, ... faire manger gras (en temps de carême ou pendant les jours maigres)' (Barth 502) ~ Bagh (M) *zaffar* 'make stink, impart a stench' (Wood/Bee 204) ~ Pal Ar (J) *zaffar* 'cook or lay in a utensil meat, animal fat, or fowl, making it ritually unlawful for holding dairy food or drink' (Jer, Piamenta 2000:210).

[Cf. Pal Ar (C) *ḍafar* 'Fettspeise für Fasttage verboten' (Bau 111). Dalman (IV, 257) notes: "Von den Kochspeisen sind hier von Bedeutung die ausschließlich mit Öl hergestellten, welche man als *akl sōmi* "Fastenessen" von dem mit Fleisch, Fett oder Butter gekochten *akl zafar* "Fettessen" unterscheidet"; cf. rur Pal Ar *baqēna mit aššmīn lelit-ha nitzaḥḥar* 'wir hofften uns in jener Nacht voll essen zu können' (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918 I, 10), Bagh (M) *zafir* 'rancid, dirty' (Wood/Bee 204), and rur Egyp Ar *zafar* 'weißes Fleisch, d.h. Huhn oder Fisch' (Behn/Woid 1994:188), *zafar* 'Fleischreste' (Spitta 1880:498), *zafra* 'der beim Kochen abzuschöpfende Schaum des Fleisches oder der Fleischbrühe' (Lewin 1966:209); Neo-Aram *zafarḥa* 'Fett' (Arnold 1991a:152). Note the semantic link here with Mod Gk τρικυα 'smell of burnt meat or hair' (Pring 2000:190) and CyG *tsiknopéfti* 'Shrove Thursday' < τρικυοπέπτη.]

ntzuffor (vn) 'consumption of fat foods.'

mtzaffer, f *mtzaffre*, pl *mtzaffrīn* (= CyG *milloména*) 'fatty foods forbidden during the Lenten fast': *m-mārfa^a manniθpox mtzaffrīn* 'during carnival we cook fat foods' ~ Pal Ar *mḍaffar* 'fettig' (Bau 111); cf. *tzaffar* 'sich voll essen' (Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 218).

ḍ-q-n

taken 'beard': *áḍak ta lu t-taken lu u l-xarka* 'the older person (lit. with the beard) bears the burden of responsibility' (Frangiskou 229); OA *ḍaqan/ḍiqna*, pl *aḍqān* (Hava 229);

~ Alep *daqən*, pl *dqūn* 'menton (d'homme), barbe du menton, barbiche' (Barth 245) ~ Mard *daqən* (Vo/Wald 169) ~ Hask *dəxən/daqn* 'Bart' (Talay 2002:70) ~ Pal Ar *daqen* (Bau 173), *daqan* (f) (Kampff 1936:24) ~ Malt <daqna> 'goatee.'

ḍ-k-r

takar, pl *θkura* 'male, youth'; OA *ḍakar*, pl *ḍukūr / ḍukūra / ḍukrān* (Hava 229);

~ Alep *ḍakar*, pl *dkūra* 'mâle, membre viril' (Barth 246) ~ rur Pal Ar *ḍakar*, pl *ḍkūr/ḍkūra* 'Männchen, Sterze' (Bau 199, 230) ~ Malt <dakar> 'mule' (Aquilina 1987:195).

ḍ-n-b

tumpie (< *ḍambiyya), pl *tumpiāt* 'tail': *tumpitu tel-kilp* 'the dog's tail'; OA *ḍanab*, pl *aḍnāb* (Hava 231);

~ Alep *danab*, pl *dnāb* 'queue de rat, d'oiseau, de cheval' (Barth 251) ~ Bagh (M) *ḍinba/ḍinbāya* 'stinger' (of an insect)' (Wood/Bee 176) ~ Pal Ar (rur) *ḍanab*, pl *-āt* 'Schwanz' (Bau 268) ~ Malt <denb, pl dneib/> 'tail.'

[For the fem. ending, cf. Mod Gk ουρά 'tail', but also Syriac *dumbāḡā* 'the tail, etc., usually metaphor ...' (J. Payne Smith 1903:87). This Aramaic usage possibly the source of the Palestinian Arabic cognate in *mīn* 'ass' 'a-ḍānbatak 'inte?' 'qui t'a écrasé la queue?' (Elihai 1973:57); cf. Qaraq *danuḥa* 'little tail' (Khan 2002:730). (A secondary feminine ending also occurs in certain Moroccan dialects: *dnb-a*; Heath 2002:94).]

ḍ-h-n

ḍexn- 'mind': *ḍexni, ḍexnak*, etc., 'my mind, your mind, etc.'; OA *ḍihn* 'understanding' (Hava 232); ~ Bagh (M) *ḍihin*, pl *ḍaḥhān* (Wood/Bee 177) ~ Yem *ḍihn*, pl *ḍaḥhān* 'mind' (Qafisheh 2000:228) ~ Malt <dehen> [dɛ:n] 'intellect, mind'.

ḍ-w-q

tak, pitúk (v/t; Imptv: *tok, f tuki, pl tuku*) 'taste, sample'; OA *ḍāqa* (u) (Hava 323);

~ Alep *dāq* (u) 'goûter' (Barth 258) ~ Pal Ar *dāq* (u) 'kosten, versuchen' (Bau 181) ~ Cai *dā* (u) 'taste' (Bad/Hi 313) ~ Malt <daq, iduq>.

[Loss of the interdental articulation presumably occurred in contact with the dental nasal /n/ in *mantúk* 'we taste.']

ḍ-y-r

(Ḍ) *kyir^o* (village name: Gk *Dhiorios*).

ḍ-y-l

tel 'of' = genitive particle used as a free form after masculine nouns: *k-kilp tel pintúa* 'the girl's dog'; and in expressions encoding human attributes: *ana kunt teš-šo^ol* 'I was hard-working', *ana kunt ten-nawm* 'I was sleepy'; Jaram *dīl-* (poss part; Sokoloff 1990:146; M. Jastrow 1903:293);

[*teli* 'my, mine', *telak* 'your(s)', *telu* 'his', *tela* 'her(s)', etc. (cf. Borg 1985:131). Before a definite noun, the lateral liquid of *tel* fuses with the article: [tel l-kilp] 'of the dog' ⇒ *tel-kilp* or *tek-kilp*. For the CyA f and pl genitive particles, see under *šy^o*.]

~ Alep *dēl* n. de possession (Barth 261) ~ Ka'b *ḍēl(a)*, Kənd *ḍīl(a)*, *ḍīlāt* (Genetivexponent; Vo/Wald 169) ~ Hask *zəl-* (Talay 2002:86) ~ Pal Ar (rur) *ḍēl*, pl *-āt* (Bau 203).

R

r-^o-y

**ra* (v/t) 'see': *raytu ma aynéy* 'I saw him with my own eyes'; *aḍa o l-móḍa^a ta raytu pnam* 'this is the place I dreamt about'; OA *ra^o, yarā*

(Hava 235): *arānī ašīru xamran* 'I dreamed that I was pressing grapes' (Quran XII, 35); cf. Heb (Zach. 1, 8);

[CyA here retains only the Perfect forms *rayt* 'I saw', *rayt* 'you saw (m)', *rayt-i* 'you saw (f)', *rayna* 'we saw', *raytu* 'you saw (pl)'; for an integral paradigm of 'see', cf. *kiš'e*, *pkyākša'a* under *qš'e*.]

~ Arb (J) *aṣa*, *yāṣi* 'sehen' (Jastrow 1990c:314) ~ Tang *ṛā* 'voir' (peu usité) (Marçais 1911:305) ~ Om *ra* 'sehen', *raʔa* 'träumen' (Reinhardt 1894:240), cf. Holes (1996:49) ~ Khāb *rā*, *yera* 'see' (Brockett 1985:105) ~ N Yem *raʔā*, *yirāʔ/ rī*, *yarā/ rā*, *yarā/ rē*, *yirā* 'sehen', *atrāʔi*, *yitrāʔi* 'träumen' (Behnstedt 1996:476, 477, 422) ~ Malt *ra*, *jara* 'see.'

rva, *pkyirvi* (v/t) 'show': *pittirvillak* 'elle te montre (à toi homme)' (Roth 1975:62); OA *ʔarā* (Hava 235);

~ Alep *rawa*, *yərwi* 'faire voir, faire montrer à (qqn.)' (Barth 302) ~ Kānd *rawa*, *yərwi* 'zeigen' (Vo/Wald 172) ~ Bagh (M) *rāwa* (Wood/Bee 198), (J) *gawa*, *yəgwi*, 'show' (Blanc 1964:151) ~ Ḥōr *warra* 'il a fait voire' (Cantineau 1946:111) ~ Ṣaʿd *rawwā*, *yirawwī* (Behnstedt 1987: 200) ~ Malt *wera*, *juri* ['yu:ri] 'show'.

[The propensity towards morphophonemic reconstruction of the IVth form of OA *raʔ* in dialectal Arabic reflects the phonological markedness of nature of stems with two weak consonants; note secondary *w in MAr *awrā* (Schen 1973, II:70; Blau 1966:175-6, fn 163), and wry IV (Blau 2002:259).]

rvi 'appearance, good looks': *l-irvie tel Maritsa e axsen min tex-Xannu* 'Maritsa is prettier than Xannu'; < Ar **rwiyya*;

~ Mḥall *rawwiye* (inf) of *rawwa* 'zeigen' (Vo/Wald 172).

r-b-b

rabbī 'God': *rabbī sava l-intsān ma l-iḥkyān* 'God fashioned man from clay'; *yamusift ttespāx rabbī u ttarrūx š-šōʔol* 'on Saturday, please God, I'll go to work'; *rabbī teāxtaʔa* (< *qtʔ*) ^G*kakó* 'may God dispel evil!'; *rabbī ta la tairvilkon attakšʔu* ^G*turtsa* ^G*fi użžkon* 'Dieu fasse que vous n'avez pas à vous trouver face aux Turcs!' (Roth 1996a:79); OA *rabbī* 'my Lord' (cf. Lane 1003);

[On CyA *rabb*, see Intro, §VI. This lexeme is inseparable from the possessive suffixes *-i* and *-na* but often occurs with a definite article: *i-šāʔanine manaxuta maʔanaxā žava*, u ^G*kabē* ^G*sofʔašie attarʔott š-šimps*, *man-nišʔel žampr*, *maxxotton xost k-^Gkapnistiri*, *mampaxxer* ^G*prota* ^G*r-rabbī* u ^G*istera* ^G*mampaxxer b-bayt* 'we take the blessed olive branch home and every evening, when the sun sets, we light embers and place them in an incense burner; we first offer incense to God and then waft the house with incense' (Borg 1984:78).]

~ Alep *ʔr-rabb/rabb* 'le Seigneur, Dieu', *rabbna* 'notre Seigneur'; *yā rabbī* 'ô mon Dieu', *ʔarbāb* 'pl d'honneur' (Barth 265) ~ Qarṭ *rabb* 'Herr (Gott)' (Vo/Wald 172) ~ Bask *ṛ-rabb* 'the lord' (Abu-Haidar 1978:30) ~ Bagh (M) *rabb*, pl *ʔarbāb/rbūb* 'lord, master': *r-rabb* 'the Lord, God' (Wood/Bee 179) ~ Pal Ar *rabb*, pl *ʔarbāb* 'Gott' (Bau 154).

r-b-ṭ

rapat, *pkyirpot* (v/t/i) 'tie; thicken (liquid)': *pšan antsāy ʔasel isfet*, *maxxarkes l-itxīn ma l-ʔasel*; ^G*amma* ^G*teirpot mantsaīx* ^G*kwarka* 'in order to make carob syrup (lit., black honey), we stir flour with the honey; when it thickens we roll it into balls'; OA *rabata* (u/i) 'tie, bind' (Hava 237).

~ Alep *rabaṭ* (o) 'lier, attacher' (Barth 266) ~ Āz *rabaṭ* 'zusammenschnüren' (Vo/Wald 172) ~ Bagh (M) *rubat* (u) 'bind, tie up' (Wood/Bee 179) ~ Pal Ar *rabaṭ* (u) (Bau 60) ~ Malt *rabat*, *jorbot*.

rabbet, *pirabbet* (v/t) 'bind sheaves'; < **rabbat*;

~ Alep *rabbat* 'lier ou attacher avec plusieurs liens ou en plusieurs endroits' (Barth 267) ~ Pal Ar *rabbat* (Elihai 1999:457) ~ Malt *rabbat*, *irabbat* 'tie repeatedly' (Aquilina 1990).

ntrapat, *pkyinirpet* 'be tied';

~ Alep *nrabat/errabat*, passif de I (Barth 267).

marpūt, -a, pl -in (pp) 'tied.'

rapt/raft 'binding (of sheaves)'; OA *rabṭ* (Hava 237);

~ Alep *rabṭ* (inf) (Barth 266) ~ Sii pl *rabṭāt* 'Bündel' (Vo/Wald 172)

~ Bagh (M) *rabuṭ* (vn) (Wood/Bee 179).

r-b-ʔ

ārpāʔa (invar) 'four': *exte* ^G*okka* ^G*lixa ārpāʔa vak* 'one oke is equivalent to four okies'; *ārpʔitna* 'the four of us'; *kallīna ārpāʔa xtāt u matu ārpʔiton* 'we had four cats and the four of them died'; *fi ārpāʔa kyem ta mā-skayna b-bistān u saru m-mazruʔin mnyeššrīn* 'we neglected to water the orchard for four days and the crops look abandoned'; OA *arbaʔa*, *arbaʔ* (Hava 238);

~ Alep *ʔarbʔa*, *ʔarbaʔ-* (état construit): *ʔarbaʔ-sāʔāt* 'quatre heures' (Barth 268) ~ Mos (C) *ʔobaʔa* 'four' (Blanc 1964:22) ~ Pal Ar *ʔarb(a)ʔa*, *ʔarbaʔ(t-)*: *ʔarbaʔ-sēʔāt* 'quatre heures', *ʔarbaʔ-tiyyām* 'quatre jours' (Elihai 323-4) ~ Malt *erbgħa/erbagħt-/erbaʔ* [e:] 'four.'

ārpēci 'Wednesday', *yamuārpēci* 'on Wednesday': *xnayn, tlaxe u ārpēci lina* ^G*stasis* 'on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday (of Holy Week) we make the Way of the Cross'; OA *al-arbiā* (Lane 1020);

~ Alep *ʿarbā*, *l-ʿarbā*, *nhār al-ʿarbā*, *yōm al-ʿarbā* 'le mercredi' (Barth 268), (I) *yōm al-ʿarbi* (Piamenta, p.c.) ~ Çukur *yōmt al-arbi* 'Mittwoch' (Procházka 2002:182) ~ Mos (M) *ʿōbā* 'Wednesday' (Blanc 1964:22) ~ Malt ⟨(nhar i)l-erbgha⟩ [ε:];

[Pace Levin (2002:443), the final *imāla* in CyA, Jewish Aleppine, and Çukurova suggests that Barthélemy's *imāla*-less variant may not represent the pristine dialect form.]

r-b-y

rabba, pirabbi (v/t) 'bring up, cultivate': *marrabbi l-ixmire mif-fil-layl* '(to make bread) we prepare the yeast the night before'; OA *rabba* (Hava 239);

~ Alep *rabba* 'élever' (Barth 269) ~ Mhall *rabba* 'aufziehen' (Vo/Wald 174) ~ Pal Ar *rabba* (Bau 378) ~ Malt ⟨rabba, irabbi⟩ 'rear.'

trabba, pkyitrabba 'be brought up'; MLA *tarabbā* (Wehr 375);

~ Alep *trabba* 'être élevé, éduqué' (Barth 269) ~ Bagh (M) *trabba* 'be raised' (Wood/Bee 180) ~ Malt ⟨trabba, jitrabba⟩ 'be reared.'

r-ḡ-ʿ

rižʿe, pkyiržʿa (v/i) 'return'; < **riḡiʿ* < OA *raḡaʿa* (i) (Hava 242);

~ Alep *rəḡeʿ* (a) 'revenir de nouveau' (Barth 271) ~ Mard *rəḡeʿ* (a) (Vo/Wald 175) ~ Çukur *riḡiʿ* (a) 'zurückkehren' (Procházka 2002:170)

~ Malt ⟨reḡaʿ, jerḡaʿ⟩ 'repeat, do again': ⟨reḡaʿ ḡie⟩ 'he came back.'

ražžʿe, piradžžʿe (v/t/i) 'return; to vomit'; OA *raḡḡaʿa* (Hava 242);

~ Alep *raḡḡaʿ* 'faire revenir' (Barth 271) ~ Āz *raḡḡaʿ* 'wenden (jmdn. gegen = 'ala)' (Vo/Wald 175) ~ Pal Ar *raḡḡaʿ* 'zurückgeben' (Bau 381).

režʿe (m/f), pl -*in* 'returning' < **rēžiʿ* < *rāḡiʿ*.

ražʿ (vn) 'return'; OA *ruḡūʿ* (Hava 242);

~ Alep *rḡūʿ* (inf) (Barth 271) ~ Pal Ar *rḡūʿ*, (nv) *raḡʿa* 'Rückkehr' (Bau 247).

[CyA generalizes *faʿl* at the expense of *fuʿūl*; cf. the occasional replacement of the Arabic infinitive *wuṣūl* by *waṣl* attested in the Arabic of the papyri (Hopkins 1984:68).]

r-ḡ-f

kanyiržef, pkyiržef (v/t) 'tremble'; OA *raḡafa* (u) 'quake (earth), to rumble (thunder)' (Hava 243);

~ Alep *raḡaf* (o) 'trembler d'émotion' (Barth 271) ~ Kənd *rəḡaf* (ə) 'zittern' (Vo/Wald 175) ~ Bagh (M) *riḡaf* (i) 'shiver' (Wood/Bee 182) ~ Bask *riḡif* 'tremble' (Abu-Haidar 1978:35) ~ Pal Ar *raḡaf* (i) (Bau 377).

rašfe 'tremor, trembling fit' < **rašfe*; OA *raḡfa* 'shock, earthquake' (Hava 243);

~ Alep *raḡəf/raḡafān*, (nv) *raḡfe* (Barth 271) ~ Bagh (M) *raḡif/raḡfa* (vn) (Wood/Bee 182).

r-ḡ-l

ižr (f), pl *žren* (no du) 'leg, foot; stones placed around the base of a charcoal furnace'; *kintām kwannaymu l-ḡmorósḡ mintáxt l-ižren tel-umm* 'formerly we used to lay the [newborn] baby under the mother's legs'; *xiḡret ižru l-intsán u ntarra išaxok u rakʿa ižru* 'the man's leg went numb, so he jumped up and stamped his foot'; < **riḡr* (cf. Cantineau 1960:54); OA *riḡl*, pl *arḡul* (Hava 243);

~ Alep *ʿəḡər* sg f 'pied, jambe, patte ou pied de derrière d'un animal' duet *ʿəḡrēn/ḡrēn*, duet de totalité *ʿəḡərtēn*; le duet sert de pluriel: *ʿarbaʿ ʿəḡrēn* 'quatre pieds' (Barth 3) ~ Dam *ʿəžr* pl *ʿəžrēn*, du *ʿəžərtēn* 'leg' (Cowell 1964:367) ~ Sii *əḡər* 'Fuß, Bein', pl *əḡrayn* (Vo/Wald 2) ~ Bišm *ižr* (Jiha 1964:151) ~ Pal Ar *iḡr*, pl *iḡrēn*, du *iḡirtēn*, rural *riḡl* (Bau 120) ~ Malt ⟨riḡel, pl riḡlejn⟩ 'foot.'

[Cf. Maʿl *reḡra* 'Fuß' (Arnold 1990a:290; Arno/Behn, map 41). Barth (loc. cit.) notes: "ʿḡr est pour *ləḡr* venant par métath. de *rḡl*, ar. *riḡlu-*, *l* ayant été pris pour l'art. cf. le mandéen *liḡra* pour le syriaque *riḡla-*." Most Arabic dialects here retain reflexes of OA *riḡl*: Bagh (M) *riḡil* (m sg), du *riḡiltēn/riḡlēn* (Wood/Bee 182). In view of the fact that *rḡl* and *ʿḡr* occur in different Semitic languages, Mil/Ko 9, 201 question the relatedness of *rḡl* and *ʿḡr*.]

ržel 'men' (sg *intsán*), *ržal* 'peers': *xayyti u xayytak enne ržal* 'my brother and yours are the same age'; < OA *riḡāl* 'men' (Hava 243);

rižžál 'plough handle' (= CyG *áθropos* 'plough handle'; Panaretos 1977:101) < *ἀνθρωπος* 'man';

[The CyA term *rižžál* 'plough handle' < 'man' is a euphemistic equivalent for a semantically more explicit technical term attested in several Arabic dialects: Alep *dakar*, pl *dkūra* 'mâle, membre viril' (Barth 246), Pal Ar *ḡakar* 'Männchen; Scharholz oder Sterze' (Bau 199, 230), Leban *dakar*, pl *dkūra* 'bras de charrue' (Fegh M/J 1977:33, fn 11), Syrian Ar *ḡakar/dakar* 'Pflugsohle' (Arno/Behn 144). From an anthropological perspective, this usage entails what Ardener (1982:6) has designated as "a social classification of the body" since, in a traditional Arabic context, land is implicated as an inalienable asset of the agnatic tribal hierarchy. On 'mother earth' in Semitic religion, see Robertson Smith

(1927:107) and the Quran II:223. On the plough as a gendered tool, cf. Illich (1982:143).]

- Alep *raġġāl/riġġāl*, pl *rġel* 'homme, époux' (Barth 217) ~ Dam *raġġāl*, pl *rġāl* 'man' (Sto/Ani 145) ~ Āz *raġġāl*, pl *rġel* (Vo/Wald 175) ~ Bagh (M) *riġġāl*, pl *rġūla/riyāġil* 'man' [*raġil* 'husband'] (Wood/Bee 182) ~ Hilla *riġġāl* '(Ehe)-Mann' (Denz/Edzard 1966:92) ~ Bišm *riġġāl* 'Mann' (Jiha 1964:43) ~ Pal Ar *rġāl*, sg *raġul/riġġāl* 'Mann' (Bau 199) ~ rur Pal Ar *ya raġġāl* 'du Mann!' (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: II, 279) and Rwala Bed. *raġġāl* 'manly, courageous man, ... not every *raġil* is necessarily *raġġāl*' (Musil 1928:385, 472) ~ Malt *rġiel*, sg *raġel*, [a:] 'man, husband.'

r-ḥ-l

raxxel, *piraxxel* (v/t) 'saddle (donkey)': *fkum mimpukra min-nawm ana, prux praxxel l-ixmir* ... 'I wake up in the morning, I go to saddle the donkeys ...'; OA *raḥala* (a) 'saddle, ride (a camel)' (Hava 245);

- Alep *raḥhal* (v/t) 'accompagner ou conduire en chantant (un nouveau marié) (Mslm)' (Barth 272).

raxl, pl *rxulāt* 'donkey saddle'; OA *raḥl*, pl *arḥul/riḥāl* 'camel's saddle' (Hava 245), '(vulgär): Leseputz (für den Koran)' (Kremer 1883:65);

- Alep *raḥl* 'bât ou selle de chameau' (Barth 272) ~ Kənd *raḥal*, pl *rḥūle* (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Pal Ar *raḥl*, pl *rḥāl* 'Kamelsattel, Packsattel (für Esel)' (Kampff 1936:26), 'Tragsattel mit Stroh gefüllt' (Bau 303).

r-ḥ-m

allérixmu/allarxáma 'God rest his/her soul!' < **alla-yirḥamu*, **alla-yirḥámhā*;

- Ka'b *alla yərḥámu* 'Gott hab ihn selig' (Vo/Wald 14).

raxxem, *piraxxem* 'commemorate the dead, pray or hold a wake for the dead'; < OA *raḥḥama/taraḥḥama* 'express pity for a.o.' (Hava 245).

traxxem, *pkýitraxxem* (v/i) 'pass away' < **traḥḥam*.

marxám, f -a, pl -ín 'deceased': *mpratu m-marxuma tel im'allmi kant xtir kaysua* 'my boss's late wife was very beautiful'; *fi nawmi rayt pnam l-ummi l-marxuma* 'in my sleep I dreamed about my deceased mother'; MLA *marḥūm* 'deceased, late' (Wehr 384);

- Alep *lmarḥūm* 'le defunt' (Barth 273) ~ Qarṭ *marḥūm* 'selig (= tot), verstorben' (Vo/Wald 176) ~ Pal Ar *marḥūm* (Bau 274).

raxme, pl -át 'Mass of the dead'; OA *raḥma* 'mercy' (Hava 245);

- Dam *raḥme* 'blessing' (Sto/Ani 24) ~ Bagh (M) *raḥma* 'compassion, pity' (Wood/Bee 184) ~ CMAR *tarḥim*, pl *tarāḥim* 'Fürbitte für die Verstorbenen' (Graf 1954:51).

[Ma' *raḥamba* 'id.' (Arnold, p.c.). Dalman (III, 262) states: "Am dritten und oft auch am vierzigsten Tage nach dem Tode eines Familiengliedes bringt man diese Schlüssel zur Kirche, läßt sie vom Priester segnen, gibt ihm die Hälfte und verteilt den Rest an Verwandte und Freunde als *rahme li-arrwāt* oder *niġāha*." Note also wuġġ *raḥme* 'Totenkuchen' (Bau 303), 'Totenbrot' (Dalm IV, 136). It is tempting to relate this Arabic usage to the ἀγάπη 'a love-feast, a common meal eaten by early Christians ...' (Arndt/Gingrich 1957:6; cf. Jude 12 [ἀγάταις 'love feasts']); possibly mediated via Aramaic; cf. Syriac *raḥem* 'amavit' (Brockel 724); cf. Qaraq *axaləd raxmā* 'food eaten at a wake following a funeral' (Khan 2002:742).]

r-x-š

rixes, *pkýirxas* (v/i) 'become cheap' < **rixis*; OA *raxuša* (Hava 245); ~ Alep *raxeš* (a) 'devenir bon marché' (Barth 274) ~ Malt *rōhos*, *joḥos* 'become cheap.'

raxxes, *piraxxes* (v/t) 'lower the price'; OA *raxxaš* (Hava 245).

rxis, f -e, pl *rxas* 'cheap'; OA *raxīš*, pl *rixās* (Hava 246);

- Alep *rxīš*, f -a, pl *rxās* 'qui est à bas prix' (Barth 274) ~ Dam *rxīš*, f -a, pl *rxās* 'cheap' (Sto/Ani 39) ~ Kənd *raxīš*, f -a, pl *rxās* 'billig' (Vo/Wald 176) ~ Pal Ar *rxīš*, f -a, pl *rxās* 'cheap' (Elihai 462) ~ Malt *rhis*, f -a, pl *rhas*.

arxas (elat) 'cheaper, cheapest'; OA *arxaš*.

r-x-w

raxxef, *piraxxef* (v/i) 'loosen; become weak': *raxxef akli mill-iš'ál* 'my brain is giving way under the pressure of work'; OA *arxā* 'loose a.th.' (Hava 246);

- Alep *raxxa* 'lâcher ou relâcher plusieurs fois ..., détendre' (Barth 275) ~ Ḥal *raxxa* 'locker lassen' (Vo/Wald 177) ~ Pal Ar *raxxa*/*arxa* (Bau 195) ~ Malt *rēha*, *jerhi* 'let go.'

raxf, f -e, pl -ín 'loose'; OA *raxw* (Hava 246);

- Alep *raxu*, f *raxwe* 'lâche, peu serré' (Barth 275) ~ Kənd *raxu*, f *raxwe* 'locker, weich' (Vo/Wald 177) ~ Pal Ar *raxu* 'limp, slack' (Spoerl/Haddad 1909:71).

r-d-n

ratan, *pkýirton* (v/t) 'spin'; OA *radana* (i, u) (Hava 248);

~ Alep *radan* (e) 'ronronner comme un *mardan* qu'on tourne' (Barth 276).

marten, pl *mpraten* 'spindle'; OA *mirdan*, pl *marādin* (Hava 248);

~ Alep *mardan*, pl *mrēden* 'roulette de bois creusée de plusieurs gorges pour recevoir la cordelette (*ḡarrāra*) d'une roue à dévider (*dūlāb ettadwīr*) ...' (Barth 277) ~ Pal Ar *mirdan* 'Glasblaserohr' (Bau 61) ~ Malt ⟨*marden*, pl *mraden*⟩ 'spindle' (Aquilina 1990:785).

riddān, pl *rtetīn* 'spinning wheel'; cf. Ar *raddāna*, pl *radādīn* 'le fuseau de fer dont se sert le fileur de laine' (Dozy I, 522);

~ Pal Ar *raddān* 'Seidenspinnrad' (Dalm V, 47) ~ Malt ⟨*reddiena*, pl *rdieden*⟩ 'spinning-wheel.'

r-z-z

rizz 'rice'; OA *aruzz/uruzz/ruzz*, etc. 'rice' (Lane 47) < ὄρυζα (Vollers 1897:298);

~ Alep *rəzz* 'riz' (Barth 277) ~ Mos (M) *ḡəzz* 'Reis' (Jastrow 1979: 66) ~ Pal Ar *ruzz* (Bau 242) ~ Cai *ruzz* (Bad/Hi 334) ~ Malt ⟨*ross*, n un *rossa*⟩.

[*Oryza sativa* — "the blessing brought by the Arabs" (Braudel 1966: 762). "Riziculture may have begun somewhere in India, Assam, Burma, Thailand, Cochinchina or China ... According to Strabo ... rice was grown in the second century B.C. in Babylonia, Bactria, Susia, and "Lower Syria", this last term meaning perhaps the Jordan Valley. ... Rice early came to be grown in the Islamic world wherever there was enough water to irrigate it" (Watson 1983:16, 17).]

r-z-z'

kanirizz, *pirizz* (v/i) 'inherit': *r-risk tel Tšipráel pirizzúx árpā'a xvat* 'four siblings are entitled to Gabriel's property'; OA *raza'a* (a) 'he obtained, somewhat of his property' (Lane 1074).

[On the shift of OA *z'* > *zz*, cf. Rabin (1951:134) discussing Arabic *ḡuz'* > *ḡuzz*; cf. also Pal Ar *nayy* (Bau 246) < *niy'*, *daww* 'Licht, Lampe' (Bau 246, 193) < OA *daw'*.]

r-z-q

risk 'landed property': *lixon xtir risk* 'they own a lot of property'; OA *rizq*, pl *arzáq* 'substance, gift of God, rain, gain unhopéd for' (Hava 250); cf. Ar *razqa* 'ein Grundstück das jemand zur Nutzniessung besitzt' (Kremer 1883:65);

~ Alep *rəzəq*, pl *rzáq* 'avoir, bien, propriété; gain' (Barth 277) ~ Pal Ar

rizq 'auch (Land-) Besitz' (Kampff 1936:26) ~ Cai *rizq* 'means of living, share, gift, property' (Spiro 1895:223); [cf. Qarṭ ..., *yərzəq* 'schenken (jmdm)' (Vo/Wald 177)] ~ Malt ⟨*nixtieqlek ir-rizq u l-barka*⟩ 'I wish you good luck!' (Aquilina 1990:1228).

r-š-š

rašš, *pirúšš* (v/t) 'spray, sprinkle': *k-kassīs rašš moe mpsallie* 'the priest sprinkled holy water'; OA *rašša* (u) (Hava 252);

~ Alep *rašš* (ə) 'arroser çà et là légèrement' (Barth 280) ~ Kənd *rašš* (ə) 'streuen (auf = 'ala), ausstreuen' (Vo/Wald 178) ~ Hask *rašš* 'Aussaät, Säen' (Talay 2002:80) ~ Pal Ar *rašš* (u) 'besprengen' (Bau 55) ~ Malt ⟨*raxx*, *iroxx*⟩ 'spray.'

rašš (vn) 'sprinkling, spraying'; OA *rašš* (Hava 252).

r-ḏ-ḏ

ḏir'e, *pkyīḏra'a* (v/t) 'suck'; OA *raḏi'a* (a) (Hava 255);

[Roth (1975:41) has *dar'a*.]

~ Alep *rəḏe'* (a) 'téter' (Barth 283) ~ Pal Ar *riḏi'* (a) 'saugen' (Bau 252) ~ Fəsk ..., *yərvaḥ* (Vo/Wald 178) ~ Malt ⟨*reda'*, *jerda'*⟩ 'suck.'

ḏarr'e, *pitḏarr'e* (v/t) 'suckle'; OA *radda'a*;

~ Alep *radda'* 'donner à téter à, allaiter (un enfant)' (Barth 283) ~ Pal Ar *radda'* 'säugen' (Bau 253) ~ Malt ⟨*reddghat*, *tredda'*⟩ 'suckle.'

ḏar' (vn) 'sucking'; OA *raḏ'* (Hava 255).

tḏurr'o (vn) 'nursing at the breast.'

r-ḏ-y¹

r'a, *pkyir'a* (v/t) 'graze, take a flock to pasture'; OA *ra'a* (a) 'pasture, tend flocks'; (Hava 258);

~ Alep *rə'i*, *yər'a* 'faire paître' (Barth 285) ~ Kənd **ra'a*, *yər'a* v/i 'weiden, grasen' (Vo/Wald 179) ~ Pal Ar *ra'a* 'weiden' (Bau 357) ~ Malt ⟨*ragha*, *jirgha*⟩ 'pasture.'

r'e (vn) 'grazing, pasture' < **r'eye*; OA *ri'āya* (Hava 258);

~ Alep *mar'a* (Barth 253) ~ Āz *rə'i*, Darag *ra'i* 'Weide, Gras' (Vo/Wald 179) ~ Malt ⟨*mergha*⟩ 'pasture.'

ra'i, pl *ra'āyān* 'shepherd'; OA *rā'in*, pl *ru'āh/ru'yān* (Hava 259);

~ Alep *rā'i*, pl *rə'yān* 'berger, pâtre' (Barth 285) ~ Pal Ar *rā'i*, pl *ru'yān* 'Schäffer' (Bau 253) ~ Malt ⟨*raghaj*, pl *rghajja*⟩ 'shepherd.'

r-^c-y²

r^a, pkyir^a (v/t) 'itch': pkyir^aāni δaxri 'my back is itching'; nonclass Ar rā^a (a) 'itch' (Hava 258; Elias 1974:374);

~ Leban Ar rā^a, yār^a 'démanger' (Barth 285) ~ Pal Ar rā^a 'jucken': gildi byir^aāni 'mein Haut juckt mich' (Bau 167);

[Cf. Cai gismiti byakulni min mayyit il-bahr 'my body is itching from the sea-water' (Bad/Hi 29).]

r-ġ-f

arif, pl tā'irfe 'loaf'; OA ragif, pl argifa/ruġ(u)f, etc. (Hava 260);

~ Pal Ar rġif, pl 'argifa/ruġfān (Bau 67), ġerif 'Laib' (Linder 1952:117) ~ Cai ġarif/ragif (Spitta 1883:450, 31, 32) ~ Alep rġif, pl 'aragife petit pain rond et mince, sans mie' (Barth 286) ~ Kənd rġif, pl arġafe xams tarġafe 'five loaves' (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Arb (J) ragif, pl taraxie 'Brotfladen' (Jastrow 1991b:354) ~ Mos (M) aġif, pl aġfi 'Brotfladen' (Jastrow 1979:70) ~ Constantine ġrāif (pl, coll), n un qurşa-ġrāif 'sortes de crêpes épaisses généralement mangées au miel' (Marçais 1911:312);

[For the metathesis rġ > ġr, cf. also Arb (Neo-Aram) 'arif, pl 'arife 'large loaf of bread' (Khan 1999:561).]

r-f-š

raps, pl rpuš 'shovel, baker's peel': maxxótt l-xops 'arif-'arif xost f-form ma r-raps 'we put the bread, loaf by loaf, into the oven with a baker's peel'; Syriac rapšā 'scapula, ventilabrum' (Brockel 741); MLA rapš 'shovel, spade' (Wehr 404);

~ Alep rapš, pl rfuš 'pelle' (Barth 287) ~ Kənd rapš, pl rfuše (Vo/Wald 180) ~ Leban Ar rapš (Feghali 1918:48) ~ Pal Ar rapš (Bau 281).

[Mar] rapša 'Schaukel', Tur rawšo, Mlah refšo (Jastrow 1994b:188).]

r-f-^c

rife, pkyirfa^a (v/i) 'to rise, grow tall; to celebrate carnival': 'amma^c teistvu pkyirif^cu xok l-^casel k-^gkulluruδkya^g 'when they are done, the doughnuts rise to the surface of the syrup'; ž-žúmdā ta žey ttannirfa^a 'next week we're celebrating carnival'; OA rafa^a (u) 'be raised in dignity', nonclass Ar raffa^c 'hold carnival' (Hava 262);

~ Alep rāfe^c (a) 'devenir mince' (Barth 287) ~ Mard rafa^c (a) 'empor-wachsen, heben, etc.' (Vo/Wald 180).

raffe, piraffe 'raise, hoist': lá-traff^ce xissak 'don't raise your (m) voice!'; OA raffa^a (Lane 1123);

~ Alep rafa^c (a) 'lever, porter en haut' (Barth 287) ~ Dam rafa^c (a) 'raise' (Sto/Ani 186) ~ Mard rafa^c (a) 'heben, hochheben' (Vo/Wald 180) ~ Pal Ar rafa^c (a) (Bau 151) ~ Malt 'refa', jerfa', 'carry.'

rfi^c, pl rfa^a 'tall': xayti o awfa rfi^ci minni 'my brother is taller than me'; OA rafi^c 'high' (Lane 1124), 'fein, dünn' (Kremer 1883:67); MLA rafi^c, pl rifa^c 'high, lofty, thin' (Wehr 405);

~ Dam rafi^c 'thin' (Sto/Ani 239) ~ Kənd rafi^c, pl rfa^c 'dünn, schmal' (Vo/Wald 180) ~ Mos (C) ġafi^c 'dünn' (Jastrow 1979:68) ~ Pal Ar rafi^c, pl rfa^c 'dünn' (Bau 80).

rāfa^a 'height'; OA rifa^a 'high rank' (Hava 262).

mārfa^a, pl mprāfe^e 'the week before Lent; carnival': m-mārfa^a e exte žúmdā^a 'prin^g s-syam 'carnival is one week before Lent'; mannifpox ašma pkyilteka mtzaffer u mantsáy l-imprāfe^e 'we cook whatever fat foods we have around and celebrate carnival'; nonclass Ar marfa^c, pl marāfi^c 'carnival; sideboard' (Hava 262), Egypt Ar ra/ifa^c 'carnaval', θalāθ al-rifa^c 'mardi gras', marfa^c (al-laħm) 'carnaval' (Dozy I, 542-3); MLA rifa^c 'Shrovetide' (Wehr 405);

[It carnevale [comp. di carne levare (Zingarelli 1970:283); note also Piedmont karlavé, Naples carnolevare, etc. (Meyer-Lubke 1935:162).]

~ Alep marfa^c, pl marāfe^c 'étagère, rayon percé de trous où l'on pose les jarres et les cruches à eau ...'; marfa^c əllaħm 'proprement le lieu ou le temps où l'on enlève ou supprime la viande pour préparer au carême, par suite le carnaval'; lahhad əlmarfa^c 'le dimanche gras' (Barth 288); cf. also marfe^c, pl mrāfe^c 'carnaval' (Feghali 1938:830) ~ Dam 'id əl-marāfa^c 'carnival' (Sto/Ani 35) ~ Pal Ar marfa^c, yōm il-marāfi^c 'Karnaval' (Bau 170) ~ Judaeo-Ar marfa^c/mirfa^c, pl marāfi^c 'kind of vessel for water and potions, put on the table' (Diem/Raden 84) ~ AA marfa^c, pl marāfi^c 'cupboard, dresser' (Corriente 1997:213); cf. N Yem rafa^c (a) 'einsammeln, aufbewahren (Brot), hochziehen' (Behnstedt 1996:454) ~ Malt 'refa', jirfa' ['refa] 'store, hoard.'

[W. Neo-Aram marfa^a 'die beiden Tage unmittelbar vor Beginn der Fastenzeit' (Arnold, p.c.). For the Maltese usage, cf. Ar rafa^a 'conserver, garder, mettre en réserve, en cave' (Dozy I, 540).]

r-q-b

raxpe, pl -āt 'neck'; OA raqaba 'nape of the neck' (Hava 264); ~ Alep raqabe, pl raqabāt 'cou, nuque' (Barth 289) ~ Dam raqbe (Sto/Ani 157) ~ Kənd ragbe 'Hals', so immer mit g (Jastrow 1981:52, fn

11) ~ Mos (C) *raqqabi* (infor) ~ Pal Ar *raqabe* (Bau 135) ~ Cai *raqaba* 'neck' (Spiro 1895:232).

r-q-š

rakas, pkyirkos (v/i) 'dance': *o 'ep k-katt u l-firán pkyiriksu* 'the cat is away and the mice dance'; OA *raqaša* (u) (Hava 265);

~ Alep *raqaš* (o) 'danser' (Barth 290) ~ Mard *raqəš* (ə) 'tanzen' (Vo/Wald 181) ~ Pal Ar *raqaš* (o) (Bau 297).

rakkes, pirakkes (v/t) 'dance with'; OA *raqqaša* (Hava 265);

~ Alep *raqqaš* 'faire danser' (Barth 290) ~ Cai *raqqaš* (Bad/Hi 347).

raks (vn) 'dancing'; OA *raqš* (Hava 265);

~ Alep *raqš* (Barth 290) ~ Mard *raqša* 'Tanz' (Vo/Wald 181) ~ Pal Ar *raqš* (Bau 297).

r-q-^cl

rakk^ce, pirakk^ce (v/t) 'patch, repair'; OA *raqqa^ca* (Hava 265);

~ Alep *raqqa^c* 'rapiécer, ravauder (un habit)' (Barth 290) ~ Pal Ar *raqqa^c* (Bau 113) ~ Malt 'raqqa', 'iraqqa', 'patch'.

rok^a, pl *xkaⁱ* (< **rqā^ci*) 'cloth material, piece of cloth'; *r-rok^a* *kadditni* 'the piece of cloth sufficed for my needs'; *pri rok^a* *layne* 'I want soft material'; OA *ruq^a*, pl *riqā^c/ruqa^c* (Hava 265);

~ Alep *raq^a*, pl *raqa^c* 'pièce, morceau d'étoffe qu'on met à un vêtement pour le réparer' (Barth 290) ~ Mos (C) *gəq^a* 'patch' (infor) ~ Malt 'roqgha, pl rqa'jja'.

r-q-^c2

rak^a, *pkyirka^a* (v/t) 'hit, beat, prod (e.g., with stick); hurt; stamp (foot); walk around (*yiró*): *rak^aallu* 'he hit him'; *mannírka^a* *suðrna fis-sala* 'we beat our breasts at prayer'; *amma^g* *mannisma^a* *teifxil ši-vexen ya temut ši-vexen, n-nes teð-ðe^a šaitna kullon pkyižru piruxu tesaylu áššik sar š-šó^{ol}, áššik mat* 'when we hear that someone has fallen ill, or has passed away, our village folk hasten to inquire about the circumstances of the affair and how he died'; OA *raqa^a* 'he hit, or struck, the butt, or target, with an arrow' (Lane 1137); Garam *raq^a* 'trample' (Sokol 1990:529);

~ Alep *raqa^c* 'atteindre, frapper (qqn: coup d'air, coup de soleil, un regard du mauvais œil, un accès de fièvre)' (Barth 290) ~ Hama *raqa^a* (a) 'eine Ohrfeige geben' (Lewin 1966:208) ~ Pal Ar *iddmūs tirqa^c* *fihim*

'die Steine schlugen ein auf sie' (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 279) ~ rur Egyp Ar *raqa^c* 'verprügeln' (Behn/Woid 1994:168).

r-k-b

rikep, pkyirkep (v/t) 'ride'; OA *rakiba* (a) (Hava 265);

~ Alep *rəkəb* (a) 'monter (un cheval, un chameau, un âne)' (Barth 292) ~ Kənd *rəkəb* (a) 'besteigen (Pferd = 'ala)' (Vo/Wald 181) ~ Pal Ar *rikib* (a) (Bau 243) ~ Malt 'rikeb, jirkeb' 'ride'.

rakkep, pirakkep (v/t) 'make s.o. ride'; OA *rakkaba* (Hava 266);

~ Alep *rakkab* 'faire monter (qqn) á cheval ou en voiture' (Barth 292) ~ Pal Ar *rakkab* 'reiten lassen' (Bau 243).

rekep, f rexpē, pl -*in* 'riding' (ap): *ie kant rexpita* (< **rēkbitha*) 'c'est elle qui la montait (l'ânesse)' (Roth 1975:116);

~ Mard *rəkəb* (pt. act.) (Vo/Wald 181) ~ Alep *rəkəb* (Barth 292) ~ Pal Ar *rākib* 'Reiter' (Bau 243) ~ Malt 'riekeb, riekba, pl rekbin' (ap) 'riding'.

raxp (vn) 'riding' < **rakb*; cf. OA *rukūb* (Hava 266).

r-m-d

rmat 'ashes': *ručna l-knise u xattayna rmat* '(on the Monday of Holy Week) we went to church and placed ashes (on our foreheads)'; OA *ramād* (Hava 269);

~ Arb *ṛmāde* 'Asche' (Vo/Wald 182) ~ Pal Ar *ramād* (Bau 24).

r-m-n

rummān, n un -*e* 'pomegranates'; OA *rummān* (Hava 271); Syriac *rummānā* 'Granatapfel' (Fraenkel 1886:142); Assyr *armannu* 'a tree and the aromatic substance obtained from it' (CAD I, pt. 2:291);

~ Alep *rəmmān* 'grenades, seins, mamelles d'une femme' (Barth 295) ~ Pal Ar *rummān* (Bau 141) ~ Malt 'rummien (coll), un n -a' 'pomegranates.'

[Ma^cl *rammōna*, pl *rammunō* 'Granatapfel' (Arnold, p.c.).]

rummane 'pomegranate tree'; OA *rummāna* (Hava 271);

~ Alep *rəmmāne* 'une grenade, un grenadier' (Barth 295) ~ Kənd *rəmmān*, n un -*e* 'Granatapfelbäume' (coll) (Vo/Wald 182).

armén 'Armenian.'

r-m-y

rma, pkyirmi (v/t) 'throw, cast, drop'; OA *ramā* (i) (Hava 273);

~ Alep *rama* (i) 'jeter à terre, faire tomber' (Barth 295) ~ Fæsk *rama* (i) (Vo/Wald 182) ~ Pal Ar *rama* (i) 'werfen, wegwerfen' (Bau 360, 356) ~ Malt *rema*, *jarmi* 'throw, throw away.'

rme (vn) 'throwing'; OA *rimāya* (Hava 273);

~ Alep *rami* (Barth 295) ~ Pal Ar *rami* (Bau 360).

r-w-b

**ravep*, **piravep* (v/t) 'cause milk to curdle': *pō^cótt dufri xost l-ixlip u^Gamma^G pikaem dufri l-isxune pkyislax tarawpu* 'I dip my fingertip into the milk, and if it can stand the heat, I have to curdle the milk'; OA *rawwaba/arāba* (Hava 275);

[The inflection of this verb is defective; see Roth (1975:74). For the interdialectal stability of recipes as discourse genres, cf. the details of a Palestinian version given in Dalman (VI, 293): "Die Milch ist in der warmen Jahreszeit nicht haltbar und säuert rasch. Es gilt aber für den Geschmack vorteilhaft, dass man sie künstlich säuert. Dazu erhitzt man sie in einem Kessel auf Feuer. Wenn der kleine Finger es darin aushält, bis man bis zehn gezählt hat, tut man etwas alte Dickmilch als Gärmittel (*rawbe*) hinein, rührt die Milch mit dem hölzernen Rührlöffel und erwartet, wenn dies morgens geschah, mittags fertige Dickmilch (*laban*), so im Hüle-Land."]

~ Alep *rawwab* 'délayer avec de l'eau, étendre d'eau (du *laban*)' (Barth 298) ~ Ka^cb *rawweb* 'Dickmilch herstellen' (Vo/Wald 183) ~ Leban Ar *rawweb* 'il mit dans le lait encore assez chaud la *rawbe* après l'avoir délayée dans du lait chaud, pour faire cailler tout le lait' (Fegh M/J 257, fn 1).

rawpe 'curdled milk for producing fresh yoghurt': *xriet* (< *hr²*) *ir-rawpe ma fitte xlip pšan tetsáy lipen* 'she dissolved the curdled milk in a little milk to make yoghurt'; OA *rawb* 'curd', *rawba* 'rennet for milk' (Hava 275-6);

~ Leban Ar *raube* 'caille-lait; petite quantité de lait caillé ...' (Fegh M/J 1977:257, fn 1) ~ Pal Ar *rōbe* 'Gärmittel' (Dalm VI, 293).

["Le *raoubé* est un petit reliquat de *laben* conservé; on en délaie un peu dans du lait tiède et on jette ce liquide dans l'autre lait tiède pour le faire cailler" (Feghali 1938:518).]

r-w-ġ

ravež, *piravež* (v/i) 'hurry'; OA *rawwaġa* 'circulate (money)'; non-class Ar 'hurry a.th.' (Hava 276);

~ Alep *rawwaġ* 'faire avancer, se hâter, se presser, ...' (Barth 298) ~ Leban Ar *rawwaġ* 'sich beeilen' (Bau 43) ~ Bišm *wlak* *ṣūm rawwiž* *ṣili^c*

id-daww 'Steh schnell auf, es ist schon hell geworden' (Jiha 1964:108); cf. Judaeo-Ar *arwaġ markab* 'the fastest ship' (Djem/Raden 86).

r-w-ḥ¹

rax, *piráx* (v/i; Imptv: *rox*, f *ruxi*, pl *ruxu*) 'go (without a preposition encoding movement towards a destination)': *ana rex l-impakkál taštri peð* 'I'm going to the grocer's to buy eggs'; *ruxna m-mallaxa* 'we went to Larnaca'; *rax xost l-itrúp* 'he roamed the streets'; *kifta má-ruxt^G stratyoti^G?* 'how come you didn't enlist in the army?'; *raxet^G parakuméra^G pinti u xitet l-iθkyép tel-^carús* 'my daughter acted as bridesmaid and brought the bride's wedding gown'; OA *rāḥa* (u) (Hava 276);

[Cf. the analogous idiomatic use of a translocative verb in Malt *daḥal qassis* 'he became a priest.']

~ Alep *rāḥ* (u) 'aller la ou ^cala à (un endroit)'; but note also "sans préposition in *rəḥt labet axūyi* 'je suis allé chez mon frère' est aussi usité que *rəḥt bet axūyi*" (Barth 299) ~ Dam *rāḥ* (u) 'go' (Sto/Ani 104) ~ Kənd *rāḥ*, *yrōḥ*, Ka^cb *rāḥ*, *yrūḥ* 'gehen (zu, nach = ^cand, la)' (Vo/Wald 183) ~ Bagh (M) *rāḥ* (u) ~ Mos (M) *gāḥ* (Blanc 1964:7) ~ Pal Ar *rāḥ* (u) ^cala oder la (Bau 126) ~ Cai *wi ruḥtu skindiriyya zzāy? bil-²utubis walla bil-qaṭr?* 'and how did you (pl) go to Alexandria, by bus or by train?' (Harrell et al. 1963:15.1).

strax, *pkystrix* (v/i) 'rest'; OA *istarāḥa* (Hava 276);

~ Alep *starāḥ*, *yəstriḥ* 'goûter le repos' (Barth 303) ~ Qarṭ *starāḥ*, *yəstariḥ* 'sich ausruhen, v/i heilen' (Vo/Wald 184) ~ Pal Ar *istarāḥ/istrayyah/itrayyah* 'sich ausruhen' (Bau 36).

strax (vn) 'rest, resting': *má-lu strax* 'he's restless' (Frangiskou 228).

mistráx, f -a, pl -in 'rested, at ease.'

rex, f *re(y)xe*, pl *re(y)xin* 'going'; < OA *rā²iḥ*;

~ Alep *rāyeh*, f *rayḥa/rēḥa*, pl *rayḥin/rēḥin*, f *reḥāt* (Barth 298) ~ Mḥall *rāyəḥ*, f *rāyḥa*, pl *rəyyāḥ* (Vo/Wald 183) ~ Bagh (J) *ḡayyāḥ*, pl *ḡayyāḥin* 'going' (Blanc 1964:51).

rax (ap), -e, pl -in 'retired': *^Gost^G alok fia pa^ca^G kalorkés^G δ-δe^ca; fia xnayn šaxu u k-kassis šax, enne raxin* 'to this day there are still nuns at Kormakiti; there are two elderly ones and an elderly priest; they're retired.'

[A local formation. Note also the non-canonical derivation via back-formation from Ar *starāḥ* of Malt *ṣerrah*, *iserrah* 'relax (v/t)'.]

awnarex 'in one's direction' < **hawnā-rāyih*.

awnkerex 'further away' < **hawnka-rāyih*.

táxtrex 'further down, lower down' < **taht-rāyih*.

r-w-h²

ruḥ, pl *rvax* 'soul': *til'et ruḥu* 'he passed away'; OA *rūh*, pl *arwāh* (Hava 276);

~ Alep *rōh/rawh*, pl *rwāh*, sg f 'āme' (Barth 300) ~ Dam *rōh* pl (*ʿa*)*rwāh* 'soul': *ʿalla yərham rōho* 'God have mercy on his soul' (Sto/Ani 218) ~ Āz *rōh* 'Leben, Seele, Selbst' (Vo/Wald 184) ~ Hask *rōh* (Talay 2002:80) ~ Malt *ruḥ*, *erwieh* 'soul.'

r-w-d

kaniri, *piri* (v/t) 'want, need, require, lack; be in love with, court; be well disposed towards s.o.' < **rād*, **birīd*: *l-intsān kaniri šibb*; *ʿan*^G *kantzi pintua kanitr moxxu ll-exte nexa* 'the husband wanted a boy; if a baby girl arrived he would turn his head away'; *m-ʿmorós*^G *piri xlip* 'the baby wants milk'; *piri k-ʿkammīn*^G *tó'ōme* 'the furnace requires fuel'; *t-tapx piri milx* 'the food lacks salt'; *rax žawzi pikullu: ipni piri l-pintak* 'my husband went and said to him: "My son is in love with your daughter"; *sar nússulayl, ana kuntrī tanām* 'it was midnight and I wanted to sleep'; *ana l-imprati kuntrita xamps-isnīn* *ʿprin*^G *tānixtep* 'I courted my wife for five years before we got engaged'; *piri má-piri* 'whether you (m) like it or not'; *pri táksa'a l-oxtak* 'I want to see your (m) sister'; *pri tatsaiux akke lá-akke* 'I want you (pl) to do it this way not the other way'; OA *arāda* (Hava 277);

~ Alep *rād*, *yrīd* 'vouloir, désirer (qqe ou qqn)' (Barth 304) ~ Kənd *rād*, *yrīd* 'wollen, wünschen' (Vo/Wald 185) ~ Pal Ar *rād* (hfg d gesprochen), *birīd* (Bau 368) ~ Malt *ried*, *irid* 'want.'

[On the shift Form IV to I in Middle Arabic hollow verbs, cf. Schen (1973, II).]

r-w-q¹

ravek, *piravek* 'serve s.o. breakfast'; OA *rawwaqa* 'clarify (wine)' (Hava 279), MLA *rawwaqa* 'refresh s.o. (drink)' (Wehr 427);

~ Cai *rawwa* 'cause to recover' (Bad/Hi 358).

travek, *pkayitravek* (v/i) 'have breakfast': *travixna s-sa'a sápa'a* 'we break-fasted at seven o'clock'; MLA *tarawwaqa* (Wehr 427);

~ Alep *trawwaq/trayyaq* 'déjeuner le matin' (Barth 302).

tirvike 'breakfast': *žet s-sa'a tel-tirvike, žó'ōna* 'breakfast-time came and we were hungry'; nonclass Ar *tarwīqa* 'breakfast' (Hava 279);

[As in Maltese, verb-initial constituent order in CyA is a pragmatic device for encoding recurring or expected events: Malt *wasal ta' l-posta* 'the postman arrived.'

~ Alep *tərwīqa* 'petit déjeuner du matin' (Barth 302) ~ Dam *tarwīqa* 'breakfast' (Sto/Ani 28) ~ Pal Ar *tarwīqa* 'Frühstück' (Dalm II, 152) ~ Cai *tarwī'a* 'a tidying-up, a freshening-up' (Bad/Hi 359).

r-w-q²

rvak 'open, covered veranda at the front of a house': *l-ʿorpa kanu ke'ētīn xost l-irvák* 'the guests were sitting in the veranda'; OA *riwāq*, pl *arwiqa/rūq* 'peristyle, tent' (Hava 279), 'Halle' (Fraenkel 1886:165); cf. MLA *riwāq* 'galerie vitrée au sommet d'une tour' (Sourdél-Thomine/Sourdél 1961:214), *riwāqu l-fiyama* 'die Säulenhalle der Leute aus Fajjum in der Azhar-Moschee' (Kremer 1883, II:30);

[On hot days, the Bedouin roll up the back hanging (*rwāg*) of the tent for ventilation; cf. the poetic usage *rāwūq al-nasīm* 'der Behälter, das Gefäß des Zephirs, für *bādhang* ... 'Windfang, Ventilationsvorrichtung' (Kremer *op. cit.*, 69).]

~ Alep *rwāq* 'galerie, cloître, portique, véranda' (Barth 302) ~ Kfar'ab *rwā'/q* 'galerie, cloître' (Feghali 1919:253) ~ Pal Ar *erwāq* 'eine vorn völlig offene gedeckte Vorhalle ... der im Sommer als Schlafplatz benutzt wird' (Dalm VII, 132), *riwāq*, pl *arwiqa* 'Halle' (Bau 147), *ruwāq* 'hall' (Spoer/Haddad 1909:206) ~ Egyp Ar *riwāq* 'salle, salon' (Boc, Dozy I, 572) ~ Judeo-Ar *riwāq* 'arcade' (Diem/Raden 87) ~ rur Egyp Ar *riwāg*, pl *arwiga/irwiga* 'Schutzhütte, Zimmer im Bauernhaus', *rwāg*, pl *rwāg* 'Rückwanddecke' (Behn/Woid 1994:175) ~ Bedouin Ar *rwāg* 'Rückwand' (List 1987:85), *ruwāg* 'paroi' (Landberg 1940:25); cf. also *ruwāq* 'Galerie, Halle' (Socin 1881:6).

r-y-h

rixe 'scent, pleasant smell'; OA *rīha* 'smell, wind' (Hava 277);

~ Alep *rīha*, pl *rwāyeh* 'odeur' (Barth 303) ~ Pal Ar *rīha*, pl *rawāyih* (Bau 132) ~ Malt *riha*, pl *rwejjah* 'smell.'

raxxen, *piraxxen* 'apply home-made scent (*muvārt ter-rixxān*).'

[A local denominal formation.]

rixxān 'myrtle'; OA *rayhān*, pl *rayāhīn* 'any aromatic plant, sweet basil' (Hava 277);

~ Alep *rīhān* 'basilic' (Barth 304) ~ Dam *rīhān* 'basil' (Sto/Ani 18)
 ~ Pal Ar *rīhān* 'Myrthe' (Löhr 1905:135) ~ Leban Ar *rīhān* (Bau 212) ~
 Malt *rihan* 'myrtle.'

muvārt ter-rixxān 'home-made scent, freshener': *ta kunna δ-δe'a šaitna, kwarrūx kwaxxávež rixxān, kwaxxottu xost x-xasie tea'li u kwannimisku muvārt* 'when we lived in our village, we used to go about gathering myrtle; we used to boil it in a pot and preserve it as a freshener'; < **māward del r-rīhān*.

Z

z-b-b

zpip, n un -e 'currants'; OA *zabīb* (Hava 282);
 ~ Alep *zbīb* 'du raisin sec' (Barth 306) ~ Qarṭ *zbīb* 'Rosinen,' n un
 Mard *zbibāye* (Vo/Wald 187) ~ Pal Ar *zbīb* (Bau 246) ~ Malt *z̄bib*.

z-b-l

zipl/zpal 'garbage, manure'; OA *zibl/zibla* 'manure, dung of cattle,'
zi/ubāl 'ant's load' (Hava 283);
 ~ Kənd *zəbəl* 'Mist, Dünger, Abfall' (Vo/Wald 188) ~ Pal Ar *zibl*
 'Mist, Dung' (Bau 80) ~ Malt *z̄ibel* 'garbage, dung.'

zpele 'garbage' < **zibāla: an tašlax l-izpele?* 'where should I throw
 away the garbage?'; OA *zubāla* 'sweepings' (Hava 283); MLA *zibāla*
 (Wehr 433);

~ Alep *zbāle* 'balayures, ordures' (Barth 307) ~ Qarṭ *zbāle* 'Abfall-
 haufen' (Vo/Wald 188) ~ Pal Ar *zbāle* (Bau 172) ~ Malt *mižbla*.

z-ḥ-l-q

(n) *tzaxlek, pkyintzaxlek* (v/i) 'slip, slide' < **dzaḥlaq*; OA *tazaḥlaqa/*
tazaḥlaka 'glide' (Hava 285);

~ Alep *dzaḥlaq* 'glisser en marchant' (Barth 308) ~ Bagh. *tzahlag*
 'slide' (Wood/Bee 202) ~ Pal Ar *tzahlaq* 'gleiten' (Bau 140) ~ Malt
z̄elaq, jizloq 'slip' [*z̄erzaq, jizzerzaq* 'slide'].

(n) *tzuxlok* (vn) 'slipping, skidding';

~ Alep *tzəḥloq* (inf) of *dzaḥlaq* (Barth, loc. cit.).

(n) *tzaxluke* 'slippery slope'; OA *zuhlūqa/zuhlūka* (Hava 285);

cf. Alep *arḥ zəḥleq* 'terrain glissant et en pente' (Barth 308) ~ Bagh
 (M) *zi-lāga* 'slide, place to slide' (Wood/Bee 202) ~ Pal Ar *zuhleqa*
 'Gleitbahn' (Bau 140); [Malt *z̄urzieqa*].

z-r-^c

zar^ca, pkyízra^ca (v/t) 'sow'; OA *zara^ca* (a) (Hava 287);
 ~ Alep *zara^c/zara^c, yəzra^c* 'semer (des grains), ensementer (un
 champ)' (Barth 310) ~ Dam *zara^c (a)* (Sto/Ani 218) ~ Ka^b *yəzra^c*
 'anbauen, anlegen (Weinberg), besäen' (Vo/Wald 189) ~ Pal Ar *zara^c*
 (a) 'säen' (Bau 250) ~ Malt *z̄era, jizra*'.

mazru^cu, f mazru^ca, pl mazru^cin (pp) 'planted.'

mazru^cin 'plants, planted fields': *fia arpā^ca θkyem ta má-skayna b-
 bistán u saru m-mazru^cin mnyeššrin* (< *nšr*) 'we haven't watered the
 garden for four days and the crops are a sorry sight (lit. abandoned);
 OA *mazru^c* 'sown (field, wheat)' (Hava 287);

~ Pal Ar *ʔarḍ mazru^ca* 'Saatfeld' (Bau 249).

zar^c (vn) 'sowing'; OA *zar^c* (Hava 287).

mázār^ca 'crops, sowed plants'; OA *mazra^ca, pl mazāri^c* 'sown field'
 (Hava 287);

~ Alep *mazra^ca, pl mazāre^c/mzēre^c* 'petit champ éloigné du village'
 (Barth 311) ~ Pal Ar *mazra^ca, pl mazāri^c* 'Landgut, Plantage' (Bau 188,
 231) ~ Fəsk *mazra^ca* 'Anpflanzung' (Vo/Wald 189).

z-^c-t-r

záātār, n un za^cātára 'wild thyme'; Ar *za^ctar/sa^ctar/ša^ctar*; Syriac
šatrā (Fraenkel 1886:143); cf. Lat *satureia* 'savory' (OLD 1996:1695);

~ Alep *za^ctar* 'thym' (Barth 312) ~ Pal Ar *za^ctar* 'Dost, *Origanum*
Maru; Quendel, *Satureia Thymbra*; Kölle, *Thymus capitatus*' (Dalm II,
 550), "the little grey green marjoram—most probably the Hyssop of
 the Bible" (Granqvist 1935: II, 176); also *sa^ctar* (Bau 78); cf. Bišm *z^caytri*
 'ein thymianartiger Strauch' (Jiha 1964:24) ~ Malt *saghtar* 'thyme.'

z-^c-r-r

za^cārūr, n un -e, pl -āt 'medlar'; OA *zu^crūr* (Hava 289) < Syriac
za^crūrā 'néflier' (Barth 313), 'mespilus' (Brun 1911:131); ultimately 'mit
 Umstellung' < Aram *wzrrā* (Fraenkel 1886:142; cf. Löw 1973:286);

~ Alep *za^crūr, n un -a, pl -āt* 'azerole' (Barth 313) ~ Pal Ar *za^crūr*
 'Weißdorn' (Dalm II, 127; III, 117; Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:38), 'Cra-
 tægus Azarolus' (Bau 358).

z-f-r

zaffer, pizaffer 'consume fatty food' (δfr↓).

z-q-q

skak, pl -āt 'backstreet, lane': *mill-iskakāt* 'from the backstreets' (Frangiskou 66); OA *zuqāq*, pl *aziqqa/zuqqān* 'by-street' (Lane 1238); Aram *šqq* 'place, lane, street' < Akk *suqāqu* (Sokol 1990:565); ~ Alep *šqāq* 'rue' (Barth 440) ~ Dam *šqāq* (Sto/Ani 7) ~ Āz *zqāq*/ *sqāq*, pl -āt 'Gasse, Straße' (Vo/Wald 190) ~ Pal Ar *zqāq*, pl -āt 'Gasse' (Bau 122) ~ Cai *zu'ā* 'dead-end alley or lane' (Bad/Hi 374) ~ Malt 'sqaq'.

z-k-r-r

zagrūr 'throat'; Syriac *zagrūrā* 'jugulum' (Brockel 189; cf. Rosenthal 1964:171); ~ Alep *zagrūr* 'pomme d'Adam' (Barth 316) ~ Kfar'ab *zagrūr* (Feghali 1918:40) ~ Hat *zangarūne* 'Kehle' (Arnold 1998:312) ~ al-Xātūniye *zagrūg* (Behnstedt 1996b:45).

z-k-z-k

**zakzek*, **pizakzek* 'tickle'; ~ Pal Ar *zağzağ/dağdağ/zakzak* 'chatouiller' (Elihai 1973:83), cf. also Dozy (I, 597) cit. *Muḥīṭ*; Cai *dağdağ* 'tickle' (Stewart 1994:67) < OA *dağdağa* (Hava 208).

kanyikzakzek, *pyikzakzek* (v/i) 'be ticklish': *pikzakzek* 'I'm ticklish'; *tta-saik attikzakzek* 'I'll tickle you'; < **kān yitzakzak*; ~ Alep *tzakzak* 'être chatouillé' (Barth 316).

z-l-b

zlepkye 'doughnuts': *xost δ-δe'a kwantsáy l-izlepkye li-xxár ta kan-yin'amet l-impšix* 'at the village we used to make doughnuts on the feast of Christ's baptism'; < **zlēbya* < *zulaybiya* < *ğullāb* 'rose-water' ('an arabized word' < Pers; Lane 440, ~ *ğulāb*, cf. Fleischer II, 546); ~ Alep *zlēbye* 'genre de pâtisserie mince et molle, échançrée en forme de larges croissants, qu'on fait frire dans de l'huile de sésame et qu'on saupoudre de sucre ensuite' (Barth 316) ~ Pal Ar *zalābiye* 'Pfannkuchen' (Kampff 1936:29) 'Fastküchlein' (Bau 108) ~ Cai *zalabya* 'doughnut-like sweetmeat(s) fried and soaked in syrup' (Bad/Hi 376) ~ Mecca *zelābye* (Snouck Hurgronje II:183).

[Mixā'il Šabbāg (ca. 1775-1816) ascribed the term *zlēbye* to Christian Arabs (Talmon 2000:186). Dalman (I/1, 278) mentions a Greek Orthodox custom observed on the feast of Christ's baptism: "In Jerusalem sind auf Öl gebackene oder in Öl gesottene dünne Kuchen (*zalābye*) das Festgebäck, so auch in Damaskus."]

z-m-n

zman 'time, season, weather': *má-lini zman ađi ž-žúmā'a* 'I have no time this week'; *l-izmán mó-kaes* 'the weather isn't nice'; *o z-zman tel tin* 'it's the season for figs'; *l-izmán ta mat exen, n-nes teđ-đe'a kullon pkyitxawšū u piruxu pkyintrúx áđak l-maet* 'when someone dies, all the village folk get together and hold a wake over the dead person'; *miz-zman ta kunt* 'δekapente xronón' *kuntrux ma yapati ta kanisúk* 'from the age of fifteen, I used to accompany my father when he went ploughing'; OA *zamān* (Hava 296) < Pers *zamān* (Schall 1982:147); [For this semantic pattern, cf. Mod Gk καιρός 'weather, time.']

~ Alep *zamān* 'temps' (Barth 319) ~ Mard *zāmān* 'Zeit' (Vo/Wald 191) ~ Hask *zamān qəddēmi* 'früher' (Talay 2002:85) ~ Pal Ar *zamān* (Bau 373) ~ Malt 'zmien'.

z-n-b-l

zampile, pl *znepil* 'basket'; MLA *zanbīl*, pl *zanābīl* 'basket made of palm leaves' (Wehr 444); OA *zinbīl/zanbīl/zabīl* 'basket of palm-leaves' (Lane 1212) < Aram **zmbīl* < *zbl* (cf. Vollers 1897:292); cf. Syriac *zabbīlā* 'sporta' (Brockel 187), *səhal* 'carry' (J. Payne Smith 359); Heb *šəḥel* "may denote a basket (for carrying earth)," Akk *zābil kudurri* 'corvée workers,' lit. 'basket carriers' (Held 1968:94-95);

~ Alep *zambīl*, pl *znēbīl* 'panier non rigide, en natte' (Barth 320) ~ Arb *zanbīl*, pl *zanēbīl* 'Korb aus Weidenruten' (Vo/Wald 191) ~ Bagh (M) *zanbīl*, pl *zanābīl* 'large basket woven from palm leaves' (Wood/Bee 206) ~ Pal Ar *zanbīl* 'ein weit offener weicher Korb aus Palmblättern' (Dalm VII, 237) ~ rur Egyp Ar *zambīl* 'Tragkorb zum Transport von Erde und Mist' (Behn/Woid 1994:191) ~ Judaeo-Ar *zinbīl* 'big basket' (Diem/Raden 90) ~ Malt 'ženbil' 'large basket.'

[Jubb'ad *zampila* 'Korb' (Arnold, p.c.). On the dissimilation of Aram **bb* > **mb* and **dd* > **nd*, cf. Spitaler (1954), Macuch (1965:XLVII).]

z-n-r

zinnār, pl *znenīr* 'belt'; MLA *zunnār/zunnāra*, pl *zanānīr* 'non-Moslem's girdle' (Hava 299) < Syriac *zunnārā* (J. Payne Smith 113); cf. Judaeo-Ar *zunnār* 'waist-band' (Diem/Raden 91);

~ Alep *zənnār*, pl *znēnīr* 'ceinture' (Barth 504) ~ Dam *zənnār*, pl *zananīr* (Sto/Ani 21) ~ Pal Ar *zunnār*, pl *zanānīr* 'a shawl folded diagonally and knotted round the waist. Pink is the colour favoured by young women and green or dark blue for widows' (Macdonald 1951:59), 'Gürtel (tuchen oder seiden)' (Bau 144) ~ Yem (J) *zunnār*, pl

zanānīr 'curl hanging down on either side of the face' (Goitein 1941:87)
 ~ Judaeo-Ar *zunnār* 'waist-band' (Diem/Raden 90).

[Hartmann (1899:41): "... in Syrien ist *zunnār* (*zinnār*) jeder breite Gurt aus Stoff, mag er von Muslims, Christen oder Juden getragen werden"; cf. *muzannar* 'celui qui porte un zonnār, c. à. d. un chrétien' (Dozy I, 606). Cf. Ma'l *zunnōra* 'Gürtel' (Arnold, p.c.).]

z-zinnār tel-^catra (lit., 'the Virgin's girdle') 'rainbow';

[On the objectification of the Virgin's girdle in Eastern Christianity, note Syriac *ʿīdā dā-zunnārā dā-yōlīdā d-alāhā* 'the festival of the girdle of the B.V.M. (West-Syriac)' (J. Payne Smith 113). For other folk designations of the rainbow in Arabic, *qaws allāh* (> Malt *qawsalla*), *qaws as-samāʿ*, *qaws an-nabiyy*, *qaws quzah*, etc. (Dozy II, 426).]

~ Pal Ar *ya ʿAḍra ḥarīr iš-Šām zunnārik/nīḍrun ʿalayya in ʿaḡu l-guyyāb la-ʿaḥtāḡik* 'O Virgin Mary, the silk of Damascus (I will give as) your belt; I vow that if those absent come back, I shall need you (i.e., I shall fulfill my promise)' (Canaan 1927:14).

z-w-ġ

žavez, pižavez (v/t) 'give in marriage': *piritu težawzuni pinton* 'they want to marry me off to their daughter'; OA *zawwaġa* (Hava 300);

~ Alep *ġawwaz* (v/t) 'marier (qqn); avec deux reg. dir.' (Barth 129) ~ Ka'b *zawweġ* (Vo/Wald 192) ~ Bagh (M) *zawwaġ* 'marry off' (Wood/Bee 207), (J) *ġawwaz* 'he married' (Blanc 1964:34) ~ Pal Ar *ġawwaz* (Bau 152) ~ Malt *zewweġ, iżewweġ* 'marry (priest).'

ntžavez, pkyintžavez (v/i) 'get married': *pri tantžavez* 'I want to get married'; *ana ntžavizta* 'I married her' < **nžawwaz*; cf. OA *tazawwaġa* (Hava 300).

mpžavez, f mpžawze, pl mpžawzīn 'married.'

žawz 'husband': *žawza ll-ie* 'her own husband'; *yapati kan-ixubbu xtir l-žawzi* 'my father was very well disposed towards my husband'; *ʿammu l-žawzi* 'my husband's paternal uncle'; OA *zawġ* (Hava 300) < Anc Gk ζεύχος 'Teil eines Paars' (Schall 1982:147);

~ Kənd *zawġ, tazwəġ* (Zählpl) 'Ehemann, Paar' (Vo/Wald 192) ~ Hask *ġōġa māt* 'ihr Mann starb' (Talay 2002:72) ~ Pal Ar *ġōz, pl ġīzān* 'Eheherr' (Bau 82) ~ Malt *zewġi/zewġti* 'my husband/wife.'

ža(z)ze 'marriage'; cf. MLA *zīġa* 'marriage, wedding' (Wehr 447);

~ Alep *ġāze/ġēze/zīġe/ġīze* 'mariage' (Barth 129) ~ Leban Ar *žāze/žwāz* (Feghali 1938:751); cf. Pal Ar *zīġe/ġīze* 'Heirat' (Bau 152).

z-w-r

zor 'difficult'; *o zor ta tšulli fustān* 'it's difficult to make a dress'; Tk *zor* 'id.'; Pers *zūr/zor* 'strength, violence' (Steingass 1892:628);
 ~ Alep *zōr* 'dur, sévère à l'extrême' < (Barth 506) ~ Mard *zōr* 'schwierig; Beklemmung, inner Zwang' (Vo/Wald 193) ~ Hask *zōr* (Talay 2000:86) ~ Bagh (M) *zōr* 'force' (Wood/Bee 208) ~ Cai *zūr* 'force, violence, forgery, perjury' (Spiro 1895:259; Bad/Hi 386; cf. Vollers 1896:642).

z-w-k

zuk 'ouzo' (etym?).

[On the etymology of ούζο itself, cf. Karapotósoglou (1984:251-257).]

z-w-m

CyG, CyA *zumí* 'juice; meat gravy' = Gk ζουμί 'juice, sap, broth' < ζωμίον, dim of ζωμός 'Brühe, ausgedrückter oder ausgezogener Saft' (Fleischer II, 546) > Syriac *zūmā* 'jusculum' ~ Lit Ar *zawm* 'mets fait avec du lait aigre par les habitants du Yemen' (Feghali 1918:53); nonclass Ar *zūm*, pl *azwām* 'juice of fruits, meat; washing' (Hava 302), 'le suc qui s'exprime des plantes; l'eau dans laquelle on laisse tremper des raisins secs, ...' (Dozy I, 615);

[Cf. Late Heb *zōm/zōmīt* 'broth, gravy' (Klein 1987:196) ~ |Aram *zōmā* 'broth, pulp' (M. Jastrow 1903:387), and Sp *zumo*, Port *suma* < Ar *zūm* (Meyer-Lübke 1935:803); cf. Lat *zūma* 'decoction, bouillon' (Gaffiot 1934:1702), *zōmoteganon* = ζωμός 'sauce' + τήγανον 'poêle' (litt. 'poêlée en sauce', Apicius, p. 120).]

~ Alep *zūm*, pl *zwām* 'chacune des eaux de lessive chaudes dans lesquelles on lave le linge; suc, jus d'un fruit' (Barth 324) ~ Çukur *zūm* 'Saft von Gemüsen (etc.), *zūm il-flayfli* 'scharfe Pfefferschotenpaste, typisch für die Çukurova' (Procházka 2002:172) ~ Pal Ar *zūm*, pl *azwām* 'Saft (von Früchten, Fleisch)' (Kampff 1936:30), 'meistens *māyy* und *ʿašīr*' (Bau 250), 'syrup' (Spoer/Haddad 1909:218) ~ N Yem *zōm* und *ʿašīr* (Bau 250), 'syrup' (Spoer/Haddad 1909:218) ~ N Yem *zōm* 'eine Buttermilch Zubereitung als Zugabe zum *ʿašīd* (besteht aus saurer Buttermilch, die mit Mehl gekocht und geschlagen wird (Behnstedt 1996:519; see other references there); cf. "az-zawm (*bil-fath*), *taʿām li ahl al-yaman*" (al-Bustān I, 1029; cf. Piamenta 1990: I, 209) ~ AA *zimpi* 'small wine' (Corriente 1997:232) < ζουμί (cf. Intro §VIIb).

[Cf. Leban Ar *zawwām* 'rendre du jus' (Denizeau 1960:231).]

z-y-t

zayt 'oil, olive oil' pl *zyutāt* 'kinds of oil': *zayt tem-mōḍaʿa* 'locally produced olive oil'; OA *zayt*, pl *zuyūt* 'olive oil' (Hava 302);

[*Olea europaea* — "belongs to the small group of fruit trees (olive, grapevine, fig, date-palm) on which horticulture was based in the Near East. Somewhat later, from the Early Bronze Age (3rd mill., B.C.) onward olives as well as grapes and figs emerge as an important addition to the Mediterranean grain agriculture: first in the Levant and soon after also in the Aegean region" (Zohary 1995:379-382). On olive oil production in Cyprus, see Hadjisavvas (1996:63-75).]

~ Alep *zajt/zēt* n coll pl *zyūt* 'huile d'olive' (Barth 324) ~ Bišm *tkubb iz-zaytāt* 'int 'Du verschüttet das Öl' (1964:42) ~ Pal Ar *zēt*, pl *zētātna* 'unser Öl' (Bau 223) ~ Malt <žejt, pl žjut>.

zaytūn (coll), n un -e, pl -āt 'olives': *štrayt zaytūn sut* 'I bought black olives'; OA *zaytūne* 'olive, olive-tree' (Hava 302);

~ Alep *zētūn* 'olives, oliviers' (Barth 324) ~ Ka^cb *zaytūn* 'Oliven' (Vo/Wald 194) ~ Pal Ar *zētūn* (Bau 223) ~ Malt <ž-Žejtun> (topon).

zaytune, pl -āt 'olive tree'; OA *zaytūn*, n un -a 'olive, olive tree' (Hava 302);

~ Alep *zētūne*, pl -āt 'une olive, un olivier' ~ Pal Ar *šağrat zētūn* 'Olivenbaum' (Bau 223).

z-y-n

zaen, *pizaen* (v/t) 'damage'; denom verb from Ar *zyān* 'damage.'

ntzaen, *pkyintzaen* (v/i) 'sustain a loss'; *pē^citt b-bayt u ntzaint* 'I sold my house at a loss.'

zyan, pl -āt 'damage'; *b-bark ta vak^a xost payti sava zyan* 'the lightning that struck my house caused some damage'; < Ar *zyān* < Pers *ziyān* 'Schade, Verlust' (Fleischer II, 549);

~ Alep *zyān* (Al-Asadī 1988: IV, 275): *yaqūl al-badw «bi-zyān» yurī-dūn: fi l-amr xasāra, min at-turkiyya an al-fārisiyya: ziyān: at-talaf, an-nuqṣān.*

S

s-ʔ-l

sacl, *psael* 'ask' (syl^u).

s-b-t

sift 'Saturday': *sift mimpukra n-nesfān pkyā^cižnu* 'on [Holy] Saturday morning, the women bake (lit., knead)'; *fia xtir^G ttozz^G l-imtine sift fil-layl* 'there's a lot of hullabaloo in Nicosia on Saturday night'; < **sibt*; OA *sabt*, pl *subūt* 'Saturday' (Hava 305);

yamusift '(on) Saturday'; OA *sabal* (Hava 308);
~ Alep (*yōm*) *as-sabt*, pl *sbūt* 'samedi' (Barth 329) ~ Dam *as-sabət* (Sto/Ani 200) ~ Bišm *is-sabət* 'Samstag' (Jiha 1964:169) ~ Āz *yawm as-sabt* 'Samstag' (Vo/Wald 197) ~ Pal Ar *yōm is-sabt* (Bau 251) ~ Malt <(nhar) is-sibt>.

s-b-^c

sāpā^a (invar) 'seven': *fi-s-sāpā^a snin kintām kanibafftuon m-^Gmorā^G* 'formerly they used to confirm children at the age of seven'; *kunt sāpā^a snin u kanixottna papputi tarrūx l-pistān axxavež^G xyarukkya^G tarrūx anpīxxon* 'I was seven years old and my grandfather used to make us go to the vegetable garden to pick cucumbers and sell them'; OA *sab^a*, *sab^c* (Hava 307);

[In certain E. Arabic vernaculars, seven is an unlucky number: Pal Ar *sab^aak* 'Gott möge dich verunglücken lassen!' (cf. Bauer 1910:230).]

~ Alep *sab^a*, *sab^c(t-)* (état constr.) (Barth 331) ~ Kānd *sab^c* (gebundene Form), *sab^a* (selbständige Form) (Vo/Wald 198) ~ Pal Ar *sab^a*, *sab^c/saba^ct*: *sab^c-isnīn* 'seven years', *saba^c-talāf* 'seven thousand' ~ Malt <sebaght-itfal> 'seven children.'

s-b-q

sakkep, *pisakkep* (v/t) 'precede, lead the way; to overtake': *ipni saxxpak* (< *sbq*) *fl-islavāt* 'my son has outstripped you at school'; cf. OA *sabaqa* (i/u) 'precede' (Hava 307);

Cf. Pal Ar *sabaq* (u) 'jemandem vorausgehen' (Bau 346) ~ Alep *sabaq* (o) 'arriver avant qqn à (un endroit)' (Barth 331) ~ rur Egyp Ar *sibag* (a) 'überholen' (Behn/Woid 1994:199).

tsukkop (vn) 'overtaking.'

s-b-l

sabbel, *pisabbel* (v/i) 'put out ear (wheat)'; cf. OA *asbal* 'form ears' (Hava 308);

~ Pal Ar *sabbal* 'Ähren bilden' (Bau 10) ~ Snēb *sambəl* 'Ähren ansetzen (Weizen)' (Vo/Wald 210) ~ rur Egyp Ar *sabal/sambil* (Behn/Woid 1994:199, 218) ~ Malt <sibel, jisbel> 'put out ear (corn)';

siple 'ear of corn'; OA *sabal* (Hava 308);

~ Pal Ar *sabal*, pl -āt, *sumbule* 'Ähre' (Bau 10).

sipel 'stubble (after harvest)';

s-t-t

sitte, sitt- (in constructs) 'six': *sittiθkon* 'the six of you'; *n-nunnūt u t-tatāt lixon xarka tem-Gmorós ost^G sitt-isnīn ta lá-težra fix šī* 'the godparents are responsible for the child until the age of six so that no mishap should befall him'; OA *sitta, sitt* (Hava 308);

~ Alep *sätte, sät-* 'six' (Barth 333) ~ Kənd *sätte, sät-* (Vo/Wald 198)
~ Pal Ar *sitte, sitt-* (Bau 271).

[Jiha (1964:165) notes: "Beim Zählen sagt der Bauer manchmal *sutra* "Gottes Schutz" statt *sitti* "sechs."]

xampsitte 'about five or six': *naxni kunna xampsitt-iržel* 'we were about five or six men'; *xampsitt-mitra* 'about five or six meters.'

sitt-sápā'a 'six or seven';

~ Bišm *sāctu žāb ḡibnu, ḡibən šī sitt sab^c isnīn* 'Sogleich brachte er seinen Sohn, der ungefähr sechs bis sieben Jahre alt war' (Jiha 1964: 19).

s-ḥ-r

saxxar 'dawn': *oxti kantkūm fis-saxxar, kantsáy šā'al* 'my sister used to rise at dawn to do her chores'; OA *saḥar, pl ašḥār* 'daybreak' (Hava 311);

~ Alep *saḥar* 'partie de la nuit qui commence une heure et demie avant le *fağər* ou crépuscule du matin' (Barth 336) ~ Kənd *saḥar* 'Morgendämmerung' (Vo/Wald 199) ~ Pal Ar *saḥar* 'Morgenfrühe' (Bau 209): *mā ili baqar wa la baqūm fī saḥar* 'ich habe keine Rinder, darum stehe ich nicht beim Morgengrauen auf' (Dalm VI, 162).

s-x-ṭ

soxtalla < **suxṭ-allāh*, lit. 'the wrath of God' (cf. Mod Gk θεομηνία) in the curse *s-soxtalla* (= go to hell!) < **suxṭ-allāh: vaddirtu terūx s-soxtalla* 'I packed him off to hell!'; *ttape^cu u s-soxtalla teaxtu*, lit., 'I'll sell him and let God's wrath take him!'; OA *suxṭ* 'dislike, displeasure, disapprobation, or discontent' (Lane 1325); Akk *šaxāṭu* 'zürnen' (von Soden 1131).

[For this type of construct with *-alla* preceded by a reflex of (?) *lām al-qasam*, cf. Bagh (J) *l-ḥabb-alla l-yərkaḥ* 'Lucky, those who could run!' (Mansour 1991:276). For the root *ṣḥṭ* in curse formulae and emphatic language: Pal Ar *'allāh yisxāṭak* 'May God change you into a lower being' (Canaan 1935:259, 277), cf. *masxūt* 'von Gottes Zorn getroffen' (Bau 136); Tangiers *šiat 'alā* 'frapper de sa malédiction'; note also *saḥṭ-'allāh d-māl* 'une fortune considerable' (Marçais 1911:329-340).]

s-x-n

saxan, pkyisxon (v/t/i) 'become hot, heat': *Gamma^G tari tasáy lipen, pxott l-ixlíp xost x-xasie u fká'ātu xok m-moxte; pisxunu^G ost^G tekúm l-ixlíp* 'when I want to make yoghurt, I pour milk in a pot and put it on the stove; I heat the milk until it rises'; *l-oxt ta pkyisxon l-ixlíp ...* 'when the milk warms up ...'; OA *saxana* (u) (Hava 313);

[CyA *saxan* assumes the functions of OA Forms I and II.]

~ Alep *saxan* (o) 'devenir chaud', *saxxan* 'chauffer' (Barth 337) ~ Hal *saxxen* 'erhitzen, sich wärmen' (Vo/Wald 200).

saxn (vn) 'heating'; OA *saxn* (Hava 313).

soxn, f -e, pl -in 'hot': *moe soxne* 'hot water'; OA *suxn* (Hava 313);

~ Alep *səxən* 'chaud' (Barth 337) ~ Fəsk *səxən* 'heiß' (Vo/Wald 200) ~ Pal Ar *suxn* 'heiß' (Bau 152) ~ Malt *šhun*, f -a, pl *shan*.

sxune 'warmth, heat, fever': *pö'ott dufri xost l-ixlíp u Gamma^G pikaem dufri l-isxūne pkyislax tarawpu* 'I dip my fingertip into the milk, and if it can stand the heat, I have to curdle the milk'; OA *suxūna* (Hava 313);

~ Pal Ar *sxūne* 'Fieber' (Bau 111) ~ Dam *šxūne* (Sto/Ani 88).

s-d-d

sadd, pisúdd (v/t) 'block; cover (with a lid), to plug': *soddi v-ve'i* 'cover (f) the bowl!'; OA *sadda* (u) (Hava 314);

~ Alep *sadd* (ə) 'boucher (un trou, un flacon)' (Barth 337) ~ Dam *sadd* (ə) 'block' (Sto/Ani 24) ~ Pal Ar *sadd* (i) (Elihai 1973:70) ~ Malt *šadd, isodd*.

mastút, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'blocked.'

stete 'blockage; plug, stopper'; OA *sidāda*, n un of *sidād* 'stopper' (Hava 314);

~ Pal Ar *sdāde* 'Spund' (Bau 284) ~ Dam *saddāde* 'plug' (Sto/Ani 175).

sidde, pl *stet* 'closet below ceiling used for storage, loft, attic' (= CyG *ševte* 'the boarded story of a building'; Kahane/Kahane 1987:94) < Ar *sudda* 'lit de repos, canapé' (Dozy I, 640);

~ Alep *sədde*, pl -āt 'trône, banc, siège, ...' (Barth 338) ~ Pal Ar *sidde*, pl *sidad* 'garret' (Piamanta 1979b:245), 'ein oberer Teil des Bauernhauses für Hausherrn und Gast' (Bau 150; cf. Bīr Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 288), 'erhöhter Hausboden, ein von den Frauen bei ihrer Arbeit benutzter Hochplatz', *sidd manām* 'Schlafplatz', *sidd* 'Raum für Vorräte', *sidd id-dğāğ* 'Gelaß für Hühner' (Dalm VII, 56, 146, 160, 141) ~

Tang *sedda* 'la soupenne, l'alcôve de la chambre à coucher ...' (Marçais 1911:330) ~ Malt 'sodda, pl sodod' 'bed.'

[On Pal Ar *sidde*, Klein (1880:113) notes: Die innere Einrichtung der Fellachenwohnung ist sehr primitiv. Das Zimmer ist in zwei übereinander liegende Räumlichkeiten abgeteilt, wovon die untere von dem Vieh—Ochsen, Kühe, Esel, Hühner—die obere (*maṣṭabe, sidde*) zu welcher man auf einer kleinen Treppe emporsteigt, von den Menschen bewohnt wird.]

s-r-ġ

šrizze, pl -*āt* 'straw saddlebag for donkey; donkey-pack'; Ar *sariġa* (Dozy I, 645); cf. JArām *sriġtā* 'Geflecht, Gitter' (Levy III, 587);

[Note the retention of Arām post-vocalic [*ġ] < [g] in Kənd : *sariġa*, pl *sərdyāġ* 'Transportsack' (Jastrow 1981:54, fn 18).]

~ Alep *sarġ*, pl *srūġe* 'selle orientale' (Barth 340) ~ Pal Ar *sriġe* 'ein auf Lasttiere berechneter zweiteiliger Korb aus Schilf oder Stroh' (Dalm II, 110) ~ Mos (C) *sarāġ* 'saddle'; cf. Malt 'sarġ pl sruġ' 'horse saddle.'

s-r-ḥ

sarax, pkyisrax (v/i) 'go away, depart': *sruxt* 'je suis parti' (Roth 1987: 28); OA *sarah* (a) 'go away in the morning; *sarahā l-mālu* 'the cattle, or camels pastured' (Lane 1344);

~ Alep *sarah* (a) 'errer, paître en liberté (: animal), errer dans la campagne' (Barth 340) ~ Pal Ar *sarah* (a) 'ausgehen' (Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 60), 'zur Weide gehen (Vieh)' (Löhr 1905:137) ~ rur Egyp Ar *sarah* (a) 'an die Arbeit gehen' (Behn/Woid 1994:204), 'weiden' (Behn/Woid 1999:375) ~ Ṣa'd *sarah* 'morgens gehen' (Behnstedt 1987:97); OA *sarah* (a) 'graze (cattle), to go away, etc.' (Lane 1344).

sarrex, pisarrex (v/t) 'take animals to pasture': *sarrex l-mā'āzen ta trux fil-moe* 'take the goats out to water!'; OA *sarraḥ* 'pasture a flock at leisure' (Hava 317).

s-r-f

serfe, pl -*at* 'in heat (animal); sexually excited (female)'; < Ar *sārifa*; cf. OA *asrafa* 'he exceeded, acted immoderately' (Lane 1351);

[Alep *tsarraḥ fi ...* 'avoir un commerce charnel avec (un animal femelle)' (Barth 430)] ~ Pal Ar *šārif* 'brünstig (Vieh)' (Bau 67) ~ rur Egyp Ar *sārifa* 'brünstig' (Stute), *ilbagara šarafit* 'die Kuh ist rinderig geworden' (Behn/Woid 1994:206, 263) ~ Egyp Ar *sārif* 'corrosif'; cf. *saraf* 'abandonnement, dérèglement excessif, prostitution'; *asrafa* 'alā nafsīhi' 'suivre ses mauvais penchants' (Dozy I, 649).

s-r-q

sarak, pkyisrok (v/t) 'steal; elope with a girl': *an^g pint u šibb pkyitxabbu, u exlon mā-pirītu tentzawzu, š-šibb pkyisrok l-pint u piruxu pkyintzawzu vaxton* 'if a girl and a youth fall in love and their parents don't allow them to marry, the youth elopes with the girl and they marry on their own'; OA *saraqā (i)* (Hava 318);

[On the notion of 'stealing the bride,' note also Mod Gk την κλέψανε 'they (the boy's family) have stolen her' and the commentary provided in Hart (1992:184).]

~ Alep *saraq (o)* 'voler, dérober' (Barth 341) ~ Dam *saraq (o)* 'steal' (Sto/Ani 224) ~ Pal Ar *saraq (u)* 'stehlen' (Bau 287) ~ Malt 'seraq, jisraq'.

nsarak, pkyinisrek (v/i) 'be stolen'; OA *nsaraq* 'glide away stealthily' (Hava 319);

~ Alep *nsaraq, yənsəreq* 'être dérobé' (Barth 341) ~ Ka'b *nsaraq, yənsəraq* 'gestohlen werden' (Vo/Wald 201) ~ Pal Ar *nsaraq, byinsaraq* (Elihai 1973:411) ~ Malt 'nsteraq, jinsteraq' 'be stolen.'

masrūk, f-a, pl -in (pp) 'stolen.'

sark (vn) 'stealing, theft'; OA *saraq*.

~ Alep *sarq* (vn) (Barth 341) ~ Malt 'serq, n un -a'.

s-r-k

Sirkanoxór = Gk *Siryanoxori*, lit. 'village of the Syrians'.

[On *ry > *rky > rk, cf. Beaudouin (1884:45f) and Kaisse (1992).]

s-ṭ-b

maspe 'stone platform in house' < **maṣṭbe*; cf. OA *maṣṭaba/miṣṭaba*, pl *maṣṭātib* 'a kind of wide bench, of stone or brick ... generally built against a wall' < *maṣṭaba/miṣṭaba* (Lane 1686, 1356); the term is explained in Fleischer (II, 596) as "ein Formzwitter, entstanden aus στυβάς, στυβάδιον mit vorgesetztem semitischen Local-m," but Vollers prefers the etymon στύπος 'Klotz' mediated by Aramaic (1897:293), cf. JArām *miṣṭōbā* 'porch, esp. dealer's stall with a bench attached to the house' (M. Jastrow 805); note Late Heb *ṣiṣṭāḥā* (Mishnah Suk. IV, 4);

[Sadan (1976:123, fn. 469): "*maṣṭaba* (parfois: *maṣṭaba*) est en général une partie construite, un banc en saillie faisant partie intégrante du mur (souvent le mur extérieur, donc dehors!), un banc ordinaire (de pierre etc.), un comptoir, une construction indépendante, etc." See also sources cited there.]

~ Alep *maṣṭabe*, pl *maṣāteb/mṣēteb* 'plateforme de pierre dans une maison ou un bain publique, tantôt large comme une chambre tantôt étroite comme un banc' (Barth 434) ~ Bagh (M) *maṣṭaba/muṣṭaba*, pl *maṣāṭub* 'bench' (Wood/Bee 440) ~ Pal Ar *maṣṭabe* 'Plattform im Bauernhaus; Estrade, der vom Stall getrennte erhöhte Boden des Fellachenhauses' (Bau 232, 104; cf. Canaan 1933:35), 'Wohnterrasse' (Dalm III, 190; VII, 57).

s-ṭ-ḥ

sotx, pl *stux* 'terrace': *xattáyt k-kišk xok s-sotx teinšef* 'I placed the kišk on the terrace to dry'; OA *sath*, pl *suṭūḥ* (Hava 320);

~ Alep *ṣuṭūḥ*, pl *aṣṭḥa* 'terrasse (d'une maison)' (Barth 435) ~ Dam *aṣṭūḥ* pl *asāṭīḥ* 'roof' (Sto/Ani 195) ~ Pal Ar *saṭeḥ*, pl *suṭūḥ* 'Dach, Dachterrasse' (Bau 71, 300) ~ Mard *ṣṭōḥ*, Ka^b *ṣṭūḥ*, pl Mḥall *aṣāṭīḥ* 'Dach, Decke (eines Zimmers)' (Vo/Wald 202) ~ Malt <setaḥ> 'terrace'.

s-ṭ-ʿ

sitʿe, *pkyistaʿa* (v/t) 'touch; to possess (devil)': *alok, mall-ižtát š-šaya ta savu, pittistaʿa* ^Gkumpf^G u *pitiru kullon* 'these days, with the modern inventions, you just press a button and everything turns'; ^Gamma^G *pkyifrax* (< *frh*²) *m-^Gmorós^G*, *l-umm má-pittistaʿa* 'aléx u *pkyimsiku yapatu* 'when a child falls very ill, the mother doesn't touch him; his father holds him'; OA *saṭaʿa* (*a*) 'lay hold of': *saṭaʿtu š-šay* 'I laid hold of the thing with the palm of my hand ...'; (Lane 1358);

~ Alep *ṣaṭeʿ* (*a*) 'toucher, porter la main sur (qqn ou qqe)' (Barth 435) ~ Pal Ar *lā tiṣṭaʿnī* 'berühre mich nicht!' (Kampff 1936:32).

saṭ (vn) 'touching, sense of touch, fingerprint';

~ Alep *ṣaṭeʿ* vn of *ṣaṭeʿ* (Barth 435).

mastūʿu, f -*a*, pl -*ín* (pp) 'touched': *mastūʿu mniš-šetán* 'possessed by the devil.'

s-ʿ-d

saʿet, *pisaʿet* (v/t) 'help': *rabbi tesaʿitna* 'Dieu vienne en aide' (Roth 1975:106); OA *sāʿad* (Hava 321);

~ Alep *sāʿad* 'assister (qqn)' (Barth 342) ~ Dam *sāʿad* 'help out' (Sto/Ani 115) ~ Pal Ar *sāʿad* 'jemandem helfen' (Bau 152) ~ Cai *sāʿid* 'help' (Bad/Hi 413).

tsaʿet, *pkyitsaʿet* 'help one another': *kwannitsaʿet exen mall-axar, ana kuntsaʿtak ll-int uv-int ll-ana* '(during harvest-time) we used to assist one another; I would help you and you would help me';

~ Pal Ar *tsāʿad*, pass of Form III (Bau 152) ~ Sa^d *tsāʿadu* 'sie halfen sich' (Behnstedt 1987:19).
tsuʿot/tsuyʿot (vn) 'mutual help.'

s-ʿ-r

saʿúr, pl *sveʿír* 'full-grown male goat, kid': *kan* ^Giša^G *ma s-saʿúr* 'it (the turkey) was as high as a male goat'; Heb *šāʿír* '(eig. behaart) Bock, Ziegenbock' (Levy IV, 592, cf. Lev. 16, 8-10 and 17, 7; Isa. 34, 14); GAram <šʿyr> 'goat' (Sokol 1990:571);

[Bei Aleppo hatten die Ziegen folgende Benennungen ... Altersklassen: 1. - 6. Monat *ḥini*, weibl. *saxle*, 7. - 12. Monat *saʿúr*, weibl. *saʿūra* ... (Dalm VI, 188). Pace Arno/Behn (*loc. cit.*), the native Arabic cognate of this Aram loan is not *šgr* but the expected Ar *šʿr* (cf. P-S. *š* > Ar *š*; Lipiński 1997:124): Negev Ar *šʿriyyih* 'young goat' (own obs) and Ar *šāʿārī* 'die Ziegen' (Kremer 1883:84). Weil die Ziege nicht "Wolle" (*šemer*) wie das Schaf, sondern "Haar" (*sēʿār*) trägt, heißt der Bock *sāʿír* ... oder *seʿír* *ʿizzim* ... (Dalm VI, 197). Regarding the goat as a 'unit of measure', cf. Tabarī 42, I, 2463: "a figurine of a she-camel of gold or silver, adorned with pearls and rubies, about as high as a young goat when placed on the ground."]

~ Syr Ar *šāʿūra/šaʿūra/šāʿawra/šēʿūra* 'einjährige Ziege' (map 419, Behnstedt 1997:839; Arno/Behn, map 45) ~ Pal Ar *saʿúr* (Dalm VI, 188, 6) ~ Leban Ar *sāʿūr*, pl *swāʿír* 'chevreau' (Denizeau 1960:246) ~ Bask *saʿūr* 'kid' (Abu-Haidar 59).

s-ʿ-l

sáʿāle 'cough': *kitlitni s-sáʿāle* 'my cough has exhausted me' (Frangiskou 118); OA *suʿla* (Hava 322);

~ Alep *saʿle* 'toux' (Barth 343) ~ Dam *saʿle/sʿāl* 'cough' (Sto/Ani 54) ~ Pal Ar *saʿle* (Bau 162) ~ Malt <soghla> 'cough.'

s-q-ṭ

sikkate, pl -*át* 'door latch'; OA *saqqāta* 'door-latch' (Hava 326); ~ Alep *saqqāta/səqqāta* 'loquet de porte' (Barth 440) ~ Dam *ṣaq-qāta* 'knocker' (Sto/Ani 132) ~ Bagh (C) *səqqāta* 'bolt' (Abu-Haidar 1991:196) ~ Bask *siʿāta* 'latch' (Abu-Haidar 1979:19), *seqqāta* 'verrou, qui sert à détourner l'eau' (Fegh M/J 1977:97) ~ Pal Ar *sakkar bis-suqqāta* 'verriegeln' (Bau 337), *saqqūta* 'Riegel' (Bau 245), [cf. *saʿat il-bāb* (Piamenta, p.c.)] ~ Cai *suqqāta* 'door latch' (Spiro 1895:281), *suqqāta* 'der Bindfaden, welcher an der Haustür den Fallriegel festhält' (Spitta 1880:102) ~ rur Egypt Ar *saggāta/suggāta*, pl *sagagīt* 'Fallbolzen im Türschloß' (Behn/Woid 1994:209).

[Cf. also 13th c. Iraqi Ar *sāqīta* which "seems to have the same meaning as *saqqāta* 'door-latch'" (Levin 1998, XVII, 272, fn 101).]

s-q-y

ska, pkyiski (v/t) 'water': *skayt l-ixmara moe u malláyt u n-nawér moe* 'I gave the she-donkey to drink and also filled the pitchers with water'; OA *saqā* (i) (Hava 327);

~ Alep *saqa* (i) 'donner à boire' (Barth 440) ~ Dam *saqa* (i) 'irrigate' (Sto/Ani 127) ~ Pal Ar *saqa* (i), *saqqa* (Bau 59) ~ Malt 'saqa, jisqi' 'give to drink,' 'saqqa, isaqqi' 'irrigate.'

ske (vn) 'watering, irrigation' < **skēye*; OA *siqāya* 'drinking place' (Hava 327);

~ Alep *sqēwe* (Barth 441) ~ Dam *sqāye* 'irrigation' (Sto/Ani 127) ~ Pal Ar *sqiyye* 'Bewässerung' (Bau 59); cf. Malt 'is-Saqqajja' (topon).

miski, f *miskie*, pl *miskín* (pp) 'watered, irrigated.'

s-k-k

sikke, pl *skek* 'ploughshare'; OA *sikka*, pl *sikak* (Hava 327); Jaram *sikkā* 'Pflock, eigentlich was sticht; Pfahl (womit man den Weinstock stützt)' (Levy II, 521);

~ Fæsk *sække*, pl *skæk* 'Pflugschar' (Vo/Wald 204) ~ Leban Ar *sekke* 'un soc qui emboîte l'extrémité du *dakar* ...' (Fegh M/J 1977:33, fn 3) ~ Pal Ar *sikke*, pl *sikak* (Bau 230) ~ Malt 'sikka, pl sikek' 'ploughshare.'

[Tur *sakθo*, pl *seke* 'Pflock; Pflugschar, Pflug' (Jastrow 1985:177).]

s-k-t

siket, pkyiskot (v/i) 'keep quiet' (Imptv: *sko, skutu, skutu*): *kol u sko* 'eat up and keep quiet!'; OA *sakata* (u) (Hava 327);

~ Alep *sakat* (o) 'se taire' (Barth 348) ~ Mard *səkət* (ə) 'schweigen' (Vo/Wald 204) ~ Pal Ar *sakat* (u) (Bau 269) ~ Malt 'siket, jiskot.'

saxt 'silence'; OA *sakt* (Hava 327).

s-k-r¹

sakker, pisakker (v/t) 'shut, to lock up': *sakkíra b-bintu* 'he locked up his daughter'; *sakker mā'allmi* 'my boss locked up (the workshop)'; nonclass Ar *sakkara* 'bolt a door' (Hava 328); Syriac *səkar* 'shut up' (J. Payne Smith 378);

~ Alep *sakkar* 'fermer une porte' (Barth 349) ~ Pal Ar *sakkar* 'schließen mit Schlüssel' (Bau 260) ~ Malt 'sakkar, isakkar' 'lock.'

mpsakker, f *mpsakkre*, pl *mpsakkrín* (pp) 'locked, locked in': *oxti mpsakkre žava* 'my sister is locked up at home.'

sakr 'closure'; OA *sakr* (vn) of *sakara* (u) 'shut' (Hava 328).

s-k-r²

siker, pkyiskar (v/i) 'get drunk'; OA *sakira* (a) (Hava 328); ~ Alep *šaker* 's'enivrer' (Barth 441) ~ Mard *səkər* (a) 'sich betrinken' (Vo/Wald 204) ~ Pal Ar *sikir* (a) (Bau 57) ~ Malt 'siker, jisker' 'get drunk.'

sakker, pisakker (v/t) 'intoxicate'; OA *askara* (Hava 328); ~ Alep *šakar* (e) (v/t) 'enivrer (qqn)' (Barth 441) ~ Pal Ar 'askar' 'berauschen' (Bau 52).

sukr 'drunkenness'; OA *sukr* (Hava 328);

~ Pal Ar *sukr* 'Betrunkenheit' (Bau 58) ~ Alep *šəkər* (Barth 441).

sikrān, f -e, pl -in 'drunk'; OA *sakrān* (Hava 328);

~ Alep *šakrān*, pl *šakāra/šakrānīn* 'ivrogne' (Barth 441) ~ Dam *šakrān*, pl -in 'drunk' (Sto/Ani 73) ~ Pal Ar *sakrān* (Bau 58) ~ Malt 'sakran, pl -in'.

s-k-f

sakkef, pisakkef (v/t) 'make shoes, to furnish s.o. with shoes': *ttarúx l-imtine tasakkef l-ulati* 'I am going to Nicosia to procure footwear for my children'; OA *askafa*, nonclass Ar *sakkafa* (Hava 328);

~ Alep *sakkaf* 'raccommoder de vieux souliers, faire le savetier' (Barth 349); cf. Pal Ar *titsakkaf* 'be worked into shoes' (Canaan 1939-40:239).

skefe 'shoes, shoemaking': *kan ma'i kwantsáy skefe* 'we used to make shoes together'; *šalu skefiton* 'they removed their shoes'; OA *iskāf* 'savetier' (Cohen 1970:52); OA *sikāfa* 'shoemaking' (Hava 328) ~ Akk *aškāpu* 'shoemaker' (Kaufman 1974:39);

cf. Alep *skēf* 'ouvrier qui répare les souliers ..., savetier' (Barth 349), Pal Ar 'iskāf/iskāfi' 'Schuhflicker' (Dalm V, 195): *is-skāfi hāfi w-il-hāyik 'aryān u bēt in-nabi bir'u fih il-firān* 'the shoemaker goes barefoot and the weaver naked, and the mice flock in the house of the prophet' (Canaan 1939-40:238), Egyp Ar *sigāfi* 'Schuster' (Behn/Woid 1999:267).

tsukkof 'shoemaking.'

s-k-n

sikkine, pl *skekín* 'knife'; OA *sikkīn*, pl *sakākīn* (Hava 328) < Aram (Fraenkel 1886:84; Schall 1982:150);

~ Alep *səkkine*, pl *skəkīn* 'couteau non pliant, plane de menuisier' (Barth 350) ~ Ka'b *səkkine*, pl *skəkīn* 'Messer' (Vo/Wald 205) ~ Çukur *sikkīn*, pl *skəkīn* (Procházka 2002:43) ~ Pal Ar *sikkīn(e)*, pl *sakakīn* (Bau 204) ~ Malt *«sikkina, pl skieken»*.

[Tur *skino* (Jastrow 1985:183), Urmi *skita* pl. *skinje* (Garbell 1965:330).]

s-l-ʔ

sla, *pkýisli* (v/i) 'melt': *t-toxn sla* 'the grease melted' (Frangiskou 108); OA *salaʔa* (a) *s-samna* 'he clarified the butter' (Lane 1398);

~ Alep *sala*, *yəsli ddəhne* 'faire fondre la graisse ...' (Barth 356) ~ Kənd *sala* (i) '(Fett) auslassen' (Vo/Wald 207) ~ Cai *sala* (i) 'melt butter' (Bad/Hi 428) ~ rur Egyp Ar *sala* (i) (Behn/Woid 1994:215).

s-l-x

salax, *pkýislox* (v/t) 'skin (e.g., rabbits); excoriate'; OA *salaxa* (a/u) 'cast its slough (snake)' (Hava 330);

~ Alep *salax* (a) 'écorcher (un animal)' (Barth 352) ~ Āz [—], *īslax* 'abziehen (die Haut)' (Vo/Wald 206) ~ Pal Ar *s/šalax* (a) 'abhäuten' (Bau 4) ~ Malt *«selah, jisloh»* 'bruise or rub off skin.'

maslūx, f -a, pl -in 'skinned.'

salx (vn) 'skinning'; OA *salx* (Hava 330);

~ Alep *salx* (Barth 352) ~ Pal Ar *salx* (Bau 4) ~ Cai *salx* (Bad/Hi).

s-l-k

sallek, *pisallek* (v/t) 'wind thread'; OA *sallaka* (Hava 333);

~ Alep *sallak* 'rouler le fil sur le dévidoir' (Barth 353) ~ Pal Ar *sallak* 'disentangle thread; to make things run smoothly' (Elihai 1999:339).

mīsilke 'wooden spool on which twine is wound'; cf. *mislaka* 'dévidoir' (Dozy I, 677);

~ Alep *māslaka* 'dévidoir' (Barth 353).

s-l-m

salle, *pisalle* 'ale- 'greet': *aššik o xayytak—kaes*, *pisalle* 'alék 'how is your brother?—He's fine, he sends you his regards'; OA *sallama* 'salute, greet' (Hava 333);

~ Alep *sallam* 'ala 'saluer qqn.' (Barth 354) ~ Ka'b *sallam* 'ala 'grüßen jmdn' (Vo/Wald 206) ~ Pal Ar *sallam* 'ala (Bau 144) ~ Malt *«sellem, isellem»* 'greet, salute.'

slam 'alék 'welcome!'; OA *salām*;

~ Alep *ssalāmu* 'alēkom, formule de salutation (Mslm.): *ssalām ləki yā Maryam* 'Ave Maria' (C) (Barth 354) ~ Qarṭ (ə)salāmu 'alaykum 'Gruß' (Vo/Wald 207) ~ Malt *«is-sliem ghalik Marija»* 'Hail Mary!'

[On a likely Christian origin of this Muslim greeting, cf. Speyer (1931:73). Note also the Aramaic mediation of this term into Arabic (Dussaud/Macler 1901:37; Cantineau 1932:150).]

slamāt 'goodbye!'

mislem, f *misilmie*, pl *misilmīn* 'Turk': *l-misilmīn mā-pixóttu slipon* 'Turks don't make the sign of the cross'; OA *muslim* 'Muslim.'

[For gentilic use of religious affiliation and the opposite, cf. Arb (J) 'arab 'Muslimen' (Jastrow 1991b:379), Malt *«torok»* 'Muslims, Turks, moors': "Barbareschi e Turchi, denominati tutti insieme *it-Torok*" (Rossi 1926:4); *«Tork iswed ta' Barberija/Kien halliel ta' Soliman»* 'Un turc noir de Berbérie/C'était un voleur de Soliman' (Breteau/Sammur/Zagnoli 1983:164).]

ma^cessalame 'goodbye'; < Ar *ma^c is-salāma*.

s-m-m

sammem, *pisammem* (v/t) 'poison'; OA *sammama* 'poison (food)' (Hava 334);

~ Alep *sammam* 'empoisonner (qqn; ou un mets)' (Barth 359) ~ Āz *sammam* 'vergiften' (Vo/Wald 207) ~ cf. Pal Ar *samm* (i) 'vergiften' (Bau 332).

tsammem, *pkýitsammem* (v/i) 'be poisoned, poison oneself'; MLA *tasam-mama* (Wehr 499);

~ Pal Ar *tsammam* (Bau 332).

simm 'poison'; OA *samm* (Hava 334);

~ Alep *samm*, pl *smūm* (Barth 359) ~ Āz *samm* 'Gift' (Vo/Wald 207) ~ Pal Ar *samm* (Bau 138) ~ Cai *simm/summ/samm*, pl *simūm/sumūm* (Bad/Hi 432).

tsummom (vn) 'poisoning';

~ Pal Ar *tasammum* 'Vergiftung' (Bau 332).

s-m-t

Samáto = Gk *Asómatos* (name of Cypriot Maronite village).

s-m-d ~ s-m-δ

smit, pl *smet* (<*smēyed) 'semolina': *amma teipes maxxawšu, man-naxtu t-taxune, mannítixnu u mantsaix smit* 'when it (the wheat)

dries, we gather it, we take it to the mill and grind it into semolina'; OA *samiδ/samīd* (Lane 1424); Syriac *samīdā* 'the finest wheaten flour' (J. Payne Smith 380); Akk *samīdu* 'a type of groats' (CAD XV, 114);

[The OA variant with *δ* shows the outcome of the *begad-kefat* rule mediated by Aramaic. Fraenkel (1886:32), Vollers (1897:298) and M. Jastrow (p. 1000) derived the Arabic term from Anc Gk *σεμιδαλις* 'the finest wheaten flour' (cf. Lat *simila*); subsequent research established a loan from Semitic > Hittite > Greek (Szemerényi 1974:156).]

~ Alep *smīd* 'semoule' (Barth 357) ~ Pal Ar *smīd* (urban), *smīd* (rur) (Bau 142) ~ Malt <smid>.

s-m-s-m

sumpsom, pl *smemīn* 'sesame seed': *naxni má-mantšíl zayt mnis-sumpsom* 'we don't extract oil from sesame'; OA *simsim* (Hava 334);

[*Sesamum indicum* L. — "... the sesame crop originated on the Indian subcontinent. It is well documented in Armenia, Arabia, Anatolia and Greece by the first millenium B.C." (Nayar 1995:405). "... sesame, gingelly or beniseed; linseed or flax; and olive, are among the most ancient oilseeds known to man" (Bedigian/Harlan 1986).]

~ Alep *samsom* 'sésame' (Barth 357) ~ Pal Ar *simsim* (Bau 274).

s-m-^c

sim^ce, *pkýisma^ca* (v/t) 'hear, listen, attend to, obey': *l-ulát má-pkyisma^cu l-exlon^c pkyon^c* 'children don't obey their parents any more'; OA *sami^ca* (a) 'hear', *sami^ca l/min* 'obey' (Hava 336);

~ Alep *same^c* (a) 'entendre' (Barth 357) ~ Kənd *səmā^c* (a) (Vo/Wald 208) ~ Pal Ar *simi^c* (a) (Bau 160) ~ Malt <sema^c, jisma^c>.

sam^ce (f, cf. Mod Gk ακοή f; Pring 1985:353) 'sense of hearing'; OA *sam^c* (Hava 336).

s-m-k

sammūk, pl *smemīk* 'broomstick'; cf. OA *simāk* 'upholding or lifting implement' (Hava 337); Syriac *sāmūkā* 'support, étai' (Barth 359); cf. Heb *sāmōk* 'support' (Klein 449), *samōkōt* 'supports, pillars' (M. Jastrow 999);

~ Alep *sāmūk*, pl *swēmīk* 'bâton fourchu soutenant la corde sur laquelle on étend le linge; barre de bois, verrou' (Barth 359, 815).

[Mod Mand *sāmāxa* 'support' (Macuch 1965:522).]

s-m-n

simen, *pkýisman* (v/i) 'put on weight, to become fat'; OA *samina* (a) (Hava 337);

~ Alep *sāmen* (a) 'devenir gras' (Barth 359) ~ Pal Ar *simin* (a) 'fett werden' (Bau 111) ~ Malt <simen, jismen>.

smīn, f -e, pl *smān* 'fat'; OA *samīn*, pl *simān* (Hava 337); ~ Alep *smīn*, pl *smān* 'gras, replet' (Barth 359) ~ Āz *samīn*, f -e 'fett' (Vo/Wald 208) ~ Pal Ar *smīn* f -e, pl *smān* (Elihai 1999:341) ~ Malt <smīn, pl smīen> 'stout'.

asmen 'fatter'; OA *asman*.

sumn 'corpulence'; MLA *simna* (Wehr 503);

~ Alep *sāmān* (vn) of *sāmen* (Barth 359) ~ Pal Ar *sumun* 'Beleibtheit' (Bau 50).

s-m-w

sama 'sky' (no pl); OA *samā^w*, pl *samāwāt* (Hava 338); ~ Alep *sama*, pl *samawāt* 'ciel' (Barth 359) ~ Qarṭ *sama* 'Himmel' (Vo/Wald 208) ~ Pal Ar *sama*, pl *samāwāt* (Bau 156) ~ Malt <sema, pl smewwīet> 'sky'.

s-n-n

sann, *pisānn* (v/t) 'sharpen'; OA *sanna* (u) 'whet (knife)' (Hava 338); ~ Alep *sann* (ə) 'émoudre, repasser, aiguiser' (Barth 362) ~ Dam *sann* (ə) 'sharpen' (Sto/Ani 207) ~ Āz *sann* (ə) (Vo/Wald 210) ~ Pal Ar *sann* (i) (Bau 254) ~ Malt <sann, isinn>.

sinn, pl *snan* 'tooth'; OA *sinn*, pl *asnān/asinna/asunn* (Hava 338); ~ Alep *sənn*, pl *snēn* 'dent' (Barth 362) ~ Dam *sənn*, pl *snūn* 'tooth' (Sto/Ani 244) ~ Mos (C) *sənn*, pl *snūn* (infor) ~ Pal Ar *sinn*, pl *snān* 'Zahn' (Bau 371) ~ Malt <sinna, pl snien>.

s-n-h

sine, pl *snin* 'year': *s-sine* 'this year'; *kulla s-sine* 'during the entire year'; *aška snin int?* 'how old are you?'; *sine sintāyn* 'a year or two'; OA *sana*, pl *sinūn* (obl *sinīn*) (Hava 340);

~ Alep *səne*, pl *snīn* 'an, année' (Barth 362) ~ Kənd *sane*, pl *snīn* 'Jahr' (Vo/Wald 209) ~ Pal Ar *sane/sine*, pl *snīn* (Bau 165) ~ Malt <sena, pl snin> 'year'.

s-w-d

sfadda, *pkýisfadda* (v/i) 'become dark or black': *x-xarrūp pikammel zmanon l-awsto*; *pkýipsu kaes*, *pkýisfaddu kaes* 'carobs ripen in August; they become dry and dark in colour'; OA *iswadda* (Lane 461);

~ Alep *swadd* 'devenir noir' (Barth 364) ~ Āz *swadd* 'schwarz werden' (Vo/Wald 211) ~ Pal Ar *ṣār aswad, iswadd* (Bau 269) ~ Cai *iswadd* 'become black' (Bad/Hi 440) ~ Malt *swied, jiswied*.

isfet, f *sawta*, pl *sut* 'black': *zaytūn sut* 'black olives'; OA *aswad*, f *sawdā*, pl *sūd* (Hava 343);

[The CyA m sg *isfet* harks back to a form **iswid* (showing the *a > i* shift in both syllables)—possibly originating as a euphemism for OA *aswad* (cf. Egyp Ar *iswid*; Spitta 1880:106; Woidich 1978:61; Behn / Woid 1985; Stewart 1999:109). In some Arabic vernaculars, the lexeme *aswad* is virtually taboo (cf. Hartmann 1899:85; Borg 1999:129, fn 12).]

~ Alep *aswad*, f *sōda*, pl *sūd* 'noir' (Barth 365) ~ Çukur *aswid* 'schwarz' (Procházka, p.c.) ~ Pal Ar *aswad/iswad* (rur), f *sōda*, pl *sūd* (Bau 269) ~ Malt *iswed*, f *sewda*, pl *suwed* 'black.'

sut 'black clothes.'

sfata (f, cf. Mod Gk *μαυρίλα* f; Pring 1982:240) 'blackness' < **sawāda*; cf. OA *sawād*.

s-w-^c

sa^ca, pl *tisve^ci* (< -t + **sawā^ci*) 'hour, time': *sa^cātáyn* 'two hours'; *málini sa^ca* 'I have no time'; *má-piritu sa^ca xtir* 'they don't require much time'; *ko^cotna exte sa^cātáyn k-^Gkafenē^G* 'we sat in the café for a couple of hours'; OA *sā^ca*, pl *-āt* (Hava 344);

[For the CyA pl form, cf. Leban Ar *swā^ce* 'heures' (Feghali 1938:778) ~ CMAr *sawā^c* 'die (kleinen) Horen' (Graf 1954:63), and Alep *swē^ciyye* 'livre d'heures, de prières, diurnal; bréviaire du rite grec catholique' (Barth 367).]

~ Alep *sā^ca*, pl *-āt* 'heure' ~ Mard *sā^ca*, pl *-āt* (Vo/Wald 212) ~ Pal Ar *se^ca*, pl *-āt* (Bau 294) ~ Malt *siēgha*, pl *-at*.

s-sa^ca 'when (conj)': *s-sa^ca ta xlakna xost δ-δē^ca, kat^ca exen* ^G*ayró-plano^G mixxók minna u šalax exte-xnayn* ^G*pompes^G* 'as soon as we reached the village, a plane passed overhead and dropped a couple of bombs';

áksa^c 'a short while ago' < **hāk s-sā^c*;

cf. Qarṭ *fā^cāk alhīne* 'damals' (Vo/Wald 132).

s-w-q

sak, pisúk (v/t) 'plough' < **sāq [faddān]*; OA *sāqa (u)* 'drive' (Hava 344); cf. Syriac *dābar* 'führen, pflügen', *dābar paddānā* 'das (Pflug) Gespann führen' (Seidel 1988:159);

~ Alep *sāq (u)* 'faire marcher devant soi (le bétail), mener (une bête de somme) en la poussant devant soi' (Barth 367) ~ Dam *sāq (u)* 'drive' (Sto/Ani 72) ~ Bāḥz *ysōq fadān* 'er pflügt' (Jastrow 1981:392) ~ Mard, Arb (J), Ka^cb *sāq (u)*, Āz *sāq, īsōq* 'treiben, antreiben, davontreiben; abführen; pflügen' (Vo/Wald 213) ~ Çukur *sāq (u)* 'treiben, lenken; pflügen; dauern' (Procházka 2002:172) ~ Malt *saq, isuq* 'drive.'

[On the semantic shift OA *sāq* 'drive' > CyA *sak* 'plough', see the Intro, §V—a striking Aramaism shared with S.E. Anatolian *qaltu* Arabic.]

mantsúk, f *-a*, pl *-in* (pp) 'ploughed': *xkali mantsukin* 'ploughed fields.'

sawk (vn) 'ploughing'; OA *sawq* (vn) of *sāq (u)* 'drive (a beast)' (Hava 344);

~ Alep *sawaqān* (vn) (Barth 367) ~ Dam *swāqa* (Sto/Ani 72) ~ Arb *sawq* 'Pflügen' (Vo/Wald 213) ~ Çukur *swāqa* 'Pflügen (vn)' (Procházka 2002:85) ~ Pal Ar *swāqa* 'conduire' ~ Malt *sewqan* 'driving.'

[On secondary *fī^cāla* infinitives in Eastern Arabic, cf. Intro, §IXb.]

s-w-m

same, pl *-āt* 'wooden packsaddle for mule or donkey': ^G*amma^G kwanninkulon l-ikvakil ma ll-ixmīr, kwaxxótt raxl ma* ^G*same^G xok l-ixmār u kwanninkulon xost b-baytar* 'in order to transport the sheaves on donkeys, we would put a saddle and a wooden packsaddle on a donkey and take them to the threshing-floor' < CyG *saman* 'packsaddle' < Anc Gk *σάγμα* (Yangoullis 1997:283).

s-w-y

sava, pisáy (v/t) 'do, make, cause; be worth; act (a role); cost; last; fare; address s.o. (l-)': *aš tansáy?* 'what are we to do?'; *aš kantesáw?* 'what were they to do?'; *sáinni* ^G*kafé^G* 'make me a coffee!'; *xnayn fil-layl, lā-^carús u lā-^carís pisáw snie* 'inton' 'on Monday night, the wedded couple give a party at their home'; *k-ka^cak pitsaion nunnútu tel-^carís* 'the groom's godmother makes the cakes (for a wedding)'; *aška pisáy f-^Gfušeki^G telak?* 'how much does your cartridge cost?'; ^G*an^G ta pkyintzawzu fia má-pisáy ulát, ya lā-^carús ya lā-^carís, l-iknise šaitna pit^carrep* 'if when they marry, it turns out that either the husband or the wife is barren, our Church dissolves [the marriage]'; *savet šibb* 'she's given birth to a baby-boy'; *aš kuntaží tasáy, tattarká^cinni?* 'what would have been the point of my coming, just to get smacked

by you?'; *aš pitsáy?* (= Mod Gk τὴ κάθει;) 'how are you?'; *savayna tokka*^G 'we shook hands'; *ttasaillu katigória*^G *l-aða l-i*^G *tšauš*^G *u tsaix*^G *tepe*^e *šamiš*^G 'I will take this sergeant to court and reduce him to peddling sweetmeats'; *umma ta kiš'itni ll-ana, fiz'et u savet exen šaxr* and, for a whole month, she did not enter the inner room'; *savu exte sine maxtupin* 'they were engaged for a year'; *x-xops pkyixmarra, pkyirfa'a, pisáy ši sa'a, sa'a-w-nuss xost l-forn* 'the bread turns brown and rises after about an hour or an hour and a half in the oven'; *k-kassis pisáy l-impšix* '(on Maundy Thursday) the priest acts the role of Jesus'; *lè-šit tel-žartuše mannimpsek moyát mixxóst varelles*^G *u memma pkyáxta'a* (< qč) *mantsaix suppa*^G 'on the feast of the Ascension, we draw water from barrels and drench passers-by'; *k-kassis pisáy lè-aris: pitri m-Meri pšan mpratak?* '(in church) the priest addresses the groom [thus]: "Do you want Mary as your wife?"; *piθkaillon* (< qwl) *ašma pisailla* 'she encourages his advances'; OA *sawwā/sāwā* 'render things equivalent, equal' (Hava 345);

[The semantic area of CyA *sawa* corresponds extensively with that of Mod Gk κάω. On the elliptical Imperfect, in CyA and certain Arabic vernaculars, see Borg (1985:92).]

~ Alep *sawwa/sāwa* 'arranger', *səwi/suwi*, *yəswa* 'valoir' (Barth 368, 369) ~ Dam *sāwa* 'make': *sāwēti l-gāto waḥdek?* 'did you make the cake yourself' (Sto/Ani 145) ~ Kənd *sawa, ysay/ysawi* 'machen, tun, wert sein': *ayš nsáy?* 'was sollen wir tun?' (Vo/Wald 214) ~ Hask *sā, isī* 'machen' (Talay 2002:81) ~ Pal Ar *sawwa* 'machen', *siwi* (a) 'kosten' (Bau 197) ~ N Yem *sā, yisī* 'machen' (Behnstedt 1996:600), *Ša'd ase* (Behnstedt 1987:98) ~ Malt *sewwa* 'repair', *sewa, jiswa* 'cost.'

stava, pkyistvi (v/i) 'ripen (fruit), be done (food)'; OA *istawā* (Hava 346);

~ Alep *stawa, yəstəwi* 'être cuit à point (: mets)' (Barth 369) ~ Fəsk *stawa, yəstəwi* 'reif werden, gar werden, sein' (Vo/Wald 217) ~ Pal Ar *stawa* (Bau 242).

mistvi, f *mestvie*, pl *mestvin* 'ripe, cooked';

~ Pal Ar *mistwi* 'reif' (Bau 242).

s-y-ğ

šaez, pišaez (v/t) 'fence in a plot'; OA *sayyağa* (Hava 346);

~ Alep *sayyağ, ysayyeğ* 'entourer de haies' (Barth 370) ~ Pal Ar *sayyağ* 'einzaunen' (Bau 90).

mpšaez, f *mpšayze*, pl *mpšayzin* (pp) 'fenced in.' *tsuyoz* (vn) 'fencing.'

škez, pl *-āt* 'fence' < *škyez; OA *siyāğ* (Hava 346);

~ Alep *syēğ*, pl *-āt* 'haie, mur de clôture' (Barth 370) ~ Pal Ar *sydğ* 'Zaun' (Bau 372) ~ rur Egyp Ar *šiyūz* 'Hecke, halfa-Gras als Windschutz (temporär)' (Behn/Woid 1994).

[Phonetic interaction between historical s and ġ here yields palatalization of the CyA voiceless dental fricative in CyA and rural Egyptian Arabic.]

s-y-r

saer, pisaer (v/t) 'tamper with s.th.; tease s.o.': *lā-tsayru š-šaya šati* 'don't tamper with my things!'; OA *sāyara* 'keep pace with a.o.'; nonclass. 'be compliant with' (Hava 347);

[The meaning of the CyA verb does not derive directly from that of OA *sāyara*, but via back-formation from a reflex of the Vith form **tsāyar*; note the synonymy between Forms III and VI in the Aleppo vernacular.]

~ Alep *sāyar, ysāyer* (v/t) 'se rendre au désir de (qqn)' (Barth 370)

~ Pal Ar *sāyer* 'sois accomodant avec moi, sois bon prince' (Elihai 1973:33), *in-kān biddak titğawwaz binti lāzem-itsāyirha* 'if you want to marry my daughter, you must go along with her wishes' (Piamenta 1966:118) ~ Cai *sāyir* (v/t) 'humour, go along with' (Bad/Hi 445), 'courtiser' (Boc, Dozy I, 712); cf. Malt *sejjer* (ap) 'going.'

tsaer, pkyitsaer 'engage in homosexuality'; OA *tasāyara* 'travel together, nonclass Ar 'keep company' (Hava 347);

~ Alep *tsāyar, yətsāyar ma' ḥada* synonyme de III (Barth 370).

tsuyor 'homosexuality.'

s-y-k-n

saykūn, n un -e 'a thorny bush used as tinder; brushwood'; Syriac *sawkūnā*, diminutive of *sawkā* 'ramus' (cf. Feghali 1918:25-6); GArām *swkā*, pl *swkyn* 'a bough, branch, twig' (Sokol 1990:370); OA *šawk* 'thorns' (Hava 383);

~ Leban Ar *saykūne* 'branche morte' (Feghali 1918:25-6), 'bois mort à brûler' (Feghali 1938:782), *saykūn* 'dry prickly branches' (Bask; Abu-Haidar 1979:60).

[Jubb'ad *sawxo* 'Gestrüpp' (Arnold 1989:110).]

s-y-l

sael, pisael (< **sāyal*, **bisāyil*) (v/t) 'ask': *saylu* 'he asked him'; *sael mnawnke sael mnawna, yapati kalullu kif ana axxost l-iskoyyōg* 'my father enquired (about me) here and there and was told that I was at school'; OA *sā'ala/sāyala* 'he asked' (Lane 1283);

[On the Narrative Imperative, cf. Blanc (1970a:140) and Palva (1977).]

~ Alep *sāyal* 'interroger' (Barth 328) ~ Anat Ar *sāyal* 'fragen' (Jastrow 1978:156) ~ Iraqi Ar *sāyal* (14th c.; Levin 1993:327) ~ Cen Arab *sāyal* (Socin 1990:275); cf. reflexes of **sayyal* in the *qəltu*-dialects (Jastrow 1998:180) ~ Pal Ar *sāyal* (rur) (Bau 116).

[Arabic dialects showing *sa'al* 'he asked' (i.e., with an intervocalic glottal stop, e.g., Dam; Sto/Ani 13), have probably borrowed this term from literary Arabic. Jiha (1964:122) remarks that *hamza* "bleibt nur in *sa'al* 'fragen'; wahrscheinlich unter hochsprachlichem Einfluß"; cf. Grotzfeld (1965:34, §28). In Palestinian Arabic, "Vom Verbum *sa'al* fragen findet sich das reguläre Impf. *jis'al* ...; meist aber wird das Impf. *jisājil* gebildet; ebenso das Impf. *sājil*, f. *sājli*" (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 77*.)]

tsael, pkyitsael (v/i) 'be asked'; OA *tasā'ala/tasāwala* 'ask a.o. questions' (Hava 304).

tsuyol (vn) 'questioning, inquiry'

mpsayle 'alms' (Frangiskou 64); cf. OA *sā'il* 'beggar'; MLA *tasawwala* 'beg' (Wehr 455).

š

š-ʔ-n

(*m*)*pšan* 'for, in order to; concerning; as' < **mšān*: (*m*)*pšani*, (*m*)*pšanak*, etc. 'for me/you, etc.'; *alok ttakullak (m)pšaz-zaytune* 'now I'll tell you all about the olive tree'; *pikulullu k-kassis kif teá'imtu pšan teá'aref u tetaylep m-moe u ll-oxar šaya ta pkyā'ātéz(z)* 'they tell the priest that they are going to hold the baptism, so that he's informed and proceeds to prepare the water and the other things he needs'; < OA *min ša'n* 'for the sake of' (Hava 348);

~ Alep *mān šān et mšān* 'pour' (Barth 374) ~ Ka'b *šā* 'für, zu, hin zu, bis (präp) und zur Bezeichnung des Dativs' (Vo/Wald 219) ~ Palm *mīšēn* 'pour, à cause de, en raison de' (Cantineau 1934: II, 19, 3) ~ Bišm *mīšān ḥabbīt nār* 'wegen ein bißchen Feuers' (Jiha 1964:8) ~ Pal Ar *min šān* 'für' (Bau 120).

(*m*)*pšanákke* 'for this reason': *ftaxel u (m)pšan akke má-ža* 'he fell ill, that's why he didn't come' (Frangiskou 55); < Ar **minlān ḥakkā*.

š-b-b

šibb, pl *špap* 'male child, youth, bachelor': *l-intsān kaniri šibb, u gan^o kantzi pintua kanitir moxxu l-exte n-nexa* 'the husband wanted a baby-boy, and if a baby-girl arrived, he would turn his face the other way'; *savet šibb* 'she's given birth to a boy'; *špapu enne nesperyes^o* 'his sons are farmers'; OA *šābb*, pl *šubbān/šabāb/šababa* (Hava 349); ~ Alep *šabb*, pl *šabāb* (*šabbēn*, Liban) 'jeune homme, homme dans la force de l'âge' (Barth 374) ~ Kənd *šabb* 'junger Mann' (Vo/Wald 219) ~ Pal Ar *šabb*, pl *šabāb/šubbān* (Bau 167) ~ Malt *xebba*, pl *-iet* 'young or unmarried female' (no m).

šibbape 'shepherd's reed flute'; OA *šabāba* (Hava 349), MLA *šabbāba* (Wehr 527);

~ Alep *šabbāba* 'flûte champêtre, chalumeau, flûte de berger en roseau, fifre, sifflet' (Barth 374) ~ Pal Ar *šibbābe*, pl *-āt* 'Flöte (rohrig)' (Bau 114); cf. Marçais (1911:341).

š-b-r

šapura 'piece, slice (e.g., of bread)'; cf. OA *šabar* 'quelque chose que se donnent les chrétiens, comme l'oblation (*qurbān*)' (Troupeau 1993: 290); cf. Heb *šeber* 'corn, grain, as foodstuff' (BDB 991);

~ Alep *šabūret/bāšūret xəbze* 'une tranche mince de pain' (Barth 373, 44-5) ~ Leban Ar *šābūra*, pl *šwābir/šwābir* (Feghali 1935:132).

š-b-ʔ

šipʔe, pkyišpaʔa (v/i) 'become sated'; OA *šabiʔa* (a) (Hava 349); ~ Alep *šabeʔ* (a) 'être rassasié, n'avoir plus faim' (Barth 376) ~ Āz *šabeʔ* (a) 'satt werden, sich vollsaugen' (Vo/Wald 220) ~ Pal Ar *šibiʔ* (a) (Bau 251) ~ Malt *xebaʔ, yixbaʔ* 'become sated.'

šabbʔe, pišabbʔe (v/t) 'sate, surfeit'; OA *šabbaʔa* 'be nearly satiated (flocks)' (Hava 350);

~ Alep *šabbaʔ* 'rassasier' (Barth 376) ~ Malt *xebbaʔ, ixebbaʔ* 'cause to be sated; disgust.' (flocks)' (Hava 350).

šapʔa 'satiety': *mā-lixon šapʔa* 'they are insatiable' (Frangiskou 228); OA *šabaʔ* 'satiety, surfeit' (Hava 350);

~ Malt *xebghaʔ* 'a sound beating' [~ Alep *šabbaʔ ḥada qatəl* 'bourrer qqn de coups' (Barth, loc. cit.)].

šip'an, f -e, pl -in 'sated'; OA *šab'an* (Hava 350).

š-b-n

špin 'godfather, best man', *špine* 'godmother, bridesmaid', pl *šupēn* (< **šabāyin*) 'godparents'; *lā-arūs pilabbsu špinu* 'the best man helps (the groom to get dressed)'; OA *šabīn/išbīn*, pl *ašābīn* 'groom's man', *šabīna/išbīna* 'bride's maid' (Hava 350); Syriac *šawsā²hīnā* 'socius sponsi' (Brockel 766), GAram *šwšbyn* (Sokol 1990:542);

~ Alep *šbīn(e)* pl *šēbīn* 'parrain/marrain' (Barth 377) ~ Dam *šbīn* 'godfather', pl *šabāyen*, *šbīne* 'godmother', pl -āt (Sto/Ani 105) ~ Leban Ar *šbīn*, pl *šbān* 'parrain, témoin (dans un mariage)' (Feghali 1918:29) ~ Pal Ar *šbīn*, pl *šabāyin* 'Pate' (Bau 227) ~ Cai *šibīn*, pl *ašābīn* 'attendant on a bride or groom; sponsor, godparent' (Bad/Hi 452) ~ Malt *šbin* [šbi:n/ḡbi:n] (term of address) 'hey pal!'

[W. Neo-Aram *šbīnā*, f *šbiččā* 'Pate(in)' (Arnold 1990:327).]

š-b-h

šipex, *pkyišpex* (v/t) 'resemble' < **šibih*; *pišpex l-yapati* 'I resemble my father'; OA *šābaha/ašbah* (Hava 351);

~ Alep *šābeh* (a) 'ressembler à (qqn)' (Barth 376) ~ Āz (Imp) *išba*, Darag *ižba(h)* 'ähneln, gleichen' (Vo/Wald 220) ~ Pal Ar *šibih* (a), *šābah* 'ähneln' (Bau 10) ~ N Yem *šabah*, *yišbah* (Behnstedt 1996:628) ~ Malt *šebaḥ*, *yixbaḥ* 'resemble' [*h > ḥ].

š-t-l

xops maštūl 'poorly made bread.'

[Cf. OA *šatila* (a) 'be rough (fingers)' (Hava 353), Alep *maštūl* 'qui a les vêtements en désordre' (Barth 378).]

š-t-m

šattem, *pišattem* (v/t) 'insult or abuse s.o. ; talk disrespectfully to s.o.': *pišattem ll-exlu* 'he (the child) talks disrespectfully to his parents'; cf. OA *šatama* (i/u), *šātama* 'revile, vilify' (Hava 351); Ugar *štm* 'close mouth, muzzle, abuse' (Del Olmo/Sanmartín 2003:852);

~ Alep *šatam*, *yāštom* 'injurier, insulteur (qqn)' (Barth 378) ~ Qarṭ *šatam*, *yāštam* 'schimpfen, beschimpfen' (Vo/Wald 220) ~ Pal Ar *šatam* (u) 'beleidigen' (Bau 261) ~ Cai *šatam* (i) 'revile' (Bad/Hi 452).

išattmu, *pkyišattmu* 'insult one another'; OA *tašattama* 'expose oneself to abuse' (Hava 351).

maštūm, f -a, pl -in 'insulted.'

štume 'insult, offence'; cf. OA *šatīma*, pl *šatā'im* 'insult, revilement' (Hava 351); Ar *šattā* (Hava 351); ~ Sii *šīmāt* 'Klagen (pl)' (Vo/Wald 220) ~ Pal Ar *šatīme* 'insult' (Canaan 1935:237), *tašīme* 'Schmähung' (Kampff 1936:36) ~ Cai *šifīma*, pl *šatāyim* (Bad/Hi 452).

š-t-y

šatta, *pišatti* (v/i) 'rain': *l-art atšane, mā-šatta s-sine* 'the soil is parched; there's been no rain this year'; OA *aštā* 'enter winter, nonclass Ar *šattā* (Hava 351); ~ Alep *šatta* 'passer l'hiver; pleuvoir' (Barth 379) ~ Pal Ar *šatta* 'regnen' (Bau 241).

šite 'rain': *kāt'ani š-šite* 'I got caught in the rain'; OA *šitā²*, pl *aštiya/šutiyy* (Hava 352);

~ Alep *šate* 'hiver, pluie' (Barth 379) ~ Kənd *šate* 'Winter, Regen' (Vo/Wald 220) ~ Pal Ar *šita* (Bau 241, 365) ~ Malt *šita* 'rain.'

[Final *imāla* in this CyA lexeme is also paralleled in Mesopotamian *qaltu* Arabic (Levin 1994:XII, 223). For analogous instances of this word-final shift in CyA, see Borg (1985:66).]

šitvie 'winter': *k-kišk mannakula š-šitvie* 'we eat *kišk* in the winter'; < **šitwiyya*; OA *šitā²*, pl *aštiya/šutiyy* (Hava 352);

~ Alep *šatwiye* 'saison d'hiver' (Barth 379) ~ Ḥama *šatwiyye* (Lewin 1966:213) ~ Çukur *šitwī* < **šitwīyi* (Procházka, p.c.) ~ Bišm *šatwiyyi* (Jiha 1964:22, fn 2) ~ Cai *šitwiyya* 'winter season, winter period' (Bad/Hi 452) ~ Malt *šitwa*, pl *xtiewi* 'winter.'

š-ḥ-ḡ¹

šixet, *pkyišxat* (v/t) 'beg'; OA *fulānun yašḥadu n-nāsa* 'Such a one begs importunately of men' (Lane 1512), 'petivit aliquem oculo; importuno modo rogavit' (Freytag 1833: II, 398); MLA *šahāda* 'beg, ask for alms' (Wehr 534) < Aram *šḥd* (Vollers 1897:292); Syriac *šahād* 'corruptit (aliquem pecunia)' (Brockel 768); GAram *šahād* 'bribe' (Sokol 1990:543);

~ Alep *šahād* (a) 'mendier (qqe)' (Barth 379) ~ Pal Ar *šahād* 'erbet-teln' (Bau 96) ~ Cai *šahat* (a) 'beg for' (Bad/Hi 453).

šaxxet, *pišaxxet* (v/t/i) 'beg for alms from s.o. ; follow s.o. around': *pišaxxtu mixxalf* 'he dogs his footsteps'; cf. OA *šahād* 'importune a.o. with solicitations' (Hava 354);

~ Alep *šahhad* 'donner (qqe) comme aumône (à qqn)' (Barth 379) ~ Pal Ar *šahhad* 'einem Bettler geben' (Bau 61) ~ Cai *šahhat* 'give/lend (with no thought of return)' (Bad/Hi 453).

šixxāt, pl *šixxētīn* 'beggar'; OA *šahhād* 'an importunate beggar' ... "[it is said, however, that] *šahhād* meaning a beggar does not occur in the language of the Arabs" (Lane 1512); cf. Syriac *šahad* 'give a gift, a bribe' (J. Payne Smith 570).

~ Alep *šahhād*, pl *šahhādīn* 'mendiant' (Barth 379) ~ Bask *šihhād* 'beggar' (Abu-Haidar 1979:58) ~ Pal Ar *šahhād* 'Bettler' (Bau 58) ~ Cai *šahhāt* (Bad/Hi 453).

š-h-δ²

šixxāt, pl -*āt* 'stye (inflammation of the eyelid)'; MLA *šahhād* [*al-ayn*] (Wehr 534);

~ Alep *šahhād* 'orgelet' (Barth 379) ~ Pal Ar *šahhād* 'Gerstenkorn am Auge' (Bau 132) ~ Dam *ṭālš'li šahhād ab-ēni əš-šmāl* 'I'm getting a sty on my left eye' (Sto/Ani 229).

š-h-ṭ

šaxxat, *pišaxxet* (v/t) 'expel, throw out'; cf. Syriac *šahat* (Manna 781:781; Barth 380; cf. al-Asadī 1988, V:35; David 1887:170);

~ Alep *šahhat* 'chasser, expulser' (Barth 380) ~ Dam *šahat* (a) 'drag' (Sto/Ani 71) ~ Mard *šahhat* 'verscheuchen, verjagen, wegjagen' (Vo/Wald 199) ~ Mos (M) *šahat* = 'axada yazhifu wa-huwa ḡālis 'alā alyatihi musta'inan bi-kaffayh' (al-Bakrī 1972:284) ~ Leban Ar *hašat* 'wegwerfen' (Bau 356) ~ Kfar'ab *šarhet* 'il traîna par terre, etc. ...' avec infixation de r après la première radicale pour marquer la nuance de fréquence, d'intensité' (Feghali 1918:193) ~ Bišm *li-mwayy 'awiyyi* — *šahit ir-rās* 'das Wasser war stark — riß die Strömung den Kopf mit sich' (Jiha 1964:74) ~ Pal Ar *šahat* (a) 'schleppen' (Bau 260) ~ Cai *šahat* 'drag' (Bad/Hi 453) ~ rur Egyp Ar *šatah* 'werfen, *šahat* 'etwas auf dem Boden schmeißen, zu Boden werfen' (Behn/Woid 1994:228) ~ Om (Khāb) *šahat* (a) 'tighten' (Brockett 1985:131) ~ Malt *xehet*, *jixhet* 'throw'

[Ma] *išhat*, *yīshat* 'ziehen (Schwert)' (Arnold 1989:88), 'zu Boden reißen, am Boden hinzerren' (Spitaler 1957:337).]

š-h-f

šaxve < **šahfe* 'hair' (š'fū).

š-x-x¹

šexex 'herbs' (hššū).

š-x-x²

šaxx, *pišoxx* (v/i) 'urinate'; MLA *šaxxa* (u) 'make water' (Hava 355); ~ Alep *šaxx* (ə) 'pisser, uriner' (Barth 380) ~ Mos (M) *šaxx* = 'tabawwala' (al-Bakrī 1972:285) ~ Leban Ar *šaxx* 'aller à la selle' euphémisme pour *xere* jugé parfois trop trivial' (Feghali 1935:181, fn 1) ~ Pal Ar *šaxx* (u) 'harnen' (Bau 149); *labbasūk il-banṭalōn w-itšuxx min wēn ya Mḥammadēn* 'they have dressed you up in trousers. How will you make water now O Mhammad?' (Canaan 1940:235) ~ rur Egyp Ar *yīšōxx* 'harnen (Tier)' (Behn/Woid 1994:228).

šax 'urine'; non-class Ar *šaxāx* (Hava 355);

~ Alep *šaxāx* pl *šxeyex* 'pisse, pissat' (Barth 381) ~ Pal Ar *šaxāx* 'Harn' (Bau 149).

š-x-š-x

mpšaxšex, f *mpšaxišxe*, pl *mpšaxišxīn* 'incontinent' (= Mod Gk κα-*τουριμένο*ς);

[Usually a term of abuse.]

cf. Mos (M) *šaxšax* = 'bāl wa-huwa wāqif' (al-Bakrī 1972:284) ~ Alep *šaxšax bi-bawlihi* = *šaxx* = *imtadd minhu kal-qaḏīb, wa-yakṭur an yasta'milūhā bi-ma'nā: wahat a'šābuhu ...*' (al-Asadī V, 39) ~ Cai *šaxšax* 'cause to rustle/rattle/jingle' (Bad/Hi 455).

š-x-y

šxa, *pkyišxi* 'insert' (hšyū).

š-d-d

šadd, *pišidd* (v/t/i) 'tighten; thicken (e.g., carob syrup, yoghurt)'; *maxxallix pkyā'āli ḡost^g tešidd* 'we let it (the carob syrup) boil until it thickens'; OA *šadda* (u, i) 'bind' (Hava 356);

~ Alep *šadd* (ə) 'tirer fort' (Barth 382) ~ Dam *šadd* (ə) 'tighten' (Sto/Ani 242) ~ Kənd *šadd* (ə) 'festbinden, anbinden' (Vo/Wald 222) ~ Pal Ar *šadd* (i) 'festhalten' (Bau 110).

štit, pl *štat* 'firm, solid; stingy'; OA *šadīd*, pl *ašiddā*/*šidād* (Hava 356);

~ Alep *šdīd*, f -e 'violent, fort' (Barth 382) ~ Pal Ar *šadīd* 'stark' (Bau 286) ~ Cai *šidīd*, pl *šudād*/*šidād* 'strong, robust' (Bad/Hi 456).

(?) š-d-n

šaddune, pl *štetin* 'one-fourth of an acre' ~ ? Aram *šadēmāh* 'field' (M. Jastrow 1524), Heb *w-mi-šadmoṭ 'āmōrāh* 'and of the fields of Gomorrah' (Deut. 32, 32; Jer. 31, 39; Hab. 3, 17); Ugar *šdmt* 'terrace' (Del Olmo/Sanmartin 2003:810), cf. also Wyatt (1992).

[Cf. Lat *ager* 'land, field' ~ Eng. *acre* ~ Gm *Acker*.]

š-r-b

širep, *pkyišrap* (v/t) 'drink': *ntammēt l-moe, mā-lina šī tannišrap* 'the water is finished; we've nothing to drink'; OA *šariba* (Hava 358); ~ Alep *šāreb* (a) 'boire' (Barth 383) ~ Dam *šāreb* (a) 'drink' (Sto/Ani 72) ~ Kənd *šāṛab* (a) 'trinken, rauchen' (Vo/Wald 222) ~ Pal Ar *širib* (a) (Bau 306) ~ Malt <xorob, jixrob> 'drink'.

šarrep, *pišarrep* 'give to drink': *ta'imton u šarrifon* 'I fed them and gave them to drink'; OA *šarraba* 'impregnate, saturate' (Hava 358); ~ Mard *šarṛab* 'zu trinken geben' (Vo/Wald 223) ~ Pal Ar *šarrab* 'give to drink' (Elihai 494) ~ Cai *šarṛab* (Bad/Hi 457) ~ Malt <xarrab, ixarrab> 'moisten, soak'.

nširep, *pkyinišrep* (v/i) 'be drunk (beverage)'; ~ Alep *nšarab*, *yənšāreb* 'être bu' (Barth 384) ~ Ka^cb *nšarab*, *yənšārab* 'getrunken werden' (Vo/Wald 223) ~ Pal Ar *byinišreb* 'potable' (Elihai 1973:68), *byinširib* (Bau 306) ~ Malt <nxorob, jinxorob> (v/i) 'shrink (garment)'.

mašrúp, f -e, pl -in (pp) 'drunk (beverage)'.

širp (vn) 'drinking'; OA *širb/šurb* (Hava 358);

~ Alep inf *šārb* (Barth 383) ~ Pal Ar *šurb* (Bau 306) ~ Malt <xorb>.

širpān, f -e, pl -in 'intoxicated'; Ar *šurbān* 'homme qui a bu, mais qui n'est point tout à fait ivre' (Dozy I, 740);

~ Alep *širrib* 'fort buveur' (Barth 384) ~ Malt <xurban> [šur'ban] 'a habitual drinker'.

šurpēt 'carob syrup, also called 'asel isfet (lit., black honey)': *ḡprin^g ma yšidd l-asel, mankullu šurpēt u mannišrapu* 'before the carob syrup thickens, we call it *šurpēt* and we drink it'; Ar *šurbāt* 'sirop' (Dozy I, 741); Tk *šerbet* (Iz/Hony 489); OA *šarabāt*, pl of *šaraba* 'copious drink' (Hava 358);

~ Alep *šarbāt* 'rafraichissements qu'on sert aux visiteurs et qui sont suivis d'une tasse de café' (Barth 384) ~ Cai *šarbāt* 'syrup, sherbet' (Spiro

1895:307) ~ Qarṭ *šarbat səkkar* 'Süßgetränk' (Vo/Wald 223) ~ Hama *šarāb* 'Bonbons' (Lewin 1966:213) ~ Pal Ar *šarāb* 'Erfrischung' (Bau 98), 'für Gäste als Getränk ... auch Saft von Zitronen, Rosenblättern, Maulbeeren, Tamarinde, der mit Wasser und Zucker angemacht wird' (Dalm VII, 217).

mašrabbā 'mug'; OA *mišraba* 'earthen drinking-vessel' (Hava 359); Ar *mašraba* 'petite cruche en forme de gobelet' (Dozy I, 741); Tk *maš-raba* (Iz/Hony 351);

[Outside the Arabic dialect area, cf. CyG *mašrapās* 'mug' and It. *mesciroba* 'Wasserkrug' (Kiesler 1994:151)]

~ Alep *mašrabīye* 'aiguière en cuivre dont l'orifice est muni d'un bec' (Barth 384).

šrapīt (bot.) 'parasite that grows on beans.'

š-r-b-l

Šarpe (anthr); Syriac *Šarbel*: martyr Edessenus commemoratur Jan. 29 (R. Payne Smith 1879, col. 4324) < Assyr *Šār-Bel* 'the breath of Bel (is good)' (Harrak 1992:321);

~ Leban Ar *metl šarbel* (Feghali 1938:74).

[Ma^cl *Mar Širbel* 'der heilige Schirbel' (Arnold, p.c.). On St. Sharbel, see Haddad (1978).]

š-r-x

širex, f *šerxe*, pl *šerxīn* 'greedy' (hršll).

š-r-ṭ

šarat, *pkyišrot* (v/t) 'tear, rip up'; OA *šaraṭa* (i/u) 'scratch, scarify' (Hava 360);

~ Alep *šaraṭ* (o) 'déchirer (qqe) en deux morceaux' (Barth 386) ~ Mard *šarraṭ* (Vo/Wald 223) ~ Pal Ar *šaraṭ* (u) 'zerreißen' (Bau 374) ~ Malt <carrat, icarrat> 'rip'.

mašrút, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'torn, ripped'.

tšarret, *pkyitšarret/ntšarat*, *pkyintšarat* (v/i) 'be torn';

~ Alep *tšarraṭ* 'être scarifié' (Barth 387) ~ Sij *nšaraṭ*, *yənšārot* (v/i) 'ausreißen (Gewebe)' (Vo/Wald 223) ~ Malt <carrat, icarrat> 'be ripped'.

šart 'tear'; OA *šarṭ* 'incision' (Hava 360).

š-r-q

šark (ten-nūr) 'daybreak': *ana fkuum kūyyom ta piḏi š-šark dawm* (< *daww) 'I rise every day at the crack of dawn'; OA *šarq*, pl *ašraq* 'sunrise, east' (Hava 362).

šarki 'east wind'; OA *šarqiyy* 'eastern; east wind (nonclass)' (Hava 362);

~ Leban Ar *šarqiyye* 'vent d'est' (Feghali 1938:784) ~ Pal Ar *hawwa šarqi*, *šarqiyye* 'Ostwind' (Bau 225): *haraqetna š-šarqiyye* 'der Ostwind hat uns verbrannt' (Linder 1952:33) ~ N Yem *šargi* 'östlich, Ostwind' (Behnstedt 1996:643).

š-r-k

širke : component in the toponym *ayntširke* < **ayn-širke*; OA *širka* / *šarika* 'partnership' (Hava 362).

š-r-k-l

šarkel, *pišarkel* (v/t) 'entangle, knot'; Ar *šarkala* (nonclass) 'embroil, entangle, trip up' (Hava 362); Syriac *šargel* (Feghali 1918:29) (*škl*);

~ Alep *šarkel* 'embrouiller' (Barth 389) ~ Leban Ar *šarkel* 'il entrava, donna des crocs-en-jambe, attacha avec les pieds (un chevreau ...)' (Feghali, loc. cit.) ~ Bask *šarkal* 'ensnare' (Abu-Haidar 1979:181).

mpšarkel, f *mpšarikle*, pl *mpšariklīn* (pp) 'entangled, knotted.'

tšarkel, *pkwitšarkel* 'become entangled (rope)';

~ Alep *tšarkal*, reflexive of Form I (Barth 389).

tšurkol 'entanglement; binding of animal's legs.'

š-r-y¹

štra, *pkwištri* (v/t) 'buy': *štrayt aḏa f-fustān xnayn ʕlires*^G 'I bought this dress for two pounds'; OA *ištarāhu* 'he bought it' (Lane 1544);

~ Alep *štara*, *yəštəri* 'acheter' (Barth 390) ~ Kənd *štara*, *yəštəri* 'kaufen' (Vo/Wald 225) ~ Pal Ar *štara*, *yīštri* (Bau 171) ~ Cai *ʔištara* 'buy' (Bad/Hi 463) ~ Malt *xtara*, *jixtri*.

mištri, f *mištrie*, pl *mištrin* (pp) 'bought.'

štre (vn) 'buying; purchase'; MLA *ištirāʔ* (Wehr 549);

[The dental stop in CyA *štre* may well be a secondary epenthetic insertion; cf. Alep *šreʔe* 'achat' (Barth 390) ~ Pal Ar *frūy* 'Einkauf' (Bau 86) ~ Bagh (M) *šriya* (va) (Wood/Bee 241) < OA *širāʔ*.]

~ Cai *šira*/*širāya* 'buying' (Bad/Hi 463) ~ Malt *xtiri*, (nv) *xirja*.

š-r-y²

šara 'midday meal'; Syriac *šārūtā* 'a meal, banquet' (J. Payne Smith 597) ~ Garam *šērū*, det *šērūtā* 'meal' (Sokol 1990:549).
[Jubb'ad *šarrūta* 'Mittagessen', *šar*, *yšar* 'zu Mittag essen' (Arnold, p.c.).]

šarra, *pišarri* (v/t) 'serve lunch to s.o';

~ Alep *šarra* 'donner à manger (aux vers à soie)' (Barth 390).

tšarra, *pkwitšarra* (v/i) 'dine'; Syriac *ʔištarrī* 'prandium sumpsit' (Feghali 1918:27);

~ Alep *tšarra* 'manger l'après-midi, goûter' (Barth 390) ~ Leban Ar *tšarra* 'il mangea (vers trois heures)' (Feghali, loc. cit.).

[This Aramaic verb was integrated into the Ar Form V on the analogy of *tšādā* and *tšāša* (Feghali, loc. cit., 27).]

tšurro (vn) 'dining.'

š-t-r

šater, f *šatre*, pl *šatrin* 'clever, smart'; OA *šātir*, pl *šuttār* 'deceitful, swindler' (Hava 365);

~ Alep *šāter* 'habile, adroit' (Barth 391) ~ Pal Ar *šātir* 'tüchtig' (Bau 307).

štara 'smartness'; OA *šatāra* 'deceit, cunning' (Hava 365);

~ Alep *š(a)tāra* 'habileté, capacité dans un art' (Barth 391) ~ Leban Ar *štāra* 'habileté' (Feghali 1938:784) ~ Pal Ar *šatāra* 'Tüchtigkeit' (Bau 307) ~ Cai *šatāra* 'cleverness' (Bad/Hi 465).

š-t-f

šataf, *pkwištof* (v/t) 'rinse'; *štufton l-iḥkyēp* 'I rinsed the clothes'; OA *šataf* (Cuche/Belot 1887:170); Aram *štp* (Vollers 1897:292; Blau 1955:344); Garam *šatāp* 'wash, dye, wash away' (Sokol 1990:545); Heb *šatāp* 'rinse' ~ Assyr *šatāpu* 'overflow' (BDB 1009);

~ Alep *šataf* (o) 'laver sans savon; rincer' (Barth 392) ~ Arb (J) *šataf* (ə) (Jastrow 1990c:366) ~ Mos (M) *šataf* (al-Bakrī 1972:286) ~ Pal Ar *šataf* (u) 'abspülen' (Bau 7) ~ Cai *šataf* (u) (Bad/Hi 465).

šatf (vn) 'rinsing'; MLA *šatf* (Wehr 551).

š-ʕ-r

šarʕar, n un *šarʕara* 'pubic hair'; OA *šarʕar*/*šarʕar* 'hair of the head, of the body' (Hava 367) (*šʕr*);

~ Alep *ša'ar* pl *š'ūr* 'cheveux, poils, crins; soies de sanglier; *ša'ar arās* 'les cheveux' (Barth 393) ~ Hask *ša'rās* 'Haupthaar' (Talay 2002:82) ~ Pal Ar *ša'ar* (c), pl *-āt* 'Haar' (Bau 145), 'Kopfhaar oft nur *rās*' (Dalm V, 264) ~ Malt *axagħar* 'hair' [cf. *axuxa* 'hair of head'].

š'ē'ir 'barley' (= *l-iš'ir*); OA *ša'ir* (Hava 367);

~ Alep *š'ir* 'orge' (Barth 393) ~ Mħall *š'ir* 'Gerste' (Vo/Wald 226).

[Tur *š'ore* 'Gerste' (Jastrow 1985:183).]

ša'ranāt 'barley ready to be harvested': *z-zman teš-ša'ranāt* 'the season for harvesting barley'; cf. OA *ša'rān* 'Haar', *ša'ranīy* 'haarig' (Vollers 1894:17); Aram (DSS) *ša'arīn* 'Gerste (Körner)' (Beyer 1987: 744, 749) ~ GAram *š'ārāh*, pl *š'arīn* 'barley' (Sokol 1990:572).

[Cf. Sem. *su'ār*- 'the little haired one; for barley (*Hordeum*) which is characterized by long awns, and is seemingly contrasted with the awnless species of wheat, *Triticum aestivum* L.' (Diakonoff 1998:216; cf. Seidel 1989:108).]

tš'ē'ir 'grass' < CyG *čairin* < Tk *çayır* (Yangoullis 1997:334).

š-^c-f

šaxve, pl *-āt* 'hair (of head)': *xtá'ātillu šaxvitu* 'je lui coupais les cheveux' (Roth 1987:32); *šaxvita e tvile* 'her hair is long'; < **šahfa* < OA *ša'afa* 'lock of hair' (Hava 368), 'the upper, or uppermost part of anything' (Lane 1563); cf. *ša'āf* 'la touffe de cheveux que les musulmans laissent croître sur le sommet de la tête tonsurée' (Dozy I, 765), and *šufah* 'long, unkempt, and tangled hair (as worn by Bedouins)' (Stace 1893:78a); < Sem. **ša'ap* 'hairlock' (Orel/Stolbova 1995:124);

~ Qarṭ, Āz *šahfe* 'Haupthaar' (Jastrow 1969:685).

[A rare lexeme in sedentary colloquial Arabic, cf. Bedouin Ar *miš'af*, pl *miš'af* 'a camel with long thick hair on the hump' (Musil 1928:548); Marazig *ša'fa* 'sommet de la bosse (du chameau)' (Boris 1958:313).]

š-^c-l

š'ē'el, *pkyiš'al* (v/t/i) 'set fire to; catch fire; become excited, turned on': *pitiš'el z-za'tāra u k-kammīn pkyiš'el* 'you kindle the thyme [branch] and the [charcoal] furnace lights up'; *kiš'e b-bintua u š'ē'el* 'he caught sight of the young girl and became excited' (Frangiskou 167); < **š'ī'il*; OA *ša'ala* (a) 'kindle' (Hava 368);

~ Alep *ša'al* (o) 'allumer (le feu, une allumette, une lampe, etc.)' (Barth 394) ~ Dam *iza bardān bəš'əllak nār* 'if you're cold, I'll make a fire' (Sto/Ani 91) ~ Kənd *ša'al* 'anzünden' (Vo/Wald 226) ~ Pal Ar *ša'al* / *ša'al* (Bau 96) ~ Malt *axagħal*, *jixgħal* 'turn light on; kindle (fire)'

maš'ūl, f *-a*, pl *-in* (pp) 'kindled, alight; turned on.'

š-^c-n-n

ša'anine 'olive branch held in the hand on Palm Sunday': *š-ša'anine l-impsallie ma'anaxa žava u k-kabe' soft'ašie attat'ott š-simps manniš'el žampr, maxxotton xost k-kapnistiri', manpaxxer prota' r-rabbi u g'istera' manpaxxer b-bayt* 'we keep the the blessed olive branch at home and every evening after sunset, we light embers, we put them in the incense burner, and we bless God and the house with incense'; < Syriac *ša'nen* (J. Payne Smith 589) < Heb *š'nn* 'praise with palm fronds' (as in Matt. 21, 8-9), cf. Ben Yehuda XV, 7358; Kister 1998: 252-263; both are denom. verbs from Aram *hōša'nā* 'branch or entire, festive wreath (*lulab*) carried in procession on the feast of Booths' (M. Jastrow 341) < Heb *hōšī'anā* 'Save us' (Ps. 118, 25);

[Note the analogous denom. derivation in Ar *hamdala* < *al-hamdu lillāh* (R. Payne Smith 1879, col. 4255). For the cultural background of palm fronds here, cf. the interpretation of Ps. 118, 25 (as a prayer for rain) in Petuchowski (1955) which cites Babyl. Talm., *Ta'anith* 2b: "The four species (sc. of the *lulab*) are used only to procure water." Ritual use of the olive tree is mentioned in Neh. 9, 5.]

~ Alep *ša'nine*, pl *ša'anīn* 'rameaux d'olivier bénits (Chrét)' (Barth 394) ~ Leban Ar *ša'nine*, pl *š'anīn* 'le rameau d'olivier ou de palmier garni de bougies, de fruits, etc. que porte chaque enfant à la messe le jour des Rameaux' (Fegh M/J 1977:172, fn 1), *ša'nan* 'fêter les Rameaux' (Denizeau 1960:308) ~ Bišm *ša'nīni* 'Palmsonntag; Geschenke, die an Palmsonntag verteilt werden' (Jiha 1964:160) ~ rur Egyp Ar *išša'anīn* (koptisch; Behn/Woid 1994:239), pl of *ša'nūn* 'rameau' (Boč, Dozy I, 765) ~ Yem *ša'noh* pl *ša'anīn* 'Palmzweige' (Goitein 1934:120).

[Masl *hašoppa ša'nīna* 'Palmsonntag' (Arnold, p.c.); Qaraq *oša'na* 'Palm Sunday' (Khan 2002:727).]

š-ša'anine 'Palm Sunday': *š-ša'anine l-iz'ār pkyimisku vaines' u l-ixpār pkyaxtu ša'anine* 'on Palm Sunday, children take [with them to church] palm leaves and grown-ups olive branches'; cf. CMAr *aħad az-zaytūn, az-zaytūniyya* ~ *aħad aš-ša'nīna* (Graf 1954:67).

lē-š'it teš-ša'anine/xadd š-ša'anine 'Palm Sunday': (*lē-š'it l-ixpār pkyipti mil-xadd š-ša'anine* 'Easter Week begins on Palm Sunday'; CMAr *id/aħad al-ša'nīna*, pl *ša'anīn* 'der Palmsonntag' (Graf 1954: 67; cf. Fraenkel 1886:277);

~ Pal Ar *ħadd eš-ša'nīne* (Bau 226) ~ Dam *aħad aš-ša'anīn* (Sto/ Ani 167), *aħad aš-ša'nīn* (Bergsträsser 1924:68) ~ Cai *id* (or *ħadd*) *iš-ša'anīn* (Chr) 'Palm Sunday' (Bad/Hi 468).

š-ğ-l

ša'al, *pkyiš'ol* (v/t) 'occupy s.o.'; OA *šağal* (a) (Hava 369);
~ Alep *šağal* (o) 'occupier (qqn) par sa présence au détriment
de son travail principal' (Barth 395) ~ Pal Ar *šağal* (i) 'preoccupy'
(Elihai 1999:491).

šte'el, *pkyištē'el* (v/i) 'be busy'; OA *ištağala* (Lane 1567);
~ Alep *štağal* 'travailler' (Barth 395) ~ Mard *štağal* 'arbeiten' (Vo/
Wald 226) ~ Hask *štağal* 'sprechen' (Talay 2002:82) ~ Pal Ar *štağal* (Bau
22) ~ Cai *ištağal/iššağal/inšağal* 'keep busy' (Bad/Hi 469).

miš'al, f -a, pl -in 'busy': *ana xtir miš'ala ađi ž-žum'a; ž-žum'a ta
kat'et kunt fađkye* 'I'm very busy (f) this week; last week I was free.'

[On the secondary *miqtāl* scheme in CyA, cf. the Intro, §IXa.]

šo'ol, pl *šā'al* 'work, chore; process; affair': *pa'a má-ža miš-šo'ol*
'he hasn't yet returned from work'; *δ-δe'a šo'oli kuntrúx parra xost
l-ixkali, kuntaxset, ... pittá'āref šā'anna teδ-δe'a* 'at the village my job
was to go out to the fields, to reap, ... you know the kind of work we do
in the village'; *má-kaffia xtir šā'al, má-kaffia xtir ḡpparāḡ* 'there wasn't
much work, there wasn't much money'; *kamet umma mimpukra, savet
l-iš'al ...* 'her mother got up in the morning, did her chores, ...'; *áda š-
šo'ol mantsaix tlax-trúk* 'we perform this operation three times'; *ayšo
ađa š-šo'ol?* 'what's going on?'; *ḡammaḡ mannisma'a teiftxil (hwlw) ši-
vexen ya temut ši-vexen, n-nes teδ-δe'a šaitna kullon pkyižru piruxu
tesaylu áššik sar š-šo'ol, áššik mat* 'when we hear that someone has
fallen ill, or has died, our village folk go about and inquire about the
affair and the circumstances (of the death)'; *ađa š-šo'ol ta lá-ysur oxre
trik* 'this must not happen again!'; *šā'al ten-nesfán* 'women's affairs'; OA
šuḡl, pl *ašgāl* (Hava 369);

~ Alep *šāḡl*, pl *šgāl* 'travail, besogne, ouvrage' (Barth 395) ~ Kənd
šāḡal 'Arbeit, Beschäftigung' (Vo/Wald 227) ~ Dam *hāda šāḡlak ʔante*
'that's your affair' (Sto/Ani 4) ~ Pal Ar *šuḡl*, pl *ʔašgāl* (Bau 23) ~ Malt
xoghol, pl *xogholijiet* 'piece of work, undertaking.'

šā'ale 'profession'; OA *šaḡla*, pl *šaḡalāt* 'employment, nonclass Ar
'job' (Hava 369);

~ Alep *šaḡle* 'une affaire, une occupation, un travail' (Barth 395)
~ Dam *ando šaḡle hayyne* 'he's got a soft job'; *lamma same' haš-šaḡle
sfarr* 'when he heard that, he turned pale' (Sto/Ani 216, 167) ~ Kənd
šaḡle 'Sache, Arbeit, Angelegenheit' (Vo/Wald 227) ~ Çukur *šaḡli-šay* =

šaḡil-šay 'irgendwas' (Procházka 2002:173) ~ Bišm *b-kamm šaḡli 'am
btištḡil?* 'mit wieviel Arbeiten bist du beschäftigt' (Jiha 1964:31) ~ Pal Ar
šaḡle, pl *šaḡāyil* 'Angelegenheit' (Bau 16).

š-f-f

švef (sg and pl) 'lip(s)': *šakku švefi* 'my lips are cracked'; OA *šafa*, pl
šafawāt/šifāh 'lip, edge, rim' (Hava 370);

~ Alep *šaffe*, pl *šafaf* 'lèvre' (Barth 396) ~ Mhall *šaffe*, pl *šafetər*
'Lippe' (Vo/Wald 227) ~ Mos (C) *šaffe*, pl *šafaf* 'lip' (infor) ~ Dam *šaffe*,
pl *šafaf* (Sto/Ani 139) ~ Palm *šfēf* (Denizeau 1960:283) ~ Leban Ar
šeffe, pl *šfāf* (Feghali 1938:785) ~ Hat *šiffa/-e/-i*, pl *šafaf/šfāf/šfūf/šfeyif*
(Arnold 1998:306) ~ Pal Ar *šeffe*, pl *šafāyef* (Gal), *šfāf* (Jer; Elihai 1989:
195) ~ Malt *xoffa*, pl *xufftejn*.

š-q-q

šakk, *pišokk* 'crack (v/t/i), split, slice up'; OA *šaqqā* (u) 'split (wood)'
(Hava 371); *mantšokkon ma sikkine ārpa'a ḡkommakkyāḡ* '(when we
make candied citrons) we slice them with a knife into four pieces';

~ Alep *šaqq* (ə) 'déchirer en deux, fendre' (Barth 399) ~ Dam *šaqq*
(ə) 'rip' (Sto/Ani 194) ~ Kənd *šaqq* (ə) 'teilen, spalten, aufschneiden,
aufschlitzen (Bauch)' (Vo/Wald 227) ~ Malt *xaqq*, *ixoqq* 'cleave.'

maškiúk, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'cracked, split'; *x-xetán enne maškukin* 'the
walls have cracks.'

šakk 'crack'; OA *šaqq*, pl *šuqūq*; *šiqq* 'part' (Hava 371);

~ Alep *šəqq*, pl *šqūq(a)* 'fente, fissure' (Barth 399) ~ Cai *ša²²*, pl *š'ū²²*
'slit' (Bad/Hi 471).

š-q-ʿ

šakk'e, *pišakk'e* (v/t) 'stuff (pocket, sack, etc.), fill to capacity'; cf.
[Aram *šəqa'* 'sinken' (Levy IV, 604), *šq'h* 'cavity' (Sokol 1990:565);

~ Alep *šaqa'* (a) 'empiler, entasser (du bois des objets, des bûches)'
(Barth 398) ~ rur Egyp Ar *šakka'* 'packen' (Behn/Woid 1994:238)
~ Daθ *šk'* 'ficher dans, enfiler' (Landberg 1942:2072) ~ N Yem *šaka'*,
yiška' 'Samenkörner (ein)stecken' (Behnstedt 1996:665).

šak'/tšukk'o (vn) 'stuffing, cramming': *pikaem l-itšukk'o áda ž-
žawlak* 'this basket bears being tightly packed.'

štakka, *pkyištakka* 'sink or get stuck (in mud)': *štakkáyt* 'I got stuck
in the mud' (Frangiskou 93); < **štaqq'a*, *byištaqq'a* ~ Aram *ʔyštq'*
'sink' (Sokol 1990:565).

š-q-f

šakfe, pl -*āt* 'rectangular earthenware plate used for roasting nuts and baking *pitta* bread'; OA *šaqaḥa* 'piece of earthenware' (Hava 372); ~ Alep *šaqfe*, pl *šaqaf* 'morceau, pièce' (Barth 399) ~ Āz *šaqfe*, pl *Kənd šaqaf* 'Stück (Schnur, Brot, ...)' (Vo/Wald 228) ~ Pal Ar *šaqfe*, pl *šūqaf/šaqfāt* (Bau 293).

š-k-r

šiker, *pkyiškōr* (v/t) 'praise'; OA *šakara* (u) *lahu/šakarahu* 'he thanked him, or praised, eulogized, ...' (Lane 1584);

~ Alep *šakar* (o) 'louer, faire l'éloge de (qqn) ... louer' (Barth 401) ~ Leban Ar *škarna il-qett, xere beṭ-ṭhīn* 'nous avons complimenté le chat et il est allé souiller la farine' (Feghali 1938:706) ~ Pal Ar *šakar* (u) 'loben': *šakarna il-quṭṭ, xiri fil-bāṭiya* 'wir haben den Kater gelobt, da hat er in die Teigschüssel Kot geworfen' (Löhr 1905:105) ~ Cai *šakar* 'thank, praise' (Bad/Hi 472) ~ N Yem *šakar, yuškur* 'loben, danken' (Behnstedt 1996:665).

(n) *tšiker*, *pkyinišker* (v/i) 'boast': *Mixaili aš pkyā^cžīpu teinišker^Goti^G ma^cu flus ixtīr* 'how Michael likes to boast he has a lot of money!'; *ammi Yuse tšiker^Goti^G sava^G tokka^G ma Makaryos* 'my paternal uncle Joseph boasted that he shook hands with Makarios' (cf. Mod Gk *κάνω χειραψία* 'shake hands'; It. *toccare* 'touch'; [cf. Alep *bya^cm lu tōka* 'on trinque' (Barth 97)]).

[The VIIth form appears to be unattested in the Arabic dialects.]

šokor 'praise, compliments': *kanituluppīzan u m-^Gmorós^G texu žrex^Giša^G teži m-^Gmorós išó^G, ta lá-teži^G kampuri^G, ta lá-teži^G mpxammen m-^Gmorós^G, teži šokor min telu* 'they also used to swaddle a baby so that his legs would grow straight, so that he would stand upright and not develop a hump, or a stoop, so that he would draw compliments from his relatives (*telu*)'; OA *šukr*, pl *šukūr* 'thanks, praise' (Hava 373).

[Note CyG *τουλουπιζω* 'I swaddle' (cf. Yangoullis 1997:328).]

š-k-l

šakkel, *pišakkel* (v/t) 'bind or hobble an animal; trip up s.o.': *šakkel l-ixmār xok xazzūk* 'he tied the donkey to a post'; OA *šakala/šakkala* 'shackle (a beast)' (Hava 373); cf. Heb *šikkēl* in Gen. 48,14 (Grundbedeutung wohl: verbinden; Ges/Bu 786); cf. Rosenthal (1964:171) (*šrk^l*);

~ Alep *šakal* (o) 'lier' (Barth 402), *šakkal* 'retrousser et fixer par une agrafe, un bouton, ...' (Barth 402) ~ Bagh (M) *šikal* (i) 'fetter, šakkal 'fasten, affix' (Woo/Bee 246) ~ Malt *xeḳkel, ixekkel* 'shackle.'

mpšakkel, f -e, pl -*in* (pp) 'hobbled.'

tšukkol (vn) 'binding, hobbling.'

šikl, pl *tiškāl*, du *šiklāyn* 'type, manner; character (of person)'; *tlax-tiškāl* 'three kinds'; *l-ismīt pišaw xtīr tiškāl* 'on fait la semoule de plusieurs façons' (Roth 1984:327); *mill-ixkie šaytu pipān šiklu* 'his speech reflects his character'; OA *šikl/šakl*, pl *aškāl/šukūl* (Hava 373);

~ Alep *šəkəl*, pl *škāl* 'espèce' (Barth 403) ~ Pal Ar *šikl*, pl *aškāl* 'Sorte' (Bau 280) ~ Cai *šakl/šikl*, pl *aškāl* 'shape, manner' (Bad/Hi 474).

āššik(l) 'how?': *āššik*(l) *pitsáy xallume?* 'how do you make *xallumi?*'; *psaix k-kammīn xpīr^G zē^cir, āššikl ma kan k-kammīn, pkyislax ta txóttillu xatap yepsīn mintáxt* 'I make a big charcoal furnace or a small one; [but] no matter what kind [of furnace] it is, one must put dry wood underneath it'; < **ays šik*(l);

~ Bask *kif šikil* 'how' (Abu-Haidar 1979:116) ~ Çukur *šikil əkteb baddak?* 'was für ein Buch willst du?' (Procházka 2002:71).

pšik(l) (adv) 'like': *kanyižru pšik l-pakar* 'they were romping about like cattle'; < **bi-šikl*.

š-k-w

ška, *pkyiški* (*ale-*) 'complain against s.o.; sue s.o.': *škayt aléx* 'I sued him' (Frangiskou 93); OA *šakā* (u) (Hava 374);

~ Alep *šaka* (i) 'se plaindre de (qqn) à l'autorité' (Barth 403) ~ Mard *štaka* 'sich beklagen' (Vo/Wald 229) ~ Cai *šaka* (i) 'complain about' (Bad/Hi 475).

ške (vn) 'complaint, complaining' < **škēye*; OA *šakāya* (Hava 374); ~ Alep *šakwe/škēwe* (Barth 403) ~ Dam *šakwa*, pl *šakāwi* (Sto/Ani 48) ~ Pal Ar *šikāwe/šikāye* (Bau 173) ~ Cai *šikāya* (Bad/Hi 475).

škie 'a legal suit'; OA *šakiyya* 'a thing complained of' (Lane 1590).

š-l-l

šall, *pišúll* (v/t) 'sew; make clothes'; OA *šalaltu θ-θawba* 'I sewed the garment, or piece of cloth slightly' (Lane 1591) < Aram *šll* 'sew together' (Bab Aram, Sokoloff 2002:1150) > Late Heb *šālāl* 'heften (das gerissene Zeug), weite Stiche nähen' (Levy IV, 563); Syriac *šlālā* 'sutura?' (Brockel 778); cf. OA *salla* 'ziehen, lang ziehen';

~ Alep *šall*, *yšall* 'coudre en faisant des points de fronce' (Barth 405) ~ Cai *šallil* 'baste' (Bad/Hi 476) ~ Malt <xellel, ixellel> 'baste' (Borg 1996b: 144).

[Not noted for Palestinian Arabic (cf. Dalman V, 179). Urmi (C) *šalā* 'woollen thread' (Maclean 1972:307), Koy Sanj *šallōle* 'baste' (inf) (H. Mutzafi, p.c.), are probably secondary loans from Arabic; see Intro, §V. The native Arabic cognate is *sl*: *misalla*, pl *masāll* 'large needle' (Lane 1398; Fraenkel 1886:76); cf. Kənd *msalle* 'Sacknadel' (Vo/Wald 205), Pal Ar *msalle* 'Packnadel' (Kampff 1936:33), Malt <msella> 'packing-needle', etc.]

nšalla, *pkyinšalla* 'be sewn.'

mašlūl, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'sewn.'

šlele (vn) 'sewing' < OA *šilāla* 'basting' (Lane 1591);

~ Alep *šall/šlele* (vn of above; Barth 405) ~ Cai *šilāla* 'basting, tacking' (Bad/Hi 476), 'point en avant (terme de couture)' (Harfouche 1923:115, 35) ~ Malt <tixlil> (vn) 'basting.'

š-l-h

šalax, *pkyišlax* (v/t/i) (a) 'undress'; (b) 'throw, throw away': *šalax* *θkyepu* 'he undressed'; *misek v-varka min tey u šalxa* 'he snatched the book out of my hands and threw it down'; *misku xžar tešilxunni* 'they grabbed stones to pelt me with.' For the first meaning, note GArām *šalah* 'strip off clothes, shed skin' (Sokol 1990:204, 552) ~ Syriac *šalah* 'exuit' (Brockel 780) > CA *šalaḥa* 'undress oneself' (Hava 375), MLA *šalaḥa* 'shed the cloth' (Wehr 566). *Lisān* (II, 500) hints at an Aramaic origin for this term: *wa-aḥsibuhā nabaṭiyya*, the native Arabic cognate being *salax* (slx) 'skin (a sheep)' (Hava 330); Akk *šalāxu* 'ausreissen' (von Soden 1142);

[This CyA lexeme harks back to fusion of Arām *šlk* and *šlh*. On the fusion of other *homonyme Wurzeln*, see Schulthess (1900) and Nöldeke's review of this work of the same year (bibl.). The Aramaic loan *šlh* in 'undress' has the native Arabic cognate *slx* 'cast its slough (snake)' (Hava 330), 'skin, flay, etc.' (Wehr 491). Çukur *šallax* 'ausziehen (Kleider)' (Procházka 2002:173) interestingly retains roughly the Old Arabic root (with secondary emphasis of *s > š) conflated with the Aramaic meaning. Cf. the conflation of Arām *šlp* and Ar *slb* in S E Anat Ar *šlb* discussed in Borg (1996b:144).

(a) ~ Alep *šaleḥ/šalah*, *yšlah* 'retirer, ôter, enlever (ses vêtements, ses chaussures, sa coiffure, sa chemise)' (Barth 404) ~ Dam *šalah* 'undress' (Sto/Ani 252) ~ Palm *ošleḥ*, *yišlah* (Cantineau 1934:32) ~ Mard *šalah* (a) ~ Ka^b *šalleḥ* 'ausziehen (Kleidungsstücke)' (Vo/Wald 230) ~ Mos

(M) *šalah* = 'naza'a malābisahu' (al-Bakrī 1972:295) ~ Pal Ar *šalah* (a) (Bau 34; Kampff 1936:37) ~ Cai *šalah*, *yišlah*: *šalahu el qassis* 'they unfrocked the priest' (Spiro 1895:321);

(b) ~ Çukur *šalah* (a) 'werfen' (Procházka 2002:76) ~ Dam *lahas*, *yālhas/yālhoš* 'werfen, hinwerfen' (Grotzfeld 1965:167) ~ Leban Ar *šaleḥ* 'jeter' (Feghali 1938:786); Malt <čewlah> 'buttar via, scaraventare; accezzione prettamente siriana' (Barbera 1939-40:1142).

[Urmi *šlixle* 'he undressed' (Garbell 1965:30), Qaraq *šlx* (v) 'strip off' (Khan 2002:721).]

mašlūx, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'thrown away, discarded, abandoned.'

šalx (vn) 'throwing'; Ar *šalh*.

š-l-y

mišle, pl -āt 'ladle, skimmer'; Arām (DSS) *mašle* 'Gabel' (Beyer 1984: 748); Syriac *mašle* 'furca, furcina' (Feghali 1918:32; cf. also Fraenkel 1886:88), *šālā* 'extraxit' (Brockel 778); GArām *šly* 'draw out' (Sokol 1990:553); nonclass Ar *mišlā* 'large spoon (dial. of Syria)' (Hava 375);

~ Alep *māšle* 'l'instrument avec lequel on retire, on enlève, grande cuillère, écumoire' (Barth 406) ~ Leban Ar *mešle*, pl *mšāle* 'écumoire, grande cuillère percée de petits trous et avec laquelle on écume ou fait refroidir un liquide chaud' (Fegh M/J 219, fn1).

[Mod Mand *šly* 'ausziehen' (Macuch 1993:439).]

š-m-m

šamm, *pišúmm* (v/t/i) 'smell, sniff; reek of': *pišumm b-bayt kullu l-^casel l-isfet* 'the whole house reeks of [home-made] carob syrup'; OA *šamma* (a, u) 'smell at' (Hava 375);

Alep *šamm* (ə) 'sentir par l'odorat' (Barth 409) ~ Mard *šamm* (ə) 'riechen' (Vo/Wald 230) ~ Pal Ar *šamm* (i) (Bau 245) ~ Malt <xamm, ixomm> 'smell (v/t).'

šamm 'sense of smell'; OA *šamm* 'smelling, inhaling.'

š-m-r

šummār 'fennel': *š-šummār maxxottu xođer xost t-tapx* 'we put fresh fennel in the food'; OA *šamār/šamra* 'fennel' (Hava 376); Syriac *šūmārā* (Brockel 787); GArām <šwmr> (Sokol 1990:541); OA *šamār/šamar* 'Anethum graveolens, and Anethum foeniculum (fennel)' (Lane 1598); ~ Alep *šumra* (Barth 406) 'fenouil' ~ Leban Ar *šūmār/šmarmar* (Fegh M/J 1:32, fn 4) ~ Pal Ar *šumār/šōmār* 'Foeniculum officinale'

(Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:43) ~ Cai *šamar* 'fennel' (Bad/Hi 477).

š-m-s

šimps (f, no pl) 'sun': *til'et š-šimps* 'the sun has risen,' *attet š-šimps* 'the sun has set'; OA *šams*, pl *šumūs* (Hava 376);

~ Alep *šams*, pl *šmūs* 'soleil' (Barth 407) ~ Mard *šams*, Känd *šams*, Qart *šamš*, Darag *šamše*, pl Ka'b *šmūše* 'Sonne' (pl in der Bedeutung: heiße Sonne) (Vo/Wald 230-1) ~ Malt *xemx* 'sun.'

šammes, *pišammes* (v/t) 'spread out in the sun': *šampset l-ifriš* 'she laid out the mattresses in the sun'; OA *šammaša* (Hava 376);

~ Alep *šammās* 'étendre au soleil' (Barth 407) ~ Bagh (M) *šammās* 'lay out in the sun' (Wood/Bee 249) ~ Cai *šammis* (Bad/Hi 478).

tšammes, *pkyitšammes* (v/i) 'sunbathe; bask in the sun': *l-fa'i pkyit-šammis* 'the snakes are basking in the sun' (Frangiskou 143); OA *tašammaša* (Hava 376);

Alep *tšammās* 'exposer aux rayons du soleil' (Barth 407) ~ Pal Ar *tšammās* 'sich sonnen' (Bauer 280) ~ Cai *itšammis/iššammis* 'get some sun' (Bad/Hi 478) ~ Malt *xxemmex*, *jixxemmex*.

tšummos (vn) 'basking in the sun.'

atte š-šimps 'at sundown'; cf. Mod Gk δὴση ηλίου 'sunset' (Magazis 1995:229);

~ Alep *gēbt aš-šams* 'au coucher du soleil' (Barth 538) ~ Dam *grüb aš-šamās/gyāb aš-šamās* 'sunset' (Sto/Ani 230) ~ Pal Ar *giyāb eš-šams* 'Sonnenuntergang' (Bau 280) ~ Malt *nzul ix-xemx* 'sunset.'

šummās 'deacon'; < CMAr *šammās*; cf. Judaeo-Ar *šammās* 'deacon' (Diem/Raden 117) < Syriac *šammāšā* 'a servant, a minister' (J. Payne Smith 586; Fraenkel 1886:276), JAram *šammāšā* 'Diener, Bedienter' (Levy IV, 582);

~ Alep *šammās* 'clerc ou laïque au service d'une église d'un rite oriental et qui sert la messe' (Barth 407) ~ Leban Ar *šemmās* (pl *šmāmse*) 'diacre; servant de messe' (Fegh M/J 1977:107, fn 1) ~ Pal Ar *šammās*, f -e, pl *šamāmise* 'Diakon' (Bau 75).

[Tur *šamošo* 'Kirchensänger, Diakon' (Jastrow 1985:185).]

š-m-š

šammūt, pl *šmemūt* 'spindle, cone of thread'; Syriac *šammūtā* 'thread wound on the spindle, a ball of thread' (J. Payne Smith 1903:583);

~ Alep *šammūt*, pl *šamāmūt* 'fusée de fil tordu' (Barth 408) ~ Leban Ar *šammūt* 'grappe de maïs, peloton de fil' (Feghali 1918:28-29, 63) ~ Pal Ar *šammūt* 'tendril' (Spoer/Haddad 190), 'Träger' (Dalm V, 45) ~ Eryp Ar *šammūtā*, pl *šamāmūt* 'fusée, fil autour du fuseau' (Boc, Dozy I, 787).

š-m-š

šamā'a, pl -āt 'candle': *kaḫe⁶ kaddis piri š-šamā'a šaytu* 'every saint requires his candle' (Frangiskou 230); OA *šam^c*, pl *šumū^c* (Hava 377);

~ Alep *šam^c*, pl *šam^cāt/šm^c/šmū^c* 'une chandelle, une bougie' (Barth 408) ~ Pal Ar *šam^c*, pl *šum^c/šam^cāt* 'Kerze' (Bau 172) ~ Malt *xemgha*, pl -ab.

šam^camūs 'a sweetmeat made with carob syrup.'

[The etymology of this term is unclear; cf. Syriac *amūš* 'dunked,' *umūš* 'mouthful' (Manna 1975:549).]

š-n-t-r

tšanter, *pitšanter* 'complain, grumble' (Frangiskou 205); cf. Ar *šantara* 'médire de quelqu'un, le déchirer à belles dents' (Dozy I, 790), Ar *šantara ḫawbahu* = *mazzaqahu* (Munqid 403).

~ Leban Ar *šantar* 'se mettre en colère' (Denizeau 1960:292) ~ Bagh (M) *tšantar* 'behave in a crude, vulgar manner' (Wood/Bee 250).

tšuntor (vn) 'complaining, complaint'; cf. Ar *šnth* 'être en colère' (Dozy I, 790 cit. *Muḫit*).

š-n-t-y-n

šantie, pl -āt 'baggy trousers'; cf. Tk *šintiyān*;

~ Alep *šantiyāni*, pl *šnetīn* 'pantalon bouffant de femme' (Barth 410) ~ Sux *šintiyāni* 'Unterhose' (Behnstedt 1994:295) ~ Leban and N Pal Ar *šintiyān* 'Unterhose der Bäuerinnen' (Bau 323) ~ Cai *šintiyān* 'baggy trousers' (Bad/Hi 480).

[Lane (1895:49) describes the Egyptian *šintiyān* as follows: "a pair of very wide trousers ... of a coloured striped stuff of silk and cotton, or of printed or worked or plain white muslin, is tied round the hips, or of printed or worked or plain white muslin, is tied round the hips, under the shirt, with a *dikkeh*. Its low extremities are drawn up and tied just below the knee with running strings; but it is sufficiently long to hang down to the feet, or almost to the ground, when attached in this manner."]

š-h-r

šaxr, pl *tišxūr* (< -t + *šhūr) 'month,' *šaxriyn* 'two months': *šos⁶ tlax-tišxūr kwaffasku m-šmorós⁶* 'we used to swathe the baby for up

to three months'; OA *šahr*, *ašhur/šuhūr* 'month, moon, new moon' (Hava 380);

[For the permanent initial *t-* in the pl of this and other terms, cf. Borg (1985:128) and the Anatolian Arabic forms cited below.]

~ Alep *šahar/šahr-*, pl *ʔəšhor* 'mois' ~ Dam *šahr*, pl *ʔəšhor* (after the numerals 3-10), and *šhūr* (Sto/Ani 152) ~ Kənd *šahər*, pl Sii *təšhor* ~ Darag *təšhūr* (Vo/Wald 232) ~ Hask *šahr*, pl *šhūr/əšhur*: *aṛbaʿ šhūr šalḡ kīsəbb* 'vier Monate lang schneite es' (Talay 2002:82) ~ Pal Ar *šahr*, pl *ašhur* (Bau 208) ~ Cai *šahr*, pl *ʔušhur/šuhūr/šuhúra* 'month': *talatt ušhur* 'three months' (Bad/Hi 483) ~ rur Egyp Ar *šahaṛ* 'Mond' (1994:251) ~ N Yem *šahaṛ* 'Vollmond, Neumond' (Behnstedt 1996:680) ~ Malt *ṣahar*, pl *xhur* 'month.'

š-h-n-q

šaxnek, *pišaxnek* (v/i) 'bray'; cf. MLA *šahaqa* and *nahaqa/nahiqa* (Wehr 573, 1177);

~ Alep *šahnak* 'braire' (Barth 414) ~ Kənd *šanhaq* 'bray' (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Pal Ar *šanhaq*, rur *nahhaq*, Bed. *hannag* (Bau 265; Schmidt/Kahle 1:300) ~ Malt *ṣahaq*, *jinhaq* [*h > ḥ].

tšuxnok (vn) 'braying.'

š-w-q

štak, *pkyištak* (v/t) 'yearn for, miss, crave (food)': *štaxt l-exli xtir* 'I missed my parents a lot'; *štaxt l-ʿasel tel-xarrúp* 'I had a craving for carob syrup'; OA *ištāqa*;

[Note here the backward stress shift on to the preformative vowel of the Imperfect despite the historical length of the stem vowel.]

cf. Alep *štāq* 'désirer ardemment revoir sa famille, son pays, qqn. : *štāq la ahlo* (Barth 417) ~ Malt *ṣtaq/xtieq*, *jixtieq* 'wish.'

mišták, f -e, pl -ín (p) 'yearning.'

š-w-k

šavek, *pišavek* (v/t) 'prick': *šawkitu* 'it pricked him'; OA *ašāka/šawwaka* 'be thorny (tree)' (Hava 382);

~ Alep *šawwak* 'piquer (: épine, épingle, tout corps pointu)' (Barth 418) ~ Cai *šawwik* 'prick' (Bad/Hi 487) ~ N Yem *šawwak* 'picken' (Behnstedt 1996:687) ~ Malt *ṣewwek*, *ixewwek*.

tšavek, *pkyitšavek* 'be pricked, pierced'; nonclass Ar *tašawwaka* (Hava 383);

~ Alep *tšawwak* 'étrepiqué (parlesépines)' (Barth 418) ~ Cai *tšawwik* /*piššawwik* 'be pricked or pricked' (Bad/Hi 487) ~ N Yem *tšawwak* 'gestochen werden' (Behnstedt 1996:687).

šawk, f -e 'thorns, forks'; OA *šawk* (cf. *sykū*);

~ Alep *šök* 'épines' (Barth 418) ~ Kənd *šawke* 'Dorn, Stachel' (Vo/Wald 234) ~ Pal Ar *šök* (allg.) 'Distel' (Bau 77) ~ Malt *ṣewk* (coll), n un -a 'thorns, fishbones.'

š-w-y

šva, *pkyišvi/šfa*, *pkyišfi* (v/t) 'roast, boil; cook; burn (logs for charcoal)': *mannišvi ʿprotaʿ l-ikšūr pkyáʿālu fitte* 'we first boil the (citron) peels slightly'; *kintām, k-ʿkullurúḡkyaʿ pšan tekafu laynin, mannišvion xost xayts moe* 'first of all, in order for the doughnuts to remain soft, we boil them in water'; MLA *šawā* (i) (Hava 384);

~ Alep *šawa* (i) 'rôtir a la broche' (Barth 418) ~ Pal Ar *šawa* (i) 'braten auf Kohlen' (Bau 65) ~ Cai *šawa* (i) 'cook on coals' (Bad/Hi 487) ~ Malt *ṣewa*, *jixwi* 'roast (meat or fish) over a fire.'

mišvi, f *mišvie*, pl *mišvin* (pp) 'roasted.'

š-y-ʔ

ši, pl *šaya* (< *šāyā < OA *ašāyā*) 'thing, something; some ... or other, any; approximately': *má-psaddek kif kal akke ši* 'I don't believe he said any such thing'; *psikna ši tannakol* 'we grabbed something to eat'; *ʿisteraʿ mišši žúmāʿa (= min-ši)* 'after about a week'; *x-xops pkyix-marra, pkyirfaʿa, pisáy ši saʿa, saʿa-w-nuss xost l-forn* 'the bread turns brown and rises after about an hour or an hour and a half in the oven'; *ʿammaʿ težinna ši ʿaríp mannatix teakol truntž xelvin* 'when a visitor (lit., some stranger or other) visits us, we give him candied citrons to eat'; OA pl *ašyāʔ/ašāyā* (Hava 384);

~ Alep *šī* 'chose, objet', pl *savant ašya*, et pl populaire *šāya* d'un emploi restreint; *šagle est plus usité* (Barth 421) ~ Pal Ar *iši*, pl *ašya* 'Ding' (Bau 76), *sāfart ši marra hal-masāfeʿ* 'sind Sie schon einmal auf dieser Strecke gereist?' (Bau 1910:252) ~ Malt *ṣejn* 'nothing', *ṭini xi tnejn jew tlieta* 'give me two or three!'

[Like the Syrian and Anatolian Arabic dialects, CyA does not utilize a reflex of OA *šayʔ* as a neg. marker.]

šayt- 'of (f sg, pl)'; one's own (e.g., relatives) < *šayyat (< *šayʔat-), m/f pl *šat* < *šyāt < šayyāt: *l-xakle šayti* 'my field'; *l-ixkali šabkon* 'your fields'; *l-ipkyút šatna* 'our houses'; *žrayna kúitna lakaynāx u kaḡe-vexen*

kanisael pšan šatu 'we all hastened to meet him and everyone inquired about his own relatives'; OA *šay^oat-;

~ Alep *šet/šayyt/šayyet* 'of (sg)', pl *šayyūt* (Barth 422) ~ Dam *šit*, pl *šyāt* (Cowell 1964:490; Behnstedt 1996:219) ~ Hama *šit*, pl *šiyāt* mit Pronominalsuffix: "gehörend zu": *hāda šiti* 'dies gehört mir' (Lewin 1966:213) ~ Syr. Ar *šit/šiyit* (Genitivexponent; map 249, Behnstedt 1997:499) ~ Pal Ar *šet*, pl *šayyūt/šūt* 'of' (Piamenta 1989:210): *ōdit in-nōm šeto* 'sein Schlafzimmer' (Bau 203), pl *šetūn* (Jer, Piamenta, p.c.).

šfē 'little, a little'; < *šūway^o, dim of OA *šay^o 'thing';

~ Alep *šwayy/šwayye* 'un peu' (Barth 418).

šfé-šfe 'gradually, softly': *telos panton, eksikinisamen^o šfé-šfe šfé-šfe u žina δ-de^a* 'anyway, we set out, and very gradually reached the village'; *xka šfé-šfe* 'he whispered'; < *šve-šve < *šwayy-šwayy*;

~ Dam *šwayye-šwayye* 'little by little' (Sto/Ani 140) ~ Pal Ar *šwayye-šwayye* (*šwai-šwai*) 'allmählich' (Bau 12).

ša- a rare verbal particle (cf. Roth 1975:98, fn 3) encoding the imminence of an event in the present (= Fr. *en train de*) or the immediate future: *ša-pirūx* 'he's about to go'; *ša-mantži* 'we are coming; we're now on our way'; *oxti ša-pitšūll l-fustān teli* 'my sister is [now] sewing the dress for me.'

[This CyA verbal proclitic may continue Old Arabic *šā* 'will, wish, desire' (cf. Leban Ar *šā* 'il a voulu'; Feghali 1919:7) and invites comparison with the Yemeni Arabic future marker *ša-* noted in Rossi (1939), (Goitein 1941:79), Diem (1973, *passim*), and Behnstedt (1996:606), cf. *anā ša-sāfir ba'd θamān* 'I will travel in a week' (Watson 1993:83); *ša-yinšur* 'er wird am Nachmittag gehen,' *š-tākul* 'du (m) wirst essen' (Behnstedt 1996:607). In Rossi's words, "Con *ša-* prefisso all'Imperfetto si denota azione intenzionale (futura) ... Nella città di San'ā' si usa solo con la prima persona singolare; in altre regioni dell'altopiano è d'uso per tutte le persone. La conjugazione tipica è: *ša-ktub*, *ša-tuktub*, *ša-tuktubi*, *ša-yuktub*, ecc. (1939:28)." For details on dialectal distribution, see Diem (1973:147). As already noted in the Intro, (§VI), the immediate source of CyA *ša-* could be CMAr *šān* (? < *šā^o an; cf. Leban Ar *ša* 'vouloir'; Feghali 1919:7), which Graf (1905:99) derives from Ar *šaⁿ* and is, according to the same source, "sehr häufig zur Umschreibung des Futurs, bzw. zum Ausdruck des Müssens": *šannū an tilka as-sā'a šān malakūt allāh taḏhar* 'sie glaubten, daß zur selben Stunde das Reich Gottes erscheinen werde.' However, note also the CyG verbal proclitic *iša* (= Mod Gk *iosā* 'straight, direct') in a closely similar manner: cf. CyA *ša-pittitla^a š-šimps* = CyG *iša fkenni o iyyos* 'the sun is about to rise.')

ši-, *-ši* (a mostly lexicalized clitic encoding indefiniteness or approximation); < OA *šay^o :

šitrik 'sometimes, sometime, anytime; once, never': *mā-sar šitrik* 'it's unheard of (lit., it never happened)'; < Ar *šī-ṭariq.

šikits/šikutši/kutši 'nothing, anything; at all; not a bit': *alok mā-pisdy šikits* 'now he isn't doing anything'; *mā-kuxxallia šikits vaxta* 'we didn't leave her (the new mother) unattended even for a moment'; *xost s-syam, mā-pkyaklu^o me^o laxm^o me^o šikits ta piži mil-laxm* 'during Lent, they (the Cypriot Maronites) abstain from meat and anything deriving from meat'; < Ar *šī-qatt-šī (*qatt¹⁴*);

~ Bask *halla^oši wišil* 'he's just arrived' (Abu-Haidar 1979:127) ~ N Çukur *šağli-šay* = *šağil-šay* 'irgendwas' (Procházka 2002:173) ~ Yem *maṭar ši / ši maṭar* 'viel Regen' (Behnstedt 1996:690).

šixār 'someday' < *šī-nhār.

šivexen 'someone, anyone': *mā-kša^aāt šivexen* 'I didn't see anyone'; < *šī-wāḥid.

šimoḏ^a 'somewhere, anywhere': *mā-ruxt šimoḏ^a* 'I didn't go anywhere'; < Ar *šī-mawḏi^a.

š-y-x

šax, pišūx (v/i) 'age, grow old'; OA *šāxa* (i) 'he became a *šayx* (i.e., an old or elderly man' (Lane 1629);

~ Alep *šāx* (i) 'devenir vieux' (Barth 419) ~ Cai *šāx* (i) 'grow old, age' (Bad/Hi 489) ~ rur Egyp Ar *šāx* (i) 'alt werden' (Behnstedt 1994:254) ~ Malt ⟨xjah, jixih⟩.

šavex, pišavex (v/t) 'cause s.o. to age': *mprati šawxitni* 'my wife brought old age on me.'

šex, f -e, pl *šuxa* 'old person; village elder'; OA *šayx*, pl *šiyūx/ašyāx* (Hava 384);

~ Alep *šex*, pl *šyūxa/mašāyex* 'vieillard respecté' (Barth 420) ~ Malt ⟨xih, -a, pl xjuh⟩ 'old (adj), old person.'

šaxa 'old age' < *šyāxa; MLA *šiyāxa* 'position or dignity of a sheikh' (Wehr 580); OA *šayxūxa* 'old age' (Lane 1629).

š-y-r

šir, pl *škyara* 'cliff, rockface'; cf. Ar *šir* 'grand morceau de roche qui est sur le point de tomber' (Dozy I, 810 cit. *Muḥit*); GAram *šūr* 'wall' (Sokol 1990:542); Samar Aram *šwr* 'wall' (Tal 2000:884); OA *sūr* 'town wall' (Hava 343);

[Cf. Heb *šūr* 'Mauer' (Job 24, 11) < Aram *šwr* (Wagner 1966:112).]

~ Alep *šīr*, pl *šyār* 'rocher en surplomb' (Barth 420) ~ Bišm *šīr* 'Felsen' (Jiha 1964:110) ~ Leban Ar *šwār* 'bord d'un mur, parapet, talus' (Feghali 1918:30) ~ Om *šewār* 'Hochgang', *šawīr* 'hoch' (Reinhardt 1894:268, 63).

[Tur *šuro*, pl *šurone* 'Mauer' (Jastrow 1985:181).]

š-y-ṭ-n

šetān, f -e, pl -in 'demon, evil spirit; crafty person': š-šuxa *šetna kanikulunna* ^{Goti} š-šetanin *pkyimisku m-morós telak u pižipulak axar* 'our elders used to tell us that the demons snatch away your baby and bring you another'; *pšan te^canti m-^Gmorós^Gxost l-iknise, kanyišlā-xinna k-kassis moe mpsallie teáxirpu š-šetanin* 'in order for the baby to be admitted into the church (for baptism), the priest used to sprinkle us with holy water to chase away the demons'; o *šetān* 'he's very crafty!'; OA *šaytān*, pl *šayāfīn* 'devil, seducer (man), wicked' (Hava 356) ~ Aram *šitnā* 'der Satan' (Levy IV, 542) ~ Heb *šātān* 'adversary' (Job I, 6f; 2, 1f; I Chron. I, 1; Zech. III, 1, 2);

[On baby-snatching demons, see Scurlock (1991), Sholem (1971), Canaan (1929), Winkler (1931), and the remarks on *l-Qarīna* in Granqvist (1935: II, 309).]

~ Alep *šetān*, pl *šayāfīn* 'diable, démon' (Barth 420) ~ Dam *šetān*, pl *šayāfīn* 'devil' (Sto/Ani 65) ~ Sii *šaytān* 'Teufel' (Vo/Wald 236) ~ Pal Ar *šitān/šeytān*, pl *šayāfīn* 'Satan' (Bau 251) ~ Yem *šaytān* 'robber, man of bad character' (Goitein 1941:89) ~ Cai *šitān*, pl *šayāfīn* (Bad/Hi 489) ~ Malt *xitan*, pl *xjaten* 'devil, evil person.'

šaytne 'craft, malice': *lu xtir šaytne* 'he's very crafty' (Frangiskou 120); OA *šaytana* 'wickedness, mischief' (Hava 365);

~ Alep *šetane* 'diablerie, malice, polissonnerie' (Barth 420) ~ Pal Ar *šeitane* 'Teufelei' (Bau 300) ~ Cai *šaytana* (vn) of *šaytan* 'cause to behave naughtily' (Bad/Hi 490).

[Cf. Urmi (I) *satanula* 'devilry' (Garbell 1965:331).]

š-y-l

šal, *pišl* (v/t) 'take away, remove; acquire, extract (e.g., oil from plants), uproot (plants), gather (honey); select a name for s.o.; throw out'; reckon (*taxmīn*): *šalu skefīton* 'they removed their shoes'; *šilt iškypē u ruxt tanām* 'I undressed and went to bed'; *x-xava šala b-bape u xita awnke t-tarp* 'the wind blew the door off its hinges and carried down the road'; *išl* 'asel ten-naxl' 'he's gathering bee honey'; *y-yapāt*

pikúl fil-šupenu: pri atšilúx Tšwānni, pri atšilúx Antóni ... '(as for namegiving) the father tells the godparents [for instance]: "I would like you to name him John or Antony ..."'; *pitšíl fáza^a* 'she removes people's anxiety (traditional Cypriot healer)'; *šilu parra* 'throw him out (of the house)'; *šalet ism vešex* 'she acquired a bad reputation'; *šel* (< *šyl*) *ttaxmīn aška sa^a pitri atrúx u atži antáxt l-ipkyetir* 'reckon how much time you require to go down to the threshing-floors and to come back'; MLA *šāla* (i) 'carry, convey' (Wehr 582), 'take off a. th.' (Hava 385);

~ Alep *šāl* (i) 'soulever' (Barth 421) ~ Kənd *šāl* (i) 'emporheben, hochheben, wegnehmen, etc.' (Vo/Wald 236) ~ Pal Ar *šāl* (i) (Bau 356) ~ Cai *šāl* (i) 'carry, bear' (Bad/Hi 490) ~ rur Egypt Ar *šāl* (i) 'fassen' (1994: 255) ~ N Yem *šāl* (i) 'tragen' (Behnstedt 1996:693).

š

š-b-b

sabb, *pisúbb* (v/t) 'pour; serve food': *n-nunnút pitsúbb moe pšan te^casslu m-^Gmorós^G* 'the godmother pours out water so that they can bathe the baby'; *subbi l-ikl* 'serve (f) the food!'; OA *šabba* (u) 'pour forth water' (Hava 386);

~ Alep *šabb* (ə) 'verser (un liquide dans un vase)' (Barth 424) ~ Kənd *šabb* (ə) 'gießen, schütten' (Vo/Wald 239) ~ Pal Ar *šabb* (u) 'gießen auf etwas oder in ein Gefäß' (Bau 137) ~ Cai *šabb* (u) 'pour, pour out' (Bad/Hi 492).

š-b-ḥ

spax, *pkyispáx* (v/i) 'dawn, break (day)': *mannintru l-maet tvállayl* ^{Gos} *tespáx* 'we keep a watch over the dead person all night until daybreak'; *yamusift ttespáx rabbi u ttarrúx š-šo^col* 'on Saturday, please God, I'll go to work'; OA *ašbaḥa* 'be daytime; enter upon the morning' (Hava 387; cf. also Levin 1994:XII, 232); OA *šabbahaka llāhu bi-xayrin* 'may God visit thee in the morning with happiness' (Lane 1641);

~ Alep *šabaḥ* (e), *ašbaḥ*, *yəšbeḥ* 'se trouver le matin' (Barth 424) ~ Ḥal *ašbaḥ*, *yəšbaḥ* 'Morgen werden' (Vo/Wald 240) ~ Malt *sebaḥ*, *jisbaḥ* 'dawn.'

sabbex, *pisabbex* (v/t) 'start one's day at dawn; do s.th. early in the morning': *sabbixt xops* 'I made bread in the early morning'; OA *šabbahā* 'greet a.o. in the morning' (Hava 387);

~ Alep *šabbah* 'saluer (qqn) le matin, souhaiter le bonjour à (qqn)' (Barth 424) ~ Cai *šabbah* 'start the day' (Bad/Hi 493) ~ Pal Ar *šabbah* 'am Morgen etwas tun' (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 285).

tsabbex, pkyitsabbex (v/i) 'stay up all night': *kallixon^cors u tsabbxu* 'they attended a wedding and stayed up all night' (Frangiskou 112); OA *ta-šabbaha* 'sleep in the morning' (Hava 387);

~ Alep *šabbah* 'commencer la journée par la rencontre de qqn, d'une personne étrangère à la famille' (Barth 424) ~ Pal Ar *šabbah fih* 'jn am Morgen zuerst sehen' (Bau 209).

supx/tsubbox 'dawn, early morning'; OA *šubh*, pl *ašbāh/išbāh* 'forenoon' (Hava 387);

~ Alep *šabəh* 'matin, de très bonne heure' (Barth 424) ~ Pal Ar *šubeh* 'Morgen' (Bau 269) ~ Cai *šubh* 'morning' (Bad/Hi 493) ~ Malt *šebh* 'dawn.'

š-b-^c

ispe^c, pl *spe^cep* (< *šwēbi^c) 'finger'; OA *išba^c*, pl *ašābi^c* (Hava 388);

~ Alep *šab^a*, pl *šābi^c* 'doigt' (Barth 425) ~ Tārtūs *išbi^c*, pl *šawabi^c* 'Finger' (map 240, Behnstedt 1997:481) ~ Dam *šab^a/šab^aa* (*šab^aet-*), pl *šābe^c/šābi^c* (Sto/Ani 91) ~ Kənd *šab^a*, pl *təšāb^a* (Vo/Wald 240) ~ Pal Ar *šab^a* (and *išba^c*), pl *šābi^c* (Bau 112), *šābi^c* (Piamenta, p.c.) ~ Cai *šubā^c*, pl *šawābi^c* 'finger' (Bad/Hi 494) ~ Malt *šeba'*, pl *subghajn, swaba'*.

š-b-ğ

sip^e, *pkyispo^o* (v/t) 'paint; dye (clothes)': *pkyá^cispu peð pilaxxpu* (< *lbc*) *pkyitipxu u pistantru tekúm l-impšix* '(on Easter Saturday) they paint eggs, clean up, cook, and await Jesus' resurrection'; OA *šabağahu* (*u, i, a*) 'he dyed it' (Lane 1647);

~ Alep *sabağ* (*o*) 'teindre, attrapper' (Barth 331) ~ Kənd *šabağ* 'färben, anstreichen, weißen' (Vo/Wald 240) ~ Cai *s/šabağ* (*o*) 'dye, have dyed' (Bad/Hi 396) ~ Pal Ar *šabağ* (*o*) 'dye (hair)' ~ Malt *šebah, jizboh* 'paint.'

maspi^u (pp) f -a, pl -in 'dyed.'

š-b-n

sapün, pl *spepin* 'soap': *m-^Gmammü^G pkyatua aška ma piritu flus u exte sapün u ^Gsarvetta^G* 'they give the midwife as much money as they want, a bar of soap and a towel'; OA *šābūn*, n un -a (Lane 1649); Anc

Gk *σάπων* (Liddell/Scott 1996:1583) < Lat *sāpō*, -ōnis 'a preparation for dyeing hair' (OLD 1996:1690);

[In the Palestinian village of Artās, "the midwife earlier used to get 10 Piasters and two pieces of soap and — may it be far from the hearers! — two brooms for a girl. And for a boy she used to get 20 Piasters. ... In Nablus too the midwife receives soap and money. If the people are very poor she does not receive any payment. Then she does it for God." (Granqvist 1947:102, 103)]

~ Alep *šābūn* 'sabon' (Barth 423) ~ Dam *šābūn* (f), pl *šawabīn* (Sto/Ani 216) ~ Pal Ar *šābūn* pl *šawābīn* (Bau 272) ~ Malt *šapun*.

š-b-y

sapi 'boy, youngster; elder son; young-looking male'; *l-iskof l-ižtīt o sapi* 'the new bishop is young-looking'; *yapati pa^a o sapi* 'my father is still young at heart'; OA *šabiyy* 'boy, lad, apprentice' (Hava 388);

~ Alep *šabi*, pl *šabyen* 'enfant mâle, garçon' (Barth 426) ~ Hask *sebi* 'Junge' (Talay 2002:81) ~ Bišm *šuft šabi* 'Ich habe einen Knaben gesehen' (Jiha 1964:150) ~ Pal Ar *šabi*, pl *šubyān/šibyān* 'Bube, Knabe, Sohn' (Bau 68, 176, 123) ~ 17th cent. Eyp Ar *šby*, pl *šbyān* 'bullyboy, brave lad' (Davies 1981:405) ~ N Yem *šabi*, pl *šubyān* 'Jüngling' (Behnstedt 1996:700) ~ Malt *šabi* (obsol), pl *subien* 'boy.'

sapūi, pl *sapukkya* 'little boy, baby boy'; < OA *šabiyy* + CyG dim suff. -ūi < -ouđi- : *savet sapūi* 'she gave birth to a boy.'

š-ḥ-n

sxun 'pots and pans; crockery': *šatfet l-isxūn* 'she did the washing-up'; OA *šuhūn*, pl of *šahn* 'basin, plate, dish' (Hava 390);

~ Alep *šahan*, pl *šhūn* 'assiette, en métal et faïence' (Barth 428) ~ Pal Ar *šahn*, pl *šhūn* 'Teller' (Bau 299) ~ Cai *šahan*, pl *šuhūn/šuhūna* 'plate, dish' (Bad/Hi 497).

š-d-r

suđr (no pl) 'chest, breast' < *šudr < *šidr; OA *šadr*, pl *šdūr* 'upper part of breast, chest' (Hava 391);

~ Āz *šadər*, Mard *sədər* 'Brust; Stirnseite (eines Zimmers)' (Vo/Wald 242) ~ Mos (C) *šadəğ* pl *šdūğ* 'chest' ~ Pal Ar *sider*, pl *sdūra* (Elihai 1999:330), *šidir*, pl *šudūr* (Bau 67) ~ Malt *šider*, pl *sdur(a)* 'chest.'

[The historical treatment of OA *šidr (~ šadr) in CyA is noteworthy. Retention of the secondary reflexes of historical emphasis here (*i > u, *š < *ḡ < d) invites comparison with the Syrian Arabic forms: *sudr*, *šidr* (Behnstedt 1997:219) and cognates in other Arabic dialects, (e.g., Mor Arabic) that tend "to avoid combinations in the same stem, of a

basic pharyngealized alveolar ... with an unpharyngealized alveolar so that "alveolars in the same stem are either all pharyngealized or all plain" (Heath 1997:211). Thus several dialects show reflexes of *sidr: cf. Pal Ar *qawwaso fi wast sidro* 'er schoß ihn durch die Brust' (Bau 208; cf. Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 62*), Hör *seđer* (Cantineau 1946:103), and several N African Arabic vernaculars (Marçais 1911:331), e.g., Mor *sđer* (Harrell 1963:68), etc. The derivation of the CyA interdental fricative *ð* suggested above is supported by secondary velarization of OA *d* > **d* > **ð* in CyA **xdr* > *xðr*.)

š-d-q

saddek, pisaddek (v/t) 'believe': má-*psaddikillak* 'I don't believe you'; má-*kuntsáddek kif kantekúl akke ši* 'I didn't believe he would say such a thing'; OA *šaddaqa* 'hold a.o. as trustworthy' (Hava 392);

~ Alep *saddaq/šaddaq* 'croire (qqn)' (Barth 433) ~ Mard *šaddaq* 'glauben' (Vo/Wald 242) ~ Pal Ar *šaddaq* (Bau 138), Jer (J) *sadda* (Piamenta 2000:218) ~ Malt *seddaq, iseddaq* 'confirm.'

sabke 'alms' < **satke* < **šadqa*; OA *šadaqa* (Hava 392) < Heb *šadāqāh* 'Recht, rechtes Verhalten, Almosen' (Schall 1982:147);

~ Alep *šadaqa/sadaqa* 'aumône' (Barth 434) ~ Āz *šadaqa* 'Almosen' (Vo/Wald 242) ~ Pal Ar *šadaqa* (Bau 12) ~ Cai *šada'a/sada'a/šadaqa* 'charitable deed or gift' (Bad/Hi 499).

š-r-ʿ

starrʿe, pkyistarrʿe 'fight, wrestle, get into a scrape': *kanistarrʿu xost l-iskák* '(during Carnival) they used to scuffle in a back street'; OA *š taraʿa* 'wrestle, fight a duel with' (Hava 394);

cf. Alep *šāraʿ* 'lutter corps à corps l'un contre l'autre' (Barth 430) ~ Pal Ar *tašāraʿ* 'ringen' (Bau 245) ~ Cai *ʿištāriʿ/ʿištāriʿ* 'wrestle' (Bad/Hi 501) ~ Malt *ssara, jissara* 'struggle.'

sturrʿo (vn) 'fighting, scuffling, wrestling.'

š-t-b-l

stapl, -āt 'barn, cowshed' < OA *ištābl* 'for *dawābb* [i.e., horses or mules or asses]' (Lane 64) < Aram *ištāblā* (< Low Gk *στάβλον/στάβλιον*, Krauss 1898:118; cf. Mod Gk *στάβλος*, Pring 1982:495) < Lat *stabulum* (Fraenkel 1886:124; Viré 1978:213);

~ Känd *štābəl* 'Stall' (Vo/Wald 243) ~ Syr Ar *štābl/štābli* 'Kuhstall,' *štābl/štābli/štābl* 'Pferdestall,' *štābl* 'Schafstall' (maps 463, 466, 467; Behnstedt 1997:935) ~ Pal Ar *štābl*, pl *-āt* 'Stall' (Bau 285), *štābl* 'Viehraum' (Dalm VII, 123) ~ rur Eyp Ar *štābəl* 'Stall für Pferde, Esel, Maultiere' (Behn/Woid 1994:263).

[Vollers (1897:312) also noted the variant *ištāb*. Cf. Tur *stābəl*, pl *stābile* 'Stall' (Jastrow 1985:224).]

š-ʿ-l-k

šaʿālūk, f -a, pl *sēʿelik* (adj) 'poor, unfortunate': *ak r-raʿi kanternūt mil-ʿmarāzz^G telu, s-šaʿālūk* 'that shepherd nearly died of worry, poor fellow!'; OA *šuʿlūk*, pl *šaʿālūk/šaʿālik* 'beggar' (Hava 397), MLA *šuʿlūk* 'utterly destitute; have-not, ... beggar, tramp' (Wehr 602);

[For this idiomatic usage, cf. MMAR *anā fi l-mawt min al-bard* 'I'm dying of cold' (Ibn Munqidh, Schen 1972:221).]

~ Alep *šaʿlūk*, pl *šaʿālik* 'gringalet' (Barth 436) ~ Leban Ar *šaʿlūk*, pl *šlāʿik* 'pauvre, misérable' (Denizeau 1960:310) ~ Pal Ar *šaʿlūk* 'Bettler im Sinn von sehr armer, unbeachteter Mann,' 'unbedeutender Mann,' 'unansehnlich' (Bau 58, 204, 316) ~ Cai *šaʿlūk/šuʿlūk/zaʿlūk*, pl *šaʿalik* 'pauper, down-and-out, bum' (Bad/Hi 503).

[For the last Eyp Ar form, cf. Algerian Ar *zaʿlūk* 'pauvre' (Beaussier 268; Marçais 1905:436).]

sāʿilke 'poverty': *kaffia xtir sāʿilke xost k-kipru* 'there used to be a lot of poverty in Cyprus'; OA *šaʿlaka* 'destitution, poverty' (Hava 397); ~ Pal Ar *šaʿlaka* 'Armut' (Bau 24).

š-ḡ-r

zēʿir, f -e, pl *zāʿār* 'small'; OA *šāḡir*, pl *šigār/šugarāʿ* (Hava 231);

~ Alep *zḡayyar*, f -a, pl *zḡayyarīn* 'tout petit, très petit' (Barth 501) ~ Mard *zḡayyar*, f -e, pl *zḡār* 'klein, jung' (Vo/Wald 243) ~ Bagh (M) *šḡayyir/zḡayyir* 'small, little' (Wood/Bee 264) ~ Pal Ar *zḡir*, pl *zḡār* 'klein,' *ḡayyar* 'sehr klein' (Bau 175) ~ Malt *zḡhir* [a:y], pl *zḡhar* 'small.'

[The voiced reflex for historical *š > z in this lexeme appears to be unrelated to phonetic contact with /g/; cf. Mard *mazzḡar* 'von Kindheit auf' (Vo/Wald 243) and Aram *zʿr* (Sokol 1990:180).]

zēʿir-zēʿir 'very small': *ʿamma^G teitlaʿa, mannāxtaʿa tāʿirfe zēʿir-zēʿir, okka ʿkaḡe^G ʿarīf* 'when it (the dough) rises, we cut [it up into] fairly small loaves, each weighing one oke.'

azʿar (elat) 'smaller smallest'; OA *ašḡar*;

~ Alep *ʿazḡar* (compar de *zḡir*) (Barth 501) ~ Pal Ar *ʿazḡar* (Bau 175) ~ Malt *ʿizḡhar* ['izar] 'smaller.'

š-f-r

šfarra, pkyišfarra (v/i) 'turn pale'; OA *išfarra* (Hava 399);

~ Alep *şfarr* 'devenir jaune' (Barth 437) ~ Qarţ *şfarr* 'gelb werden' (Vo/Wald 244) ~ Hask *şfarr* 'reif werden' (Talay 2002:81) ~ Pal Ar *isfarr* (Bau 128) ~ Malt *şfar*, *jisfar* 'turn pale.'

aşfar, f *şafra*, pl *şufr* 'yellow, pale'; OA *aşfar*, f *şafra*, pl *şufr*;
~ Mard *aşfar*, f *şafra*, pl *şəfər* 'gelb, golden' (Vo/Wald 244) ~ Pal Ar *aşfar*, f *şafra*, pl *şufr* (Bau 128) ~ Malt *isfar*, f *şafra*, pl *sofor* 'yellow, pale.'

şfara 'pallor' < **şafāra*; OA *şufra* 'yellowness' (Lane 1698);
~ Alep *şafār* 'couleur jaune' (Barth 437) ~ Cai *şafār* 'yellowness' (Bad/Hi 505).

ş-f-y

saffa, *pisaffi* (v/t) 'pass a liquid through a strainer'; OA *şaffā/aşfā* 'clarify, filter' (Hava 400);

~ Alep *şaffā* 'passer, clarifier, filtrer (un liquide)'; *mway mşaffāye* 'de l'eau filtrée' (Barth 439) ~ Ka'b *şaffā* 'reinigen, hinwegfegen, aus dem Weg räumen' (Vo/Wald 244) ~ Malt *şaffa*, *isaffi* 'purify.'

tsuffo (vn) 'cleansing, filtering.'

şafye 'water boiled with ashes, used for laundering clothes' < Ar **şafya*; cf. OA *şifwa/şafwa* 'the clear, or pure part, ... of water ...' (Lane 1704);

~ Alep *şafye* 'cendre; s'applique à toute sorte de cendre sauf à celle provenant du crottin de cheval ...'; *mwayt şafye* 'eau de cendres employée pour le blanchissage du linge, lessive' (Barth 439) ~ Dam *şafwe* 'ashes' (Sto/Ani 13) ~ Hōr *şafwe* 'cendre de bois' (Cantineau 1946, map 12) ~ Bask *şafwi* (Abu-Haidar 1979:143); cf. *şafwe* 'lessive' (Feghali 1938:789) ~ Pal Ar *māyyit eš-şafwe* 'Lauge' (Bau 190), *şafwe* (Dalm IV, 274; VII, 127); Ar *şafwa* 'Asche von Kohlen, zum Unterschied von *ramād*, Asche von allem anderen' (Almkvist 1925:118).

ş-l-b

slip, pl *slupén* 'cross': *xott slipak* 'make the sign of the cross!'; *pixottu exen* ^G*tavli* *xost n-nuss m-exen slip* 'they place a table in the middle with a cross [on it]'; OA *şalīb*, pl *şulbān/şulub* (Hava 402); < Syriac *şalībā* (Fraenkel 1886:276);

~ Alep *şalīb*, pl *şalben* 'croix' (Barth 442) ~ Pal Ar *şalīb*, pl *şulbān* 'Kreuz' (Bau 182), *şalīb* *ism aš-şalīb hawālek* 'may the Name of the Cross surround you!' (C, J) (Piamenta 2000:219) ~ Malt *şalib*, pl *slaleb* 'cross', cf. the Maltese family name *Şaliba*.

[Ma¹] *şliba* (Arnold 1990a:332). The positional shift of CyA l in *slupén* < *şulbān* reflects an unsystematic tendency to redistribute historical liquids within the syllable; the unmarked option favours lateral resonants syllable-initially and apical trills syllable-finally: CyA *kürtillu* 'I told him'; Pal Ar *burkān* 'Vulkan', *sarsisu/salsisu* 'Wurst' (Bau 350, 370); cf. Borg (1994:55).]

Slaep (toponym of *lieu-dit* in Kormakiti; Frangiskou 119) < **şlayyib* 'small cross'; cf. Pal Ar *barq iş-şlayyib mā bigayyib* 'the lightning of the *şlayyib* will not depart (except with heavy rain), i.e., it foretells good rain. The *şlayyib* is the mountain to the N.E. of Bēt Djāla' (Canaan 1923:27, fn 3).

ş-l-h

şalax, *pkyislax* (v/i) 'be required (Fr. *falloir*); be proper, suitable': ^G*amma* *mannislax x-xops*, *pkyislax tankūl smalla* 'when we throw bread away, we ought to say *smalla*'; *kürtillu ana: kanyislax atxallunni u ll-ana ši* ^G*kommati* *ta kilt l-iklotšá* ^G*u uká* 'āt *xullá* 'I said to him: 'You should also have left me a piece (of turkey), if only for having been kicked and knocked over'; *kanyislax axxalli pkyutna u annaxrop mniđ-đe* ^a 'we had to abandon our houses and flee from the village'; OA *şalaha* (u) 'he was/became good, incorrupt, right, just, etc.': *hāđā š-şay* ^u *yaşluhu laka* 'this thing is suitable to thee' (Lane 1714);

~ Alep *şaleh* (a) *la hada* 'être utile à, convenir à qqn, ...' (Barth 442) ~ Cai *şalah* (u, a) 'be suitable, be fit' (Bad/Hi 508) ~ Sii ... , *yaşlah*: *mo taşlah* 'es hat keinen Zweck' (Vo/Wald 245).

ş-l-y

salla, *pisalli* (v/t/i) 'pray; read, study': *pisallu r-rabbi* 'they pray; they hear Mass'; *Antoni kan parra kanisalli* 'Antonis was abroad studying'; *lá-tsalli xost δ-đulme* 'don't read in poor light!'; OA *şallā* 'pray God' (Hava 405); Bibl Aram *şlh* 'pray' (Qimron 1995:146), JAram *şly* (Sokol 1990:465); Ugar *şly* 'implore' (Del Olmo/Sanmartin 2003:784);

~ Alep *şalla* 'prier, faire sa prière' (Barth 443) ~ Mard *şalla* 'beten' (Vo/Wald 245) ~ Pal Ar *şalla* (Bau 57) ~ Malt *şella*, *iselli* (ghal) 'greet' (cf. Kazimirski 1860 under *şly*).

tsalla, *pittitsalla* (v/i) (pass of Form II) 'be blessed': *z-zaytune pittitsalla xost k-kiddás u akke lixon kulla s-sine tepaxxru* 'the olive branch is blessed during Mass; this way (people) are able to waft incense (in their homes) all the year round.'

mpsalli, f *mpsallie*, pl *-in* 'blessed; educated, learned': *š-ša* ^ā*nine l-impallie* 'the blessed olive branch'; *moe mpsallie* 'holy water' (cf. Pal

Ar *mayy mḡaddase* 'Weihwasser'; Bauer 357); *pinti e xtir mpsallie* 'my daughter is very well educated.'

sala 'prayer, church service; vespers, benediction,' pl *slavát* 'education; 'studies': *pixótt exen* ^GPetro^G *u k-kassís pisáy l-impstx u mantsáy sala* (On Maundy Thursday) he (the priest) appoints someone to be Peter, and he acts the role of Jesus and we hold the service'; *ana pri tat'alle* *slavát* 'I want to get an education'; *má-pa'āref slavát* 'I can't read'; *k-kassís pisalli l-islavát ta pkyá'āref úo* '(at the baptism ceremony) the priest recites his usual prayers'; *n-nes piruxu kull layle sala* 'people go to vespers (or benediction) every evening'; *yapó ana pri tarúx tat'alle* *slavát* 'Dad! I want to get an education'; OA *šalāh*, pl *šalawāt* 'prayer' (Hava 404);

~ Alep *šala/sala*, pl *šalawāt* 'prière': *bəddi ʔarūh ʔaš-šala* 'je vais à la messe ou aux vêpres ou au salut' (Barth 444) ~ Sii *šala* 'Gebet' (Vol/Wald 245) ~ Bagh (M, C) *šalā* 'prayer,' (J) *šlā* 'synagogue' (Blanc 1964: 152) ~ Pal Ar *šalā/šala*, Jer (J) *šalāye/šla*, pl *šalawāt* 'religious services' (Bau 123; Piamenta 2000:14).

[Cf. also *šalawāt* (Quran XXII, 41) 'places of worship of the Jews' (Lane 1721) < Aram *šlōtā* 'prayer' (Sokol 1990:464). Cf. Tur *şluho* 'Gebet' (Jastrow 1990a:179).]

s-sala l-ixpire 'midnight Mass on Easter eve.'

š-m-h

sammex, *pisammex* (v/i) 'sprout, grow': *l-iptār sammex* 'the seeds sprouted'; cf. Syriac *šamah* 'germinavit' (Brockel 631), GAram *šmah* 'grow' (Sokol 1990:466); Ugar *šmh* 'sprout, grow, prosper' (Del Olmo / Sanmartín 2003:785);

~ Leban Ar *šammeh* 'il produisit des germes, des rejetons, des racines; il poussa (blé, oignon, plante, etc.)' (Feghali 1918:75).

tsummox 'growth, vegetation.'

š-m-d

sunt, pl *snut* '(wooden) plough'; cf. Syriac *šamdē* (Feghali 1918:57); cf. Mand *man šamid padana tauria* 'who will yoke the oxen to the plough?' (Drower/Macuch 1963:395); GAram *šmat* 'gather together' (Sokol 1990:467), Samar Aram *šmd* 'coupling' (Tal 2000:734); Akk *šindu* < *šimdu* 'Verband' > 'Gespann,' pl *šindē* (Salonen 1956:194); Heb *šemed* 'ein Gespann von Zug- oder Lasttieren' (Ges/Bu 686); Ugar *šmd* *alpm* 'yoked bulls' (Del Olmo/Sanmartín 2003: II, 784); OA *midmada* 'a

sort of yoke' (Lane 1803); S. Arab. *damd*, Ge'ez *šamd* 'jugum' (Corriente 1989:103); Heb *šamīd* 'bracelet' (Klein 1985:550);

~ Alep *šamd* 'charrue' (Barth 445) ~ Hama *šamd* 'Schmuckgegenstände des Hauses' (Lewin 1966:215) ~ Syr Ar, Hat *šimd/šumd*, pl *šmūd* / *šmād*, also *šind/šund*, pl *šnūd* 'Pflug' (Arno/Behn 85; Arnold 1998: 104, 322, 473) ~ Çukur *šind/šimd* (Procházka, p.c.) ~ Leban Ar *šond/šomd* (Feghali 1918:52), *šend* (Fegh M/J 1977:33, fn 11) ~ Zimrīn *šumd* 'Pflug' (Behnstedt 2000:133) ~ Om (Khāb) *šumṭ* 'large round silver pendant' (Brockett 1985:147).

[Western Neo-Aram *senta* 'Pflug' (Ma'lūla, Bax'a, and Jubb'adin; Arno / Behn 142); EGYPT Ar *dand* 'Joch' (Behn/Woid 1994:277); AA *midmad*, pl *madamid* (Dozy II, 13); Malt 'madmad' 'yoke.']

š-n-d-q

santūk, pl *sfentik* '(usually ornate) wooden chest for clothes; coffin'; OA *šundūq*, pl *šanādīq* 'a chest, coffer, or trunk' (Lane 1732); Ar *šandūq* 'cénotaphe' (Sourdél-Thomine/Sourdél 1961:228); Mod Gk *σεντούκι* 'coffin' (Magazis 1995:487);

~ Alep *sandūq*, pl *šanādīq/šnēdīq* 'caisse, bière,' (Barth 361) ~ Bagh (M) *šandūq*, pl *šnādīq* 'coffer,' *šandūg*, pl *šnādīg* 'box, crate' (Wood/Bee 270), (J) *sandōq* (Blanc 1964:41) ~ Pal Ar *sandūq*, pl *šanādīq* 'caisse' (Elihai 1973:75) ~ Cai *sandūʔ/sundūʔ*, pl *šanadīʔ* (Bad/Hi 435), *sandūʔ el mayyet* 'coffin' (Spiro 1895:344) ~ Malt *senduq*, pl *sniedaq* 'chest.'

š-h-r

sexr, pl *sxurāt* 'son-in-law, brother-in-law'; (a woman's uncles, aunts, and cousins can also call her husband *sexri*, *séxirna*); OA *šhr*, pl *āšhr* 'the sacred ... tie (*hurma*) of relationship by marriage' (Lane 1737);

["Les Arabes donnent le nom de *šhr* tant à leurs gendres, qu'à leurs beau-frères, et même aux maris de leurs tantes ..."] (Berggren 1844:101).]

~ Alep *səhr*, pl *ʔəshəra* (état construit: *ʔəshərt-i*, *ʔəshərat-i*) 'beau-frère, gendre' (Barth 363) ~ Pal Ar *šhr* (Bau 270), pl *šhūrātu* (im Reim) 'seine Söhne' (Kampff 1936:40) ~ Cai *šhr*, pl *šhīrāt* 'father- or brother-in-law': *min kitrit banātu šārit ik-kilāb šhīrātu* [prov] 'he who has many daughters will take even dogs for his sons-in-law' (Bad/Hi 513).

š-w-b

sop (prep) 'towards, in the direction of': *mpšayna sop l-imtime* 'we walked towards Nicosia'; *sop xok* 'upwards,' *sop taxt* 'downwards'; OA

šawb 'side, aimed direction' (Hava 408); MLA *šawba* 'in the direction of' (Wehr 617);

~ Alep *šob* 'point vers lequel on se dirige, direction, côté' (Barth 448) ~ Bask *šawb* (Abu-Haidar 1979:79) ~ Kənd *šawb*, Darag *šob* 'in Richtung auf, nach ... zu (präp)' (Vo/Wald 247) ~ Bišm *rāh šawb il-bayt* 'er ging auf das Haus zu,' *žay min šawb Trābliš* 'er kommt von Tripolis her' (Jiha 1964:177) ~ Pal Ar *šob* 'entgegen; Richtung, Platz': *min šobna binsūf mlīh* 'von unserm Platz aus sehen wir gut' (Bau 93, 245, 232).

[Cf. *zšāb/wšāb* 'wo(hin)?' (Jastrow 1979:45; cf. also 1978:121) ~ Tall Bədar *ašāb* 'wo' (Behnstedt 1996b:50). On the distribution of prepositional reflexes of OA *šawb*, see Procházka (1993:241).]

soft *ašie* 'afternoon, early evening' < **šawbat* 'ašiyya'; cf. Darag *šob* 'ašriye' 'gegen nachmittags' (Jastrow 1973a:97).

[For the merger of **šawb* in this type of construction, cf. Šəndōr *saf-fōq* 'nach oben' < **šawb-fōq* (Jastrow 1993:164).]

š-w-f

suf, pl -*āt* 'wool': *o kullu suf* 'lit., it is all wool, i.e., [made of] pure wool'; OA *šūf*, pl *ašwāf* (Hava 410);

~ Alep *šūf* 'laine' (Barth 450) ~ Qarṭ *šawf* 'Wolle' (Vo/Wald 248) ~ Pal Ar *šūf* (Bau 368) ~ Cai *šūf*, pl *ašwāf* 'wool' (Bad/Hi 515) ~ Malt *šuf*, pl -*iet*.

š-w-m

samm, *pisumm* (v/i) 'fast'; OA *šāma* (u) (Hava 410);

~ Alep *šām* (u) 'jeûner' (Barth 451) ~ Ka'b *šām* (u) 'fasten' (Vo/Wald 248) ~ Malt *šam*, *isum* 'fast.'

[The CyA shift **šwm* > *šmm* here is presumably an outcome of neutralization of word-final consonant length.]

šyam 'fasting, Lenten fast; abstinence': *manniṭpox l-lupkye u l-ful, mantaylipon kaes ma z-zayt, u lli-ḡtsarteyyaḡ u r-ḡrenkesḡ; o l-ixxar tes-šyam* '(on Shrove Monday = Καθαρά Δευτέρα) we cook string beans and broad beans [and] we season them well with oil, sardines, and herrings; it's a day of abstinence'; < OA *šiyām* (Hava 410);

~ Alep *šyēm* 'jeûne' (Barth 451) ~ Ka'b *šawm lxāmsīn* 'fünfzigtagige Fastenzeit der Christen' (Vo/Wald 248) ~ Çukur *šwēm* 'Fasten' (Procházka 2002:85) ~ Leban Ar *šyām ez-zḡīr* 'petit jeûne,' *šyām el-kbīr* 'grand jeûne' (Feghali 1938:196, fn 3) ~ Jer (J) *šyām* = *šōm* 'fasting' (Pianta 2000:219) ~ Cai *šiyām* 'fasting, abstention' (Bad/Hi 515) ~ Malt *šawm* 'fasting.'

[Pal Ar *šōm* 'Fasten' (nicht gerne angewendet; Bauer 109; cf. *šōm* 'Mas' p. 207). For the Lebanese Arabic construction, see Borg (1989, 2000).]

l-isīyām 'Lent': *m-mārfū'a e exte žūmā'a* 'prin^o l-isīyām' 'carnival is one week before Lent'; *imps xta'āna l-ḡmuttē tel-isīyām* 'lit., yesterday we ended our lenten fast (lit.: we cut the nose of Lent)' [= CyG *κόψαυε τη μούρη τη Σαρακοστής* (Frangiskou 214)]; OA *šiyām*;

~ Pal Ar *šyām* 'Lent': *rāh iš-šyām l-imbtrak u 'aḡa hadd iš-šā'nine* 'Blessed Lent has gone, and Palm Sunday has come ...' (Canaan 1923:33).

š-y-h

sax, *pisix* (v/i) 'crow (cock)': *yapati kanikūm ta pisixu l-iškyūk* 'my father used to get up at cockcrow'; OA *šāha* (i) 'he raised his voice, ... called out, cried (out): ... it is said of a man, and ... originally, of an animal, and often of a bird of the crow kind ...' (Lane 1751);

~ Alep *šāh* (i) 'crier' (Barth 452) ~ Ka'b *šāh* (i) 'rufen, zurufen, krähen, schreien' (Vo/Wald 249) ~ Malt *šejjah*, *isejjah*.

š-y-r

sar, *pisūr* (v/i) 'become; to happen; be carried out; ripen (wheat, fruit, olives); disguise oneself (*maska*): *piri tesūr kassis* 'he wants to become a priest'; *amma tesūr sāpā'a snin, pitaylpūx tesay ḡi proti kinonīaḡ* 'when he attains the age of seven, they prepare him for his first Communion'; *aš pisūr?* 'what's going on?'; *aš pisūr, aš mā-kanisūr* or *ašma pisūr tesūr* 'come what may!'; *l-iḡpuxxor pisūr maš-šā'anine l-impallie* 'the incensing is carried out with the blessed olive branch'; *ammaḡ tesuru z-zaytūn marrūx taxxavišon* 'when the olives ripen, we go to gather them'; *Merakli kanisūr ḡmaskaḡ* (= CyG *eyinetu maskes*) *kanisūr ḡmuzesḡ* (= CyG *emuzōnnetu*) '[during carnival] M. used to disguise himself and blacken his face with soot'; *tvaxxar ḡosḡ l-atte tel-šimps ḡospuḡ tetir l-ixxār mankul o tel-žartuše (ḡrdšū) [y]yāwim ... tvaxxar manitxakka u akke mantsūr ḡsuppaḡ exen ma ll-axar* 'all day until sundown, until nightfall, we say: it's Ascension day today ... we get even with one another by drenching one another with water'; OA *šār* (i) 'become' (Hava 411);

~ Alep *šār*, *yšār/ysār* 'devenir' (Barth 452) ~ Hask *šār*, *isār* (Talay 2002:82) ~ Cabali *bišār/bišūr* (Lewin 1969:140) ~ Cai *šār* (i) 'start to, begin to; become' [cf. *mišār/mišūr* 'eventual outcome'] (Bad/Hi 516) ~ Malt *šar*, *isir* 'become; ripen; be done (food).'

[Jiha (1964:140) notes for the Lebanese Arabic dialect of Bišmizit: "Zu *šār* sind zwei Imperfektformen gebräuchlich *bišār/bišūr* (letatere

Form eine Neuerung, wohl von den Perfektformen mit *u* in Analogie nach den med. w neugebildet.)]

sar, *pisir* 'be proper, acceptable, becoming': *ma pisir* 'c'est inconvenant, cela ne se fait pas' (Roth 1975:55);

~ Alep *mā bišir/bšir* 'cela n'est pas convenable' (Barth 452).

š-y-f

sayf (no. pl) 'summer'; OA *šayf*, pl *ašyāf* (Hava 411);

~ Alep *šəf/šayf* 'été' (Barth 453) ~ Mard *šayf* (Vo/Wald 250) ~ Malt *šayf*, pl *syuf* 'summer.'

š-y-n

snie, pl *-āt* 'large round wicker tray for holding pastry before baking'; a table laid out with food and, by extension, a party': *xattayna snie* 'we laid the table'; *pisáy sniāt* 'he gives parties'; Ar *ʿawānin šiniyya* 'vessels of *aš-šin*, made in the country thus called [i.e., China]' (Lane 1757); MLA *šiniyya* 'a large, round metal plate with raised brim, esp. one made of copper' (Wehr 623);

~ Alep *šəniye* 'grand plateau rond et à rebords' (Barth 454) ~ Ka^b *šəniye* 'Teller, Tablett' (Vo/Wald 250) ~ Bask *šayniyya* (Abu-Haidar 1979:60) ~ Leban *šniyye* 'plateau' (Fegh M/J:48, fn 1) ~ Pal Ar *šaniyye/šiniyye* pl *šawāni* 'Tablett' (Bau 296), *šəniye* 'Kupferplatte, Backplatte' (Dalm III, 194; IV, 139) ~ Judaeo-Ar *šiniyya* 'round tray, serving as a table; tray (of a lamp)' (Diem/Raden 129) < 'chinaware tray' (cf. *šin* 'China').

[These terms originally designated blue-on-white porcelain trays imported from China (Warburton 1999); cf. Darag *šin* 'grün' (Vo/Wald 237), Hask *šin* 'blau' (Talay 2002:83), Tur *čeni* 'blue', Negev Ar *šini* 'deep blue' (Borg 1999).]

D

d-ḥ-k

taxak, *pkvitxak* (v/i) 'laugh, cheat s.o.': *táxakilla* 'he cheated her'; OA *daḥika* (a) (Hava 414);

~ Alep *dəhek* (a) 'rire' (Barth 456) ~ Mard *ḏəḥək* (a) 'lachen' (Vo/Wald 251) ~ Pal Ar *dihik* (a) (Bau 186) ~ Cai *dihik* (a) 'laugh, smile' (Bad/Hi 279) ~ Malt *dahaq*, *jidhaq* 'laugh': *dahqu bih* 'he was cheated.'

mitxák, f *-e*, pl *-in* (ap) 'laughing, smiling': *pintua mitxáka* 'a smiling girl' < Ar **midhāk*; cf. Bagh (M) *bəwəgh meḏḥək* 'with a laughing countenance' (Blanc 1964a:26).

taxk 'laughter': *xayytak o tel taxk* 'your brother is funny'; OA *daḥk*.

ntaxak/ntixek, *pkynitxek* (v/i) 'be duped, tricked; be under an illusion': *ntexixt* 'I was duped, tricked';

~ Cai *ʿitdahak /ʾiddahak /ʾitdahak* 'be fooled' (Bad/Hi 280).

d-r-r

ḏarr, *piḏorr* (v/t) 'harm'; OA *darra* (u) (Hava 415);

~ Alep *ḏarr* (ə) 'nuire à, faire du tort à (qqn)' (Barth 458) ~ Mard *ḏarr* (ə) 'schaden' (Vo/Wald 251) ~ Pal Ar *ḏarr* (u) (Bau 253).

d-r-b

ḏarep, *piḏarep* (v/i) 'quarrel, fight'; OA *dāraba* 'fight; come to blows with a.o.' (Hava 416).

nḏarep, *pkynḏarep* 'quarrel or wrangle with s.o.'

mpḏarep, f *mpḏarpe*, pl *-in* 'on bad terms with s.o.'

ḏrepe, pl *-āt* 'quarrel, dispute': *ana má-pri ḏrepát* 'I don't want trouble' (Frangiskou 33); < Ar **ḏrayba*;

~ Alep *ḏraybe/drēbe* 'batailles à coups de frondes, de gamins divisés en deux camps' (Barth 457).

d-r-s

ḏires, *pkyiḏras* 'be on edge (teeth)': *ḠammaḠ pakol ḠčinaresḠ*, *pkyiḏirsu snani* 'eating artichokes sets my teeth on edge'; OA *darisa* (a) 'be set on edge (teeth)' (Hava 417);

~ Alep *dəres* (a) 'avoir les dents agacées par un acide' (Barth 236) ~ Pal Ar *diris* (a) 'sich die Zähne verschlagen' (Bau 338); cf. Malt *ddarras*, *jiddarras* 'have one's teeth on edge.'

d-r-ṭ

ḏarat, *pkyiḏrot* 'break wind'; OA *darata* (i) (Hava 417);

~ Alep *ḏaraṭ* (o) 'péter' (Barth 459) ~ Mard *ḏarraṭ* 'fürzen' (Vo/Wald 253) ~ Pal Ar *ḏaraṭ* (u) (Bau 120).

ḏart 'fart'; OA *ḏarṭ*.

d-w-ʾ

ḏa, *piḏi* (v/t/i) 'shine; to break (dawn)'; 'allumer' (Roth 1975:66): *ḏ-dawm kaniḏi* 'the light was on'; *ḏa š-šark* 'it's dawn'; OA *aḏāʾa* 'shine, be bright' (Hava 422).

~ Alep *dawa* (i) 'allumer une bougie, une lampe' (Barth 465) ~ Bagh

(M) *δuwa* (i) 'gleam, beam, radiate' (Wood/Bee 283) ~ Pal Ar *dawa* (i) *d-daw* 'das Licht leuchtete' (Bau 66) ~ Cai *dawa* (i) 'gleam, shine, give off light' (Bad/Hi 526) ~ Yem *δā*^c, *yiδī*^c (Qafisheh 2000:404).

dawm 'light': < **δaww* < OA *daw*^c.

~ Alep *daw/daww*, pl *ḏḏwye/ḏḏuye* 'lumière, clarté' (Barth 465) ~ Dam *daww*, pl *ḏḏwye* (Sto/Ani 138) ~ Mard *δaww* 'Licht, Lampe' (Vo/Wald 254) ~ Mos (C) *δaww* 'light' (infor) ~ Pal Ar *daww* (Bau 50) ~ Egyp Ar *daww/dayy* (vn) (Bad/Hi 526) ~ Malt *dawl*, pl *dwal*.

ḏ-y-^c

δa^ca, *piδe^ce* 'lose; get lost, disappear': *δa^ca mil-fantús tel-art* 'he disappeared from the face of the earth' (Frangiskou 130); OA *dā^ca* (i) 'perish, be lost' (Hava 423);

~ Alep *dā^c* (i) 'etre perdu, se perdre' (Barth 465) ~ Dam *dā^c* (i) 'be or get lost; *dayya^c/dawwa^c* 'lose' (Sto/Ani 142) ~ Mard *δā^c*, *yδē^c* 'verlorengehen; *ḏayya^c* 'verlieren' (Vo/Wald 254) ~ Pal Ar *dā^c* (i) 'verlorengehen; *dawwa^c/dayya^c* 'verlieren' (Bau 335).

δe^cán (adv), f -e, pl -ín 'lost' < Ar **dāy^cān*.

δe^ce (m/f), pl *δe^cín* 'having lost': *mankapel ža v-áδak ta δe^cíxxon* 'on voit arriver aussi celui qui les avait perdus (les = *masriát*)' (Roth 1975: 116); < Ar *dāy^c*;

~ Alep *dāye^c*, f *dāy^ca* (Barth 465) ~ Dam *dāye^c* 'lost' (Sto/Ani 142) ~ Pal Ar *dāy^c* 'verloren' (Bau 335).

δe^ca, pl *δkya^ca* 'village': *δ-δe^ca* 'Kormakiti'; *ummi kant δ-δe^ca* 'my mother was in the village'; OA *day^ca*, pl *diya^c/diyā^c/day^cāt* (Hava 423);

~ Alep *dē^ca*, pl *diya^c* 'village, comprenant les demeures des cultivateurs et les terrains de culture' (Barth 466) ~ Dam *dē^ca*, pl *diya^c* 'village' (Sto/Ani 256) ~ Kənd *ḏē^ca*, pl *ḏya^c* 'Dorf' (Vo/Wald 255) ~ Hask *ḏī^ca* (Talay 2002:70).

T

t-b-x

tapax, *pkyiθpox* (v/t) 'cook': *m-márfā^ca manniθpox mtzaffrín* 'during carnival we cook fat foods'; *ávelimps θpuxt ma^cākrún* 'the day before yesterday, I cooked macaroni'; OA *tabaxa* (u, a) (Lane 1821);

~ Alep *tabax* (o) 'cuire, faire cuire (la viande, le riz)' (Barth 468) ~ Āz *tabax* (ə) 'kochen' (Vo/Wald 257) ~ Pal Ar *tabax* (u) 'kochen (Gemüse)' (Bau 177).

ntipex, *pkyiniθpex* 'be cooked, done (food)': *k-kišk pittiniθpex vaxta u pittiniθpex mal-laxm* 'kišk can be cooked either separately or together with meat'; OA *intabaxa* 'be nicely cooked, boiled' (Hava 425).

maθpúx, f -a, pl -in 'cooked.'

tapx (vn) 'cooking'; OA *tabx* 'cooking of a dish' (Hava 425).

tapxa, pl -át 'dish (= Fr *mets*)'; *maxxótt zayt tez-zaytún xost t-tapxát* 'we put olive oil in the cooking';

~ Alep *tabxa* 'ce qu'on cuit, cuisine, mets' (Barth 468) ~ Darag *ṭəbxān* 'Essen' (Vo/Wald 257) ~ Pal Ar *tabxa* 'cooking (in betrothal ceremony)' (Granqvist 1935: II, 9).

t-ğ-n

tayžen, pl *tvežen* 'frying pan'; nonclass Ar *ṭayğin/ṭāğin* < *τήγανον/τάγηνον* (Dozy II, 27); JAram *ṭīgān/ṭīgnōn/ṭīgnān* 'frying pan' (also *ṭīgūn*) (M. Jastrow 529);

Alep *tāğen* 'nom d'un ragoût' (Barth 472) ~ Cai *tāğin* pl *tawāğin* 'earthenware oven casserole' (Bad/Hi 533) ~ rur Egyp Ar *tāğin* 'Ton-gefäß' (Behn/Woid 1987:139) ~ Judaeo-Ar *tāğin* 'frying pan' (Diem/Raden 133) ~ Malt *tağen*, pl *twāgen/tağnijiet*.

t-h-n

taxan, *pkyitxon* (v/t) 'grind': *txanna l-ismit* 'we ground the semolina'; OA *taḥana* (a) (Hava 428);

~ Alep *taḥan* (a) 'moudre (des grains, du café, du sel, du blé)' (Barth 472) ~ Fəsk *taḥan* (a) 'mahlen' (Vo/Wald 258) ~ Cai *taḥan* (a) 'grind, mill' (Bad/Hi 533) ~ Malt *taḥan*, *jithan* 'grind.'

ntaxan, *pkyinitxen* 'be ground'; cf. OA *tataḥhana* 'be milled' (Hava 428).

taxn, pl -át (vn) 'grinding'; OA *taḥn* (Hava 428).

matxún, f -a, pl -ín (pp) 'ground.'

taxune, pl *tvexín* 'mill': *taxune tel zaytún* 'olive press; *taxune tell-ixín* 'flour mill'; OA *ṭāḥūn/ṭāḥūna*, pl *tawāḥīn/taḥhāna* (Hava 428);

~ Alep *tāḥūne*, pl *ṭweḥīn* 'moulin à eau' (Barth 472) ~ Syr Ar *tāḥūn/ṭehūn/ṭohūn/taḥūn/taḥūna/taḥūne*, etc. (map 384, Behnstedt 1997);

769) ~ Pal Ar *tāhūne*, pl *ṭawāhīn* (Bau 210) ~ Egyp Ar *ṭahūna* 'Quern' (Behnstedt 1979b:76) ~ Malt *ṭmithna*, pl *ṭmiehen* 'flour mill'

ṭxin, pl *ṭxen* (< **ṭhēyen*) 'flour'; OA *ṭahīn* (Hava 428);

~ Alep *ṭhīn* (n coll) 'farine', pl *ṭhēyen* 'espèces de farine' (Barth 472) ~ Hal *ṭahīn* 'Mehl' (Vo/Wald 258) ~ Pal Ar *ṭhīn* (Bau 202).

ṭ-r-š¹

atraš (invar) 'bewildered; deaf'; OA *aṭraš*, f *ṭaršā*, pl *ṭurš* 'deaf' (Hava 430); Jaram *ṭaršā* 'deafness' (M. Jastrow 558; Vollers 1897:292);

~ Alep *aṭraš*, f *ṭarša*, pl *ṭaršān* 'sour' (Barth 475) ~ Dam *aṭraš*, f *ṭarša*, pl *ṭarš/ṭaršān* 'deaf' (Sto/Ani 61) ~ Pal Ar *aṭraš*, f *ṭarša*, pl *ṭuršān* (Bau 298) ~ Malt *ṭruṣ*, f *ṭruṣa*, pl *ṭorox* (cf. Borg 1996b:147).

ṭ-r-š²

terrāš, n un -e 'bushes used as tinder'; Syriac *ṭarrāšā* 'a barren oak, a shrub' (J. Payne Smith 1903:183);

~ Kənd *ṭarrāš* 'Büsche, Buschwerk' (Vo/Wald 259).

ṭ-r-f

ṭaraf, pl *ṭurfén* 'end, extremity'; OA *ṭaraf*, pl *aṭrāf/aṭārīf* 'side, extremity, edge' (Hava 430);

[For the rare plural suffix -*én* in CyA, note the plural form *utén* 'pieces of wood'.]

~ Alep *ṭaraf*, pl *ṭrāf* 'côté taillé' (Barth 476) ~ Mard *ṭaraf*, pl *Āz ṭrāf* 'Ecke, Seite, Fettschwanz' (Vo/Wald 259) ~ Pal Ar *ṭaraf*, pl *aṭrāf* 'Rand' (Bau 238) ~ Malt *ṭarf*, pl *ṭruṣ* 'end, edge.'

ṭ-r-q

ṭrik (f) 'road; once', pl *ṭruk*: *ta lá-terúx xost l-itrúp* 'don't let him go on the roads'; *exte ṭrik u exen ...* 'once upon a time ...'; *aḏa š-šo^ool ta lá-ysur oxre ṭrik* 'this must not happen again!'; *tlax-ṭrúk* 'thrice'; OA *ṭarīq* (m/f), pl *ṭuruq/ṭuruqāt/aṭruq* 'way, road, path', *ṭarq/ṭurq/ṭarqa* 'stroke, time': *ataytuḥu ṭarqan aw ṭarqayn* 'I went to him two or three times' (Hava 431);

[For the feminine gender of CyA *ṭrik*, cf. Çukur *ṭrīq* f (Procházka 2002: 117), and Mod Gk *φοπά* f.]

~ Alep *ṭrīq*, pl *ṭarq* 'chemin; route; une fois', *ṭrīqet rəxər* 'une autre fois', *ṭmən ṭarq* 'huit fois' (Barth 83, 93) ~ Dam *ṭrī* 'Weg' (Grotzfeld 1965:153) ~ Qarṭ *ṭarīq*, Darag *ṭrīq*, pl *ṭarq* 'Weg, Straße, Mal'; *ḏila θəθ ṭarq* 'beim dritten Mal' (Vo/Wald 259);

ṭrukáyn 'twice' < **ṭuruqayn*.

[Retention of the historically plural stem **ṭuruq* in the CyA dual finds morphological parallels in other dialects of Eastern Arabic: the Damascene pseudo-dual *adanən* 'ears' (Sto/Ani 74), and doubly plural form *ṭurāt* (Bergsträßer 1924:93; Bloch 1964:94; Feghali 1919:211) < OA *ṭuruqāt* (Hava 431), cf. Durra 190.]

ṣīṭrik 'sometimes, sometime, anytime; once, never' (šy^ol).

ṭ-^c-m

ṭa^cem, *ṭita^cem* (v/t) 'feed s.o.; stoke (charcoal fire)': *ž-žēž ṭa^cimton xops maplúl* 'I fed the chickens moistened bread'; < **ṭā^cam* < **ṭa^cam*; OA *aṭ^cam* 'feed a.o.' (Hava 432);

[Secondary vowel length in the postulated etymon *ṭā^cam* derives from degemination of *^c.]

~ Alep *ṭa^cma*, *ṭa^cmi* 'donner à manger qqe à qqn' (Barth 479) ~ Dam *ṭa^cma* 'feed' (Sto/Ani 88) ~ Mard *ṭa^cam* 'füttern' (Vo/Wald 260) ~ Pal Ar *ṭa^cma* 'inoculate' (Elihai 1999:207) ~ Malt *ṭieghem*, *ṭiteghem* 'taste.'

ṭa^cem, *ṭkyinta^cem* 'be fed; stoked (furnace)': *k-kammīn ṭkyislaṣ ṭeinta^cem žum^catáyn Ḡan^G o xpir*; *Ḡan^G o zē^cir xažžtu exte žumā^a* 'the charcoal furnace has to be stoked for two weeks if it is big, and if it is small, one week is enough.'

ṭó^cme, pl -*át* 'food; animal feed; fuel': *k-kammīn ṭkyaxo ṭó^cme kayse* 'the charcoal furnace requires a fair amount of fuel'; OA *ṭu^cma*, pl *ṭu^cam* 'food' (Hava 432);

~ Alep *ṭə^cm samak* 'appât, amorce' (Barth 479) ~ Dam *ṭə^cm*, pl *ṭū^cm(e)* 'bait' (Sto/Ani 17) ~ Pal Ar *ṭu^cam* 'bait' (Elihai 1999:207) ~ Egyp Ar *ṭu^cma* 'goût, saveur' (Boc, Dozy II, 46) ~ Malt *ṭoghma* 'taste.'

ṭ-f-³

ṭfa, *ṭkyitfi* (v/t) 'extinguish'; OA *aṭfa³a* (Hava 433);

~ Alep *ṭafa* (i) 'éteindre' (Barth 481) ~ Kənd *ṭafa* (i) 'löschen' (Vo/Wald 260) ~ Pal Ar *ṭafa* (i) (Bau 35) ~ Malt *ṭefa*, *ṭitfi* 'extinguish (light, fire).'

ṭtaffa, *ṭkyintaffa* (v/i) 'être éteint' (Roth 1975:84); cf. OA *ṭafi³a* *ṭtaffa³a* 'the fire became extinguished, or quenched' (Lane 1858);

~ Alep VII *ṭtaffa* and V *aṭtaffa* 'être éteint' (Barth 481) ~ Pal Ar *ṭtaffa* 'verlöschen' (Bau 335) ~ Malt *ṭteffa*, *ṭjintefa* 'be extinguished', *ṭtaffa*, *ṭjittaffa* 'be mitigated.'

mintfi, f *mintfle*, pl *mintfin* (pp) 'extinguished (fire)';

t-l-b

tilep, *pkyitlop* (v/t) 'request'; 'demander en mariage' (Roth 1975:36);
OA *talaba* (u) 'beseech' (Hava 435);

[Cf. Alep *xutab* (o) 'demander en mariage' (mslm. ; les Chrét. disent *talab*) (Barth 207).]

~ Alep *talab* (o) 'demander, chercher; demander en mariage' (Barth 482) ~ Sii *talab* (o) 'fordern von (*mən*), verlangen, betteln' (Vo/Wald 261) ~ Pal Ar *talab* (o) 'request, demand' (Elihai 1999:205) ~ Malt *talab*, *jitlob* 'request; pray (Chr)';

tilp (vn) 'begging for alms'; OA *tilba/taliba* 'object sought for, desired' (Hava 435);

~ Alep *talab* 'demande'; [cf. *tallāb*, pl *tallebin* 'mendiant'] (Barth 483)
~ Qat *tälbe*, inf of *talab* (Vo/Wald 261).

[Cf. Malt *atallab*, *jittallab* 'beg'.]

t-l-^c

til'e, *pkyitla'a* (v/i) 'rise; go out': *ša-pittitla'a š-šimps* (= CyG *iša fē'enni o iyyos*) 'the sun is about to rise'; *til'et l-ixmire* 'the leaven rose'; *til'na parra mib-bayt* 'we went out of doors'; *til'et ruxu* 'he expired'; *til'e xorku* 'he lost his temper'; OA *tala'a* (a) 'rise (sun); grow (tooth, plant)' (Hava 436);

Alep *tale'* (a) 'monter': *täl'et rōho* 'il a rendu l'âme' (Barth 484) ~ Kənd *tala'* (a) 'hinaufgehen, hinaufsteigen' (Vo/Wald 262) ~ Pal Ar *tālir'* (a) / *tālir'* (u) / *tālir'* 'steigen': *til'at rūho* (a) 'krepieren' (Bau 182, 287) ~ Malt *tel'a*, *jitla'* 'rise' *telagħlu* [te'la:lu] 'he lost his temper'.

[CyA, Aleppine, and Palestinian Arabic here appear to retain a calque of an Aramaic expression such as Syriac *perhāṭ nāṣeh* 'expiravit' (R. Payne Smith 3254).]

tel'e (m/f), pl *-in* 'rising, going out'; OA *tālir'*.

t-w-r¹

tara, pl *-āt* (= CyG *tapačá*) 'a large circular basket made from a wooden hoop and rope netting and suspended from the kitchen ceiling for storing food out of the reach of rodents': *xattet x-xops xok t-tara* 'she put the bread on the hanging basket'; MLA *tāra* 'hoop, ring-frame' (Wehr 669);

~ Alep *tāra*, pl *-āt* 'cerceau, cercle de bois ou de fer; cercle d'un

tamis, d'un crible; ... cerceau de bois ou couronne faite de branches de saule, où l'on pose le bassin de cuivre (*lāqan*) de la lessive; et aussi tabouret percé dans son milieu pour le même usage' (Barth 490; cf. al-Asadi 1988:V, 232) ~ Pal Ar *tāra* 'Holzring' (Bau 160), 'Rahmen des Kornsiebes' (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 287).

t-w-r²

Tverī'e (locality in Kormakiti) < **Twayriyye*;
cf. Leban Ar *Twairī* = dim of Ar *tūr* 'Berg (nur Bezeichnung des Berges Sinai; Ahrens 1930:31; Penrice 1873:91); note, however, Bauer (1957:52): "Ölberg, Garizim, Tabor heißen jeder *effūr*"; < Aram *Tūrā* 'Berg' (Wild 1973:174; Zadok 1997:127); cf. Pal Ar *tūr* 'Gebirge' (Socin 1881:8).

[Insertion of a voiced pharyngeal fricative as a syllable divider is not uncommon in CyA: *kara'ula* 'snail' < CyG *kariolas*, *tš'er* 'grass' < CyG *čairin* (Yangoullis 1997:119, 322).]

t-w-q

taka, pl *-āt* 'window'; MLA *tāqa* 'window' (Wehr 672); OA *tāq* 'arch, vault' (Hava 442);

~ Alep *tāqa*, pl *tuwāq* et *-āt* 'petite fenêtre ou lucarne cintrée dans le haut d'un mur' (Barth 492) ~ Palm *tāqa*, pl *twāq* 'petite fenêtre, petite porte' (Cantineau 1934:22) ~ Hör *tāga* 'fenestron' (Cantineau 1946:297) ~ Kənd *tāqa* 'small window, skylight' (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Çukur *tāqa/tuwaq* 'Fenster' (Procházka 2002:174) ~ Leban Ar *tāqa* 'fenêtre' (Feghali 1938:795) ~ Bišm *tā'a*, pl *fi'ān/twā'/tā'āt* 'Öffnung, Kippflügel (am Fenster oder an der Tür)' (Jiha 1964:64, fn 5) ~ Pal Ar *tāqa*, pl *-āt* 'Luke' (Bau 197), 'Wandnische' (Socin 1881:7), 'a small niche in the wall of a cenotaph' (Canaan 1927:27) ~ Yem (J) *tāgah*, pl *-āt* or *fiḡān* 'window' (Goitein 1941:90) ~ Ša'd *tāgah* (Behnstedt 1987:278) ~ Malt *tieqa*, pl *twieqi* 'window'.

[Cf. Almkvist (1925:1): *tāq* 'kleine runde Fensterchen, oft ohne Glas zum Unterschied von *sibbak*, dem gewöhnlichen, grossen viereckigen Fenster mit Glas oder Gitter oder beidem'.]

t-w-l

tivel, *pkyitval* (v/i) 'become tall'; OA *tāla* (u) 'it was or became long' (Lane 1895);

~ Alep *tuwel* (a) 's'allonger, devenir grand de taille' (Barth 493) ~ Dam *tāwel* (= [tuwel]) (a) 'grow tall' (Cowell 1964:72) ~ Çukur *fiwil* (a) 'wachsen (Kind)' (Procházka 2002:80) ~ Bagh (M) *tuwal* (a) 'be or

become long' (Wood/Bee 296) ~ Pal Ar *ṭiwel* (a) (Elihai 1999:203).

[Barth notes: "doublet en f^{ae}l de *ṭāl*, *ytūl* formé sous l'influence de *tawil*" (loc. cit.).]

tavel, *pitavel* (v/i) 'linger, be late; last a long time': *tavel tekúm* 'he got up late'; (y)yawm l-kiddás *tavel* 'the Mass dragged on today'; OA *tawwala* 'remain long doing' (Hava 442);

~ Alep *ṭawwal* 'rendre long, prolonger, allonger' (Barth 493) ~ Qarṭ *ṭawwal* 'ausstrecken, durchhalten' (Vo/Wald 268) ~ Pal Ar *ṭawwal* 'dauern' (Bau 73) ~ Malt *ṭawwal*, *itawwal* 'lengthen.'

twil, f -e, pl *tval* (adj) 'tall, long'; OA *ṭawīl*, pl *ṭiwāl* (Hava 442);

~ Alep *ṭawīl*, f -e, pl *ṭwāl* 'long' (Barth 494) ~ Kənd *ṭawīl*, Darag *ṭwīl*, pl *ṭwāl* 'lang, länglich' (Vo/Wald 265) ~ Pal Ar *ṭ(a)wīl*, pl *ṭwāl* 'lang' (Bau 188) ~ Malt *ṭwil*, pl *twal*.

atval (elat) 'longer, longest, taller, etc.': *meno l-atval mixxóst b-bayt?* 'who's the tallest in the family?'; OA *aṭwal* (Hava 442);

~ Alep *ṭaṭwal* compar de *ṭawīl* (Barth 493) ~ Pal Ar *ṭaṭwal* 'longer, taller' (Elihai 1999:203) ~ Malt *ṭitwal*.

tul/tuwl 'length'; OA *ṭūl* (Hava 442);

~ Alep *ṭūl* 'longueur' (Barth 493) ~ Kənd *ṭūl* 'Länge, Längsseite' (Vo/Wald 265) ~ Pal Ar *ṭūl* (Bau 188) ~ Malt *ṭul* 'length.'

tval- (prep) 'during' < **ṭwāl*: *tvállayl* 'all night' < **ṭwāl l-layl*; MLA *tawāla/ṭiwāla* (prep) 'during, throughout' (Wehr 673);

~ Alep *ṭwāl* 'durée, longueur', *ṭwāl əlləl* 'toute la nuit' (Barth 494) ~ Pal Ar *ṭuwwāl ma māt* 'von da an als er gestorben war' (Bau 346).

tváxxar 'all day'; *ṭénixar nússuxar, l-impšix pikúm u tváxxar pitokku k-^Gkampanes^G* 'at noon on the following day, Jesus rises (from the dead) and the bells ring throughout the day'; < **ṭwāl n-nhār*.

ṭ-w-y

tava, *pitavi* (v/t) 'let herd forage freely (i.e., not graze in enclosed areas)': *naxni mantavi li-^Gkwelles^G axxóst p-Pán^cara* 'we allow the sheep to graze freely at Panaghra' (Frangiskou 135); < **ṭawwa*, **ytawwi*; OA *ṭawā* (i) 'go through a country or stages' (Hava 443), *ṭawiyat ṭiyyatuhu* 'the place to which ... he would repair ... became remote' (Lane 1898); MLA *ṭawā l-arḍa ṭayyan* 'rush through a country' (Wehr 675);

~ Alep *halḥšān bəṭwi l-^card ṭawi* 'ce cheval replie, enroule le sol

sous ses pas, cad. dévore l'espace' (Barth 494) ~ Dawāsir Ar *tawa/ṭiwa* 'fold up, wrap up; cover distance, cross, traverse' (Kurpershoek 1999:412-3).

mintavi, f *mintavie*, pl *mintavin* (pp) 'wandering, foraging freely (cattle)': *ammi l-Yuse, b-bakar šatu lixyáxon mintavin axxóst ma l-Apte* 'the cows of my paternal uncle Joseph are grazing at l-Apte'; Ar *inṭawā* 'être placé sur' (Fleischer II, 622), *munṭawī* 'meandering' (Corriente 1997:338); MLA *inṭawā* 'be covered (distance)' (Wehr 675).

ṭ-y-b¹

tap, *pitip* (v/i) 'get better, recover (from illness)'; *kanu pxalín u tapu* 'they were sick and they recovered' (Frangiskou 133); OA *ṭāba* (i) (Hava 443);

~ Alep *ṭāb* (i) 'devenir agréable, bon' (Barth 495) ~ Pal Ar *ṭāb* (i) 'recover from illness' (Elihai 1999:198) ~ Malt *ṭjieb* 'improve (v/i)'

taep, *pitaep* (v/t) 'cure s.o.'; OA *ṭayyaba* 'better a. thing' (Hava 443);

~ Alep *ṭayyab* 'guérir (qqn: médecin ou remède)' (Barth 495) ~ Pal Ar *ṭayyab* 'heilen' (Bau 151) ~ Malt *ṭejjeb* (v/t) 'improve.'

taep, f *taype*, pl *taypin* 'good, decent; in good health'; OA *ṭayyib* 'good, sweet, perfumed, honest, in good health' (Hava 443);

~ Alep *ṭayyeb*, f *ṭayybe*, pl *ṭayybīn*, pl f *ṭayybāt* 'bon au goût ou à l'odorat, suave, etc.' (Barth 496) ~ Mard *ṭayyab*, f *ṭayybe*, pl *ṭayybīn* 'schön' (Vo/Wald 266) ~ Pal Ar *ṭayyib* 'gut' (Bau 145) ~ Malt *ṭajjeb*.

taype (n) 'cure': *malu taype* 'there is no cure for it.'

ṭ-y-b²

taylep, *pitaylep* (v/t) 'prepare, arrange, fix, repair; attend to'; *taylifš-šara* 'I prepared dinner'; *taylipna l-ixxār tel 'ors* 'we set the day for the wedding'; Syriac *ṭayyeb* 'paravit' (Brockel 270).

[No other Arabic cognate of this term has been noted.]

mtaylep, f *mtaylpe*, pl *mtaylpīn* 'prepared; all set; established, well off': *kallina ^Gkentro^G mtaylep arrúx annakol* 'we had a parish hall prepared for dinner (after a wedding celebration)'; *lixa mtaylep tapx* 'she has a meal prepared.'

ntaylep, *pkyintaylep* (v/i) 'prepare o.s., get ready, make one's arrangements': *^Gamma^G exte mara pittivlet ^Gmorós, istera^G mix-xmenye (θ)kyem, pkyintaylpu pšan tea^cimtúx* 'when a woman bears a child,

after eight days, they make arrangements to baptize it.

ntuylop (vn) 'preparation, repair': *b-bape pitri ntuylop* 'the door needs fixing.'

t-y-n

θkyan, pl *θkyeynāt* 'mud, clay'; *lá-timši xost l-iθkyán u tatsúr kullu θkyeynāt* 'don't walk through the mud and get covered in it!'; *rabbi sava l-intsán ma l-iθkyán* 'God fashioned man from clay'; MLA *atyān*, sg *fin* 'clay' (Wehr 678);

[For the suffix on CyA *kull*, see Intro, §V.]

~ Alep *tyān*, sg *fin* 'boue, mortier' (Barth 498) ~ Pal Ar *fin* 'mortier (mélange)' (Elihai 1973:263) ~ Malt ⟨*tajn*⟩ 'mud.'

Ḍ

ḍ-f-r

ḍufr, pl *ḍrofir* (< **ḍwāfir*) 'fingernail, fingertip': *po^cótt ḍufri xost l-ixlíp u ^camma^c pikaem ḍufri l-ixúne, pkyislax tarawpu* '(while making yoghurt) I dip my finger tip in the [boiling] milk, and if it can stand the heat, I have to curdle it (the milk)'; OA *ḍifr/ḍufar/ḍufur*, pl *aḍfār/aḍāfir* (Hava 446);

~ Alep *ḍāfār*, pl *ḍāfār/dāfir/dfār* 'ongle (de l'homme et de qques animaux); sabot, corne du pied du cheval, griffe, serre' (Barth 461) ~ Dam *ḍāfār*, pl *ḍāfār* 'nail' (Sto/Ani 155) ~ Mard *ḍāfār*, pl *aḍāfir* 'Fingernagel, Zehennagel' (Vo/Wald 270) ~ Pal Ar *ḍifr/ḍufar*, pl *ḍāfir/aḍāfir* (Bau 112) ~ Eryp Ar (Bedouin) *ḍufur*, pl *ḍāfir* (Behn/Woid 1994:153) ~ Malt ⟨*difer*, pl *difrejn/dwiefer*⟩.

ḍ-l-m

ḍulm/ḍulme/ḍlam 'darkness; faint light': *attet š-šimps u sar ḍulme* 'the sun set and it got dark'; *kan ḍulme u má-kuntáksa^a* 'it was dark and I couldn't see'; *lá-tsalli xost ḍ-ḍulme* 'don't read in poor light!'; OA *ḍulma/ḍalām* 'obscurity' (Hava 447);

~ Alep *ḍalmāt* 'ténèbres épaisses' (Barth 503) ~ Darag *zlam* 'dunkel, Finsternis' (Vo/Wald 270) ~ Pal Ar *ḍulma/ḍalām* 'Dunkelheit' (Bau 80) ~ Malt ⟨*dalma*, *dlam*⟩ 'darkness.'

ḍ-h-r

ḍaxr (no pl) 'back': *ḍaxri*, *ḍaxrak*, etc.; OA *ḍahr*, pl *ḍuhūr/aḍhur/ḍuhrān* (Hava 448);

~ Alep *ḍahr/ḍahar*, pl *ḍhūr* 'dos' (Barth 464) ~ Dam *ḍahār*, pl *ḍhūra* 'back' (Sto/Ani 16) ~ Mard *ḍahār*, pl *ḍhōra* 'Rücken' (Vo/Wald 270) ~ Pal Ar *ḍahr*, pl *ḍhūr* (Bau 247) ~ Malt ⟨*dahar*, pl *dhur(a)*⟩ (Aquilina 1987:191).

c

c-b-b

cobb 'pocket between shirt and chest; bosom'; Ar *cubb* 'the base (*aṣl*) of the sleeve ... or the fore part of the sleeve of the shirt ... but it is a vulgar word' (Lane 1931); Syriac *cubbā* 'the bosom, lap, womb' (J. Payne Smith 1903, 403); OA *ḡubb*, pl *aḡbāb/ḡubūb* 'depressed land, gulf' (Hava 515); MLA *cubb/cubb* 'breast pocket' (Wehr 684);

~ Alep *cabb*, pl *cāb* 'cavité en forme de poche, entre le gilet ou la chemise d'une part et le *qambāz* de l'autre, au dessus de la ceinture' (Barth 507) ~ Bagh (M) *cibb*, pl *cūb* 'front of the *dišdāša*, above the belt (where objects may be carried), shirt front' (Wood/Bee 299) ~ Hilla *cibb* (Denz/Edzard 1966:82) ~ Āz *cabb*, Kənd, Darag *ḥabb*, pl *ḥal ḥbūb* 'Brusttasche' (Vo/Wald 107) ~ Leban Ar *ebb* 'sein, partie flottante qui va du cou à la ceinture, entre la peau et les vêtements ...' (Feghali 1935:175, fn 1) ~ Pal Ar *cibb*, pl *cubūb* 'Brusttasche durch Gürtel und Hemd gebildet' (Bau 68), *cibb/cubb*, pl *cābāb* (Dalman V, 233) ~ Malt ⟨*hobb*⟩.

[Cf. Ma'l *coppa* 'Tasche' (Bergsträßer 1921:1); Mand *umba* 'bosom' (Drower/Macuch 344); Tur *cbo* 'Brusttasche' (Jastrow 1985:178); Fellīhi *cubbā* 'Tasche' (Sachau 1895:22). The alternation *c* ~ *h* in the Anatolian Arabic cognates of this term finds a parallel in Garam *hūba/cūbā* (Koe/Baum 284).]

c-b-ʾ

cabba, pi *cabbi* (v/t) 'fill up, pack tightly, stuff': *cabbayna z-zaytūn (or x-xarrūp) xost l-ixrāš u žipnaxon žava* 'we loaded the olives (or carobs) into the saddlebags and brought them home'; OA *cabaʾa* 'he packed up goods, or utensils; put them one upon another, *cabbaʾa* 'he prepared, set in order' (Lane 1933);

~ Alep *cabba* 'emplir, remplir (un vase, un sac, etc.)' (Barth 510) ~ Dam *cabba* 'fill' (Sto/Ani 89) ~ Kənd *cabba* 'füllen (mit = *mən*)' (Vo/Wald 272) ~ Pal Ar *cabba* (Bīr Zēt; Schmidt/Kahle 1918:1, 288) ~ Malt ⟨*ghabba*, *jghabbi*⟩ 'load.'

cubbo (vn) 'filling to capacity.'

c-b-d

l-*c*Apte (locality in Kormakiti) < *l*-*c*Abde (Dalm VII, 290), cf. also Syriac *bt* 'forest' (Zadok 1997:147).

[Cf. the toponymic component *Abd* 'a black cone (N Arabia)' (Groom 1983:31).]

c-b-r

abber, *pi*-*abber* (v/t) 'thread a needle'; OA *abbara* 'convey a.o. across a river' (Hava 450);

~ Kənd *abber* 'hindurchführen (Strick)' (Vo/Wald 273).

c-t-q

itek, *pkyá*-*ätak* (v/t/i) 'grow old; exceed s.o. in age': *pkyá*-*ätakni tlix snin* 'he's three years older than me' (Frangiskou 112); OA *ataqa* (u) (Hava 452);

~ Alep *äteq* (a) 'devenir vieux, être ancien' (Barth 511) ~ Bagh (M) *itag* (a) 'grow old' (Wood/Bee 301) ~ Pal Ar *itīq* (a) (Bau 327).

atik, f -e, pl *ätak* (adj) 'old'; OA *atīq*, pl *utaqā* 'antiquated, old; excellent, noble; old and good wine' (Hava 452);

~ Alep *atīq*, pl *ətaq* 'vieux, ancien' (Barth 511) ~ Qart *atīq*, f -a 'alt (Sache), früherer (Person)' (Vo/Wald 273) ~ Bagh (M) *atīg*, pl *ittag* 'old, obsolete' (Wood/Bee 301) ~ Pal Ar *atīq*, pl *utuq* (Bau 12).

at-*tak* (elat) 'older; oldest'; OA *a*-*taq*.

c-ğ-b

ižep, *pkyá*-*äžep* (v/t) 'please': OA *a*-*ğabahu* 'it ... induced in him wonder, ... and pleasure ...' (Lane 1956);

~ Alep *ağab* (e) 'plaire à (qqn)' (Barth 512) ~ Dam *ažab* (e) 'please' (Sto/Ani 175) ~ Mard *əğəb* (a) 'gefallen (jmdm. = acc. oder lə-)' (Vo/Wald 273) ~ Pal Ar *ağab* (i) (mit Akk) (Löhr 1905:111) ~ Cai *agab* (i) (Bad/Hi 563) ~ Malt *ghogob*, *joghğob*.

c-ğ-l

ižl 'calf'; OA *iğl*, pl *uğül* (Hava 456);

~ Alep *əğəl*, pl *ğül* 'veau' (Barth 514) ~ Dam *əžəl*, pl *žül* (e) 'calf' (Sto/Ani 33) ~ Kənd *əğəl*, pl *Āz ağəğil*, Darag *ğāl* 'Kalb' (Vo/Wald 274) ~ Cai *iğl*, pl *uğül*/*iggāl*/*uğūla* (Bad/Hi 564) ~ Malt *ghogob*.

c-ğ-n

ižen, *pkyá*-*äžen* (v/t) 'knead': *sift mimpukra n-nesfán pkyá*-*ižnu*

'(on Holy) Saturday morning the women bake (lit., knead)'; *ta kunt zē*-*ir*, *ummi kantá*-*äžen xops kúyyom* 'when I was small, my mother used to bake bread every day'; OA *ağana* (i, o) (Hava 456);

~ Alep *ağan* (e) 'pétrir' (Barth 514) ~ Kənd *ağan* (ə) 'kneten' (Vo/Wald 274) ~ Pal Ar *ağan* (i) 'knead' (Elihai 1999:357) ~ Cai *agan* (i) (Bad/Hi 565) ~ Malt *ghāgen*, *jaghgen*.

ma-*äžün*, f -e, pl -*in* (pp) 'kneaded'; OA *ma*-*ğün*.

ažne (vn) 'kneading': *tfaδdet mil*-*ažne* 'she has finished baking (lit. kneading)' (Frangiskou 30);

~ Dam *ažne*, pl -*āt* 'bread dough' (Sto/Ani 71) ~ Cai *agna* (nv) 'kneading' (Bad/Hi 565).

ažin 'dough', pl *užnát*: *maxxallix ši nuss-sa*-*a lä*-*ažin pkyistrix* 'we lay the dough aside for about half-an-hour (before we roll it)'; OA *ağin* pl *uğun* 'dough-paste' (Hava 456);

~ Alep *ağin* 'pâte' (Barth 514) ~ Dam *ažin* (e), pl -*āt* 'dough' (Sto/Ani 71) ~ Sii *ağin* 'Teig' (Vo/Wald 274) ~ Pal Ar *ağin* (Bau 299) ~ Malt *ghagina*.

c-d-d

add, *pi*-*odd* (v/t) 'count'; OA *adda* (u) (Hava 457);

~ Alep *add* (ə) 'compter' (Barth 516) ~ Mard *add* (ə) 'zählen, aufzählen' (Vo/Wald 275) ~ Pal Ar *add* (i) (Bau 371) ~ Cai *add* (i) (Bau 371) ~ Malt *ghadd*, *jghodd* 'count.'

add/*t*-*uddo* (vn) 'adding, addition.'

mā-*addūt*, f -a, pl -*in* (pp) 'added'; OA *ma*-*dūd*.

c-d-s

ates 'lentils'; OA *adas* (Hava 457);

[*Lens culinaris* — "a characteristic companion of wheat and barley cultivation throughout the belt of Mediterranean cultivation" (Zohary 1995:271).]

~ Alep *ades* 'lentilles' (Barth 516) ~ Hama *ades* 'Linsen' (Lewin 1966:218) ~ Ka^b *adas* ~ Mħall *ads* (Vo/Wald 275) ~ Pal Ar *adas* (Bau 194) ~ Cai *ads* (coll) 'lentils' (Bad/Hi 566) ~ Malt *ghads* [a:ts].

c-d-f

addef, *pi*-*addef* 'swear, curse' (ğdfl).

-d-y

'*anta*, *pi'anti* (v/t/i) 'enter, pass, leave; be cured of an ailment (+ obj, pron); abate (anger)': '*antu žava* 'come (pl) in!'; '*anta fi pali* 'it occurred to me'; '*ašma fáza'a lu l-^Gmorós^G te'antix* 'whatever anxiety the child has, may it leave him!'; '*antáx x-xork telu* 'his anger abated'; OA '*addá* (Hava 459);

~ Alep '*adda* 'passer (v/i)' (Barth 518) ~ Pal Ar '*adda* 'eintreten' (Bau 89) ~ Cai '*adda* 'cross' (Bad/Hi 566) ~ Malt '*ghadda*, *jghaddi* (v/t/i) 'pass by, enter, overtake.'

-δ-b

'*addep*, *pi'addep* (v/t) 'vex, trouble, pester, upset': '*ulati pi'aδδpuni* 'my children cause me concern'; OA '*aδδaba* 'he chastised, tortured' (Hava 460);

~ Alep '*addab* 'tourmenter, créer des difficultés ou des tracas à (qqn)' (Barth 515) ~ Dam '*azzab* 'torture' (Sto/Ani 245) ~ Āz '*azzab* 'quälen' (Vo/Wald 276) ~ rur Pal Ar '*aδδab hālo* 'sich abquälen' (Bau 5) ~ Cai '*azzib* 'torture' (Bad/Hi 575) ~ Malt '*ghaddeb* (obsol) 'punish' (Aquilina 1990:937).

tā'addep, *pkyit'addep* (v/i) 'exert oneself; drudge': '*t'addift ixttr (y)yawm*; *kunt vaxti* 'I had a hard time today; I was alone (at work)'; MLA '*ta'aδδaba* 'suffer' (Wehr 701);

~ Alep '*t'addab* 'peiner pour faire quelque chose' (Barth 515) ~ Bask '*lays it'izzabit hayk?* 'why did you go to all this trouble?' (Abu-Haidar 1979:24) ~ Pal Ar '*t'aδδab* 'sich abmartern' (Bau 5).

mā'addep, f *mā'aδδpe*, pl *mā'aδδpín* 'vexed, upset, under stress.'

t'uddop 'stress.'

-δ-r

l-^aatra 'the Virgin Mary'; '*θénixar ixnáyn lína l-ixxár* (< *nhr*) *tel-^aatra* 'on the following day, Monday (after Easter Sunday), we celebrate the feast of the Virgin'; OA *al-^aδrā* (Hava 460);

~ Alep '*Maryam al-^aadra* (Barth 534) ~ Pal Ar '*Maryam il-^adra* 'die hl. Jungfrau Maria' (Bau 167).

-r-b

'*arrep*, *pi'arrep* (v/t) 'separate, be separated': '*maxxavež z-zaytún l-exte nexa u mantarrion te'arrpu z-zaytún mif-^Gfilla^G* 'we heap the olives on one side and winnow them so that the olives are separated

from the leaves'; '*Gan^G ta pkyintžawzu fia má-pisáy ulát, ya lá-^aarús ya lá-^aarís, l-iknise šaitna pit'arrep* 'if when they marry, it turns out that either the husband or the wife is barren, our Church dissolves [the marriage]'; Syriac '*arab hette* 'Weizen sieben' (Seidel 1988:107), '*arab* 'cribler' (Barth 518); OA '*daraba bayn* 'divide, separate' (Hava 415);

~ Alep '*arab* (e) 'trier, séparer' (Barth 518) ~ Leban Ar '*arreb* 'il mit de côté, sépara (ses chèvres des chèvres étrangères, le blé de l'ivraie, etc.)' (Feghali 1918:45) ~ Pal Ar '*arrab* 'sortieren' (Bau 280).

tā'arrep, *pkyit'arrep* 'become separated.'

mā'arrep, f *mā'arrpe*, pl *mā'arrpín* (pp) 'separated, set apart.'

t'urrop 'separation; annulment of marriage.'

-r-s

'*ors*, pl '*ārās* 'wedding'; OA '*urs/urus*, pl '*a'rās* (Hava 463);

~ Alep '*ars*, pl '*arās* 'noce' (Barth 520) ~ Mard '*ars* 'Hochzeit, Hochzeitsfest, Fest' (Vo/Wald 276) ~ Pal Ar '*urs*, pl '*a'rās* (Bau 159) ~ Malt '*ghors* 'merry-making' (Aquilina 1990:1007).

'*arús*, pl -*āt* 'bride'; OA '*arūs*, pl '*arā'is* (Hava 463);

~ Alep '*arūs*, pl '*arāyes* 'fiancée' (Barth 520) ~ Mhall '*arūs* 'Braut' (Vo/Wald 276) ~ Pal Ar '*arūs* ('*arūse* |), pl '*arāyes* 'bride' (Jer, Piamenta 2000:224) ~ Malt '*gharusa* 'bride.'

'*arís* 'bridegroom': '*l-maet minlabbsu pšik lá-^aarís; mankiul savitu* '*arís* 'we clothe the dead person like a bridegroom; we say: "She has turned him into a bridegroom"; OA '*arís*, pl '*urus* (Hava 463);

~ Alep '*arīs*, pl '*arsēn* 'fiancé, nouveau marié' (Barth 520) ~ Pal Ar '*arīs*, pl '*ursān* 'bridegroom' (Piamenta 2000:224) ~ Malt '*gharus* 'bridegroom.'

-r-f^l

'*iref*, *pkyá'āref* (v/t) 'know, understand; be knowledgeable about (min) s.th.': '*arift aš fku?* 'did you understand what I'm saying?'; '*má-kayyá'irfu aš tesáw* 'they didn't know what to do'; '*kanyá'āref mix-xevanát, kan ra'ci* 'he knew a thing or two about cattle [because] he was a shepherd'; OA '*arafa* (i) (Hava 465);

~ Alep '*aref* (e) 'connaitre, savoir' (Barth 523) ~ Kənd '*araf* (ə) 'kennen, erkennen, wissen' (Vo/Wald 277) ~ Bagh (M) '*iraf* (u) 'know' (Wood/Bee 307) ~ Cai '*irif* (a) (Bad/Hi 572) ~ Malt '*gharaf*, *jghraf* 'recognize.'

ma'arūf, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'known'; OA *ma'rūf*.

'atref, pi'atref 'hear confessions (priest); confess s.o.': *k-kassis pi'atref* 'the priest is hearing confessions'; OA *i'tarafa* 'he acknowledged it, or confessed it' (Lane 2014);

[This historically Form VIII verb has been restructured as a quadrilateral via back-formation from 'atirfe (n) 'confession.']

~ Alep 'arraf' confesser (qqn.)' (Barth 523) ~ Pal Ar *il-xūri bi'arraf in-nās* 'le curé confesse les gens' (Elihai 1973:100).

tā'atref, *pkyit'atref* (v/i) 'confess (to a priest)': *Lina pittit'atref exte trik š-šaxr* 'Lina goes to Confession once a month' (Frangiskou 166); OA *i'tarafa b-* 'confess the faith' (Hava 466);

~ Alep 'taraf' confesser (sa faute, son péché)' (Barth 523) ~ Bask 'taraf' confess' (Abu-Haidar 1978:37) ~ Pal Ar *i'taraf* 'beichten' (Bau 47).

mā'atref, f *mā'atirfe*, *mā'atirfin* (ap) 'having confessed to a priest.'

l-'atirfe 'Confession (Chr)' (calque on Mod Gk *ομολογία*); cf. *i'tirāf* 'acknowledgment; sacramental confession (Chr)' (Hava 466);

~ Alep 'atraf' (Barth 523) ~ Leban Ar 'etrāf, pl -āt' confession' (Fegh M/J I, 26, fn 4) ~ Cai 'i'tirāf' (Bad/Hi 573).

ʿ-r-f²

'arif 'loaf' (rǧf).

ʿ-r-q

'irek, *pkyā'arak* (v/i) 'perspire'; OA 'ariqa (a) (Hava 466); ~ Alep 'areq (a) 'suer, transpirer' (Barth 523) ~ Mard 'arəq (a) 'schwitzen' (Vo/Wald 278) ~ Pal Ar 'ireq (a) (Elihai 1999:379) ~ Cai 'iri' (a) 'perspire' (Bad/Hi 573) ~ Malt 'ghereq, jeghreq'.

'arak 'sweat'; OA 'araq (Hava 466);

~ Alep 'araq 'sueur' (Barth 524) ~ Mard 'araq 'Raki, Schweiß' (Vo/Wald 278) ~ Pal Ar 'araq (Bau 269) ~ Malt 'gharaq'.

'irkān, f -e, pl -in (adj) 'perspiring'; nonclass Ar 'arqān (Hava 467);

~ Alep 'arriq 'qui perspire beaucoup' (Barth 524) ~ Pal Ar 'arqān 'in Schweiß sein' (Bau 269) ~ Malt 'gharqan' 'perspiring'.

ʿ-r-k

'arak, *pkyā'arok* (v/t) 'grate, crush (e.g., sesame seeds), rub' ('arixt 'grated'); OA 'arakahu (u) 'he rubbed it' (Lane 2023);

~ Alep 'arak (o) 'malaxer, fatiguer (la pâte) pendant le pétrissage en faisant comme si on la râclait avec les deux poings fermés' (Barth 524) ~ Malt 'ghorok, joghrok' 'rub'.

ʿ-r-m-š

mā'armes (adj) 'wrinkled (cloth, skin)';

~ Alep *m'armas/m'ammaš* 'souillés de lippitude, de chassie; à ramages (: étoffe)' (Barth 525) ~ Cai *mitkarmis* 'crumpled' (Bad/Hi 746) ~ Malt 'mkemmex, mkemmxax, pl mkemmxin' 'creased'.

ʿ-r-n

'orne 'tub, trough' (ǧrn).

ʿ-r-w

'arra, *pi'arri* (v/t) 'exhaust, consume'; OA 'arāhu l-bard 'the cold smote him,' *i'tarāhu/arāhu l-muhimmu* 'the hard, or difficult, affair or event, befell him' (Lane 2027); Ugar 'rw 'be consumed' (Del Olmo/Sanmartín 2003: I, 185);

~ Yem 'arwē, *ya'arwī* 'pierce, perforate' (Piamenta 1991:324).

tā'arra, *pkyit'arra* 'be exhausted, consumed'.

ʿ-z-m

'izem, *pkyā'azem* (v/t) 'invite': *ta mantzavez mannā'azem š-še'a kulla* 'when we give [our children] in marriage, we invite the entire village'; OA 'azama (i) 'he determined' (Lane 2037), MLA 'invite' (Wehr 715);

~ Alep 'azam (o) 'inviter' (Barth 528) ~ Dam 'azam (e) 'invite' (Sto/Ani 127) ~ Pal Ar 'azam (i) 'einladen' (Bau 87) ~ Cai 'azam (i) (Bad/Hi 577).

ma'āzīm, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'invited, guest': *pkyiriksu, u exlon, xwatan u m-ma'zumīn kullon pi'allkullon flus ma ipār 'kabe' - vexen aška ma piri* 'they (the bride and groom) dance and their parents, their brothers and sisters, and all the guests attach money to their clothes with pins; each person [gives] as much as he wants.'

'azime/'azme 'invitation'; OA 'azima 'steadiness,' in nonclass Ar 'invitation' (Hava 471);

~ Alep 'azime, pl 'zēyem 'invitation (à un diner, etc.)' (Barth 528) ~ Dam 'azime, pl 'azāyem 'invitation' (Sto/Ani 127) ~ Pal Ar 'azime/ 'uzūme, pl 'azāyim 'Einladung' (Bau 87).

-s-t

‘isti ‘bird’s nest’ (etym ?).

-s-k-r

‘askar ‘people, a crowd; guests’: *mafkyā* ‘askar nes ta pižú δ-δε^a ‘il n’y a pas beaucoup de gens qui viennent au village’ (Roth 1996:77); *ta pkyitriž-u mill-iknise, piruxu žava* ‘inton u ^Gtšernún^G l-askar ^Gpastiša^G ‘when they (the newly married couple) return from church, they go home and offer the guests sweetmeats’; *kanu* ‘askar u kilúx l-laxm ‘there were a lot of guests and they ate up the meat’; cf. Mod Gk ασκέρι «πολυμελής ομάς η οικογένεια» (Dhimitrakos 1969:241) = ‘large group of people or of relatives’; MLA ‘askar ‘army, host, troops’ (Wehr 717) < ? ἐξέρκητον (Fraenkel 239) < Lat *exercitus* ‘Heer’ (Lokotsch 1975:1847).

[“In historical sources of that time [687 AD; A.B.] the Latin word *exercitus* and the Greek word στρατός or sometimes στρατεύμα were often used in the sense of a territory or province with military administration” (Vasiliev 1928:1, 226). Note also “Lat *ascarii*, ab άσκός ut videtur, militum genus” (Landberg 1940:50, fn 1). For the CyA semantic pattern, cf. also OA *qawm* ‘Leute < waffenfähige Leute’ (Fraenkel 1886:233), GAram ‘wklwsyn’ ‘group of people, soldiers’ (Sokol 1990:38).]

~ Alep ‘askar (coll) ‘soldats’ (Barth 529) ~ Dam ‘askar (coll), pl ‘asaker ‘soldier’ (Sto/Ani 217) ~ Mard ‘askar ‘Militär, Soldaten’ (Vo/Wald 279) ~ Pal Ar ‘askar (Bau 205).

-s-l

‘asel ‘honey’; OA ‘asal (Hava 473);

~ Alep ‘asal ‘miel’ (Barth 529) ~ Āz ‘asal ‘Honig’ (Vo/Wald 279) ~ Pal Ar ‘asal (Bau 160) ~ Malt ‘ghasel’ ‘honey.’

‘asel apkyad/‘asel ten-naxl ‘bee honey’;

~ Cai ‘asal ‘abyad/‘asal nahl ‘honey’ (Bad/Hi 578).

‘asel isfet/‘asel tex-xarrúp ‘carob syrup’: *alok l-‘asel l-‘isvet pšan š-sam‘amús (šm‘l) manništrix xađer; ma lina xarrúp mnawna* ‘nowadays we buy carob syrup for šam‘amús ready-made; we don’t have carobs around here’;

~ Cai ‘asal ‘iswid ‘molasses, treacle’ (Bad/Hi 578).

-s-y

‘isi, pkyasi (v/i) ‘become dry or stale’: *ađa x-xops má-pkyittekēl*, ‘isi ‘this bread isn’t edible; it has turned stale’; OA ‘asiya n-nabāt = ‘galađa wa-šaluba’ (Bustan 1585), ‘asā-l-‘ūdu ‘the wood ... was/became dry and hard’ (Lane 2047).

‘esi, f ‘eskye, pl ‘eskín (adj) ‘dry, hard, tough (meat)’: *xops* ‘esi ‘dry bread’; OA ‘āsin ‘thick, coarse, or rough’ (Lane 2048); ~ Pal Ar ‘āsi ‘tough’ (Spoer/Haddad 1909:71; Driver 1925:128).

‘assa, pi‘assi (v/t/i) ‘dry out; let drip, drain’: *mantšil x-xarrúp mix-xóst d-dist ta pkyimpallu u mannā‘assion* ‘(to make carob syrup) we take the soaking carobs out of the pot and let them drip’; *ana kallift n-na‘ara u ‘asset* ‘I inverted the pitcher and it drained.’

tā‘assa, pkyit‘assi (v/i) ‘drip; be drained’: *‘amma^G teivram l-ismit maxxottu xost k-‘kóššino^G pšan ta t‘assi m-moe* ‘when the semolina swells (in the water), we put it in a colander to let the water drain out.’

[CyG *koššino* ‘colander’ < κόσκινον (Suid.).]

-š-r

‘ašra (invar) ‘ten’: ‘ašra u sitte ‘sixteen’; OA ‘ašara/‘ašr- (Hava 474);

[CyA has evolved new numerals from eleven to nineteen; cf. Darag ‘ašrultayn ‘zwölf’ (Vo/Wald 280).]

~ Alep ‘ašra/‘ašer/‘aš ‘dix’: ‘ašer nəsawān ‘dix femmes’, ‘ašr ulād ‘dix enfants’ (Barth 529) ~ Āz ‘ašra, Kənd ‘ašara ‘zehn’ (isoliert), Ka‘b ‘ašer (vor Gezähltem oder weiterer Zahl) (Vo/Wald 279) ~ Mos (C) ‘ašga (Blanc 1964:91) ~ Pal Ar ‘ašara, ‘ašer, ‘ašert- : ‘ašer marrāt ‘ten times’ (Elihai 1999:381) ~ Malt ‘ghaxra’: ‘ghaxart-itfal ‘ten children.’

‘ešrín ‘twenty’; OA ‘išrín (obl case);

~ Alep ‘əšrín (Barth 530) ~ Kənd ‘əšrín ‘zwanzig’ (Vo/Wald 280) ~ Mos (C) ‘əšgīn ‘twenty’ (Blanc 1964:92) ~ Pal Ar ‘išrín (Bau 384).

-š-f

‘aššep, pi‘aššep (v/i) ‘bark’: ‘amma^G pižú ‘urpa pi‘aššipillon k-kilp ‘when strangers come, the dog barks at them’; OA *a‘šafa* ‘an ‘loathe a thing’ (Hava 474; cf. Bustan II, 1585).

[This CyA meaning pattern appears to be a local creation. The root-final shift Ar *f* > CyA *p* is a case of back-formation; some speakers retain final /f/ throughout: ‘aššef, r‘uššof, etc.]

‘ašfe (n) ‘bark (of dog).’

t‘uššop (vn) ‘barking’: *sma‘āt l-it‘uššop tel-iklép* ‘I heard dogs barking.’

-š-y

‘ašša, pi‘ašši (v/t) ‘serve s.o. the evening meal’; OA ‘ašša (Hava 475);

~ Alep 'ašša 'donner à diner à (qqn)' (Barth 531) ~ Pal Ar 'ašša 'treat s.o. to evening meal' (Elihai 1999:379).

tā'ašša, pkyit'ašša 'eat evening meal': 'ašie t'aššáyt ma xvati 'last night, I dined with my brothers and sisters'; OA ta'ašša (Hava 475); ~ Alep t'ašša 'diner' (Barth 531) ~ Kənd t'ašša (Vo/Wald 280).

'aša 'evening meal, supper'; OA 'ašā' (Lane 2055);

~ Alep 'aša 'repas du soir, dîner, souper' (Barth 531) ~ Mard 'ašā, mit Suffix 'ašātu 'Abendessen' (Vo/Wald 280) ~ Pal Ar 'aša (Bau 2).

'ašie 'last night'; OA 'ašiyah 'nightfall, evening' (Hava 475);

~ Alep t'ašīye 'le soir' (Barth 531) ~ Pal Ar 'ašīyye 'Zeit etwa 1 Std. nach Sonnenuntergang' (Bau 1) ~ rur Egyp Ar 'ašīya 'gestern' (Behn/Woid 1994:403) ~ Cai 'ašīyya 'evening twilight; vespers (Chr)' (Bad/Hi 580) ~ Malt 'ghaxija 'evening.'

[Cf. Urmi lexen/ramši 'last night' (Garbell 1965:317, 328). On the semantic categorization of the evening with the preceding day and the morning with the following, cf. Meloni (1913:128). An interesting case, in this respect, is Mlah bālyo 'letzte Nacht, vergangene Nacht, heute Nacht, kommende Nacht'; <*b- + an- + liyo 'in dieser Nacht' (Jastrow 1994b:170).]

'-š-r

'iser, pkyit'āsor (v/t) 'press out, squeeze, wring': 'āsór x-xampōm 'squeeze the lemons!' (Frangiskou 92); OA 'ašara (i) (Hava 476);

~ Alep 'ašar (o) 'presser (qqe) pour en exprimer le jus, mettre au pressoir, pressurer, fouler (des olives, le raisin, le sésame)' (Barth 532) ~ Sii 'ašar (o) 'auspressen' (Vo/Wald 281) ~ Bagh (M) 'išar (i) 'squeeze, press' (Wood/Bee 311) ~ Cai 'ašar (i) (Bad/Hi 581) ~ Malt 'ghasar, jaghsar 'squeeze (fruit); wring (clothes)';

ma'āsūr, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'squeezed.'

'-š-y

'assa, pl 'osk (< *'osky < *'ušy) 'stick, walking stick'; (can render CyG βάκλα 'a stick to knock fruits down'; Kahane/Kahane 1987:85); OA 'ašan, pl 'ušiy/'išiy (Hava 478);

~ Alep 'ašāye, pl -āt/ 'aši (à l'état construit: 'ašyon 'leurs bâtons': 'bâton, canne de promeneur' (Barth 534) ~ Dam 'ašāye, pl -āt/ 'aši 'stick' (Sto/Ani 224) ~ Ka'b 'aša, pl Darag 'ašwēn 'Stock, Knüppel' (Vo/Wald 282) ~ Pal Ar 'ašāy/'ašāye, pl 'uši (Bau 285) ~ Cai 'aša f, pl 'uši (Bad/Hi 582).

'-d-d

'aδδ, pi'óδδ (v/t) 'bite': ntor, k-kilp pi'óδδ 'watch out, the dog bites!'; OA 'adda (a) 'seize a th. with the teeth' (Hava 478);

~ Alep 'add (a) 'mordre (qqn)' (Barth 534) ~ Dam 'add (a) 'bite' (Sto/Ani 23) ~ Pal Ar 'add (u) 'beißen' (Bau 48).

tā'aδδa, pkyit'aδδa 'be bitten'; OA ta'adda 'bite one another' (Hava 478).

'aδδ/'uδδo (vn) 'bite': pipán l-ir'uδδo '[the mark left by] the bite is visible' (Frangiskou 127); OA 'add (Hava 478).

'-t-š

'ataš, pkyá'ātoš (v/i) 'be thirsty'; OA 'atiša (a) (Hava 480);

~ Alep 'ateš (a) 'avoir soif' (Barth 534) ~ Pal Ar 'iṭiš (a) 'Dürsten' (Bau 81) ~ Cai 'iṭiš (a) 'become thirsty' (Bad/Hi 584) ~ Malt 'ghatax, jaghtax (Aquilina 1990:986).

'ataš (n) 'thirst': yipes pzaku mil-'ataš 'he was parched with thirst'; OA 'ataš (Hava 480);

[Cf. Pal Ar nišif riqo 'lechzen' (Bau 191).]

~ Alep 'ataš 'soif' (Barth 534) ~ Dam 'ataš/ta'attoš 'thirst' (Sto/Ani 239) ~ Ka'b 'ataš 'Durst' (Vo/Wald 282) ~ Pal Ar 'ataš (Bau 81) ~ Cai 'ataš (Bad/Hi 584) ~ Malt 'ghatxo.

'iṭšān, f -e, pl -in (adj) 'thirsty': art 'iṭšane 'parched earth'; OA 'aṭšān 'thirsting' (Hava 480);

~ Alep 'aṭšān 'assoiffé' (Barth 535) ~ Kənd 'aṭšān, f -e, pl Hal 'aṭšāle 'durstig' (Vo/Wald 282) ~ Çukur 'iṭšān (Procházka 2002:35) ~ Pal Ar 'aṭšān (Bau 81) ~ Cai 'il-'arḍ 'aṭšāna 'the land needs watering' (Bad/Hi 584) ~ Malt 'ghatxien 'thirsty'.

'-t-l

tī'e (adj, m/f), pl -in 'ugly' < *tī' < ? 'tī; cf. OA 'aṭīl 'be destitute of ornaments (a woman)' (Lane 2080-1);

~ Alep 'aṭel 'mauvais, gâté' (Barth 535) ~ Dam 'aṭel 'bad' (Sto/Ani 17) ~ Bagh (M) šikilha mū 'aṭīl 'she's not bad-looking' (Wood/Bee 314).

[CyA tī'e < *tīl' continues the dialectal noun scheme fī'il encoding negative qualities: Ar dīnis 'ill-mannered,' etc. (Driver 1925:127, Spitta 1880:91). An alternative etymon is dīlī; cf. Alep dālē, f dāl'a gātē, tīde, douceâtre, insipide' (Barth 247), Pal Ar inṭi dīlī 'pabīx al-qar' 'you are insipid like the cooked pumpkin' (Canaan 1928:147).]

ṭlaʿa 'ugliness.'

ʿ-ṭ-y

ta, *pkyati* (v/t) 'give': *tini v-varak* 'give me the books!'; *tayt kilmti* 'I gave my word'; < **ṭaʿā*, **byaʿṭi*; OA *aʿṭāhu š-šay*/*ʿāṭāhu iyyāhu* 'he gave him the thing' (Lane 2084);

~ Alep *ʿaṭa*, *yaʿṭi* 'donner' (Barth 536) ~ Dam *ʿaṭa* 'give' (Sto/Ani 103) ~ Bagh (C, I) *ṭaʿa* (Abu-Haidar 1991:190) ~ Darag *ata*, *iti* 'geben' (Jastrow 1973a:264) ~ Bask *ʿaṭa* (Abu-Haidar 1979:102) ~ Dhofar *ʿaṭa* (Rhodokanakis 1911:40) ~ N Yem *ʿaṭa*, *yaʿṭi* (Behnstedt 1996:844) ~ Malt *ta*, *jaghti* [ta:, ya:ti]: *ṭajtu kelmti* 'I gave him my word.'

[Reduction of this stem in the Imperative (with loss of emphasis) also occurs in Kfar'ab *tne šī šagle* (Feghali 1919:279).]

ʿ-f-r

ʿafra 'devil': *l-ʿafra teaxutak* 'lit., the devil take you!' = 'I don't care'; *terūx l-ʿafra* 'he can go to hell!'; OA *ʿifrīt* 'demon' (Quran 27, 39);

~ Alep *ʿafriḏ*, pl *ʿafāriḏ* 'génie puissant; homme habile' (Barth 537) ~ Bišm *ʿafriṭ* 'Teufel, teuflisch' (Jiha 160) ~ Pal Ar *ʿafriṭ* 'Schreckgespenst, mit dem man Kindern droht' (Löhr 1905:111), 'Furie' (Bau 120), *el-ʿafāriṭ* 'spirits inhabiting waters' (Canaan 1920:166) ~ Yem *ʿifrīt*, pl *ʿafāriṭ* 'elf, devil, demon' (Qafisheh 425) ~ Malt *ghafrit*, pl *ghefieret*.

ʿ-f-n

ʿifen, *pkyáʿāfen* (v/i) 'rot, become mouldy': *ʿifen x-xops* 'the bread has become mouldy'; OA *ʿafina* (a) (Hava 484);

~ Alep *ʿaffan* 'se moisir, être moisi' (Barth 538) ~ Pal Ar *ʿaffan* 'faulen (Früchten)' (Bau 108) ~ rur Egyp Ar *ʿaffan* 'verschimmeln' (Behn/Woid 1994:316) ~ Cai *ʿaffin* (v/t) 'rot' (Bad/Hi 587).

ʿefen, f *ʿefne*, pl *-in* (adj) 'rotten, mouldy': *xops ʿefen* 'mouldy bread' < **ifin* < OA *ʿafin* (Hava 484);

~ Alep *mʿaffen* (Barth 538) ~ Dam *mʿaffen* 'rotten (fruit)' (Barth 538) ~ Pal Ar *mʿaffin* 'schimmelig' (Bau 258) ~ Cai *ʿifin* 'decayed, rotten' (Bad/Hi 587).

ʿāfune 'mould, rottenness'; OA *ʿufūna* (Hava 484);

~ Alep *ʿfūne* 'moisissure' (Barth, loc. cit.) ~ Pal Ar *ʿafan/ʿufūne* 'Fäulnis' (Bau 258) ~ Cai *ʿufūna* 'rottenness' (Bad/Hi 587).

ʿ-q-r

ʿakker, *piʿakker* (v/t) 'hurt s.o.; pinch (shoes)': *mpsixt ʿskarpes ʿžtat*

u ʿakkruni 'my new shoes pinch'; OA *ʿaqara* (i) 'wound', OA *ʿaqqara* 'slaughter (a camel)' (Hava 487);

~ Alep *ʿaqqar* 'écorcher (qqn: col trop rude, matelas dur, petite pierre dans une chaussure)' (Barth 540).

tāʿakker, *piʿakker* 'get hurt': *ana v-uo ʿakkirna* 'he and I got hurt'; OA *inʿaqara* 'be hamstrung (beast)' (Hava 487);

~ Egyp Ar *ʿtʿqqr ṣhrh* 'être blessé par la selle (cheval)' (Boc, Dozy II, 152).

ʿ-q-š

ʿakkes, *piʿakkes* (v/t) 'sting, prick; bite': *ʿakksitni n-naxle* 'the bee stung me'; Jaram *ʿāqaš* 'sting' (M. Jastrow 1108); Syriac *ʿqs* (J. Payne Smith 425); nonclass Ar *ʿaqaš* 'prick, itch, sting (insect)' (Hava 488);

~ Alep *ʿaqqas* 'picoter, éprouver des picotements (v/i)', *ʿaqaš* 'piquer (qqn: moustique, guêpe, etc.)' (Barth 541) ~ Leban Ar *ʿaqaš* 'piquer (scorpion, moustique, etc.), mordre (serpent)' (Denizeau 1960:359) ~ Kfar'ab *ʿaqqeš* 'il picota, éprouva des picotements' (Feghali 1918:56) ~ Pal Ar *ʿaqaš* 'stechen (Schlange, Biene)' (Bau 287).

tāʿakkes, *pkyitʿakkes* 'get stung, bitten.'

ʿaks/ʿukkos 'stinging, pricking, biting (snake)';

~ Alep *ʿaqaš* inf of *ʿaqaš* (Barth 541).

māʿakkes, f *māʿakkse*, pl *māʿakksin* (pp) 'stung, bitten.'

ʿ-q-l

ʿakl 'mind, brain; good sense, intelligence, way of thinking': *raxxef* (< **rxw*) *ʿakli mill-išʿāl* 'my brain is giving way under the pressure of work'; *ʿaklon o žefi* 'they are stupid'; *ʿakl ten-nesfān* 'women's way of thinking (disparaging)'; OA *ʿaql*, pl *ʿuqūl* (Hava 489);

~ Alep *ʿaqal*, pl *ʿqūl* 'raison, bon sens' (Barth 541) ~ Pal Ar *ʿaqel* (Elihai 1973:328) ~ Cai *ʿaʿl*, pl *ʿuʿūl* (Bad/Hi 590) ~ Malt *ghaqab*.

ʿakel, f *ʿakle*, pl *ʿaklin* 'intelligent, prudent, well-behaved'; OA *ʿāqil* (Hava 489);

~ Alep *ʿāqel*, f *ʿāqle*, m pl *ʿāqlin*, f pl *ʿāqlāt* 'sage, raisonnable' (Barth 541) ~ Hama *ʿāqel* 'gut, artig, fügsam (Kind, Frau)' (Lewin 1966:218) ~ Bišm *ʿāqil* 'vernünftig' (Jiha 1964:158) ~ Pal Ar *ʿāqil*, f *ʿāqle* 'brav' (Bau 65).

ʿākel-ʿākel 'be careful! take it easy!'; cf. Mod Gk σιγά σιγά 'gradually, carefully' (Pring 1982:166).

-k-r

ʿakker, piʿakker (v/t) 'render turbid'; OA ʿakkara (Hava 490);
 ~ Alep ʿakkar 'troubler, rendre trouble l'eau' (Barth 542) ~ Pal Ar
 ʿakkar, Leban Ar ʿawkar (Bau 307) ~ Cai ʿakkar 'render turbid' (Bad/Hi
 591) ~ Malt ʿghakkar (Aquilina 1990:950).

tāʿakker, piʿakker 'become turbid, polluted': p-paθpiún tāʿakker xtir
 'the river has become very polluted'; MLA taʿakkara (Wehr 738);

~ Alep tʿakkar (passif de II) ~ Pal Ar tʿakkar 'trüb werden'
 (Bau 307).

tʿukkor 'turbidity (of liquid).'

ʿeker, f ʿekre, pl -in (adj) 'muddy': moe ʿekre 'turbid water'; l-izmán
 o ʿeker 'the weather is dull'; x-xall o ʿeker 'the vinegar is cloudy' (Fran-
 giskou 28); < *ʿikir < OA ʿakir 'turbid (water)' (Hava 491);

~ Alep ʿəkər, f ʿəkra 'trouble (: huile)' (Barth 542) ~ Leban Ar
 mwayyt il-ʿikri 'turbid water' (Abu-Haidar 1979:131) ~ Pal Ar zēt ʿiker
 'turbid oil' (Elihai 1999:366) ~ Cai ʿikir (Bad/Hi 591).

-k-s

tāʿakkes, pkyitʿakkes (v/i) 'become irritated, moody, or contrary':
 tāʿakkes u mā-ža telakina 'he was in a bad mood and didn't come to
 see us'; cf. nonclass Ar ʿakkas 'render a.o. unhappy' (Hava 491);

~ Alep tʿakkas 'être compromis' (Barth 542).

[Cf. Alep ʿakkas, ʿakkes 'contrecarrer, traverser les desseins de (qqn),
 etc.', Leban Ar ʿakkas 'rendre malheureux, rendre mauvais, pervertir'
 (Barth 542); Malt ʿghakkes, ʿghakkes 'oppress.']

mʿakkes, f mʿakkse, pl mʿakksin (pp) 'in a bad mood; contrary':
 mabbex mʿakkes 'he got up in a bad mood'; cf. Ar muʿakkis 'obstiné'
 (Dozy II,156);

~ Dam mʿākes 'contrary' (Sto/Ani 52) ~ Pal Ar mʿarkas 'mißlich'
 (Bau 206).

-k-f

ʿakep, piʿakep (v/i) 'endeavour, strive; fret, be preoccupied or
 worried': kaniʿakep tetúmm š-šoʿol 'he strove to complete the job';
 minʿakep fil-ipné 'we are engaged in building'; fkullu: áššik mó-kaes
 lixuár u piʿakep? 'I said to him: "How (do you mean) something is
 amiss and [why] do you fret?"; < *ʿākaḥ; OA ʿākaḥ 'cleave, keep to' (Hava
 491); MLA ʿakaf (u/i) ʿalā 'be busily engaged' (Wehr 739);

[The root-final shift *f > p here derives via back-formation from the
 surface cluster [ft] in the first/second person of the Perfect. On manner
 dissimilation in CyA, see Borg (1985:18f).]

~ Alep ʿakaf (e) ʿalā 'se détourner de sa route' (Barth 543) ~ Cai
 ʿakaf (i) 'devote one's attention' (Bad/Hi 592) ~ AA naʿkuf, ʿakaf ʿalā
 'devote or apply oneself assiduously' (Corriente 1997:361).

-l-q

ʿallek, piʿallek (v/t) 'suspend, hang; attach': rakas lā-ʿarís u lā-ʿarís
 u ʿalliknallu flus ʿalexa 'the groom danced with the bride and we atta-
 ched money to her [dress] on his account'; ʿallek θkyepak 'hang your
 (m) clothes!'; OA ʿallaqa (Hava 494);

~ Alep ʿallaq 'accrocher, suspendre (qqe) ʿala ou fi á (qqe)' (Barth
 544) ~ Mard ʿallaq 'aufhängen (z.B. Kleider), befestigen (an = fā-)' (Vo/
 Wald 287) ~ Pal Ar ʿallaq ʿala 'hängen an' (Bau 148) ~ Malt ʿghallaq,
 jghallaq 'hang (person; otherwise ʿdendel, idendel).'

māʿallek, f māʿallke, pl māʿallkin 'suspended': kaft māʿallek xok pšik
 l-ʿapoxti^G 'I remained hanging up there like a joint of meat.'

tāʿallek, piʿallek (v/i) 'hang on to s.th. (e.g., beam); hang oneself';
 OA taʿallaqa (Hava 494);

~ Alep tʿallaq 'être suspendu' (Barth 545) ~ Pal Ar tʿallaq 'be hanged'
 (Elihai 1999:535) ~ Malt tghallaq, jitghallaq 'hang oneself.'

ʿalk (vn) 'hanging, suspension'; OA ʿalaq.

tʿullok (vn) 'hanging (up); suicide'; OA taʿalluq (Hava 495).

-l-m

ʿallem, piʿallem (v/t) 'teach; brand (animals), mark (e.g., with a
 pencil); stamp; bequeathe': ana ttaʿallem riski ll-ulati 'I'll bequeath my
 property to my children'; OA ʿallama 'teach' (Hava 495); MLA ʿallama
 'designate, mark' (Wehr 743);

~ Alep ʿallam 'marquer (qqe)'; ʿallam hada šī 'enseigner, apprendre
 qqe à qqn' (Barth 546) ~ Sii ʿallem 'lehren' (Vo/Wald 288) ~ Pal Ar
 ʿallam (Bau 191) ~ Malt ʿghallem, jghallem 'teach; mark.'

tāʿallem, pkyitʿallem (v/i) 'learn, study; get to know (person)';
 mā-tʿallimt slavát 'I didn't go to school'; áða o l-móðaʿa ta tʿallimt l-
 imprati 'this is where I met my wife'; OA taʿallama (Hava 496);

~ Alep tʿallam 'apprendre' (Barth 546) ~ Sii tʿallem 'lernen' (Vo/

Wald 288) ~ Pal Ar *ʿallam* (Bau 193) ~ Malt *ṭgħallem, jitgħallem*.

māʿallem, pl *māʿallmīn* 'master of a trade; boss'; *mā-paxter takullak miten ttakūn faḍi* ^Gprin^G *taxki ma māʿallmi* 'I can't tell you when I'll be free before I consult my boss'; OA *muʿallim* 'teacher, master'; nonclass Ar, 'learned man, master of a trade' (Hava 496);

~ Alep *mʿallem*, pl *maʿallmīn* 'professeur, instituteur, maître' (Barth 547) ~ Dam *mʿallem*, pl *-īn* 'master' (Sto/Ani 1964:147) ~ Mħall *mʿalləm*, f *mʿallme* 'Lehrer(in)' (Vo/Wald 289) ~ Pal Ar *moʿallem* 'Maurer' (Klein 1880:110) ~ Malt *mghallem* 'master of a trade.'

ʿalame 'brand; rubber stamp'; OA *ʿalāma* (Lane 2140);

~ Alep *ʿalāme* 'signe, marque' (Barth 547).

ʿ-l-w

ʿale- (prep) < **ʿalay-* : bound form used with pronominal suffixes: *ʿaléy*, *ʿalék*, *ʿaleki*, *ʿaléx*, *ʿalex*, *ʿalena*, *ʿalekon* 'for me, for you (m, f), etc.; OA *ʿalā*;

~ Alep *ʿala/ʿa* (prép) 'sur, à, pour, etc.' (Barth 548-50).

ás ʿalék? 'what do you (m) care?'

ʿali, f *ʿayye*, pl *ʿayyīn* (adj) 'high'; OA *ʿālin* (Hava 497);

~ Alep *ʿeli*, f *ʿelye*, pl *ʿelyīn* 'élevé, haut' (Barth 550) ~ Kənd *ʿeli*, pl *ʿalāye* 'hoch' (Vo/Wald 290) ~ Pal Ar *ʿāli*, f *ʿālye*, pl *ʿālyīn* (Bau 158).

māʿāle 'it doesn't matter' (< **mā ʿalayh*): *mā-ʿaléx* 'he doesn't care'; cf. Pal Ar *maʿlēš* 'es macht nichts' (Bau 197) < **mā-ʿalayh-šī*.

ʿalepukra 'in the early morning' (*bkr*) < **ʿalā bukra*: *kifta piḥka-imni ʿalepukra ʿalepukra* 'why are you waking me up so early?'; < **ʿalā bukra*.

ʿ-m-m

ʿamm 'paternal uncle': *ʿammu l-ḡawzi o ʿparpér* ^G'my husband's paternal uncle is a barber'; OA *ʿamm*, pl *ʿumūma/aʿmām* (Hava 498);

~ Alep *ʿamm*, pl *ʿmām* 'oncle paternel' (Barth 555) ~ Dam *ʿamm*, pl *ʿmūm(e)* 'paternal uncle' (Sto/Ani 252) ~ Mard *ʿamm*, pl Kaʿb *ʿmām* 'Onkel (väterlichseits)' (Vo/Wald 291) ~ Cai *ʿamm*, pl ʿaʿmām (Bad/Hi 603).

ʿammt 'paternal aunt'; OA *ʿammah*, pl *-āt* (Hava 498);

~ Alep *ʿamme*, pl *-āt* 'tante paternelle' (Barth 555) ~ Kaʿb *ʿamme* 'Tante (väterlichseits)' (Vo/Wald 291) ~ Pal Ar *ʿamme* 'Muhme (väter-

lichseits)' (Bau 210) ~ Cai *ʿamma*, pl *-āt* (Bad/Hi 603).

ʿ-m-d¹

ʿimet, *pkýáʿāmet* (v/t) 'baptize': *yamuxádd ttannáʿāmet u ntayīpu uv-intu* 'on Sunday we are going to hold the baptism; so make your arrangements (as godparents)'; CMAR *ʿamada (i)* (Hava 498);

~ Alep *ʿammad* 'baptiser'; [au Liban I *ʿéməd* et II *ʿamməd*, même sens] (Barth 551) ~ Pal Ar *ʿammad* (Bau 298) ~ Malt *ghammed*, *jghammed* 'baptize' ~ AA *niʿammad* (Corriente 1997:364).

nēʿimet, *pkýīniʿmet* (v/i) 'be baptized'; CMAR *taʿammada/ iʿta-mada* (Hava 499): *xost δ-δeʿa kwantsáy l-izlepkye l-ixxár* (< *nhr*) *ta kanyīniʿmet l-impšix* 'at the village we used to make doughnuts on the feast of Christ's baptism';

~ Alep *ʿammad* 'être baptisé' (Barth 551) ~ Dam *ʿammad* 'be baptized' (Sto/Ani 18).

maʿāmút, f *-a*, pl *-īn* (pp) 'baptized.'

ʿamete, pl *-āt* 'baptism': *lā-ʿamete tel-impšix* 'the feast of Christ's baptism'; *lā-ʿamete u θ-θubbot pisuru éxen-xar* 'baptism and Confirmation are [now] administered on the same day'; *yamuxádd fia ʿamet-āt l-iknise* 'on Sunday there are baptismal ceremonies in church'; non-class Ar *ʿimād/ʿimāda/iʿtimād* (Hava 499), MLA *ʿimād/maʿmū-diyya* 'baptism' (Wehr 752); < Syriac *ʿimādā* (Brockel 529), *maʿmūdīthā* 'baptême par immersion' (Barth 551);

~ Alep *ʿamād* 'baptême', *lmaʿmūdīye* 'le sacrement du baptême' (Barth 551) ~ Dam *ʿmād* 'baptism' (Sto/Ani 18); cf. Leban Ar *maʿmūdīyye* 'baptême' (Feghali 1918:43) ~ Pal Ar *maʿmūdīyye/ʿummād* (Bau 298) ~ Malt *magħmudija*.

[Tur *maʿmūdītho* 'Taufe' (Jastrow 1985:195); Bəsp *maʿmodīta* (Sinha 2000:82).]

ʿ-m-d²

ʿamút, pl *ʿāmēmīt* 'support for the vine'; OA *ʿamūd*, pl *aʿmīda/ʿumūd*; cf. post-class Ar *ʿawāmīd* (W-D. Fischer 1972:56);

[As noted in Borg (1985:114), CyA tends to fuse OA *ʿawūd* and *ʿawūd*. The reflex of a *ʿawūd* plural for CyA *ʿamūt* encodes a speaker 'reconstruction' of vocalic length in the first syllable (cf. Spitaler 1967).]

~ Alep *ʿāmūd*, pl *ʿwēmūd* 'pieu de tente, colonne' (Barth 551) ~ N Syr *ʿāmūd*, pl *ʿmēwūd* (Behnstedt 1996, map 232) ~ Pal Ar *ʿamūd*, pl *ʿamāwūd/ʿawāmīd* 'Säule' (Bau 252).

‘-m-r

‘umpr—in the idiom *nkat’a ‘umpri* (-ak, -ik, etc.) ‘I/you, etc. got a shock’; OA ‘umr/‘umur, pl *a‘mār* (Hava 499);

[Not all CyA speakers interviewed attach a clear meaning to this word; the usual term for ‘life’ is *‘iše* < Ar *‘īša*.]

~ Alep ‘amr/‘amər, pl ‘mār ‘vie, existence considérée au point de vue de sa durée’ (Barth 551) ~ Bagh (M) ‘amri (a term of endearment, approx. :) dear (Wood/Bee 322) ~ Pal Ar ‘umr, pl ‘mār ‘Lebensalter’ (Bau 190) ~ Malt ‘ghomor, no pl ‘lifespan.’

‘-m-q

mē‘ik (adj), f -e, pl *mā‘āk* (< *‘māq) ‘deep’; OA ‘amīq, pl ‘imaq/‘umuq/‘imāq/‘amā‘iq (Hava 500);

~ Alep ‘amīq, f -a ‘profond’ (Barth 553) ~ Kənd ‘amīq, pl ‘māq ‘tief’ (Vo/Wald 292) ~ Pal Ar ‘gamīq/‘amīq (Bau 301) ~ N Yem ‘gamīg/‘amīg (Behnstedt 1996:912).

[Tur ‘amūqo ‘tief’ (Jastrow 1985:231).]

‘-n-b

‘inēp (coll), pl ‘āmupāt ‘grapes’; OA ‘inab, pl *a‘nāb* (Hava 503);

~ Alep ‘anēb (n coll) ‘raisin’ (Barth 556) ~ Dam ‘anēb, n un ‘anbāye/‘anbe ‘grape’ (Sto/Ani 147) ~ Sii ‘anēb, n un ‘ambāye, Mħall ‘anbēye (Vo/Wald 293) ~ Pal Ar ‘inab/‘inib/‘unub ‘Trauben’ (Bau 304) ~ Malt ‘gheneb, n un ‘ghenba ‘grapes.’

‘-n-d

‘int ‘at the house of (= Fr *chez*); have (+ pron suff)’: ‘intu šī teakol? ‘does he have anything to eat?’; *l-išpāp piruxu ‘int lā-‘arīs, pixallkūx, pilabbsullu θkyepu l-kaysīn* ‘the young men go to the groom’s house, they shave him and help him into his fine clothes’; OA ‘ind ‘(prep of time and place): at, near, by, at the point of, about’ (Hava 503);

~ Alep ‘and əlbāb ‘près de la porte, ta‘ā la ‘andi ‘viens près de moi!’ ‘and əlmasa ‘vers le soir, etc. (Barth 557) ~ Kənd ‘and, Sii ‘and ‘bei, neben, zu, hin zu (präp)’ (Vo/Wald 294) ~ Malt ‘ghandi ‘I have; chez moi.’

‘-n-z

‘anze, pl *mā‘āzen* ‘goat’; OA ‘anz, pl ‘ināz/‘unūz/a‘muz ‘goat, ‘anza ‘a she-goat, a she-gazelle’ (Hava 505);

~ Alep ‘anz, n coll ou générique, ‘espèce caprine, bouc, chèvre,

chevreau, chevrette; terme de la campagne. ... L’équivalent citadin de ‘anze est *me‘z* et surtout *me‘ze*’ (Barth 557-8) ~ Dam *mi‘zāye*, (coll) *mā‘za*, pl *ma‘āzi* (Sto/Ani 105) ~ Mos (C) ‘anzi, pl ‘nūzi ‘goat’ (infor) ~ Leban *me‘ze* ‘chèvres, *me‘zāye* ‘une chèvre’ (Feghali 1938:831) ~ Pal Ar *mi‘za/mi‘zāy*, pl *ma‘z*; ‘anz, pl -āt ‘Ziege’ (Bau 375): ‘anze *hallābe wala ġarrat zēt qallābe* ‘eine milchende Ziege ist besser als ein vielleicht umstürzender Krug Öl’ (Dalm VI, 189).

[‘Bei Jerusalem heißt der Ziegenbock *θini* oder *tēs*, die Ziege *šāh*, ‘anze, die Ziege überhaupt *me‘ze*. ... Bei Aleppo hatten die Ziegen folgende Bezeichnungen. Allgemeine Benennung *ma‘az*, weibl. ‘anze ...’ (Dalm VI, 187, 188).]

‘-n-y

CyA, CyG *yani* ‘that is to say’; Tk *yani* (Iz/Hony 500); < OA *ya‘ni* ‘it means.’

‘-w-ġ

‘ivež, *pkyá‘āvež* (v/t) ‘bend, make crooked’; OA ‘awiġa (a) ‘be or become crooked’ (Hava 507);

~ Alep ‘awaġ (e) (v/t) ‘mettre de travers, tordre, rendre tortu’; (v/i) ‘être tordu, courbé, mis de travers’ (Barth 560) ~ Sii ‘awaġ (ə) ‘biegen, beugen’ (Vo/Wald 294) ~ Cai ‘awag (i) ‘make crooked, twist’ (Bad/Hi 607) ~ Malt ‘ghawweġ, jghawweġ ‘bend.’

ma‘āvúž, f -a, pl -in (pp) ‘bent, made crooked’;

~ Alep *ma‘wūġ* (pp) (Barth 560) ~ Jer *ma‘wūž* (Piamenta, p.c.) ~ Malt ‘mghawweġ, mghawġa, pl -in.

ā‘āvež, f ‘awža, pl ‘už (adj) ‘bent, crooked’; OA *a‘waġ*, f ‘awġā, pl ‘ūġ (Hava 507);

~ Alep *a‘waġ*, f ‘oġa, pl ‘ūġ ‘tors, tortu, courbe’ (Barth 560) ~ Pal Ar *a‘waġ*, f ‘oġa, pl ‘ūġ ‘krumm’ (Bau 184).

‘-w-d

‘ut, pl ‘utén ‘wood’; OA ‘ūd, pl *a‘wād/‘īdān* (Hava 507);

~ Alep ‘ūd, pl ‘awad ‘une brindille, un petit morceau de bois’ (Barth 561) ~ Kənd ‘ūd, pl ‘ūden ‘Holz’ (Vo/Wald 295) ~ Bagh (M) ‘ūda, pl -āt, ‘uwad ‘splinter, matchstick’ (Wood/Bee 327) ~ Malt ‘ghuda [ew] ‘piece of wood.’

[For the CyA pl ending -én, cf. also CyA *turfén* ‘ends’ (under *trf*) and parallel forms in S E Anatolian Arabic where it also appears mainly with the **fu‘l* scheme: Āz ‘ūd, du ‘ūdayn, pl ‘ūden (Jastrow 1981:208, fn 7), Qarṭ ‘ūdayn (pl), Darag ‘ūden < **iwdān* (cf. Jastrow 1973a:84).

Kand *šebēn* (pl) 'brennender Holzsplitter', Ka^b *ʿaša*, pl Darag *ʿašwēn* 'Stock, Knüppel' (Vo/Wald 235, 282), and analogous forms noted for the Mardin area in Blanc (1970:46).]

ʿ-w-r¹

ʿiver, *pkyáʿáver* (v/t) 'aveugler, ravager' (Roth 1975:33), 'block air-hole or vent of a charcoal furnace'; *páʿivru k-kammín ta lá-tetaxxen* 'I block a vent of the charcoal furnace to reduce the discharge of smoke'; OA *ʿawwara* 'render a. o. blind of one eye' (Hava 508);

~ Alep *ʿawar* (e) 'rendre borgne, éborgner' (Barth 561) ~ Cai *ʿiwir* (a) 'lose an eye' (Bad/Hi 609) ~ Malt *ghawar* (obsol) 'become one-eyed' (Aquilina 1990:986).

nʿiver/nʿéver, *pkyínʿever* (v/i) 'devenir aveugle' (Roth 1975:82); ~ Alep *nʿáwar* 'être éborgné' (Barth 561) ~ Pal Ar *inʿawar* 'einäugig werden' (Bau 84).

maʿávur, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'blinded.'

ʿávar (n) 'blindness': *ʿávar fi ʿanék* 'may you go blind!' (= Mod Gk τυφλα στα μάτια σου); OA *ʿawar* 'loss of an eye' (Hava 508);

[Note the formal parallel with Tk *gözün aydın* 'light to your eyes!' (Chyet 1995:219); on Greek-Turkish idiomatic parallels, cf. Newton (1962), von Hasselt (1972). For equivalents in Arabic, cf. Hama *ʿama* (yáʿmík) 'möge dich die Blindheit treffen' (Lewin 1965:218) ~ Pal Ar *ʿala ʿenak* 'auf dein Auge — ist (i) eine Verwünschung: Auf dein Auge falle etwas, daß du erblindest, (ii) ein ironischer Ausruf: Trotz deines bösen Auges ist's gelungen' (Bau 1910:230). Cf. also the Palestinian Arabic curse, *hayy yā sīdī Rfāʿī tšahhduh ʿenēh* 'Hallo, O my Lord Rifaʿī, let him beg for his eyes (= become blind)' (Canaan 1935:244).]

~ Alep *ʿawar* 'état de celui qui est borgne, perte d'un œil' (Barth 562) ~ Om (Khāb) *ʿawār* 'blindness' (Brockett 1985:163).

áʿávar, f *ʿawra*, pl *ʿur* (adj) 'blind'; OA *aʿwar*, f *ʿawrāʿ*, pl *ʿūr/ʿūrān* 'one-eyed';

[For the CyA meaning, cf. Om *ʿewār* 'blind' (Reinhardt 1894:63) ~ Syriac *ʿwara* 'blindness' (J. Payne Smith 407), cf. Maʿl *ʿwōra* 'der Blinde' (Arnold 1990a:364); Arb *ʿwōra* 'blind' (Khan 1999:364). On this Syriac *ʿwāra* 'blind', see Nöldeke (1904:33).]

~ Dam *ʿawar*, f *ʿōra*, pl *ʿūr* 'one-eyed' (Sto/Ani 163) ~ Pal Ar *ʿawar*, f *ʿōra*, pl *ʿurīn* (Jer, Piamenta, p.c.) ~ *ʿurān* (Bau 84).

[For the suff -in in the Pal Ar plural form, cf. CyA *xodrīn* pl 'green'.]

ʿ-w-r²

ʿerkye 'loan': *tayta ʿarīf xops ʿerkye* 'I lent her a loaf of bread'; OA

ʿāriya/ʿāriyya 'loan; borrowed or lent thing' (Hava 509); ~ Alep *ʿyēre* 'chose d'emprunt, objet emprunté' (Barth 565) ~ Pal *ʿire* 'Anleihe (von einem Gegenstand)' (Bau 19).

ʿ-w-z

ʿātéz(z), *pkyáʿātéz(z)* (v/t) 'need' (< **ʿtāz*): *xayyti u mpratu pkyáʿātéz(z)u payt* 'my brother and his wife need a house'; cf. OA *ʿāz* (u), *aʿwaza* 'be lacking; want, require a.th.' (Hava 509); ~ Alep *ʿtāz*, *yāʿtāz* 'avoir besoin de qqe' (Barth 562) ~ [Dam *htāz* 'need' (Sto/Ani 157)] ~ Leban Ar *ʿāz/ʿtāz* 'avoir besoin' (Feghali 1938:803) ~ Pal Ar *ʿāz* (u) / *ʿtāz* 'bedürfen, nötig haben' (Bau 65, 221) ~ Cai *ʿāz* (u) 'want, desire' (Bad/Hi 609) ~ rur Egypt Ar *ʿāz* (u) 'wollen, brauchen' (Behn/Woid 1994:329) ~ [Malt *htieg*, *jihtieg*].

ʿ-w-q

ʿavek, *piʿavek* (v/t) 'preoccupy, worry; pinch (shoes)': *aš piʿavikak u máy-taxkinni* (y)yawm 'how come you don't tell me what's worrying you today?'; OA *ʿawwaq* 'hinder' (Lane 2199);

[On the variant *máy-* of the neg. morpheme *má-*, see under *m-ā*.]

~ Alep *ʿawwaq* 'gêner, causer de l'importunité' (Barth 563) ~ Bagh (M) *ʿawwaq* 'hinder' (Wood/Bee 329) ~ Pal Ar *ʿawwaq* 'hindern' (Bau 157) ~ Cai *ʿawwaq* 'delay, hold up' (Bad/Hi 610).

ʿ-w-m

ʿimplavel 'last year': *xmati matet ʿimplavel* 'my mother-in-law died last year'; *ʿimplavel tfaððáyt ʿskoyyó* 'I finished school last year'; OA *ʿām awwal/ʿām l-awwal* 'last year' (Hopkins 1984:131; Wright II, 232D; Lisān 717), *laqītuḥu ʿāman awwala* 'I met him in a former year; generally meaning, the year immediately preceding, or, as we say, last year' (Lane 2202); JMar *ʿām l-awwal* (Blau 1966-7:359, 383);

[On the 'pseudo-construct', cf. Borg (1989; 2000).]

~ Alep *ʿamnawwal* 'l'année dernière' (Barth 563) ~ Syr Ar *ʿāmalawwal/ʿāmlawwal/ʿamlawwil*, etc. (map 303, Behnstedt 1997:607) ~ Føsk *ʿamnáwal* ~ Darag *ʿamlol* (Vo/Wald 296) ~ Leban Ar *ʿemlawwel* (Feghali 1928:468; 1938:803) ~ Bišm *ʿimnawwil* (Jiha 1964:164) ~ Bask *ʿāmlawwil* (Abu-Haidar 1979:98) ~ Pal Ar *ʿamnawwal* (Bau 347; 1910:106) ~ Malt *ghamnewwel* 'last year' (Saydon 1932) as in *tiben ta l-ghamnewwel* 'straw from preceding year that is spread on the threshing floor (*andar*)' (Preca 1978:23).

-y-d

'it, pl 'ayāt 'feast': *pā'ātu o 'it* 'the day after tomorrow is a feastday'; OA 'id, pl a'yād 'periodical feastday, anniversary' (Hava 508);
 ~ Alep 'id, pl 'yād 'fête' (Barth 564) ~ Dam 'id 'Fest' (Grotzfeld 1965:165) ~ Mard 'id, pl 'yād 'Fest, Festtag' (Vo/Wald 296) ~ Pal Ar 'id, pl 'yād 'Fest' (Bau 110).

lē-'it mileti 'Christmas': *l-ixxār tel-'it mileti mannit' atrefu manniḥ-karrep* 'On Christmas day we go to Confession and receive Communion.'

[The noun + adj compound (<*id milādiyy) in lieu of the expected construct state here may be a calque on It. *feste natalizie* (Zingarelli 1970:1114) coined by Italianate Maronite clergy. After the council of Florence (1439-44), higher Maronite clergy were trained in Rome; the Maronite College was opened in 1584 (Suermann 1997:1412).]

~ Alep 'id *almilād* 'la fête de Noël' (Barth 908) ~ Pal Ar 'id *il-milād* 'Weihnacht(en)' (Bau 357).

(lē-)'it l-ixpīr 'Easter Week': *lē-'it l-ixpīr pkyipti mil-xadd š-ša'ā-nine* 'Holy Week starts on Palm Sunday';

~ Alep 'id *al-kbīr* 'la fête de Pâques' (as in *yōm 'id al-kbīr*) (Barth 564, 919) ~ Dam 'id *lakkbīr ma lō tārīx m'ayyan* 'Easter has no fixed date' (Cowell 1964:385) ~ Bagh (M) 'id *il-čibīr* 'Greater Bairam' (Wood/Bee 330) ~ Pal Ar 'id *il-ikbīr* 'Ostern' (Bau 225) ~ Malt <(l-)Ghid il-Kbir.

lē-'it teš-ša'ānine 'Palm Sunday.'

-y-š

'aš, pi'aš (v/i) 'live, subsist': *pi'ašu innen kaes u naxni axsen* 'they live happily (ever after) and we [live] better than they' (a stock phrase concluding a story in CyG); OA 'aša (i) (Hava 512);

~ Alep 'aš (i) 'vivre' (Barth 565) ~ Dam 'aš (i) 'live' (Sto/Ani 140) ~ Mard 'aš (i) 'leben' (Vo/Wald 297) ~ Pal Ar 'aš (i) (Bau 190) ~ Malt 'ghex, jghix' [a:y].

'aeš, pi'aeš (v/t) 'support (a family)'; OA 'ayyaša (Hava 512);

~ Alep 'ayyaš 'faire vivre, nourrir (qqn)' (Barth 565) ~ Pal Ar 'ayyaš *halo* 'sich ernähren' (Bau 101).

'aeš, f 'ayše, pl -in (adj) 'alive, living': *ummu m-^Gmorós, ost^G e 'ayše šupena ^Gpanta^G pitxubbon* 'as long as she lives, the baby's mother cherishes her [child's] godparents'; *an^G k-kassīs pkyáxlaku 'aeš, pisallillu u mantsalli kúitna ma'u* 'if the priest reaches him (i.e., the moribund person) alive, he prays for him and we all pray with him'; OA 'ā'is.

'iše 'life, lifespan': *'ištu vaddira pxal* 'he was sick all his life'; *l-implāk pkyáxta'a* (< qf^c) *x-xetán tel 'ištna u mammūt* 'the angel of death cuts our thread (lit. threads) of life and we die'; OA 'iša (Hava 512);
 ~ Alep 'iše 'manière de vivre, vie' (Barth 566) ~ Leban Ar 'iše (Feghali 1938:804) ~ Pal Ar 'iše 'Lebensweise' (Bau 190) ~ Malt 'ghixien' [ayš:r:n] 'livelihood.'

-y-ṭ

'aet, pi'aet (v/t/i) 'call out; call s.o.; shout; utter a street call (hawker)':
 'aet *y-yapatak* 'call your (m) father!'; *kant'aet mix* (< miḥl) *xawḥa* 'she was yelling like a lunatic'; MLA 'ayyaṭ 'call for ('alā)' (Wehr 775);

~ Alep 'ayyaṭ 'ala *hada* 'crier après qqn, gronder qqn' ~ Ka'b 'ayyaṭ 'herbeirufen, rufen' (jmdn. = 'ala) (Vo/Wald 297) ~ Pal Ar 'ayyaṭ 'ala 'Totenklage halten; schreien, ...' (Löhr 1905:111) ~ Malt 'ghajjat' 'shout; call s.o.'

-y-n

'ayn, pl 'anēn 'eye': *'alāxt 'anēy* 'I shut my eyes'; OA 'ayn, pl a'yun/uyūn/a'yān 'eye, look' (Hava 514);

'ayn, pl 'āyūn 'spring, fountain, water source': 'ayn *yepse* 'a dry spring'; OA 'ayn, pl 'uyūn/a'yun 'water-spring' (Hava 514); in place-names: 'a spring; water source in a well; hollow in the ground where water collects' (Groom 1983:52);

[Names of *lieux-dits* in Kormakiti referring to springs: 'ayn-pikka, 'ayn-peḥa, 'an-peraddi, 'ayn-purke, 'ayn-taxta, 'ayn-tine, 'ayn-tširke, 'ayn-trúp.]

~ Alep 'ayn/'ēn, pl 'yūn 'ceil, source', du 'ayntēn/'entēn (Barth 566-7) ~ Āz 'ayn, du 'ayntayn, pl 'aynayn, Mḥall 'aynāt 'Auge, Quelle' (Vo/Wald 298) ~ Hask 'ān, pl 'anēn 'Auge' (Talay 2002:68) ~ Bišm 'inayn/'ayntayn *Ḥanna* 'die Augen des Ḥanna' (Jiha 1964:153) ~ Pal Ar 'ēn/'ēn-mayy, pl 'iyūn/'uyūn/'ayūn 'Quelle' (Bau 237) ~ Malt 'ghajn, pl 'ghajnejn' 'eye', 'eghjun' 'fountain.'

'ayn-peḥa (topon) 'White Spring'; cf. *'ēn l-bēda* (Jordan) (Palva 1989, §7.4.2).

[On permanent deletion of the medial article in pseudo-constructs (reducing sublexical complexity), see Borg (1989:73f; 2000:36f).]

Ġ

ġ-b-b

**stā'ábba l-* (impers v) 'offend, vex, embarrass': *stā'ábbinni* 'cela me vexe; cela m'offense'; *stā'ábillu* 'cela lui fait honte' (Roth 1975:90); *stā'ábillu xawmi ta šilna Antoni* 'my father-in-law took offence when we picked [the name] Antonis (for the baby instead of his own)';

cf. Alep *ġabballo* (for author's *ghabballo*) *hīye* 'il lui en a gardé rancune' (Barth 568).

ġ-b-š

'abbeš, pi'abbeš (v/i) 'grow dark; become dim (eyes)': *'abbšu* 'aynēx 'his eyes became dim'; OA *aġbaša* 'the night was, or became, dark' (Lane 2225);

~ Alep *ġabaš* (e), *ġabbaš* 'être matinal' (Barth 569) ~ Pal Ar *ġabbaš* 'être floue (vue)' (Elihai 1989:195) ~ Malt *ghabbex* 'grow dark.'

'apše 'dusk; evening'; *elu exte* *'apše* 'come (pl) over one evening!' < Ar **ġabaša*; OA *ġabaš* 'the darkness [or duskiness] of the end, or last part of the night ...' (Lane 2225);

~ Alep *ġabše* 'de grand matin, au petit jour' (Barth 569) ~ Bagh (M) *ġubša* '(in) the early morning' (Wood/Bee 332) ~ Pal Ar *ġabāš* 'Morgendämmerung' (Bau 209) ~ Malt *ghabex* [a:] 'twilight, dusk.'

ġ-b-n

nt'ipen, pkyint'epen (v/i) 'être attristé' (Roth 1975:82); Ar *ngaban* 'éprouver du déplaisir' (Dozy II, 201); OA *ingabana* 'he became cheated' (Lane 2227);

~ Alep *ngaban* 'se formaliser, être vexé' (Barth 569) ~ Kənd *ngaban, yəngəbən* 'wütend werden' (Vo/Wald 300) ~ Cai *'itgaban* 'be done an injustice' (Bad/Hi 617).

ma'āpūn, f -a, pl -in 'vexed, sad'; nonclass Ar *maġbūn* 'fâché' (1001 N, Dozy II, 201); OA *maġbūn* 'cheated in a bargain' (Hava 516);

~ Alep *mġabban* 'qui parait de méchante humeur' (Barth 570) ~ Hama *maġbūn* 'verärgert' (Behnstedt 1997, map 357) ~ Bagh (M) *maġbūn* 'wronged' (Wood/Bee 333) ~ Cai *mitġibin* (Bad/Hi 617).

'apn 'displeasure, sadness': *'apnu o xpir* 'his grief is profound'; Ar *ġabn/gaban* 'désappointement, déplaisir' (Dozy II, loc. cit.);

~ Leban Ar *ġabno* 'pauvre de lui!' (Frayha 1947) ~ Kənd *ġabine* 'what a pity!' (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Cai *ġabn* 'injustice' (Bad/Hi 617) ~ N Yem *ġabn, pl ġubūn* 'Ärger, Kummernis' (Behnstedt 1996:889).

ġ-b-y

'api, f 'apkye, pl 'apkīn (adj) 'dense, thick, close together (plants)'; Syriac *'ebā* 'densus, spissus, crassus fuit' (Feghali 1918:43); Heb *'āḡāh* 'be thick' (M. Jastrow 1037); OA *ġabiyy, pl aġbiyā* 'simple, stupid, unintelligent'; *aġbā, f ġabyā* 'dense, tangled (tree)' (Hava 517);

~ Alep *ġabi, f -īye, pl 'aġbiyā* 'sot, maladroit, imprudent; cruel' (Barth 570) ~ Leban Ar *'ābe* 'épais, dense, serré' (Feghali 1918:59, 65) ~ Bagh (M) *ġabi, 'aġbiyā* pl 'stupid, ignorant, foolish' (Wood/Bee 333) ~ Pal Ar *'abi* 'dicht (von der Saat)' (Bau 75) ~ Cai *ġabi, pl 'aġbiyā/ġabiyyīn* 'foolish' (Bad/Hi 617) ~ N Yem *ġabī* 'dumm, unerfahren, Neuling' (Behnstedt 1996:890).

[Cf. Koy Sanj *'by* (v/i) 'swell' (Mutzafi, p.c.).]

ġ-θ-y

tā'aθθa, pkyit'aθθa (v/i) 'be disgusted, nauseated': *pir'aθθa takol antāxt b-bayt tel Xanni* 'it's nauseating for me to eat down at Xanni's house'; OA *ġaθā* (i) / *taġaθθā* 'be disturbed' (Hava 517);

~ Yem (J) *ġaθθa/ġāθa* 'nauseate' (Piamenta 1991:351), *ġaθθa* 'bother, upset' (Qafisheh 2000:444); cf. Leban Ar *ġatwe* 'écume qui surnage à la surface d'un bouillon' (Frayha 1947) ~ N Pal Ar *ġaθwe* 'écume (du jus de raisin par ex.)' (Denizeau 1960:371; Dalman IV, 365, 23).

mā'aθθi, f mā'aθθie, pl mā'aθθin 'dirty': *θkyep mā'aθθin* 'soiled clothes'; cf. OA *ġuθā* 'the rubbish, or small rubbish, or particles of things, or refuse and scum, and rotten leaves mixed with the scum, born upon the surface of the torrent' (Lane 2231).

t'uθθo 'dirt.'

ġ-d-f

'addef, pi'addef (v/i) 'swear, curse'; *lā-t'addef, pkyisim'u l-latuḡkya* 'don't swear; the small children can hear (you)! < **ġaddaf*; Syriac *ġaddeḡ* 'blasphemavit' (R. Payne Smith 659); OA *ġaddafa* 'alā' 'he blasphemed against' (Lane 391);

[Cf. Aram *gdḡ* > Heb *giddeḡ* (Wagner 1966:39). On the diachronic shift Aram **g* > *ġ* > CyA *'*, cf. Intro, §V.]

~ Alep *ġaddaf* 'prononcer le nom de Satan, des démons, des génies ou *ġann*, en jurant' (Barth 570) ~ Kfar'ab *ġaddef* 'il blasphéma, il mau-

dit' (Feghali 1918:41) ~ Pal Ar *ġaddaf* 'ala 'lästern gegen Gott' (Bau 189).

'atfe 'a curse';

cf. Pal Ar *taġdīf*, pl *taġādīf* 'Lästerung' (Bau 189).

ġ-d-y

'atešye 'tomorrow evening' < **ġade-^cašiyya*; cf. Ar **ġadā* < OA *ġadan* 'tomorrow' (Hava 475);

~ Alep *ġade* 'demain' (Barth 571) ~ Leban Ar *ġade* (Feghali 1938:805) ~ 17th cent. Eyp Ar *ġda* 'tomorrow' (Davies 1981:428) ~ Mard, Mħall, Fəsk, Ka^cb, Darag *ġade* 'morgen' (Vo/Wald 300) ~ Malt *ġhada* 'tomorrow'.

[For this CyA construction, note Ka^cb *ġade šbāh* 'morgen früh' (Vo/Wald 300).]

ġ-r-b

'arīp, f -e, pl 'orpa 'stranger, foreigner, visitor, guest': *k-kilp pi^caššep* (< *šf*) *l-^corpa* 'the dog barks at strangers'; *Gamma^G težinna šī 'arīp mannatix teakol truntž xelvin* 'when a visitor comes to us, we give him candied citrons to eat'; *palsuni 'orpa* 'visitors detained me'; OA *ġarīb*, pl *ġurabā* (Hava 520);

~ Alep *ġarīb*, pl *ġarīb*, *ġarībīn* 'étranger, de nationalité, de race' (Barth 571) ~ Dam *ġarīb*, pl *ġarabe* 'strange' (Sto/Ani 227) ~ Palm *ġarīb*, pl *əgraba* 'étranger' (Cantineau II, 37, 29) ~ Kənd *ġarīb*, pl *ġarīb* 'stranger, foreigner' (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Pal Ar *ġarīb*, pl *ġurub/ġuraba* 'fremd' (Bau 117).

l-^corpe 'foreign parts, abroad; separation from one's country': *mat fil-^corpe* 'he died abroad'; OA *ġurba* 'journey abroad, state of a stranger, of a foreigner' (Hava 520);

~ Alep *əlgərbe* 'le séjour à l'étranger' (Barth 571) ~ Dam *aktar hayāta ašset bəl-ġərbe* 'most of her life she lived away from home' (Sto/Ani 16) ~ Pal Ar *il-ġurbe* 'die Fremde' (Bau 34) ~ Ša^d *ġurba* 'Arbeit in der Fremde' (Behnstedt 1987:283).

(*l-^carpi* 'the west wind' (*hwy*)): *Gamma^G kanyiffox 'arpi kwantži kúitna y-^cyitoni yatt^c l-ipkyeter kanu žúmp-žump* 'whenever there was a west wind, all of us neighbours used to get together (to thresh wheat) because our threshing-floors were very close together'; OA *ġarbiyy* 'Westerly (wind)' (Hava 520);

~ Alep *ġarbi* 'vent d'ouest' (Barth 571) ~ Pal Ar *hawa ġarbi* 'West-

wind' (Bau 361) ~ Eyp Ar *al-ġarbiyy* 'vent d'ouest' (Dozy II, 204).

ġ-r-b-l

'arpel, pl 'arapīl 'large sieve'; late class Ar *ġirbāl*, pl *ġarābīl* (Dozy II, 205), "vielleicht durchs Aramäische aus *cribellum*" (Vollers 1897:315); Syriac 'arbōlō 'cribrum' (Brockel 547); JAram 'arbālā (Levy III, 696); ~ Alep *ġarbel*, pl *ġrebīl* 'crible' (Barth 572) ~ Kənd *ġarbel*, pl *ġarēbīl* 'flour sieve' (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Bagh (M) *ġirbīl/ġarībīl*, pl *ġarābīl* 'coarse sieve' (Wood/Bee 334), (I) *ġāġbīl*, pl *ġāġabīl*, Mos (M) *ġūbēl* 'sieve' (Blanc 1964:20, 22) ~ Bišm *ġirbāl* 'Sieb' (Jiha 1964:160) ~ Pal Ar *ġurbāl*, pl *ġarābīl* 'Sieb für Getreide mit engmaschigem Darmnetz'; [cf. *kurbāl/kirbāl*, pl *karabīl* 'Drahtnetz' (Bau 276); *karbal*, *ykarbel* 'sieben' (Dalm III, 143)] ~ Malt *ġharbiel*, pl *ġheriebel* 'large sieve'.

[Ma^cl 'orpolā/irpolā 'Körnersieb' (Dalm III, 140); Turoyo 'arbolō 'Sieb' (Jastrow 1985:189).]

ġ-r-n

'orne, pl 'ārani 'tub, trough': *kant l-^cornua ta kunnā^cāžen x-xops, axxōst kun^cassel m-^Gmorós^G* 'this was the basin in which we kneaded bread; we [also] bathed the baby in it'; < Aram **ġurnā* < *gurnā* 'lacus' (Brockel 134) (*ġrn*↓).

[Palm 'orōn, pl 'rūn 'auge' (Cantineau 1934:44), Ma^cl *ġorna* 'Mörser' (Arnold 1990:291) ~ Tur *ġarno* 'Trog, Mörser' (Jastrow 1985:174).]

'ornua, pl -ues 'small tub or trough.'

ġ-z-l

'azl, pl 'āzulāt (< **ġzūlāt*) 'yarn'; OA *ġazl*, pl *ġuzūl* (Lane 2255); ~ Alep *ġazal* 'fil de coton' (Barth 574) ~ Sii *ġazal* 'Baumwollgarn' (Vo/Wald 302) ~ Judaeo-Ar *ġazl* 'yarn, mostly linen yarn' (Diem/Raden 156) ~ Pal Ar *ġazil* 'Gespinst' (Bau 134) ~ Malt *ġhažel*.

'azzel, pi^cazzel (v/t) 'spin'; OA *aġzala* 'spin' (Hava 524);

~ Alep *ġazzal* 'filer (le coton)' (Barth 574) ~ Dam *ġazal (o)* 'spin' (Sto/Ani 220) ~ Bagh (M) *ġizal (i)* (Wood/Bee 335) ~ Pal Ar *ġazal (i)* 'spinnen' (Bau 283).

ġ-s-l

'assel, pi^cassel (v/t) 'wash': 'assel fantusak; o mnaes 'wash your face; it's dirty'; cf. OA *ġasala* 'wash', *ġassala* has the like, but an intensive meaning' (Lane 2258);

~ Alep *xassel* 'laver plusieurs fois ou en grand nombre' (Barth 202) ~

Dam *ġassal/xassal* 'wash up' (Sto/Ani 258) ~ Qarṭ *xasal* 'waschen, sich waschen' (Vo/Wald 302) ~ Çukur *xasal (i)* 'waschen' (Procházka 2002:76) ~ Mos (M) *w nġib lġazz naxsəlu* 'wir nehmen Reis, waschen ihn, ...' (Jastrow 1979:66) ~ Bagh (M) *ġasil/xasil/ġassal* 'wash thoroughly' (Wood/Bee 134, 335) ~ Pal Ar *ġasal (i)* 'laver (surtout lessive)', *ġassal* 'laver les mains' (Elihai 1973:237) ~ Malt *ħasel, jahsel*.

[Devoicing of OA *ġ* in this lexeme occurs both in Eastern and Maghrebine Arabic colloquials (Marçais 1911:280). The CyA reflex *ç* for OA *ġ* here is striking since several Syrian Arabic vernaculars show *x*.]

tā'assel, pkyit'assel (v/i) 'wash oneself, swim'; OA *iġtasala* 'wash oneself' (Hava 789);

~ Alep *txassal* 'se laver, prendre un bain' (Barth 202) ~ Pal Ar *tġassal* 'sich waschen' (Bau 40) ~ Cai *inġasal/itġasal* 'be washed' (Bad/Hi 623) ~ Malt *inħasel*.

mā'assel, f mā'assle, pl mā'asslin (pp) 'washed.'

asil 'washing (of clothes, linen, etc.)': (*y*)*yom o x-xar tel asil* 'today is washing-day'; OA *ġasil* 'washed' (Hava 524); MLA (dirty or washed) clothes, washing' (Wehr 789);

~ Alep *xasil* 'linge avant ou après le blanchissage' (Barth 203) ~ Dam *ġasil/xasil* 'wash' (Sto/Ani 258) ~ Leban Ar *ġsīl* 'fait de laver, de baigner' (Feghali 1935:2, 36) ~ Pal Ar *ġasīl* 'Wäsche' (Bau 354) ~ Malt *ħasil* 'washing' (n).

russol (vn) 'washing.'

āsale 'liquid left over after the production of *plata* cheese and *xallumi*'; OA *ġusāla* 'the wash with which the thing is washed' (Lane 2259).

ġ-t-ṭ

att, pi'ott (v/t/i) 'set (sun), dive; jump at, assault (*ale-*) s.o.; immerse in liquid': *l-ixvetik pi'ottu m-ġmorós^ġ kullu xost m-moe, naxni la* 'the Greeks immerse the baby completely in the water (at the baptismal font), we don't'; *pappúti pi'ott xops xost l-ixlip* 'my grandfather dunks bread in milk'; *attet š-šimps u sar dulme* 'the sun set and it got dark'; *kifta rka'āt l-oxtak u má-rka'ātillu l-intsán ta att alexa?* 'how come you hit your (m) sister but not the man who assaulted her?'; OA *ġatta (i/u)* 'plunge, dip a.o. or a th. into (water)' (Hava 528);

~ Alep *ġatt (e)* 'plonger, immerger, enfoncer (qqe) *fi dans* (un liquide)' (Barth 577) ~ Bagh (M) *ġatt (u)* 'plunge, dive' (Wood/Bee 337)

~ Pal Ar ... *uġatte ḥalāḥ xaṭrāt fi-lmayy* ... und tauchte sie dreimal ins Wasser' (Blau 1960:163) ~ Cai *ġaff (u)* 'immerse' (Bad/Hi 625).

att (vn) 'diving (in the sea); setting (sun)': *l-atte teš-šimps* 'sunset' (Frangiskou 30); *atte š-šimps/atte teš-šimps* 'at sundown' [= Mod Gk δύση ηλίου]; OA *ġaff* 'immersion' (Hava 528).

ġ-t-y

atta, pi'atti (v/t) 'cover'; OA *ġattā* (Hava 529);

~ Alep *ġatta* 'couvrir (qqe) d'une couverture, d'un couvercle' (Barth 578) ~ Kənd *ġatta* (Vo/Wald 303) ~ Pal Ar *ġatta* (Bau 73) ~ Malt *ghatta* 'cover.'

tā'atta, pkyit'atta (v/i) 'cover oneself': *ana r'attāyt mall-iḥkyēp taxxon* 'I covered myself with clothes so as to keep warm'; OA *taġattā* (Hava 529);

~ Alep *dġatta, yədgatta* 'se couvrir' (Barth 578) ~ Mħall *tġatta, yətgatta* (Vo/Wald 303) ~ Malt *tghatta* ['ta:t:a].

mā'atti, f mā'attie, pl mā'attin (pp) 'covered.'

utto (vn) 'covering.'

ata, pl -āt 'cover, lid': *l-ata tel-xasie* 'the lid of the pot'; OA *ġitā*, pl *aġtiya* (Lane 2272);

~ Alep *ġata, pl ʔaġtye* 'couvercle' (Barth 578) ~ Riš *ġata* 'Deckel' (Vo/Wald 303) ~ Pal Ar *ġata, pl ġuṭi/ʔaġtiya* (Bau 73) ~ Malt *ghatu, pl ghotjien* 'lid.'

ġ-l-l

mā'all 'le blé sur pied' (Roth 1984:328); OA *ġalla, pl -āt, ġilāl* 'crops' (Hava 531); GArām *ħllh* 'harvest, dowry' (Sokol 1990:409);

~ Alep *ġlāl* 'céréales' (Barth 581) ~ Bask *ġalli* 'produce' (Abu-Haidar 1979:61) ~ Pal Ar *ġalle, pl ġlāl* 'Getreide(-ertrag)' (Bau 135) ~ Cai *ġalla* (Spiro 1895:431) ~ N Yem *ġillih, pl ġillāt/ġilal* (Behnstedt 1996:908).

ġ-l-b

ilep, pkyā'ālep (v/t) 'overcome'; OA *ġalaba (i)* (Hava 531);

~ Alep *ġalab (ə)* 'vaincre (qqn), à la guerre' (Barth 579) ~ Mħall *ġalab (ə)* 'siegen' (Vo/Wald 303) ~ Pal Ar *ġalab (i)* (Bau 312) ~ Cai *ġalab (i)* 'conquer' (Spiro 433) ~ Malt *gheleb, jeghleb*.

allep, pi'allep (v/t) 'importune'; OA *ġallaba* 'make s.o. get the upper hand (*alā* over)' (Hava 531); cf. JArām *ulbonā* 'Bedrängnis' (Levy III, 650);

~ Dam *gallab hālo* 'he put himself out' (Sto/Ani 183) ~ Pal Ar *gallab* 'belästigen' (Bau 50), 'tracasser, importuner qqn' (Barth 579) ~ Egyp Ar *ʿyǧllb* 'incommodant' (Boc, Dozy II, 220).

māʿallep, f *māʿallpe*, pl *māʿallpīn* 'importuned, disturbed': *ie ta kant l-ixpire, kant awfa māʿallpe; l-oxar l-ixvāt kanu awfa mistraxīn* 'being the eldest (of the children), she was more often inconvenienced; the other siblings had an easier time';

cf. Syr Ar *mitgallib* 'verärgert' (Behnstedt 1997, map 357) ~ Pal Ar *mitgallib fi* 'geplagt mit' (Bau 131).

ġ-l-q

ʿilek, *pkyáʿalak* (v/t) 'close'; OA *aǧlaqa/gallaqa* (Hava 533), MLA *ǧalaqa* (i) (Wehr 798);

~ Alep *ǧalaq* (o/e) 'fermer (la porte)' (Barth 580) ~ Pal Ar *ǧalaq* (u) 'zumachen ohne Schlüssel' (Bau 260) ~ Dam *ǧalaq* (e) 'lock' (Sto/Ani 141) ~ Malt *ǧhalaq, jaǧhlaq*.

maʿālúk, f -a, pl -īn (pp) 'closed, shut.'

ʿalak/tʿulloq (vn) 'closure': *xankak piri ʿalak* 'shut up!'; MLA *ǧalaq* 'padlock' (Wehr 798);

~ Alep *ǧalaq* 'primitivement, serrure en bois' (Barth 581) ~ rur Egyp Ar *ǧalag* 'Tasche' (Behn/Woid 1994).

ġ-l-w

ʿala, *pkyáʿāli* (v/i) 'rise (price)'; OA *ǧalā* (u) 'increase in price (goods)' (Hava 533);

~ Alep *ǧāli* (a) 'devenir cher' (Barth 582) ~ Pal Ar *ǧili* (a) 'teuer werden' (Bau 300) ~ N Yem *ǧala, yiǧli* (Behnstedt 1996:911).

ʿalave 'cost of living': *kilitna l-ʿalave* 'the cost of living is devouring us'; cf. OA *ǧalā* 'a high price, or rate, at which a thing is sold' (Lane 2288);

~ Alep *ǧalāwe* 'cherté (d'une chose)' (Barth 582) ~ Qarṭ *ǧala* 'Teuerung' (Vo/Wald 304) ~ Pal Ar *ǧala* (Bau 300) ~ N Yem *ǧalāy* (Behnstedt 1996:911).

ʿali, f *ʿayye*, pl *ʿayyīn* (adj) 'expensive' < OA *ǧālin* (Hava 533);

~ Alep *ǧāli*, f *ǧālye*, pl *ǧālyīn, ǧālyāt* 'qui coûte cher, cher' (Barth 582) ~ Āz *ǧāll*, f *ǧālle*, pl *Mħall ǧāllīn* 'teuer' (Vo/Wald 304) ~ Pal Ar *ǧāli* (Bau 300) ~ Malt *ǧħali*, f *ǧħalja*, pl *ǧħaljin* 'expensive.'

ġ-l-y

ʿili, *pkyáʿāli* (v/i) 'boil': *mannišvi ʿprota ʿ l-ikšūr pkyáʿālu fitte ʿištara ʿ maxxótt l-ʿiʿzzaxari ʿ u pkyáʿālu exemmóda ʿa ʿospu ʿ tešidd fitte l-ʿiʿzzumi ʿ* '(to make candied citron) we first cook the peels letting them boil a little; we then add sugar and boil them together until the liquid thickens somewhat'; OA *ǧalā* (i) 'boil (cooking pot)' (Hava 533);

~ Alep *ǧala* (i) (v/t/i) 'faire bouillir, bouillir, bouillonner' (Barth 582) ~ Kənd *ǧala* (i) (v/i) 'kochen' (Vo/Wald 304) ~ Çukur *ǧili* (a) (v/t/i) 'kochen' (Procházka 2002:89) ~ Pal Ar *ǧala* (i) (Bau 177) ~ N Yem *ǧale, yiǧil* (v/i) 'kochen (Wasser)' (Behnstedt 1996:911) ~ Malt *ǧħela, jaǧħli* (v/i) 'boil.'

méʿēli, f *meʿēlie*, pl *meʿēlin* 'boiled': *peða meʿēlie* 'a boiled egg.'

ʿal (vn) 'boiling': *l-iθkyép piritu ʿal* 'the (soiled) linen requires boiling' < OA *ǧaly* (Hava 534).

[Elision of root-final /y/ after CyA /l/ contrasts with its replacement by /k/ in roots with medial /r/, e.g., *žark* 'running' < **žarky* < OA *ǧary*.]

ġ-m-r

ʿammer, *piʿammer* (v/i) 'spread fertilizer or humus on soil; give alms'; OA *ǧammara* (u) 'water a horse ...; nonclass Ar, 'heap up sheaves' (Hava 534), MLA 'flood, bestow liberally' (Wehr 800); cf. JAram *ʿammēr* 'Getreide häufen' (Levy III, 665);

~ Alep *ǧammār* 'combler (qqn) *bfadlo de bienfaits*' (Barth 583) ~ Bagh (M) *ǧumar* (u) 'flood, inundate' (Wood/Bee 339)] ~ Leban Ar *ǧammār* 'engerber' (Fegh 1938:471) ~ rur Egyp Ar *ǧammār* 'zu Garben binden' (Behn/Woid 1994:340) ~ Egyp Ar *ǧammār* (= l) 'accabler, combler de bienfaits' (Boc, Dozy I, 226) ~ Malt *ǧħammār* 'stack or pile sheaves' (Aquilina 1990:964).

ʿamara, pl *ʿāmēr* 'fertilizer, compost' < **ǧamāra, ʿǧamēyer*; cf. nonclass Ar *ǧumr/ǧumra*, pl *aǧmār* 'sheaf' (Hava 535);

~ Alep *ǧāmər* 'gerbe, brassée' (Barth 583) ~ rur Egyp Ar *ǧumr* 'großer Haufen (Erde, Getreide u. ä.)' (Behn/Woid 1994:340) ~ Malt *ǧħorma* 'heap' (Aquilina 1990:977).

ġ-m-d

ʿamat, *pkyáʿāmot* (v/t) 'shut (eyes)': *ʿāmót ʿanék* 'close your eyes!' (Frangiskou 100); OA *ǧammada/aǧmada* 'shut (the eyes)' (Hava 536);

~ Alep *ǧāmēd* (a) 'se fermer (: oeil)' (Barth 583) ~ Pal Ar *ǧammād* 'Auge, Hand schließen' (Bau 260).

ma'amūt, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'shut.'

ġ-n-y

'anna, pi'anni 'sing'; OA *ġanna* (i) (Lane 2302);

~ Alep *ġanna* 'chanter' (Barth 586) ~ Mard *ġanna* 'singen' (Vo/Wald 305) ~ Pal Ar *ġanna* (Bau 276) ~ Cai *ġanna* 'sing' (Spiro 436) ~ Malt *ġhanna*, *jghanni*.

'urnie (< *ġunniyya*), pl 'āneni (< **ġanāni*) 'song': l-'āneni tel-'ors 'wedding music'; OA *u/ġniyya*, *u/ġniya*, pl *aġānin* (Hava 538);

[The dissimilatory shift **nn* > *rn* (under the impact of Gk ?) is rare in CyA; but cf. OA *xarrūb/xurnūb* 'carob, carob-tree' (Hava 160) and Pal Ar *burnēta* 'Hur' (Bau 162) < It. *berretta* 'copricapo di foggia varia' (Zingarelli 1970:192). Ar [rn] in loans can also metanalyze other resonant clusters: rur Egyp Ar *turnāta* 'Tonne' (Behn/Woid 1994:285) < **turnāta* < Ar *ṭūlūnāta* 'ton' (Elias 1974:739) ~ Malt *tunellata* 'ton' < (?) LFr. cf. It *tonnellaggia*. Outside Arabic, cf. Rabbinic Heb *arnōnd* 'Abgabe zu den Staat' < Low Gk *ἀρνῶνα*, Krauss (1898:133) < Lat *annona* 'annual) output, price of corn, etc.' (OLD 135).]

~ Alep *ġanniya*, pl -āt et *ġnēni* 'chanson' (Barth 586) ~ Mard *ġannōye* 'Lied' (Vo/Wald 305) ~ Bagh (M) *ġannuwwa/ġunnuwwa* 'song' (Wood/Bee 340) ~ Leban Ar *ġinniyye*, pl *ġanāni* ~ Pal Ar *ġinnawiyye/ġinnāye* 'weltliches Lied', *bihibb il-ġanāni* 'singlustig' (Bau 194, 276) ~ N Yem *ġunwiyeh*, pl *ġanāwi* 'Lied' (Behnstedt 1996:915).

ġ-w-r

'ar 'laurel': l-'ar *maxcottu xok l-laxm* 'we use laurel to season meat with'; OA *ġār* (Hava 538);

~ Alep *ġār* 'laurier' (Barth 587) ~ Pal Ar *ġār* '*Laurus nobilis*' (Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:77; Bauer 196).

ġ-w-f

'ufa, pl 'āvāf 'hand-loom'; Syriac 'awfā 'branche, rameaux' (Barth 587; cf. R. Payne Smith 2836);

~ Alep *ġawf* 'branches vertes dont on fait une cabane pour l'élevage des vers à soie' (Barth 587) ~ Kfar'ab *ġawf* 'branches vertes coupées avec lesquelles on construit une cabane, une tente, etc.' (Feghali 1918:72).

[The Kormakiti Maronites appear to have produced different kinds of cloth: cotton (*kūtn*), linen (*fursi*), and silk, until relatively recently. Concerning the Nicosia area, Jennings (1983:718) observed that during the last decades of the 19th century almost "every village in the district had cotton looms and many houses in the larger villages had hand looms for manufacturing cotton and silk stuffs."]

ġ-y-b

'ap, pi'ip (v/i) 'be absent, disappear': inti 'ifti *trukáyn* 'you (f) have absented yourself twice'; pi'ipu *ztie* 'some young nanny goats are missing' (Frangiskou 158); OA *ġāba* (i) (Hava 540);

~ Alep *ġāb* (i) 's'absenter' (Barth 588) ~ Mard *ġāb* (i) 'untergehen (Sonne; über = *mān* 'ala), zu Ende gehen (Tag)' (Vo/Wald 305) ~ Pal Ar *ġāb* (i) (Elihai 1973:32) ~ Cai *ġāb* (i) 'delay, be absent' (Spiro 423) ~ Malt *ġheb*, *jghib* [a:y] 'disappear'.

'ep, f 'eype, pl 'eypīn 'absent'; OA *ġā'ib*;

~ Alep *ġāyeb*, pl *ġiyāb* 'absent de son pays' (Barth 588) ~ Pal Ar *ġāyib* (Bau 8).

'ape 'absence'; OA *ġayba* (Hava 540).

ġ-y-r

'ar, pi'ir (v/i) 'be envious': pi'irillu 'she's envious of him'; OA *ġār* (a) 'he was jealous of his wife' (Lane 2315);

~ Alep *ġār* (i) 'devenir jaloux, concevoir de la jalousie, être chatouilleux' (Barth 588-9) ~ Pal Ar *ġār* (i) 'ala 'eifern um' (Bau 84) ~ Cai *ġār* (i) 'be jealous: *huwa yigīr* 'ala *imrātoḥ* 'he's a jealous husband' (Spiro 423) ~ Malt *ġher*, *jghir* [a:y] 'be jealous, envy'.

tā'aer, pkyit'aer (v/i) 'change; lose weight, slim; become cloudy'; tā'aer l-izman 'it got cloudy'; OA *taġayyara*; cf. nonclass Ar *ġiyār* 'emaciation, alteration in health', *mutaġayyir* 'pale, emaciated' (Hava 541);

~ Alep *dġayyar* 'être changé', cf. *ġayyar* 'changer en mal, altérer (les traits du visage, la mine)' (Barth 539) ~ Mħall *tġayyar* 'verändert werden, sich ändern' (Vo/Wald 305) ~ Ar *tġayyar* 'maigrir' (Denizeau 1960:379; Belot 1964:519) ~ Egyp Ar *tġayyarat aḥwālu* 'changer de visage, pālir ou rougir' (Boc, Dozy I, 340), *enta mitġayyar en nahār da* 'you do not look well today' (Spiro 1893:437) ~ Sa'd *tġayyar* 'sich verändern, ohnmächtig werden' (Behnstedt 1987:285).

mā'aer, f mā'ayre, pl mā'ayrīn 'thin, emaciated';

~ Jer Ar (J) *mġayyar* 'looking ill' (Piamenta 2000:229).

[The CyA meaning exists in Aleppo (I) (Piamenta, p.c.).]

'er (prep) 'except': *kullon kislanīn* 'er minni' 'everybody is lazy except me'; *enne kullon šaḥkon* 'er l-impla'ek 'everything is yours (pl) except the spoons'; OA *ġayr* (Hava 541);

~ Alep *ġēr/ġeyr* pron à l'et. constr. 'autre que, autre': *ġēri* 'un autre

que moi; ġēr wāḥad 'un autre' (Barth 589) ~ Āz ġayr 'außer' (Vo/Wald 306) ~ Pal Ar ġēr 'ausgenommen' (Bau 37) ~ Malt 'ġhajri' 'my fellow human beings.'

'ire/are 'envy, jealousy': *kilitu l-ire* 'he's eaten up with jealousy'; OA *ġira/ġayra* 'jealousy' (Lane 2315);

~ Alep *ġire* 'jalousie, zèle' (Barth 589) ~ Dam *ġire* 'jealousy' (Sto/Ani 128) ~ Pal Ar *ġire* 'Eifersucht' (Bau 84) ~ Malt 'ġhira' [ey].

'āyār, n un -a 'clouds'; OA *ġayr* ~ *ġiyār* 'rain' (Lisān V, 40).

[Cf. OA *maġir/maġyūr* 'watered by rain (land)'; *ġaym* coll, pl *ġuyām* 'clouds' (Hava 541, 542); Alep *ġaym* 'nuages' (Barth 590), Qarṭ *ġaym* (Vo/Wald 306) ~ Pal Ar *ġem*, rur *ġen* (Bau 368), Ṣa'd *ġiyānin* 'dichte Wolkendecke' (Behnstedt 1987:285).]

F

f-ʾ-r

firān 'mice (no sg)': o 'ep k-katt u l-firān pkyiriksu 'the cat is away and the mice dance'; OA *fīrān*, sg *fār* 'rat, mouse, musk' (Hava 543);

~ Alep *fār* (coll) 'souris', pl *fīrān*; *fāra*, pl -āt 'une souris' (Barth 625) ~ Mard *fār*, f Qarṭ *fāra*, pl Mħall *fārāt* (Vo/Wald 307) ~ Pal Ar *fār*, pl *fīrān* 'Maus' (Bau 202) ~ Malt 'far, pl firien' 'rat.'

f-t-t¹

fatt, *pifutt* (v/t) 'strip (tree of fruit)': *l-latuδkya l-izār tilu xok xarrupe u fattu x-xarrup ma osk* ('syll) *izār* 'the small children climbed a carob tree and harvested (lit., knocked) the carobs with short sticks' < OA **fatt* (u) [cf. *fatt/fitt/futt* 'dispersed' (Hava 543)];

[Many dialects of E. Arabic here retain a reflex of Syriac *pəraṭ* 'scidit' (R. Payne Smith 3257): Alep *faraṭ* 'abattre (des noix, les fruits d'un arbre)' (Barth 601) ~ Leban Ar *faraṭ* 'il abattit (les noix, les amandes, etc. ...)' (Feghali 1918:57) mediated to MLA: *faraṭ* 'strip off (fruits)' (Wehr 827). Though a shift **ftt* > CyA *ftt* shift is conceivable via assimilation (i.e., **fartu* 'they stripped' > **fattu*), it may be simpler to set up a proto-form **ftt* meaning something like 'dismantle'.]

~ Leban Ar *fatt*, *yfott* 'dispenser, prodiguer, dissiper (son argent); distribuer les cartes aux joueurs' (Denizeau 1960:380) ~ Bišm *bi-ādār bifuttu l-ibdār* (Samen, Körner; Gewürz) 'Im März verteilt man die Eier (der Raupen)' (Jiha 1964:22) ~ Hama *rāḥ fatte* 'er wurde in Stücke geschlagen' (Lewin 219) ~ Pal Ar *bifitt mašāri* 'he spends money' (Piamenta, p.c.).

maftūt, f -a, pl -in 'picked (fruit off a tree).'

f-t-t²

fatt, *pifitt* (v/i) 'be few or slight in quantity; be reduced': *l-impit pifitt* 'the wine is running out'; denom. verb from *fitt* 'a little'; cf. < nonclass Ar *fatta* (u) 'crumble a. th. with the fingers' (Hava 543);

[Apparently a local formation.]

~ Alep *fatt* (ə) 'réduire en menus morceaux (du pain, un biscuit) pour tremper la soupe ou pour le mettre dans du *lāban*' (Barth 591) ~ Pal Ar *fatt* (i) 'zerbröckeln' (Bau 374) ~ Malt 'fettet, ifettet' 'crumble (bread, biscuit, etc.).'

fitt 'a little; a small amount; few': *fitt laxm* 'a little meat', *fitt xarāt* 'a few days'; ^G*amma* ^G*l-ixlīp teixxon fitt*, *maxxarkeš xost mīzipne* 'when the milk warms up a little, we stir it with a rennet (to make yoghurt)'; ^{m-}*maronites* ^G*saru fitt* 'the Maronites have dwindled'; *fitt e s-sa'a šaiton*; ^G*fasarīa* ^G*ie antšīl l-asel*, ^G*yati* ^G*l-asel marri yomāym tlaxkyem antšīl* 'they [require] little time [to prepare]; the troublesome part is extracting the carob juice because this [operation] takes us up to two or three days to perform'; OA *fattah* 'a crumbled piece of dung' (Lane 2327);

~ Pal Ar *ṣaḥīḥ-u-fatte* 'definitely true' (Piamenta 2000:229) ~ Yem *wa-lā fittah* 'neppure un poco' (Ḥodaydah; Rossi 1938:265) ~ Egyp Ar *fīte minnu* 'ein bißchen davon' (Behn/Woid 388) ~ Malt 'tani fitt minnu' 'he gave me some of it' (cf. Ar *fatīt* 'miettes de pain'; Dozy II, 236).

[Roth (1975:53) derives *fitt* 'a little' from OA *ntf*. Since at least four Arabic vernaculars show derivatives of *ftt* 'a little', one can without difficulty posit an OA root **ftt* with this meaning.]

fitt fitt 'slowly, gradually';

~ Malt 'ftit ftit' 'little by little.'

f-t-ḥ

fatax, *pkyiftax* (v/t/i) 'open; switch on (e.g., radio); crumble': *anniftax r-^Graḍyo^G annisma'a* 'let's turn on the radio and hear [the news]'; *l-pape fatxet vaxta* 'the door opened of its own accord'; *pkyiftax pšik x-^Gxalvā^G* 'it crumbles like *xalvah*'; OA *fataḥa* (a) 'open' (Hava 543);

~ Alep *fataḥ* (a) (v/t) 'ouvrir' (Barth 591) ~ Dam *fataḥ* (a) 'open' (Sto/Ani 163) ~ Kənd *fataḥ* (a) 'öffnen' (Vo/Wald 307) ~ Pal Ar *fataḥ*

(a) (Bau 223) ~ Malt <fetaħ, jiftaħ> (v/t/i) 'open; clear up (weather):'

fatx (vn) 'opening' < *fath*.

maftix, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'open; turned on (radio); outstretched (arms)': *kallina r-^Građya^G maftuxin* 'we had our radios on.'

miftax, pl *mfetix* 'key'; OA *miftāħ*, pl *mafātīħ* (Hava 544);

~ Alep *māftāħ*, pl *mfētīħ* 'clef' (Barth 592) ~ Mard *māftāħ*, pl *māfētīħ* 'Schlüssel' (Vo/Wald 308) ~ Pal Ar *miftāħ*, pl *mafātīħ* (Bau 592) ~ Malt <muftieħ, mfietāħ> 'key.'

f-t-r

feter, f *fetre*, pl *fetrin* 'lukewarm'; OA *fātir* (Hava 545);

~ Alep *fēter*, f *fētra* (pa.) 'tiède': *mway fētra* 'eau tiède' (Barth 593) ~ Pal Ar *fātir* 'lauwarm' (Bau 190) ~ Malt <fietel> 'lukewarm.'

f-t-š

fatteš, *pifatteš* (v/t/i) 'search, look for; endeavour, scheme': *pifatteš teakul xopson* 'he's trying to rob them of their livelihood (lit., 'eat their bread')'; OA *fattaša* (Hava 545);

~ Alep *fattaš* 'ala' 'chercher (qqe)' (Barth 593) ~ Mxašniye *fattaš* 'durchsuchen, forschen (nach = 'ala)' (Vo/Wald 308) ~ Pal Ar *fattaš* 'ala' 'nachsuchen' (Bau 214) ~ Malt <fittex, ifittex> 'look for; try.'

tfuttoš (vn) 'searching.'

f-t-q

fattek, *pifattek* (v/t) 'unstitch'; cf. OA *fataqahu* 'he slit it, rent it, etc.' (Lane 2331);

cf. Alep *fataq* 'découdre, causer une hernie à (qqn)', *fattaq* 'découdre en plusieurs endroits' (Barth 593) ~ Pal Ar *fataq/fattaq* 'auftrennen' (Bau 30) ~ Malt <fetaq, joftoq> 'unstitch.'

tfattek, *pkyitfattek* (v/i) 'become unstitched, unsewn; overeat': *tfatθket θ-θawp* 'the shirt became unstitched'; *ttannitfattek mill-ikl* 'we'll eat till we burst!' (Frangiskou 101); OA *tafattaqa* 'be slit, unsewed' (Hava 545);

Cf. Alep *nfataq*, *yānfətəq* 'être decousu à un endroit' (Barth 593).

f-t-l

fitel, *pkyifitel* (v/t) 'twine (thread)'; OA *fatala* (i) (Hava 545);

~ Alep *fatal* (e) 'tordre en forme de mèche ou de corde (un fil), corder' (Barth 593) ~ Sii *fatal* (e) 'zu Strängen flechten' (Vo/Wald 308).

ftile pl *ftel* (< **ftēyel*) 'wick'; OA *fatila*, pl *fatā'il* (Hava 545);

~ Alep *ftile*, pl *ftēyel* 'mèche de fusée, de pétard' (Barth 594) ~ Darag *ftil*, pl -āt 'Docht' (Vo/Wald 308) ~ Pal Ar *ftile*, pl *fatāyil* (Bau 77) ~ Malt <ftila, pl ftejjel> 'wick.'

f-ğ-l

fižl, n un -e 'radishes'; OA *fuğl/fuğul* (Hava 548); cf. GAram *fuğlā* (det) (Sokol 1990:424); Assyr *puglu* (Vollers 1897:293);

~ Alep *fəğəl*, n coll 'radis, raves' (Barth 595) ~ Pal Ar *fiğl* 'Raphanus sativus' (Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:15) ~ Malt <fiğel> 'radish.'

f-d-n

fiddān, pl *ftetīn* 'yoke of oxen'; OA *fadān/faddān* pl *fadādīn* (Hava 551); Syriac *paddānā* (J. Payne Smith 1903:434; Fraenkel 1886:129);

~ Alep *faddān*, pl *fdēdīn* 'couple de bœufs attelés à la charrue, une paire de bœufs de labour' (Barth 596) ~ Bəħz *ysōq fadān* '[zum] Pflügen' (Jastrow 1981:392) ~ Mħall *fəddān* 'Ochsengespann' (Vo/Wald 309) ~ Pal Ar *faddān*, pl *fadādīn* 'wird jedoch in Galilāa stets die Arbeit eines Paars Ochsen verstanden' (Schumacher 1889:163), 'der Pflug mit den dazu nötigen Zugtieren' (Dalm II, 38), 'das von einem Paar Ochsen während eines Jahres bestellbare Ackerland' (Bau 200) ~ rur Egypt Ar *faddān* 'Flächenmaß: 2,382 Hektar' (Behnstedt 1994:346) ~ Malt <fiddien> 'a land measure calculated on the area than can be ploughed by two cows in a day' (Aquilina 1987:334).

[Ma'l *fittōna* 'yoke of oxen' (Arnold, p.c.), Mlah *padono* 'Pfluggespann' (Jastrow 1994b:185).]

f-r-ħ^l

firex, *pkyifrax* (v/i) 'rejoice'; OA *fariħa* (a) (Hava 553);

~ Alep *fəreħ* (a) 'se réjouir, être joyeux' (Barth 598) ~ Dam *fəreħ* (a) 'sich freuen' (Grotzfeld 1965:165) ~ Pal Ar *firiħ* (a) (Bau 117) ~ Malt <ferāħ, jifrah> 'rejoice.'

farxa, pl -āt 'joy, delight': *fārixtu* 'his joy'; *pkyaklu u pkyiširpu ma k-kassis u ma m-^Gmammū^G pšal-farxa ta sar m-^Gmorós maroniti^G u ġistera^G pkyāxirpu* '(after the baptismal ceremony) they eat and drink with the priest and the godmother rejoicing that the baby has become a Maronite and afterwards they leave'; *mantsáy farxa^Goti^G kam l-impisix*

'we rejoice because Jesus rose from the dead';

~ Alep *farħa* 'réjouissances, amusements, divertissements en famille, fête de famille' (Barth 598) ~ Dam *farħa* 'Freudenfest' (Grotzfeld 1965:165) ~ Pal Ar *farħa* 'joy' (Piamenta 2000:229), 'feast': *wil-ors mā hū farħa* 'und die Hochzeit ist kein Fest' (Linder 1952:67) ~ Malt *ferħu* 'joy.'

f-r-h²

firex, *pkyifrax* (v/i) 'be seriously ill'; 's'évanouir' (Roth 1975:35); *amma*⁶ *pkyifrax m-morós*⁶, *l-umm mā pittista*⁶ 'alēx u pkyimsiku yapatu' 'when a child falls seriously ill, the mother doesn't touch him; his father holds him'; Syriac *pərah* 'fly, flee' (J. Payne Smith 1903:459); Heb *pārah* 'it flew' (Klein 1987:527).

[On this term, Roth (1975:42) observes: "a une origine que je n'ai pu déterminer." No cognates of this term have been noted in other varieties of Eastern Arabic; cf., however, Syriac *perħaṭ nafṣeh* 'expiravit' (R. Payne Smith 3254); JAram *parəhā niṣmatān* 'their soul fled, i.e., they were shocked by surprise, fear, etc.' (M. Jastrow 1223), and Heb *pārəhāh niṣmatō* 'he passed away, he was scared to death,' 'he fainted' (Yerushalmi, *Brakōt*, cited in Even-Shoshan 1993:1095); Mlah *poreh*, *prihle* 'fliegen' (Jastrow 1994b:160), Hert *parħa* 'Vogel' (Jastrow 1988a:195), Mod Mand *pəhar* 'fly, leap' (Macuch 1965:502, 509), Qaraq *prx* (v) 'fly' (Khan 2002:719). Note also CyA *til'et ruxu* 'he expired' and Bagh (I) *zahgət gūha* 'she could no longer stand it' (Mansour 234, fn 127).]

f-r-x

farrex, *pifarrex* (v/i) 'sprout (plant)'; OA *farraxa* (Hava 553); ~ Leban Ar *farrex* 'pousser, germer' (Denizeau 1960:385) ~ Pal Ar *farrax* 'sprossen' (Bau 284).

mfarrex, f *mfarrxe*, pl *mfarrxin* (pp) 'sprouting, having sprouted.'

f-r-z

farrez, *pifarrez* (v/t) 'scatter; dismantle': *xallāyt t-taka maftuxa u x-xava farrzinni l-iḥkyetip kullon* 'I left the window open and the wind scattered all my letters'; *farriztu k-kammīn* 'I dismantled the charcoal furnace'; cf. OA *faraza* (i) 'separate, divide' (Hava 554); cf. Heb *pizzēt* 'zerstreuen, ausstreuen' (Levy IV:19);

~ Alep *faraz* (e) 'séparer, mettre à part' (Barth 599) ~ Bagh (M) *furaz* (u) 'separate' (Wood/Bee 349) ~ Pal Ar *faraz* (i) 'trennen' (Bau 305) ~ Cai *faraz* (i) 'sort, select' (Spiro 1895:449) ~ rur Egyp Ar *faraz* 'jemanden untersuchen' (Behn/Woid 1994:349).

tfarrez, *pkyitfarrez* (v/i) 'become scattered.'

f-r-s

fursi, pl *frasi* 'linen cloth (for bedsheets)'; cf. Syriac *perad* 'a cloth, strip of cloth' (J. Payne Smith 1903:462); JAram *prāsā* 'curtain, covering' (Sokol 1990:448).

f-r-š

faraš, *pkyifroš* (v/t) 'make a bed'; OA *faraša* (u/i) (Hava 555); ~ Alep *faraš* (o) 'étendre à terre (une natte, un matelas, un tapis)' (Barth 600) ~ Qarṭ *faraš* (ə) 'ausbreiten, das Bett zurechtmachen' (Vo/Wald 311) ~ rur Egyp Ar *faraš* (i) 'das Bett ausbreiten' (Behn/Woid 1994:349) ~ Malt *firex*, *jifrex* 'spread; make a bed.'

mafrūš, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'spread (bed)': *k-karkōla*⁶ *šaytu e mafrūša* 'her bed has been prepared.'

[For CyA/CyG *karkōla* 'bed' < **karkyōla*, cf. Çukur *qaryōla* 'Bed' (Procházka 2002:177); cf. Bagh (M) *qaryōla* 'steel cot' (Wood/Bee 372) < Tk *karyōla*.]

freš, pl *frūš* 'mattress': *freš* 'esi' 'a hard mattress' (Frangiskou 130); OA *firaš*, pl *furuš/afriša* (Hava 555);

~ Alep *frēš*, pl *fərs* 'matelas' (Barth 600) ~ Arb *frēš*, pl *Ka'b frēšāt* 'Bettzeug' (Vo/Wald 311) ~ Hask *frēšāt* (Talay 2002:71) ~ Pal Ar *frāš*, sg *farše* 'Schlafpolster' (Dalm VII, 178) ~ Malt *friex* 'bedclothes.'

f-r-g

far'e (?), *pkyifr'a* (v/i) 'être vide' (Roth 1975:38, 75); OA *fariga* (a) 'be poured forth (water)' (Hava 558);

~ Pal Ar *firiğ* (a) 'leer werden' (Bau 191).

farr'e, *pifarr'e* (v/t) 'empty, tip': *farr'u x-xarrūp xost l-ižvalek* 'they tipped the carobs into the sacks'; OA *farraga* 'empty, pour' (Hava 558);

~ Alep *farrag* 'transvaser, vider le contenu d'un vase dans un ou plusieurs autres' (Barth 602) ~ Dam *farrag* 'empty' (Sto/Ani 78) ~ Kənd *farrag* 'schütten, leeren, gießen' (Vo/Wald 311) ~ Pal Ar *farrag* (Bau 191) ~ Malt *ferra*, *iferra* 'pour out.'

far'e, m and f, pl -in 'empty': *mōḍa'a far'e* 'an empty place'; *uo kaf ma ten far'in* 'he ended up empty-handed'; OA *fāriğ*;

~ Alep *fēreğ* (Barth 602) ~ Kənd *fārēğ*, f *fārga* 'leer' (Vo/Wald 312) ~ Mos (C) *fārēğ* 'empty' (infor) ~ Pal Ar *fāriğ* (Bau 191) ~ Malt *feragh* [h] as in *kliem fieragh* 'empty talk.'

tfurr'o (vn) 'emptying' < Ar *tafarruğ*.

staff'e, *pkystaff'e* 'vomit': *širep xtir 'ašie u staff'e 'aléx* 'he drank a lot last night and vomited all over himself'; OA *istafrāga* (Hava 558);
 ~ Alep *stafrāg* 'vomir' (Barth 602) ~ Mard *stafrāg* 'sich übergeben' (Jastrow 1978:195) ~ Pal Ar *stafrāg* (Bau 310).

stuff'o (vn) 'vomiting.'

f-r-n

forn, pl *fran* 'oven'; *f-forn pkyaxmi kaes* 'the oven is perfectly hot'; OA *furn*, pl *afrān* (Hava 559) (< Lat *furnus*);
 ~ Alep *fārn*, pl *frān* 'four à pain' (Barth 605) ~ Dam *fārn*, pl *frūne/frān* 'oven' (Sto/Ani 166) ~ Pal Ar *furn*, pl *'afrān/frūne* 'Backofen' (Bau 40) ~ Malt *forn*, pl *fran*.

f-r-n-k

furunkāk 'cemetery' (etym ?).

f-z-'

fiz'e, *pkypza'a* (v/i) 'fear'; OA *faza'a* (a) (Hava 561);
 ~ Kənd *fəzə'* (a) 'Angst haben' (Vo/Wald 313) ~ Darag *bəzah* (Jastrow 1973a:19) ~ Hask *bəzə'e* 'sie fürchtete sich' (Talay 2002:70)
 ~ Çukur *faza'/fizi'* (a) 'Angst haben': *faz'it, vza't* 'sie fürchtete sich, ich fürchtete mich' (Procházka 2002:22, 176) ~ 'Aq *vəzə'* (a) (Jastrow 1991b:391) ~ Bagh (M) *biza'* (a) 'be/become exasperated, disgusted, fed up' (Wood/Bee 34) ~ Bišm *fizi'* 'erschrecken' (Jiha 1964:70) ~ Pal Ar *faza'* 'sich beeilen' (Schmidt/Kahle 1930:231) ~ Malt *beza'*, *jibza'* 'fear; be afraid of.'

[Some dialects retain other meanings here: Alep *fəzə'* (a) *lahada* 'prendre le parti de qqn, défendre ses intérêts' (Barth 606); in this connection, note also Malt *beza'* *ghaliha* 'he took good care of it.'

fazz'e, *pifazz'e* (v/t) 'frighten'; OA *fazza'a* (Hava 561);
 ~ Alep *fazza'* *laháda* 'appeler qqn à son aide contre (un tiers)' (Barth 606) ~ Āz *fazza'* 'erschrecken' (Vo/Wald 313) ~ Çukur *fazza'* (Procházka 2002:176) ~ Bagh (M) *bazza'* 'exasperate, irritate' (Wood/Bee 34) ~ Bišm *bi'mil hāli šīṭān w bfazzi'kum* 'ich werde mich zum Teufel machen und euch erschrecken' (Jiha 1964:8) ~ Pal Ar *fazza'* 'effrayer' (Elihai 1973:151) ~ Malt *bezza'*, *ibezza'* 'frighten.'

fāza'a 'fear, anxiety': *ḡammaḡ ta kallina šī ḡmorósḡ ta fil-layl kan-yipza'a, kanyibkattep* (<qtḡ), *kwankúl: aḡa m-ḡmorósḡ lu fāza'a, ḡprepiḡ tarrúx tallaki exte mara ta pittá'āref tatsillu fāza'a* 'when one of our children was afraid of the dark or suffered from nightmares, we

would say: "This child is scared; we must look for a woman that can assuage his fear"; OA *faza'* (Hava 561);
 ~ Āz *faz'a*, Mard *baz'a* 'Furcht' (Vo/Wald 313) ~ Hask *baz'a* 'Angst' (Talay 2002:69) ~ Pal Ar *faza'* (Bau 120) ~ Malt *bižgha* ['biža] 'fear.'

fiz'ān, f -e, pl -in 'afraid'; cf. OA *fāzi'* 'fearful, timid' (Hava 561); MLA *faz'ān* (Wehr 833);
 ~ Alep *fazzi'* 'peureux' (Barth 606) ~ Qəll *bəz'ān*, f -e 'erschrocken' (Vo/Wald 313) ~ Hask *bəz'āne* (f) 'ängstlich' (Talay 2002:68) ~ Malt *bežghan* 'afraid; bežziegh' [h] 'coward' (Aquilina 1987:111).]

f-s-t-n

fustān, pl *fsetīn* 'dress': *nturi, pittit'asi f-fustān telik* 'take care! you're treading on your dress' (Frangiskou 97); MLA *fustān*, pl *fasātīn* 'woman's) dress, gown, frock' (Wehr 833);

[Cf. Mod Gk φουστάνι 'woman's dress' (Pring 1982:202). The 12th century Arabic commentary on the dialects of Western Arabic published in Colin (1931) gives the form *fustān* with the gloss: *ism a'ḡamiyy taqūluhu al-'amma li-ba'd al-ḡiyāb al-rūmiyya* (p. 24). Colin derives it *du roman* "futaine" cit. the AA variant *fustāl* from Pedro de Alcalá (256/36); on this term, see Corriente (1997:399). Vollers (1897:315) observed: "Die Gewebe der ägyptischen Hauptstadt, Fustāt, hiesien im Mittelalter sp. *fustan*, it. *fustagno*, *frustagno*, fr. *futaine*; über Italien, Griechenland und die Türkei wanderte das Wort als *fustān*, pl *fasātīn*, *Fustanella*, der schottische Kilt, zu den Arabern (Ägyptern) zurück."

~ Alep *fustān*, pl *fšēfīn* 'robe de femme' (Barth 611) ~ Dam *faštān*, pl *fašātīn* 'dress' (Sto/Ani 73) ~ Pal Ar *fustān*, pl *fasātīn* (Bau 116).

f-s-q

fassek, *pifassek* (v/t) 'swaddle': *ḡosḡ tlax-tiṣṣūr kwaffassku m-ḡmorósḡ* 'we used to swaddle a baby until its third month'; cf. Mod Gk φασκίωνω 'bander, emmailloter,' cf. φασκιά 'maillot d'enfant' (Mirambel 1960:454; cf. also Feghali 1918:64);

~ Malt *fessaq*, *ifessaq* (denom v) 'wrap in swaddling clothes.'

faskie, pl -āt 'swaddling band': *o ḡmorósḡ tel-faskie* 'it's a newborn baby' (Frangiskou 57); Syriac *pesqītā* 'fasciæ, quibus mortuos involvunt' (Brockel 585), CPARAM *psqyā* (Schulthess 1903:160); < Gk < Lat *fascia* (Krauss 1898:472);

~ Alep *fəsqiye* 'langes, maillot' (Barth 608) ~ Kfar'ab *fösqiyye* 'langes, maillot pour attacher l'enfant dans le berceau' (Feghali 1918:56) ~ AA *fašqiyya*, pl *fašāqi* (Dozy II, 271) ~ Malt *tarbija tal-fisqija* 'a baby still in swaddling clothes' (Aquilina 1987:343).

mfassek, f *mfasske*, pl *mfasskín* (pp) 'swaddled.'

tfussok (vn) 'swaddling.'

f-š-l

fassel, *pifassel* (v/i) 'cut cloth'; OA *faššala* (Hava 565);

~ Alep *faššal* 'couper, tailler (un habit); commander un habit' (Barth 611) ~ Kənd *faššal* 'Maße festlegen' (Vo/Wald 314) ~ Malt *fassal*, *ifassal* 'cut (dress, suit).'

f-d-h

vδexa 'shame': *o vδexa! ayšo aδa f-fustán ta inti lepse* 'shame on you! What kind of dress is that you're wearing?'; < **fδeħa* (? < **fdayħa* dim); cf. OA *fađiħa*, pl *fađā'ih* (Hava 566);

[Lowering of OA **t* before historically emphatic consonants is not unusual in Anat Ar (Jastrow 1978:63) but is untypical of CyA; hence /e/ may derive from **ay*. The diminutive can have a pejorative meaning.]

~ Alep *fđiħa* 'honte rendue publique, opprobre, déshonneur' (Barth 612) ~ Dam *fđiħa*, pl *fađāyeh* 'scandal' (Sto/Ani 200) ~ Pal Ar *fađiħa* 'Ruchlosigkeit, Skandal, Entehrung' (Bau 247, 278, 93).

o vδexa 'it's a shame!'

f-d-y

fađi, f *fađkye*, pl *fađkín* 'free, unoccupied, unemployed': *ž-žumā'a ta kat'et kunt fađkye* 'last week I (f) had some leisure time'; *k-kassís l-fađi pikabber u l-'ayšín* 'a priest with nothing to do will also bury the living' (pop. saying; Frangiskou 231); < **fāđi* < OA *fāđin* 'empty' (Hava 567); MLA 'unoccupied, not busy' (Wehr 842);

~ Alep *lhōš fāđye* 'la maison est vide', *qalbo fāđi* 'il a le cœur exempt de soucis' (Barth 613) ~ Pal Ar *fāđi* 'libre' (Elihai 1973:240).

tfadđa, *pkyitfadđa* (v/i) 'finish doing s.th. ; come to an end': *ta manitfadđa mik-kiddás marrúx žava* 'when Mass is over, we go home'; cf. nonclass Ar *tafadđā* 'have leisure' (Hava 567);

~ Alep *tfadđa* 'trouver des loisirs pour s'occuper de ...' (Barth 613).

fađa 'free time, leisure': *má-lu fađa (y)yawm* 'he has no spare time today'; OA *fađā* 'unoccupied (place)' (Hava 567);

~ Alep 'ala *fađawtak* 'dans tes moments de loisir' (Barth 613) ~ Pal Ar *fađāwe* 'Freizeit' (Bau 117).

f-t-r

ftir 'unleavened bread': *x-xops ta má-lu xmire mankullu ftir* 'we call

bread that contains no leaven, *ftir*'; OA *fařir* 'Azym, unleavened bread (opp. to *xamir*)' (Hava 568);

~ Alep *ftir* 'pain sans levain, des Juifs; ostie des Maronites, des Arméniens et des Latins; au fig., pain mal levé' (Barth 614) ~ Pal Ar *ftir* 'Dünnbrot ungesäuert; ungesäuerte Brote der Juden zum Passahfest' (Bau 66, 202) ~ Malt *ftira*, pl *ftajjar* 'flat bread.'

patrír 'mushroom' (*břr*).

f-t-s

fatas, *pkyiftos* (v/i) 'die (an animal; fig., also human)': *imps fatset b-bá'ale šaitna* 'yesterday our mule died'; *ftust mil-part* 'I nearly froze to death!'; OA *fařasa* (i) 'he died, or he died without disease, or without any apparent disease' (Lane 2417);

~ Alep *fařas*, inf *fařs* 'crever, mourir (: animal; et par mépris; homme)' (Barth 614) ~ Çukur *fiřis* (a) 'ersticken' (Procházka 2002:176) ~ Mos (M) *fiřis* = '*māt kamā tamūt al-ħayawānāt*' (al-Bakrī 1972:366) ~ Pal Ar *fiřis* (a) 'krepieren' (Bau 182).

[Ĥor *fāřes* 'crevé' (Cantineau 1946:299), rur Egypt Ar *fiřis* 'verrecken' (Behn/Woid 1994:355), Ka'b *fařas* 'ertränken' (Vo/Wald 315).]

maftús, f -a, pl -in 'dead (animal).'

ftis 'carcass; prostitute (coarse)'; also used adverbially: *fia ftis anaxullá mařlúx* 'there's an animal carcass cast away over there'; *pkyiřvi ftis* 'it stinks terribly'; Ar *fařis* 'charogne; chez les Bédouins de l'Arabie on nomme ainsi celui qui meurt de mort naturelle' (Dozy II, 277); cf. MLA *fařisa*, pl *fařā'is* 'corpse' (Wehr 842);

~ Alep *ftise*, pl *fařāyis* 'charogne' (Barth 614) ~ Pal Ar *ftise*, pl *fařāyis* 'Aas' (Bau 1) ~ Cai *fiřis* (adj invar) 'not slaughtered according to Islamic precepts and hence considered inedible' (Bad/Hi 662).

leř iftís 'filthy' (< *lyř*).

fats 'death (of an animal)': *fats teřillon* 'may they perish!'

~ Alep inf *fařs* (Barth 614).

(?) f-t-n

**ftaen-* (v/i) (always with pron suff) 'think, suppose': *ftainni*, *ftaillu* a, *ftaillon* 'I, he/she, they thought'; *ftainni* ^G*oti* ^G*tfadđet* 'I thought she had finished (what she was doing)'; (etym ?) cf. OA *fařina* (a) 'seize, understand' (Hava 568), MLA 'become clever or smart' (Wehr 843); cf. Pal Ar *fiřin* (a) 'sich erinnern an': *zayy ma fāřin* 'soviel mir erin-

nerlich ist' (Bau 99); [cf. Malt <fettel, ifettel> 'occur to one; come to one's mind': <fettillu jizzewweg> (<*fattinlu> 'he decided to marry').

[Alternatively, CyA *fīaen* may continue *btayyan (bynū).]

f-c-y

ʿafa, pl *faʿi* 'snake': *mat mill-itʿukkos tel-ʿafa* 'he died of a snake-bite'; *xost t-tarp ta kwarrūx kwannīpzaʿa naxni ʿyattī ʿfia faʿi* 'on the road along which we walked we were afraid because there were snakes'; OA *afā*, pl *afāʿin* 'viper' (Lane 2421);

~ Alep *ʿafa*, pl *ʿafāʿi/ʿafāt* 'une vipère (au fig.), personne méchante' (Barth 615) ~ Pal Ar *ʿafa*, pl *ʿafāʿi* 'Otter' (Bau 225) ~ rur Egypt Ar *fāʿ*, pl *ʿāfa* 'Schlange' (Behn/Woid 1994:329) ~ Malt <lifgha> 'viper.'

f-q-s

fakkes, *pifakkes* 'hatch (egg)'; OA *faqqas/faqaṣ* (Hava 571);

~ Alep *faqqas* 'briser ses oeufs pour aider à l'éclosion des ses petits' (: oiseau) (Barth 616) ~ Pal Ar *faqqas* (spr. ṣ) 'ausbrüten' (Bau 225) ~ Malt <faqqas, ifaqqas> 'hatch (eggs).'

f-q-ʿ

fakʿa, *pkʿifkaʿa* (v/i) 'burst; also fig.; die': *m-ʿmorósʿ fakʿa mib-bike* 'the baby cried its heart out'; *kinna arka (qdr↓) xtir ta kantāifkaʿa pātinna* 'we ate so much that we nearly burst'; OA *faqaʿa* (a) 'die from heat, nonclass Ar, 'burst, explode' (Hava 571);

~ Alep *faqaʿ* (v/i) 'crever (de soif, de dépit, ou à force de pleurs): *ṣār yabki ta faqaʿ u nām* 'il pleura tant qu'il pensa en crever et il s'endormit' (Barth 617) ~ Leban Ar *faqaʿ* 'il creva de dépit; il mourut, creva de rire ...' (Fegh M/J 1978:28, fn 1) ~ Pal Ar *faqaʿ* (od. *māt*) *min eḏ-ḏuḥk* (Bau 232) ~ rur Egypt Ar *yifgaʿ* 'jem. in Angst und Schrecken stürzen' (Behnstedt 1994:357) ~ Malt <faqaʿ, jifqaʿ> (v/i) 'burst.'

fakkʿe, *pifakkʿe* (v/t) 'torment, pester' (Frangiskou 207); OA *faqaʿat il-fawāqiʿu fulānan* 'the calamities of time, or fortune, crushed such a one' = V (Lane 2427);

~ Alep *faqqāʿ* 'faire crever, faire mourir (de chagrin, de dépit)' (Barth) ~ Cai *faʿʿaʿ* (v/i) 'become lean or thin' (Bad/Hi 665) ~ Malt (v/t) <faqqāʿ, ifaqqāʿ>.

maskuʿu, f *maskuʿa*, pl *maskuʿin* (pp) 'burst.'

fakʿ (vn) 'bursting, splitting.'

tfukkʿo (n) 'hardship': *aška tfukkʿo ʿaléx* 'what a hard life he has!' (Frangiskou 127).

f-k-h

afkax (adj, invar) 'lame'; cf. Syriac *pəḡah/bəḡah* 'impeditus est; claudicavit' (Brun 35; Feghali 1918:40; J. Payne Smith 1903:433); ~ Syr Ar *ʿafkaḥ* 'hinkend, lahm' (Arno/Behn, map 55); [cf. Leban Ar *ʿafkaḥ* (v) 'se tordre le pied' (Frayha 1947), and Kfarʿab *fakḥ* 'il boita un peu' (Feghali 1918:66)] ~ Pal Ar *ʿafkaḥ* 'mit krummen Füßen' (Kampff 1936:56), *fakḥ* (a) 'krumm treten' (Bau 184), 'escape secretly, steal away' (Jer; Piamenta 2000:230).

[W. Neo-Aram *ifkuḥ/ifcuḥ* (Arno/Behn, 91; cf. also map 55); the authors rightly reject the derivation from Aram *pkh* adduced in Bergsträßer (1921:25).]

f-k-h

fekkye 'dried fruit and nuts' < *fēkye; OA *fākiha*, pl *fawākih* 'fruit, sweatmeat' (Hava 572);

~ Kənd *fēkye* 'Obst' (Vo/Wald 317) ~ Dam *fākye*, pl *fawāki* (Sto/Ani 98) ~ Pal Ar *fākha*, pl *fawākeh* 'fruit' (Eliḥai 1973:195) ~ Cai *fakha*, pl *fawākih* (Bad/Hi 667) ~ AA *fākiyah/fikyah*, pl *fawākī* 'fruta' (Corriente 1997:404).

f-l-t

faylet, *pifaylet* (v/i) 'loosen, untie; let go; let loose (cattle)' < *fallat; OA *falata* 'loose, set free' (Hava 573);

~ Hama *fallat* 'sich bloßstellen' (Lewin 1966:220) ~ Dam *fallat* 'let go (of)': *fallet ʿīdi* 'let go of my hand!' (Sto/Ani 105) ~ Kənd *fallat* 'loslassen, freilassen, frei herumlaufen lassen (Vieh)' (Vo/Wald 318) ~ Pal Ar *falat/fallat* 'loslassen' (Bau 196) ~ Cai *fallit* 'let go' (Bad/Hi 667) ~ N Yem *fallatū* 'man hat es freigelassen' (Behnstedt 1993a:163) ~ Bahr *fallat* 'throw, chuck' (Holes 2001:404).

[For the CyA shift *ll > yl here, cf. the Lebanese Arabic variants *ṭaylaʿ / ṭallaʿ* 'heraufbringen,' *layʿab/laʿab* 'spielen lassen,' *nayzal / nazzal* 'herabkommen' (Jiha 1964:145-6).]

mfaylet, *pkymfaylet* 'get loose' < *nfallat, *byinfallit.

mfaylet, f *mfaylte*, pl *mfayltin* (adj) 'loose, not tied (animal); undisciplined, spoilt': *ulatu mfayltin* 'his children are unruly.'

mfaylte (adj) 'woman of loose morals'; < *mfallata;

cf. Cai *maflūt* 'loose, out of control,' *falāti* 'skirt-chaser, womanizer' (Bad/Hi 667), Pal Ar (J) *falte* 'libertinism,' *falte* 'a debauched woman' (Piamenta 2000:230).

f-l-h

fallex, *pifallex* (v/t) 'bring land under cultivation'; OA *falaḥa* (a) 'he tilled the land' (Lane 243); < Syriac *pəlah* 'work, cultivate' (J. Payne Smith 1903:447; Fraenkel 1886:126);

~ Alep *falah* (a) 'cultiver un champ' (Barth 620) ~ Pal Ar *falah* (a) 'pflügen' (Bau 42) ~ Cai *falah/filih* (a) 'do well, succeed' (Bad/Hi 668) ~ rur Egyp Ar *falah* (a) 'es schaffen': *falaht* 'du hast es geschafft' (Behnstedt 1994:358) ~ Malt ⟨felaḥ, jiflaḥ⟩ 'be capable, strong enough to do s.th.': *illum ma niflahx* 'I'm unwell today.'

tfullox (vn) 'ploughing.'

flaxa, pl *flex* 'cultivated field'; OA *filāḥa/falāḥa* 'tillage, agriculture' (Hava 574); *falāḥa* 'champ, pièce de terre labourable' (Dozy II, 285); cf. Syriac *pālḥūḥā* 'tillage, husbandry' (J. Payne Smith 1903:448);

~ Alep *flāḥa* 'agriculture' (Barth 620) ~ Bask *flāḥa* 'farming' (Abu-Haidar 1979:19) ~ Pal Ar *flāḥa* 'Landbau' (Bau 187).

[Tur, Mlah *flox* 'Pflügen' (Jastrow 1994b:174).]

f-l-s

flus 'money'; OA *fulūs*, pl of *fals* 'small copper coin' (Hava 574); Aram *pils/pulsā* (Krauss 1899:426); Anc Gk φόλλις 'petite pièce de monnaie' (Bailly 2091; Blau 1867; Vollers 1897:300), φολις 'écaille de reptile, écaille de métal' (Bailly, loc. cit.; cf. Fleischer II, 673);

~ Pal Ar *flūs* 'Geld,' sg *fils* 'Heller' (Bau 153) ~ Cai *filūs* 'money' (Bad/Hi 668) ~ Malt ⟨flus, pl flejjes⟩.

f-l-^c-n

fla^cún, n un -a, 'special cakes served during Easter time': *l-ifla^cún mantsaíon lē-^cít l-ixpír* 'we make *fla^cún* during Easter time' < CyG βλαούνα/φλαούνα (Yangoullis 1997:59) < OFr *flaon* (12th c.; Robert 1991:790).

f-l-q

fallek, *pifallek* (v/t) 'crack s.o.'s head': *vak^ca u fallek moxxu* 'he fell and cracked his head'; OA *falaqa* 'he split it, clave it, or divided it lengthwise': *darabahu ^calā filqi ra^ssihi* 'he struck him on the place where his hair was separated, the middle of the head' (Lane 2441), cf.

Syriac *pelqe* 'axe' (R. Payne Smith 449; Jeffery 1938:229);

[Cf. Ar *falaq*, pl *aflāq* 'gespaltene Palmstämme' (Kremer 1883: II, 30)]
~ Alep *falaq* (e) 'fendre, partager en deux' (Bau 621) ~ Leban Ar *falaq* 'frapper, battre' (Denizeau 1960:398) ~ Pal Ar *fala* (i) 'split in two' (Piamenta, p.c.) ~ Om *felaq*, *yuflaq* 'spalten' (Reinhardt 1894:144) ~ Yem *falag* (u) 'cut/chop wood' (Qafisheh 2000:474) ~ Cai *falla* 'split into several pieces' (Bad/Hi 670);

tfallek, *pkuyitfallek* (v/i) 'be wounded in the head'; OA *tufallaqa* 'be cracked, chapped, split' (Hava 575);

~ Cai *'itfalla* 'become cracked' (Bad/Hi 670).

f-n-ḡ-n

fentzān 'cup'; MLA *fiḡḡān* 'cup, coffee cup' (Wehr 853);
~ Alep *fəḡḡān* 'petite tasse à café' (Barth 622) ~ Pal Ar *fiḡḡān* 'Tasse' (Bau 297) ~ Cai *fiḡḡāl/fiḡḡān*, pl *fanḡḡil/fanḡḡil* 'cup' (Bad/Hi 672).

f-n-ṯ-s

fantūs, pl -āt 'face': *nazzel fantusu* 'he sulked, was bad-tempered' (= Mod Gk κατεβάζο τα μούτρα 'sulk, put on a long face'); OA *firtūs* 'Nase, eig. Rüssel, Schnauze' (Kremer 1883:28), cf. *wa-hiya l-firtisa* (Lisān VI, 164), *fiṯṯis* 'a nose wide in the nostril, and expanded in the end; a man broad in the nose,' *fāṯis* (emphatic s) 'he had the bone of his nose wide and depressed,' *fiṯṯisa* 'the snout of the swine' (Lane 2449, 2410, 2417); cf. Syriac *partūšā* 'proboscis rostrum' (Feghali 1918:34);

~ Pal Ar *'aftas* 'platt (Nase)' (Bau 232) ~ Sux *'aftas* 'eine dicke Nase haben' (Behnstedt 1994:333) ~ Leban Ar *fartas* 'être gros et large, être camus (nez)' [cf. *fartas* 'avoir un gros nez et de grosses lèvres, avoir le nez épaté' (Denizeau 1960:387)] ~ Gulf Ar *fansin* 'flatnosed' (Qafisheh 1979:249) ~ Cen Arab *fannūs/afnas* 'mit eingedrückter Nase' (Socin 1900:300) ~ Mor *fneš* 'flatnosed' (Harrell 1966:37) ~ Tang *fantez* 'au nez épaté' (Marçais 1911:418).

[CyA *fantūs* probably derives from a conflation of OA **firtūs* and **fantūs*. For the metonymic shift 'nose' → 'face' cf. DSS Aram *'aspin* 'face,' the dual of *'ap* 'nose' (Greenfield/Sokoloff 1992:85; Beyer 1987:754) ~ Heb *'ap* 'nose,' *'appayim* 'face' (Clines 1993:355). CyA has also *užž* 'face' (< wḡh).]

f-w-r

farr, *pifurr* (v/i) 'boil over' < **fār*, **bifūr*; OA *fāra* (u) (Hava 578);
~ Alep *fār* (u) 'bouillonner' (Barth 625) ~ Dam *fār* (u) 'boil (with

rage)' (Sto/Ani 26) ~ Pal Ar *fār* (*u*) 'sprudeln, überkochen' (Bau 284, 310) ~ Malt <far, ifur> 'boil over.'

f-w-q

fak, *pifik* (v/i) (Imptv: *fek*, f *fiki*, pl *fiku*) 'remember, recall'; *fixt* 'I remembered' (< *fikt < *fiqt): *má-pfik ismak* 'I don't recall your (m) name'; *pifik ixtir ta kan zē'ir* 'he recalls much of his childhood'; *ttatfik tatzip xlip ta int žey žava?* 'will you remember to fetch milk on your way home?' < Ar *fāq, yfiq; OA *afāqa*, *yufiqu* 'he recovered his intelligence' (Lane 2461);

[Hava (579) characterizes the usage *fāq* 'awake from sleep, recollect a. th.' as typical of 'the dialect of Syria,' but note the Egyptian Arabic cognate.]

~ Leban Ar *fāq*, *ifiq* 'se rappeler' (Feghali 1938:812) ~ Egyp Ar *fāq* 'alā' 'se rappeler, se souvenir' (Dozy II, 298) ~ Pal Ar *fāq* (*i*) 'zur Besinnung kommen, fāq 'a hālo 'zu sich kommen' (Bau 55, 178) ~ Cen Arab *fāq* 'berühmt werden' (Socin 1900:II, 300) ~ Yem *fāg* (*u*) 'wake up' (Qafisheh 2000:478) ~ Malt <fieq, ifiq> 'recover from illness.'

faek, *pifaek* (v/t) 'remind'; < nonclass Ar *fayyaqa* 'awaken, remind a.o.' (Hava 582);

~ Alep *fayyaq* 'éveiller, réveiller' (Barth 626) ~ Dam *fayyaq* 'wake' (Sto/Ani 258) ~ Mard *fayyaq* 'zum Bewußtsein, zur Besinnung bringen' (Vo/Wald 322) ~ Pal Ar *fayyaq* 'wake s.o.' (Elihai 1999:400) ~ Malt <fejjaq, ifejjaq> 'cure s.o. of an ailment.'

ftak, *pkyifték* (v/i) 'stir, move about': *xayyti kayyipza'a mil-fa'i* 'yati' *mintáxt l-i'xyarukkya' kanyifteku; kaniruxu l-fa'i pkyi'širpu l-moe* '(in the fields) my brother used to be scared of the snakes stirring under the cucumbers creeping towards the water to drink.'

xok/mixxók (prep/adv) 'on, above, up, upstairs': *kumu xok* 'wake (pl) up!'; *l-latuδkya l-iz'ár pkyitil'u xok xarrúpe u pifuttu ma 'assa z'ire* 'the small children climb up a carob tree to knock the carobs down with a short stick'; *sabbet l-ixlip xost x-xasie u ka'ätitu xok m-moxte* 'she poured the milk into the pot and placed it on the stove'; *šull l-iksúr tel-itruntz xok xetan* 'run a thread through the citron peels!'; *awfa xok* 'higher up'; OA *fawqa* (Hava 580);

~ Alep *fōq* 'en haut' (Barth 626) ~ Kənd *fōq* 'oberhalb, auf, über (präp)'; *mən fōq* 'von ... herab, von oben, nach oben, oben' (Vo/Wald 320) ~ Hask *fō/fōq* 'oben, über' (Talay 2002:71) ~ Pal Ar *fōq* (Bau 222) ~

Cai *fō* (Bad/Hi 677) ~ Malt <fuq> (adv/prep) 'on, above.'

xokani, f -e, pl -in 'upper'; MLA *fawqāniyy* (Wehr 858);

~ Hamal *fōqāni* 'oberer, oberster' (Vo/Wald 320) ~ Pal Ar *fōqāni*, pl *fawāqni* (Spoer/Haddad 1909:19).

xōkrex 'further up' < *fawq-rāyih.

xullá/xullát 'down, on the ground': *pnaymu s-sunt xullá akke* 'I lay down the plough like this'; ... *kunt'assel x-xetan ta saru kullon tmiát u xullát* '... I washed the walls that had become all covered in blood and the floor (as well)'; < *fawq l-ard.

[CyA *xullá* = σ'αυτό τον τόπο (Frangiskou 20); cf. Malt <waqa' fl-art> 'he fell down.' For agglutination of the article to this lexeme, cf. rural Pal Ar *larδ* 'Fußboden' (Bau 64).]

axxullá, *axxullát*- (constr form) 'over there; some distance away': *b-bayt telon kan axxullá* 'their house was some distance away'; *axxullát ayk δ-δε'α ta kant kintamna* '... in the village that was opposite us ...'

anaxxullá 'over here' < *hānā-fōq-l-ard.

anaxók (= CyG *δα páno*) 'up here (specific)' < *hānā-fōq.

awnaxók 'up here somewhere' < *hawnā-fōq.

išaxok 'straight up' < Mod Gk ίσια 'straight' + Ar *fawq*.

f-w-l

ful (f, cf. Mod Gk κουκιά, f), n un -e 'broadbeans': *drusna ful* 'we threshed the broadbeans [with the sled to remove the skin]'; *ful maθpuxa* 'cooked broadbeans' (Frangiskou 58); OA *fūl* < Aram *pwl* (Löw 1973:413; Sokol 1990:425);

~ Alep *fūl* 'fève' (Barth 627) ~ Dam *fūl* 'broadbean' (Sto/Ani 19) ~ Pal Ar *fūl* 'Ackerbohne, Saubohne' (Bau 64; Dalman VI, 165) ~ Cai *fūl* 'beans, broadbeans' (Bad/Hi 678) ~ Malt <ful>.

f-y

fi 'in, on, at; to, for; during': *l-ixrami ža fil-layl ta kunna naymín* 'the burglar came at night while we slept'; *xattayna x-xallume tattipes fiš-šimps* 'we put the *xallume* out in the sun to dry'; *fill-izmán tel-ixsát* 'at harvest-time'; *txammel s-sakkulla^G fik-kitf u žapa žava* 'he loaded the sack on to his shoulder and brought it home'; *fil-pape tel-iknise* 'at the church door'; *ttarúx fi 'amete annákša'a aš ism teatúx* 'we're going to attend a baptismal ceremony to find out what name they'll give [the baby]'; *allik kanu^G dorog^G tel šupenna fil-kassis u fil-mammú^G* 'those (the soap and towel) were our godparents' present to the priest and

the midwife'; *fi*-*sápa* 'a snin, kintám, kaniθafftuon (< θbt) m-^Gmorá' 'formerly, they used to confirm children at the age of seven.'

fi + pron suff 'be able': *fini, fik, fiki, fix, fia, fina, fikon, fixon*; < Ar **fi*- 'be able' calqued on Aram, cf. GAram *ʾiθ b-* 'können' (Dalm 1938:16; Sokoloff 1990:55; see Intro, §V);

~ Dam *fik ətsāʿədni?*—*mā fini sāʿdak* 'can you help me?—I can't help you' (Cowell 1964:547), *wən fini faššəl badle hōn* 'where can I have a suit made around here?' (Sto/Ani 145) ~ Mersin *fini finak, finek, finu, fina*, etc. (Procházka 2002:210) ~ Bišm *fiyyi (fini), fik, fiki, fi, fiya, fina, fikun, fiyun* 'ich kann, du kannst, usw.': *ʾana baddi ʾiṯṯallaʿ ʿaš-šmāl w-ʿal-yamīn ta-fin ʾištǧil* 'ich muß nach rechts und links sehen, damit ich arbeiten kann' (Jiha 1964:149, 30), 'pouvoir, être possible': *la tébtēde bʿamel ma fik tkámmelu* 'ne commence pas ce que tu ne pourras pas achever', *él-ma fiš iṯāl el-ʿriše biqūl ḥamḍa* 'qui n'atteint pas à la treille dit: ils ne sont pas encore murs', *hal-fik téʿemlu ʿent la tkallefš gayrek fiḥ* 'ce que tu peux faire par toi-même, n'en charge personne' (Feghali 1938:812, 13, 60, 76, etc.) ~ N Pal Ar *fiyyi* 'I can' (Abu Snān; informant).

[Cf. Tur *kibi, kibux*, etc. 'können, imstande sein' (Jastrow 1990a:107); Mang (Iraq) *ʾibi* 'I can', *ʾibux* 'you can (m)' (Sara 1974:82); Hert *li-be* (Jastrow 1988a: §4.7.3); Mlah *hibe, hiba*, etc. 'können' (Jastrow 1994b:176); Mand *qumb-* 'be able' (Macuch 1993:6-7, 389).]

fi 'there is; it happens that; ago' < **fiḥā*: *mprati viltet fia xmenye θkyem* 'my wife gave birth a week ago'; *ʿan^G ta pkyintzawzu fia má-pisáy ulát, ya lā-ʿarís ya lā-ʿarís, l-iknise šaitna pitʿarrep* 'if after they marry, it happens that either the groom or the bride is barren, our Church dissolves [the marriage]';

[CyA *fi* can convey the durative aspect: *alli l-iskafi, fia sintáyn ta pūpison; ttekle* 'I have been wearing these shoes for two years; they're worn out.']

~ Mard *fiyu*, Kænd *fi*, Kaʿb *finu* 'es ist vorhanden, es gibt, es beträgt ungefähr, etwa, vielleicht' (Vo/Wald 321) ~ Hask *īfi* 'es gibt' (Talay 2002:74) ~ Pal Ar *fiḥ* 'es gibt' (Bau 123).

kaffia 'there was/were/used to be': *kaffia raʿi u kallu ʿkwelles^G* 'there was a shepherd who had some sheep'; *ummu m-morós, tvaxxar kaffia exte mara žumpa* 'as for the baby's mother, there was a woman at her side all day'; < **kān-fiḥā*;

~ Fəsk *kāfi* ~ Darag *kfi/kfiu* 'es war einmal' (Vo/Wald 322) ~ Qart *kanfiyu* (Jastrow 1995a:142).

māfkya 'there isn't': *māfkya šī* 'nothing is the matter'; < Ar **mā-fiḥā*;
~ Mard, Kænd, Arb *māfi* 'es gibt nicht, es gab nicht' (Daragōzū nur Präsens) (Vo/Wald 398).

mā-kaffia 'there was/were not' < **mā-kān-fiḥā*.
~ Darag *mākfī* 'es gab nicht' (Vo/Wald 398).

mā-ttekuffia 'there will not be' < **mā-ttaykūn-fiḥā*.

Q

q-b-r

kabber, pikabber (v/t) 'bury': *kabbirtu k-kilp* 'I buried the dog'; OA *aqbara* (Hava 583), MLA *qabara* (Wehr 864);

cf. Alep *qabar (o)* (Barth 632) ~ Dam *qabar (e/o)* (Sto/Ani 31) ~ Leban Ar *qabber* 'enterrer' (Feghali 1935:765) ~ Qart *qabar (ə)* 'begraben' (Vo/Wald 324) ~ Cai *qabar, yuqbur* 'bury the dead' (Spiro 1895:474) ~ Pal Ar *qabar (u)* (Bau 44).

θkabber, pkyiθkabber (v/i) 'be buried.'

θkubbor 'burial, interment.'

kapr, pl *xpurát* 'grave'; OA *qabr*, pl *qubūr* (Hava 583);

~ Alep *qabər*, pl *qbūr* 'tombe, tombeau' (Barth 632) ~ Dam *qabər*, pl *qbūr* 'grave' (Sto/Ani 107) ~ Çukur *qbūrāt* 'Gräber' (Procházka 2002:120) ~ Qart *qabər* (Vo/Wald 324) ~ Bagh (M) *gabur*, pl *gbūr* (Wood/Bee 383) ~ Leban Ar *qabr*, pl *qbūr* (Feghali 1935:812) ~ Cai *ʿabr*, pl *ʿubūr* 'grave, tomb' (Bad/Hi 682) ~ Malt *qabar*, pl *oqbra*.

q-b-l

kapel, pikapel (v/t/i) 'look at; care for a person or thing; ponder, consider': *kapel ʿalexā* 'he looked at her (with interest)'; *kapel ʿawrasop* 'look in this direction!'; *aθkapli ll-oxtik* 'watch (f) over your sister'; *kapel aš tatsáy* 'consider what you (m) should do!'; *ma-ruxna sine ankapel l-ixkali u saru mnyeššrin* 'we didn't go to tend our fields for a whole year and they look abandoned'; OA *qābala* 'face' (Lane 2983);

~ Egyp Ar *qābal* 'soigner, soigner un malade' (Boc, Dozy II, 312).

θkupol (vn) 'care, solicitude': *exli šaxu u piritu θkupol* 'my parents are old and need care.'

q-t-l

kitel, pkyaxtel (v/t) 'beat soundly; kill': *kitlu mix-xaft* (< *xbt*) 'he gave him a sound beating'; OA *qatala* (u) (Hava 587);

~ Alep *qatal* (o) 'tuer' (Barth 637) ~ Kənd *qatal* (ə) 'töten, erschlagen' (Vo/Wald 326) ~ Bagh (M) *kital* (u) 'kill' (Wood/Bee 399) ~ Pal Ar *qatal* (o) 'kill, beat harshly' (Piamenta 2000:231) ~ Malt *qatel, joqtob*.

θkatel, pkyiθkatel 'fight with; exert oneself': *θkatlu* 'they fought one another'; *θkatel tesa'itna* 'he did all in his power to help us'; OA *taqātala* 'fight with one another' (Hava 587);

~ Alep *tqātal* 'se quereller, se brouiller à la suite d'une querelle, ma' ... avec (qqn)' (Barth 637) ~ Kənd *tqātal* 'sich streiten, sich prügeln, kämpfen' (Vo/Wald 327) ~ Cai *'it'ātil* 'fight, do battle' (Bad/Hi 686) ~ Malt *qatel, jitqatel* 'exert oneself, struggle'.

nkitel, pkyinixtel (v/i) 'be killed'; < dialectal Ar **inqatal*;

~ Alep *nqatal, yənqətel* 'être tué' (Barth 637) ~ Kənd *nqatal, yənqətəl* 'getötet, umgebracht werden' (Vo/Wald 327) ~ Bagh (M) *nkital* 'be killed' (Wood/Bee 399) ~ Malt *nqatel, jinqatel*.

maxtūl, f -e, pl -in (pp) 'killed'; < OA *maqtūl*.

xtil (vn) 'killing, murder (also fig.)': *l-ixsāt o xtil* 'harvesting is very strenuous'; OA *qatīl, pl qatlā* 'killed';

~ Āz *qatīl* 'Töten, Massaker' (Vo/Wald 327) ~ Alep *qatīl* 'personne tuée, assassinée' (Barth 638) ~ Malt *qtil* 'killing (vn)';

[On the *CCIC scheme for CyA infinitives, see Intro, §IV.]

q-d-d

aška 'how much/many?'; *arka* 'so much/few/little' (*qdr*↓).

q-d-h

kiddaxa 'flint, cigarette lighter'; OA *qaddāha* 'a stone from which one strikes fire' (Lane 2494), MLA *qaddāh/qaddāha* 'cigarette lighter' (Wehr 873);

~ Alep *qaddāha* 'briquet' (Barth 640) ~ Syr Ar *qaddāha/ḥaddāhal/ḥaddōhal/ḥiddayha*, etc. 'Feuerzeug' (Behnstedt 1997:779, map 389) ~ Pal Ar *qaddāha* (Bau 111).

q-d-r

xiter, pkyaxter (v/i) 'be able'; OA *qadara* (u/i) (Hava 591);

~ Alep *qader* (e) 'pouvoir' (Barth 641) ~ Hama *gader* (e) 'können' (Lewin 1966:219) ~ Dam *qader* (e), *gader* (e) 'be able' (Sto/Ani 1) ~ Pal Ar *qidir* (a), (Gal.) *gidir* (a) (Bau 179) ~ Cai *'idir* (a) (Bad/Hi 687).

[Roth (1975:87, fn 6) gives the CyA Perf. form *xatar* where the CyA shift **q > *k > x* probably implements an internal change (cf. Borg 1985:18). The Eastern Arabic shift *q > g* in this lexeme reflects the physiological difficulty and, consequently, high phonological markedness, of a voiced *q*. Full voicing of a stop ordinarily requires a cavity between the glottis and place of articulation sufficiently large to accommodate the outgoing air. Incidentally, this may also explain the concomitance of voicing and fronting of OA *qaf* in the contemporary Bedouin vernaculars.]

kadder, pikadder (v/t) 'measure, calculate'; OA *qaddara* (Hava 591);

~ Alep *qaddar* 'estimer, évaluer' (Barth 641) ~ Dam *qaddar* 'estimate' (Sto/Ani 80) ~ Pal Ar *qaddar* 'schätzen' (Bau 254).

katar (n) 'calculation'; OA *qadar* (Hava 591);

~ Alep *qadar* 'quantité' (Barth 641) ~ Mard *qadar, Qart qadar* 'etwa, ungefähr (mit Betragsangabe)' (Vo/Wald 330).

aška 'how much?' < **ašqadd* < *ayš-qadr*;

~ Alep *šqadd* (adv) 'combien?': *šqadd 'əmro?* 'quel âge a-t-il?' (Barth 397) ~ Dam *qaddēš* 'how much' (Sto/Ani 119) ~ Çukur *ašqad/ašqa* 'wieviel' (Procházka 2002:135) ~ Mard *ašqad, Kənd ašqade, Sii əšqadd, Ka'b ašqa* 'wie sehr, wie lange, wieviel' (Vo/Wald 329) ~ Bagh (M) *šgadd* 'how much' (Wood/Bee 385).

[Cf. Pal Ar *el-ard arba' mtūra wa-t-tūl qaddo* (auch *qaddha*) 'die Breite beträgt 4 m und ebensoviel die Länge' (Bau 1910:107); Cai *qadd* 'Betrag, Gestalt' = 'so viel als, so lange als': *ummāl usbur 'aleya qaddi sī'a* 'warte doch auf mich die Dauer einer Stunde' (Spitta 1880:269); cf. also MAr *qadr 'išrin raḡulan* 'about twenty men' (Schen 1973: II, 78).]

arka 'so much, so little' *pixótt t-taxmín telu mpšan arka* (*qdr*↓) *šī* 'he takes into account such a trivial matter!' (Frangiskou 129); < *halqadd* < **hal-qadr*;

~ Hal *alqa, Ka'b aqqa, Mard halqad, Kənd halqade, Qart alqad* 'so, so viel, so sehr, so oft' (Vo/Wald 329; Jastrow 1981:286, fn 21); cf. also Bism *hal-ḥadd* 'so viel' (Jiha 1964:174) ~ Pal Ar *hal-qadd(e)* 'so sehr' (Bau 278).

q-d-s

kaddes, pikaddes (v/t/i) 'say Mass; celebrate a saint's day; bless (olive branches)': *kaddisna tel ay-Yorki* 'we celebrated the Mass of St. George'; *š-ša'ānine manaxuta l-iknise, makkaddisa* 'we take the olive branch to church and have it blessed'; CM Ar *qaddasa* 'hear Mass; con-secrate [bread, wine]' (Hava 591);

~ Alep *qaddas* 'consacrer (une hostie); célébrer (la Messe)' (Barth 642) ~ Dam (Sto/Ani) ~ Bagh (M) *qaddas* 'hold, sacred, venerate' (Wood/Bee 368) ~ Mos (C) *qaddas* 'celebrate Mass' (infor) ~ Pal Ar

qaddas 'Gottesdienst halten, die Messe lesen' (Griech.-Orthodoxe, Katholiken; Bau 141, 204) ~ Cai 'addis 'make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; celebrate Mass' (Bad/Hi 688) ~ Malt <qaddes, iqaddes> 'say Mass'.

θkaddes, piθkaddes (v/i) 'hear Mass': *k-^Gkampanes^G pitokku tváxxar u tvállayl ^Gost^G ta marrúx nússulayl l-knise manniθkaddes* '(On Holy Saturday) the church bells ring all day and night until we go to church to hear midnight Mass'; OA *taqaddasa* 'be sanctified'; CMAR 'be consecrated (bread, wine)' (Hava 591).

~ Alep *taqaddas* 'être sanctifié, communier, entendre la messe' (Barth 642).

kaddis, pl *xtetis* 'saint' < **qdādis*; OA *qiddis*, pl -*ūn* (Hava 592);

~ Alep *qaddis*, f -*e*, pl -*īn*, -*āt* 'saint' (Barth 642) ~ Kfar'ab *qaddis*, pl *qaddisīn/qdādis* 'saints' (Feghali 1919:207) ~ Pal Ar *qaddis*, pl -*īn* (Elihai 1973:352) ~ Malt <qaddis, pl -*in*>.

[Turoyo *qadišo* 'heilig' (Jastrow 1985:230).]

kiddās, pl *xtetis* 'Mass' < CMAR *qiddās*, pl *qadādis* (Hava 592);

~ Alep *qaddās*, pl *qdēdis* 'messe (Chrét.)' (Barth 642) ~ Bagh (M) *quddās*, pl -*āt*, *qadādis* 'Mass' (Wood/Bee 368) ~ Mos (C) *qaddās* (infor) ~ Pal Ar *quddās*, pl *qadādis* 'Messe' (Bau 204), 'Weihbrot ... von den griechischen Christen Palästinas hergestellt' (Dalm IV, 135) ~ Malt <quddies, pl -*iet*> 'Mass'.

q-d-m¹

kintām (prep/adv) 'in front of, before; formerly': *kintami*, *kintamak*, etc. 'in front of me, you, etc.'; *kintām minni* 'before my time'; *fis-sāpā'a snin*, *kintām*, *kaniθafftuon* (< *θbt*) *m-^Gmorā^G* 'formerly, they used to confirm children at the age of seven'; *^Gkati^G šuxa ta kanu kintām mininna kanisuru ^Gmaskes^G*, *kaniruxu kanistarr^cu xost l-iskák* '(during carnival) some old people before our time used to disguise themselves and scuffle in the street'; *kwantsáy texte tarrúx naxne kintām*, *ta látenu oxar tape^cu kintamna* 'we used to hurry up so as to arrive first and prevent others from selling [their wares] before us'; OA *quddām* 'forepart, before, in front' (Hava 593); OA *quddāma* (prep), contrary of *xalfa* (cf. Lane 795), "characteristic of Middle and Modern Arabic rather than of Classical Arabic" (Hopkins 1984:128); cf. Akk *qudmu* 'early times, front' (CAD XIII, 295), Heb *qedem* (Wyatt 1999:536);

~ Alep *qaddām* (prep) 'devant': *qaddāmo/qaddām almanno* 'devant lui' (Barth 643) ~ Mard, Kənd *qaddām*, Darag *qdām* 'vor, an der

Vorderseite' ~ Mħall *aqdam* 'vor (präp; zeitlich) (Vo/Wald 330-1) ~ Hask *qaddām* 'vorher, vor, früher' *zamān qədmēni* 'früher' (Talay 2002:79) ~ Çukur *quddām ilbāb* 'vor der Tür', *quddām ilgada* 'am Vormittag' (Procházka 2002:140) ~ Pal Ar *quddām* 'vor (Ort)' (Bau 346) ~ Cai 'quddām 'in front of' (Bad/Hi 689) ~ Malt <quddiem>.

[The encoding of precedence (a) in both place and time by the same adv/prep and (b) with reflexes of the root **qdm*, in CyA and certain Arabic vernaculars spoken in S Turkey suggests an Aramaic substratal trait: cf. Tur *qəm/qm-* 'vor (räumlich)': *qm ū-tar^co* 'vor der Tür', *meqəm* 'zuvor, früher' (Jastrow 1990a:172, 176 and 91), Ma^l *iqdūm m(n)-* 'vor', *iqdūm b-* 'zuvor' (Arnold 1990a:387), Fellihi *qām*, *mqam* (Sachau 1895:33), Urmi *qam* 'in front of', *qamael* 'first of all', *qamol* 'before (in time)' (Garbell 1965:325), Arb *qām/qam* 'before (spatial)', *qma^cel* 'before' (Khan 1999:578), Qaraq *qame kull* 'first of all' (Khan 2002:741). Mod Gk here uses the terms *μπροστά* and *πριν*, respectively (Pring 1982:332, 236).]

kintām-kintām 'first of all': *pšan antsáy kišk*, *kintām-kintām*, *manassel l-im^call*, *maxxottu xost d-dist ma m-moe u manniš^cel l-okit* 'in order to make *kišk*, first of all, we rinse the wheat, we put it in a potful of water and light a fire.'

kintemi, f *kintemie*, pl *kintemīn* 'front (adj)': *sacl l-kintemi* 'ask the person in front!' (Frangiskou 45); Ar **quddāmī*;

~ Sii *qaddēmi* 'zuerst; vorderer' (Vo/Wald 331).

q-d-m²

kaddūm 'adze'; OA *qadūm* 'carpenter's axe' (Hava 593); nonclass Ar *quddūm* 'herminette, outil de charpentier' (Dozy II, 324);

~ Alep *qaddūm* 'doloire, herminette' (Barth 643) ~ Pal Ar *quddūm*, pl *qadādīm* 'Hackbeil' (Bau 146) ~ rur Egyp Ar *gaddūm* 'kleine Feldhacke' (Behn/Woid 1994:369).

q-r-b

karrep, *pikarrep* (v/t) 'administer Communion (Chr)': *m-^Gmorós^G pirúx θénixar mimpukra fik-kassís u pikarrpu* 'on the following morning, the child goes to the priest and he gives him Communion'; MLA *qarraba* (Wehr 883);

~ Alep *qarrab* 'offrir un sacrifice' (Barth 644).

θkarrep, *pkyiθkarrep* (v/i) 'receive Communion (Chr)': *ž-žúmā^ca fil-layl mannirká^cillu* (< *rq^c*) *^Gyiró^G δ-δe^ca kulla u kullon maxxon šamá^cát*, *u pkyiθkarrpu l-impisx u marrúx žava inna* 'on [Good] Friday night, we make a procession [with Jesus' effigy] all round the village and everyone carries a candle; they receive Communion and we go home';

cf. CMAr *qrb* (Graf 1954:111), MLA *taqarraba* (Wehr 883); cf. Biblical Aram *taqāreb* 'that thou mayest ... offer [them upon the altar of the house of their God ...]' (Ezr. 7, 17);

~ Pal Ar *taqarrab* 'kommunizieren' (Bau 178) ~ Malt *taqarben*.

θkurrop (vn) 'receiving Communion'; CMAr *taqarrub* (Hava 596);

~ Pal Ar *taqarrub* 'Kommunion' (Bau 178) ~ Malt *taqarbin* [i] 'Communion.'

krep 'relatives' (< *qarāyib*); cf. OA *aqribā*, sg *qarīb* (Hava 596);

~ Alep *qarāyeb*, pl *qarāyibn* 'parent': *hūwa qarāyibi* 'c'est mon parent' (Barth 645) ~ Pal Ar *qarīb*, pl *qarāyib* 'Verwandter' (Bau 342) ~ Malt *qarib*, pl *qaraba* 'relative.'

kirpān 'Communion; the consecrated host'; cf. CMAr *qurbān* (Graf 1954:85) ~ OA *qurbān* 'an offering, oblation' (Lane 2507). Speyer (1971: 84, fn 1) notes that: "*qurbān* kann aus dem Hebr., Aram. oder Aethiop. entlehnt sein"; Jeffery (1938:234) maintains that in this meaning the term is "an Aramaic development" (cf. Nöldeke 1910:37);

[Cf. Heb. *qorbān* 'Darbringung, Gabe (an das Heiligtum), ... besonders Opfergabe, von blutigen und unblutigen Opfern' (Ges/Bu 726-7) cf. also Ahrens (1930:32); Ma'l *kurpōna* (Arnold 1991:154); Tur *qerowo/qarbone* 'Messopfer' (Jastrow 1985:187, 195).]

~ Alep *qarbān*, pl *qarābīn* 'hosties consacrées; Eucharistie' (Barth 645) ~ Dam *qarbāne* 'communion' (Sto/Ani 48) ~ Pal Ar *el-qurbāne* (kath.) 'Abendmahl' (Bau 2) ~ Cai *urbān* (Chr) 'small round loaves impressed with a stamp ...' (Bad/Hi 690).

q-r-š¹

kirš, pl *kruš* 'one riala'; Ar *qirš/girš*, pl *qurūš* 'para, piastre' (cf. Dozy II, 206, 325);

~ Alep *qarš*, pl *qrūš* 'piastre' (Barth 647) ~ Pal Ar *qirš/girš*, pl *qrūš* 'Piaster' (Bau 231).

q-r-š²

kriše 'preparation from which *plata* cheese is made'; Syriac *qarīštā* (Barth 647); Heb *qāraš* 'fest, hart sein, werden; gerinnen, zur festen kompakten Masse werden'; Aram *qaraš* 'erstarren, gerinnen' (Levy IV, 393); OA *qarisa* (i) 'be congealed (water)' (Hava 597);

~ Alep *qarīše* 'rebut ou déchet de fromage qu'on mange avec du miel, du sucre ou du *dābs*' (Barth 647) ~ Rayhānīya *qarīša* 'Quark' (Behnstedt 2000:549) ~ Kfar^cab *qriše* 'fromage aigrelet, lait caillé'

(Feghali 1918:28), cf. also *qriše* 'petit fromage' (Feghali 1938:814) ~ Ar *qarīša* 'en Orient, mélange de lait caillé et de beurre; ce sont surtout les voyageurs sur mer qui s'en servent' (Dozy II, 335).

[Dalman (VI, 304) notes: "Die bei dem Käse bleibende Molke (*maš* *gibne*) kann getrunken werden. Man gewinnt daraus *qarīša* ...".]

q-r-š

karres, *pikarres* 'shape dough into loaves': *xxult l-itxin u karrist* 'I sieved the flour and shaped the dough into loaves'; cf. OA *qaraša l-aḡīna* 'he cut the dough to spread it out' (Lane 2514);

~ Alep *qarraš* 'faire des galettes' (Barth 648) ~ Çukur *qarraš* 'kleine Teigklumpen machen' (Procházka 2002:177) ~ Cai *arraš* 'shape (dough) into rounds' (Bad/Hi 694).

θkurros 'shaping dough into loaves.'

kurse 'flat round dough for bread'; Ar *qurš*, n un -a, pl *aqrāš/qirāša/qirāš* 'round cake of bread' (Hava 598; cf. Dozy II, 336; R. Payne Smith 1756);

~ Alep *qarš*, pl *qrāš* 'petite galette' (Barth 648) ~ Çukur *qirš*, pl *qrūš* 'Teigklumpen, den man dann zu Fladen ausrollt' (Procházka 2002:177) ~ Mos (M) *qōša*, pl *qaraš* 'runder Brotlaib' (Jastrow 1979:72) ~ Bagh (M) *gurša*, pl *guraš* 'flat loaf (of bread)' (Wood/Bee 386) ~ Pal Ar *qurš*, pl (a) *qrāš* 'Brotfladen vom *šāḡ*- und *mälle*-Brot; Scheibe,' *qurša*, pl *qrāš* 'Klößchen' (Bau 67, 255, 175), *qur(u)š*, pl *iqrāš* 'Aschenbrot' (Bīr Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 294) ~ Cai *urša*, pl *āt* / *uraš* (Bad/Hi 693) ~ Judaeo-Ar (Yem) *qurš* '(lit., disc) loaf (of bread)' (Diem/Raden 171).

q-r-š^c

ākra^ca 'a parasite that grows on broad beans': *f-ful šalet ākra^ca u yipset* 'the broad beans developed a parasite and withered';

~ Cai *a^cra^c*, f *ar^ca*, pl *ur^c* (adj) 'afflicted by ringworm' (Bad/Hi 695).

q-r-q

korka, pl *krak* 'brood hen'; cf. OA *qurqa* (Hava 601); cf. Anc Gk κροκκάω 'cluck (of birds)' (Liddell/Scott 1996:997);

~ Alep *qarqa/qrāqqa* 'poule qui glousse' (Barth 652, 291) ~ Leban Ar *qerqa*, pl *qrāq* (Fegh M/J 203, fn 53; Feghali 1938:815) ~ Pal Ar *qruqqa/qurqa* 'Bruthenne' (Bau 68) ~ Malt *qroqqa*, coll *qroqq* 'brooding hen.'

[Cf. Pal Ar *qaraq iḡ-ḡāḡ* 'Gegacker' (Bau 125), *be-barakat iḡḡāq* — *kull el-frāx tešir qerāq* 'Durch den Segen Isaaks werden alle Hühnchen

Bruthennen' (Dalm I/1, 279); Palm *qarraqat* 'couver' (poule) (Cantineau 1934:73, 21); Om *karak*, *tukruk* 'brüten' (Reinhardt 1894:144); cf. Tangiers *qraq* 'vouloir couvrir en parlant d'une poule' (Marçais 1911:425); Ma'l *qraqba* (Arnold, p.c.); Mand *karka* 'hen, partridge' (Drower/Macuch 1963:201).]

q-r-n

korne, pl *korniāt* 'corner': *xattāyt ḡ-ḡgaloḡ xost*, *rputtu u šlaxtu xost l-korne* 'I placed the turkey inside, tied it up, and chucked it into a corner'; OA *qurna*, pl *quran* (Hava 602);

~ Alep *qərne*, pl *qarāni* 'coin, angle (d'un mur)' (Barth 654) ~ Kənd *qərniye*, pl *qərāni* 'Eckstein, Ecke' (Vo/Wald 336) ~ Mos (M) *qəḡniyyi* = 'zāwiyat aš-šay' (al-Bakrī 1972:392), (C) *qəḡniyyi* (infor) ~ Pal Ar *qurne* 'Ecke' (Kampff 1936:59).

q-z-ḥ

kisx 'a kind of small onion'; OA *qizh/qazh*, pl *aqzāh* 'seeds that are used in cooking, for seasoning food; ... that are put in the cooking-pot; such as cummin-seeds and coriander-seeds; ... and the former (*qizh*) signifies also onion seeds: so in the dialect of Syria" (Lane 2520), 'onion seeds, aromatics' (Hava 603); Syriac *kešhā* 'cepula' (Brockel 338) ~ GAram *qish* 'a kind of onion' (Sokol 1990:501); Heb *qešah* (Is. 28, 25-27) = 'Schwarzkümmel' (Dalm 1938:387), 'eigentlich nigella': *ha-raqil bā-qešah ʔenō bā lidēy kəʔeh leḥ* 'wer gewöhnt ist, Schwarzkümmel zu essen, bekommt kein Herzweh' (Levy IV, 359);

[Both meanings, 'black cummin' and 'onion seeds' are attested in Hebrew (cf. Löw III, 1924:120-123).]

~ Alep *qazəḥ* 'graines d'oignons' (Barth 656), '*bizr al-bašal aš-šaḡir allaḏi yuzra' minhu al-bašal al-kabir*' (al-Asadī VI, 194) ~ Pal Ar *qazha* 'Schwarzkümmel, *Nigella sativa*' (Bau 269), *kizha* (Löw op. cit., 120), cf. *qmāḡ mqezzah* 'mit Schwarzkümmel (*qezha*) bestreutes Brot' (Dalm IV, 133) ~ Eastern Ar *qizh* 'bouture de mürrier qu'on transplante' (Dozy II, 350 cit. *Muḥīt*).

q-s-s

kassīs, pl *ksūs* 'priest'; *piri tesūr kassīs* 'he wants to become a priest'; *l-impšix o l-kassīs u pi'asslillon žrexon* '(on Maundy Thursday) Jesus is [represented by] the priest and he washes their feet'; *fil-ikniše l-iksūs pisauḏu ll-ay* (Mod Gk *ái* = *áγιος*) *telu* 'in church, the priests celebrate the Mass of his (the deceased person's) patron saint'; OA *qass/qissīs*, vulgo *qassīs*, pl *qusūs/qissīsūn/qasāqisa* 'the head or chief of the Chris-

tians, in knowledge or science' (Lane 2571); DSS Aram *qaššīs/qašš* 'Presbyter' (Beyer 1984:755); Syriac *qaššīšā* 'eldest; presbyter, priest' (J. Payne Smith 1903:522) [cf. the Greek calque *ιερεὺς* 'old' translating Heb *kōhen* (Hengel 1974:317)];

~ Alep *qass*—'mot qui précède le nom d'un prêtre'; *qassīs*, pl *qsūs* 'prêtre' (Barth 656) ~ Ka'b *qass*, Mard *qass*, pl *qəššān* 'Pfarrer, christlicher Priester' (Vo/Wald 336) ~ Bagh (M) *qiss/qass/qissīs* pl *-īn*, *qasā-wisa/qsūs* 'priest' (Wood/Bee 372) ~ Mos (C) *qass* 'priest' (infor) ~ Pal Ar *qassīs*, pl *qsūs* 'Pastor' (Bau 227) ~ Malt *qassis*, pl *-in* 'priest.'

[Ma'l *qaššā* 'Priester' (Arnold 1991:44) ~ Urmi *kašš/qašša* 'monk, priest' (Garbell 1965:314), Tur *qašo* 'Pfarrer' (Jastrow 1990a:176); Mod Mand *qaššā* 'priest (Chr)' (Macuch 1965:516).]

q-s-m

kisem, *pkyaksom* (v/t) 'divide, share': *p-ḡpparāesḡ ta kanyatini ya-pati ta kunt zē'ir kuntaksumon ma xvati* 'the money that my father used to give me when I was small, I used to share with my brothers and sisters'; OA *qasama* (i) (Hava 605);

[CyG *pparāes* 'money' < Tk *para*.]

~ Alep *qasam* (e) 'diviser en deux' (Barth 657) ~ Ka'b *qasam* (e) 'teilen, aufteilen' (Vo/Wald 337) ~ Bagh (M) *qisam* (i) 'divide, split' (Wood/Bee 372) ~ Pal Ar *qasam* (i) (Bau 299) ~ Cai *ʔasam* (i) (Bad/Hi 699) ~ Malt *qasam*, *jaqsam*.

maksúm, f -a, pl *-īn* (pp) 'divided.'

kism 'part'; OA *qism*, pl *aqšām* (Hava 605);

~ Alep *qəsəm/qəšəm*, pl *qsām* 'partie d'une chose, une part' (Barth 657) ~ Kənd *qəsəm*, pl *qsām*, Fəsk *qəsmāt* 'Teil, Kapitel; Sorte' (Vo/Wald 337) ~ Pal Ar *qism*, pl *ʔaqšām* (Bau 299) ~ Malt *qasam*, pl *oqsma*.

q-š-š

kašš coll, n un -e 'straw used for making brooms'; Aram *qaššā* (det) 'straw' (Sokol 1990:507); nonclass Ar *qašš* 'stubble, straw' (Hava 606);

~ Alep *qašš* 'brins de paille, chaume' (Barth 658) ~ Pal Ar *qašš* 'Stroh' (Bau 293).

[Urmi *kaš* 'stubble' (Garbell 1965:314).]

q-š-r

kaššer, *pikaššer* (v/t) 'peel; clean thoroughly'; OA *qašara* (u/i), *qaššara* 'peel off (fruit)' (Hava 606);

- Alep *qaššar* 'peler, éplucher (un fruit, un légume)' (Barth 658) ~ Pal Ar *qaššar* 'schälen' (Bau 254) ~ Malt *qaxxar, iqaxxar* 'peel.'

mkaššer, f mkaššre, pl mkaššrin (pp) 'peeled.'

kšur coll, n un -e 'peels'; OA *qušūr, sg qišr* (Lane 2525);

- Alep *qəšər, pl qšūr* 'peau (de raisin), pelure (d'orange, d'oignon), etc.' (Barth 658) ~ Dam *qəšre, (coll) qəšər, pl qšūr* 'peau (de raisin)' (Sto/Ani 171) ~ Cai *ʔišra, pl -āt / ʔušūr* (coll) n un of *ʔišr* 'outer skin or layer' (Bad/Hi 700) ~ Malt *qoxra, pl qxur* 'peel.'

q-š-ʕ

kišʕe, pkyákšaʕa (v/t) 'see': *kišʕe pnam* 'he had a dream'; cf. OA *aqšaʕa/taqaššaʕa/inqšaʕa* 'dissolve (clouds, darkness)' (Hava 607);

- Alep *qəšeʕ (a)* 'voir' (Barth 659) ~ Mard *qəšəʕ (a)* 'sehen' (Vo/Wald 338) ~ Çukur *qišiʕ (a)* (Procházka 2002:77) ~ Mos (M) *qəšəʕ/qəšəʕ* (Blanc 1964:152; Socin 1882:15) ~ Leban Ar *qšʕ* 'sehen' — "in Jerusalem verstanden, aber nicht gesagt" (Kampff 1936:59) ~ rur Egyp Ar *qašaʕ* (Behn/Woid 1994:379; 1999:391); cf. 17th c. rural Egyp *qšʕ, yqšʕ* (Davies 1981:445) ~ Yem *qašaʕ* 'see' (Piamenta 1991:399) ~ Daθ *qašaʕ* 'uncover, lay bare, expose' (Landberg 1920-1942:2495).

[For the present distribution of *qšʕ* 'see' in the Syrian Arabic dialect area as against other lexemes with this meaning, cf. map 360 in Behnstedt (1997:720). Note also a residual reflex of the Imptv **qšaʕ* (> *ʔšaʕ*) in the Damascene presentative *šaʕ- : šaʕo l-əktāb* 'here's the book' (Sto/Ani 115), *Kiswa šaʕ-ūk! šahhāk! šahhon!* 'da ist er/sie, sind sie!' (Behnstedt 1993b:93), replicating the evolution of OA *raʕā* 'he saw': Qurʔānic *ʔanayta* 'Sieh' mal, du!' (W-D. Fischer 1959:186); cf. Negev Bedouin *arih* 'dort ist er, ariha 'dort ist sie' (Bau 78), and Marçais (1911:220).]

q-š-š

mkass, pl -āt 'scissors'; OA *miqašš, pl maqāšš* (Hava 608);

- Alep *maqāšš, pl -āt* 'ciseaux' (Barth 662) ~ Mħall *mqašš* 'Scherer' (Vo/Wald 338) ~ Bišm *mʔašš, pl -āt* (Jiha 1964:154) ~ Pal Ar *mqašš, pl -āt* (Piamenta, p.c.) ~ Cai *maʔašš, pl -āt* 'scissors' (Bad/Hi 704) ~ Malt *mqašš, pl mqaššes*.

[For the short [a] in the Maltese pl scheme, cf. *mħaded* 'pillows', sg *mħadda* < OA *mixadda, pl maxādd*.]

q-š-b

kaspe 'liver', *kaspiti* 'my liver'; OA *qašaba: qašabu r-riʔati* 'the ducts (*ʕurūq*) of the lungs' (Lane 2529), *qašabu s-suʕāli* 'windpipe, bronchial tubes' (Hava 322);

- Alep *qašbet ʔriyye* 'la trachée-artère' (Barth 660) ~ Āz *qašabe* 'Schilfrohr, Leber; Liebstes' (Vo/Wald 338) ~ Pal Ar *qašbe* 'Schilfrohr, Tonröhre' (Löhr 1905:133), *qašabe* 'Luftröhre' (Bau 133) ~ Egyp Ar *qašbat ir-riyya* 'trachée artère, canal qui porte l'air aux poumons' (Boc, Dozy II, 361) ~ AA *qašabat ar-riʔa* 'trachea, windpipe' (Corriente 1997:429) ~ Malt *il-qašba tas-sieq* 'foreleg.'

q-d-y

kadda, piθkaddi (v/t) 'suffice, satisfy': *m-moe mā-piθkaddina* 'the water isn't sufficient for us'; OA *qadā (i)* 'satisfy (a want)' (Hava 612); - Alep *qada (i) hāḡti* 'il a satisfait mon besoin, il m'a rendu service (: personne ou objet)' (Barth 664) ~ [Dam *kaffa* (Sto/Ani 230)] ~ Leban Ar *qadā* 'suffire' (Feghali 1938:816): *ʔanʔa ʔʔaddi li-ʔmāš l-fišṭān* 'der Stoff reicht kaum für ein Kleid' (Bišm; Jiha 1964:172) ~ Egyp Ar *ḥāḏā yqaddīni* 'cela me suffit' (Boc, Dozy II, 370), *qadā* 'ausreichen' (Behn/Woid 1999:390) ~ Pal Ar *qadā/kaffa* 'genügen' (Bau 130) ~ Malt *qeda, jaqdi* 'serve; satisfy a need.'

q-t-t¹

kitš/šikitš/kutš/kutši 'nothing, anything; at all; not a bit': *mā-pri kitš* 'I don't want anything'; *mā-pkyákšaʕa kitš* 'he doesn't see at all'; *mā-keḷ kitš* 'he didn't eat anything'; *mā-kuxxallia šikitš vaxta* 'we didn't leave her (the new mother) unattended even for a moment.' < **qattš* < **qatt-šayy*; OA *qattū* 'not at all' (Hava 613) (*šyʔ*);

- Cen As *qattiš* 'nichts' (W-D. Fischer 1961:258) ~ Malt *qatt* 'never': *qatt ma rajtu* 'I never saw him,' *qattx* [*ʔatʃ*] 'ever': *jekkk qatt darba ...* 'if ever ...'; *ohtok qatt/qattx siefret wehida?* 'has your sister ever travelled on her own?'

[Dialectal reflexes of OA *qatt* appear to be generally rare and restricted to the *Randgebiet*: Malta, Spain, Cyprus, and S E Anatolia: Malt *qatt* 'never, ever' ~ AA *qatt* (cf. Neuvonen 1952) ~ Riš *qatt* 'ausgenommen' (Vo/Wald 341). Alep *qatt* (adv) 'jamais, point du tout' (Barth 667) is untypical for E. Arabic; it is a striking lexical isogloss shared with the Anatolian *qaltu* dialects (along with the Umlaut variety of the *imāla* and the affricated reflex of OA *ḡim*).]

q-t-t²

katt, pl xtat 'cat': *kallina ʔrpāʕa xtat u matu ʔrpʕiton* 'we had four cats and the four of them died'; OA *qitt, pl qitāt/qitāta* (Hava 613), MLA *qitt, pl qitāt* (Wehr 905); CyG *κάρτος* (Yangoullis 1997:127); - Alep *qatt, pl qatāt* 'chat' désignant le mâle et non le genre chat

au sens collectif, *qatfa* 'chatte' (Barth 667) ~ Dam *qatt*, f *qatta*, pl *qatat* (Sto/Ani 36) ~ Syr Ar *kittal/atta/atta/qutta*, etc. (map 431, Behnstedt 1997:863) ~ Leban Ar *qeff* 'chat' (Feghali 1938:706) ~ Pal Ar *quff*, pl *-at*, *qutaf* 'Kater' (Bau 171), f *qetta* (J; Piamenta 2000:233) [alongside *biss(e)*, pl *bsas* 'Katze', *bsen* 'Kätzchen'; Bauer, *loc. cit.*] ~ Egyp Ar *'itta/qitta/guffa/uffa* 'Katze' (Behn/Woid 1994:384; Behn/Woid 1999:392) [- *ša'd hirr* f -a 'Kater, Katze' (Behnstedt 1987:309)] ~ Malt *qattus*, f -a, pl *qtates*.

[Several dialectal Arabic terms for the cat are recorded in a 12th century Maghribi Arabic source studied by G.S. Colin (1931:25): *qitt*, *hirr*, *šinnawr* (< Aram), *qattūs* (< Lat *cattus*), and *daywan*. Evidently some of these designations are not native to the Maghreb. Fück (1950a:110) noted that "qatta wird wie *cattus* auf das Ägyptische zurückgeführt und ist in Syrien, Ägypten und Nord Afrika verbreitet, und *sinnaur* ist im älteren Schrifttum des Irak vorherrschend." For the latter form, cf. Anat Ar *šunnōra* ~ Aram (DSS) *šonnār* 'Katze' (Beyer 1987:752), *šunnārā* (Fraenkel 1886:112). For the dialectal distribution of Arabic cognates of *qff* in the Qalamūn area, cf. Arno/Behn (46); Tur *qatuno* 'Kater' (Jastrow 1985:186); Leban Ar has *bsayn*, f *bsayne*, pl *bsaynāt* (Fegh M/J II, 190, fn 30).]

q-ṭ-b

kattep, *pikattep* (v/t/i) 'grimace; startle s.o.'; OA *qatṭaba* 'he contracted the parting between his eyes' (Lane 2541);

~ Alep *qatṭab wuččo* 'il a le visage conturé' (Barth 665).

ṭkattep, *pkyiṭkattep* (v/i) 'take fright, be alarmed, have a nightmare': *ḡammaḡ ta kallina ši ḡmorósḡ ta fil-layl kanyipza'a*, *kanyiṭkattep*, *kwankūl aḡa m-ḡmorósḡ lu fāza'a*; *ḡprepiḡ tarrūx tallaki exte mara ta pittā'aref tatsillu fāza'a* 'when one of our children was afraid of the dark or suffered from nightmares, we would say: "This child is scared; we should look for a woman who can assuage his fear."'

mkattep, pl *mkaṭṭpe*, pl -*in* 'startled.'

ṭkuttop (n) 'alarm, shock.'

q-ṭ-ḡ

kaḡa, *pkyáxta'a* (v/t/i) 'cut, chop (e.g., wood); pass by; elapse (time); detain s.o.; catch s.o. out; omit': *prux taxt l-ixkali páxta'a xatap*, *ḡiteḡ xarrupát páxta'a ḡiteḡ terrás* 'I go down to the fields to chop wood, either carob-trees or brushwood'; *ž-žúmā'a ta kaḡet kunt faḡi* 'last week I was free'; *kaḡu xamps-iṭkyém* 'five days have gone by'; *kaḡa exen ḡayróplanoḡ mixxók minna u šalax exte-xnáyḡ ḡpompesḡ*

'an aeroplane passed overhead and dropped a couple of bombs'; *raxet kalet x-xaita u ža kát'ana xaita axxóst* 'she went to tell her brother and he came and caught us redhanded in there'; *xṭá'āt s-sumpsom* 'I omitted (forgot to mention) the sesame seeds (in a recipe)'; *aṭkapli m-ḡmorósḡ telik ḡosḡ tesúr xpir*, *ḡosḡ teáxta'a palu* '(the priest says to the godmother): "watch over the child entrusted to you until he grows up and attains maturity"'; OA *qat'a'a* (a) (Hava 614);

~ Alep *qat'a'a* (a) 'couper': *qat'a'a l-hāra* 'être sorti de la rue' (Barth 667) ~ Mard *qat'a'a* (a) 'schneiden, abschneiden, durchschneiden' (Vo/Wald 340) ~ Çukur ... *qāṭi' hāki d-day'a* '...sie durchschnitten jenes Dorf ...' (Procházka 2002:229) ~ Pal Ar *qat'a'a* (a) 'couper, interrompre' (Elihai 1973:110) ~ Malt *qata*, *jaqta* 'cut; overtake; guess correctly.'

katt'e, *pikatt'e* (v/t) 'spend, squander; lead; smuggle': *katt'ēt x-xevanāt mil-paṭpūn* 'I led the cattle from the river' (Frangiskou 131); *ḡammaḡ mannaxter mankat'e min kullon šaya mit-turk mnawna* 'whenever we can, we smuggle all kinds of things past the Turks over to our side (i.e., across the Ledra Palace checkpoint)'; OA *qat'a'a* 'make a.o. cross (a river)' (Hava 614);

~ Alep *qat'a'a* 'couper en plusieurs morceaux, passer le temps (*qat'a'a waqt*), faire franchir' (Barth 668) ~ Mard *qat'a'a* 'zerschneiden, in Stücke schneiden, unterteilen' (Vo/Wald 340) ~ Malt *qatta*, *iqatta* 'rip up; pass the time (*žmien*).'

nkaḡa, *pkyinkat'a* (v/i) 'be cut (also fig.)': *nkaḡu žrey mil-maške* 'my feet are worn out with walking' (Frangiskou 224); *nkaḡa 'umpri* 'I/you, etc. got a shock'; OA *inqat'a'a* (Hava 614).

~ Alep *nqat'a'a*, *yanqat'a'a* 'être coupé en deux' (Barth 668) ~ Malt *inqata*, *jinqata* 'be cut off, disconnected.'

ket'e (m and f), pl -*in* 'passing by': *kunt kēt'e mib-bayt tel exte pintua* ... 'I was passing by the house of a young girl ...'; cf. OA *qāṭi' al-fariq* 'brigand, highway-robber' (Hava 616);

Alep *qēṭe' aṣṣeb'a wurrēb'a* 'il a franchi la septième et la quatrième, cad. il a á son passif toutes sortes de méfaits et de crimes' (Barth 667) ~ Pal Ar *qāṭi'* 'Wegelagerer' (Bau 355).

kaḡ 'cut; wound'; OA *qaḡ*.

maxtú'u, f *maxtú'a*, pl *maxtu'in* (pp) 'cut, a.o. cross (a river)' (Hava 614);

~ Malt *maqtugh* [h], *f -a*, pl -*in* [ma'tu'wayn].

q-ṭ-f

kattēf, pikattēf (v/t) 'gather (honey)': *kattēf n-naxl* 'he gathered honey'; OA *qattafa* 'gather (grapes), pluck (fruit)' (Hava 616);

~ Alep *qattaf* 'cuellir' (Barth 670) ~ Dam *qataf* 'pick (fruit)' (Sto/Ani 172) ~ Pal Ar *qataf* 'pflücken' (Bau 230) ~ Egyp Ar *ʾaṭṭaf* 'pick or pluck (successively)' (Bad/Hi 709).

q-ṭ-n

kotn, pl *ktan* 'cotton': *k-kotn o ʿali* 'cotton is expensive'; OA *quṭn/quṭun*, pl *aqṭān* (Hava 617);

[“Many travellers saw cotton growing in different parts of Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor; probably from there the plant was taken to Greece, the Aegean Islands and Cyprus. By the twelfth century, cotton from the Levant and Cyprus was exported to Italy” (Watson 1983: 40). “Among natural products [of Cyprus, A.B.] the chief is cotton, reckoned the finest in the Levant, for its whiteness, substance and length of staple.” (Mariti 1769:113)]

~ Alep *qatān* 'coton' (Barth 670) ~ Dam *qatān* 'cotton' (Sto/Ani 54) ~ Mhall *qatān*, Sii *qatān* 'Baumwolle' (Vo/Wald 342) ~ Pal Ar *quṭun* (Bau 42) ~ Malt *qoton*, n un *qotna*.

q-ṣ-d

keṣe, pkyakṣo (v/t/i) 'sit, dwell in a place; put, place; seep or sink down; continue (doing s.th.)' (< **qīṣid*, **yaqṣud*): *aš int ekef? kṣo!* 'why are you standing? Sit (m) down!'; *yapati rax keṣe fil-arnep* (= CyG *ékatsen ston laó*) 'my father sat up waiting for rabbits'; *pkyakṣo ḏ-ḏeṣa* 'he resides in the village'; *koṣott v-veṣi mal-lipen xost moe suxne* 'I placed the bowl of yoghurt in warm water'; *k-ḡkōmmakkyāḡ enne nayyīn u ḡkal u pkyāṣātu taxt* 'the pieces (of *xallumi*) are raw and heavy and they sink to the bottom (of the pot)'; *mannákḏo mammuddon* 'we continue stretching them (strips of pastry)'; *d-dinye ta ʿazimna žet kulla u kéṣetu maf-farxa šaitna kilu máṣāna* 'the people we invited (to the wedding) all came and sat to eat with us to share our joy'; OA *qaṣada* (u) 'sit';

~ Alep *qaṣad* (o) (Barth 671) ~ Mard *qāṣad* (a) 'sich setzen (auf = ʿala)' (Vo/Wald 342) ~ Dam *qaṣad* (o) 'sit' (Sto/Ani 212) ~ Pal Ar *qaṣad* (u) (Bau 277) ~ Malt *qaghād, joqghod* 'settle, stay, dwell': *qaghād bil-qeghda* 'he sat down.'

kaṣet, pikaṣet (v/t) 'seat; put, place': *kaṣittu m-ḡmorósḡ* 'I seated the child'; *l-ixlip pxottu xost x-xasie u fkāṣātu xok m-moxte* 'I pour the milk into a large pot and put it on the stove'; < **qāṣad* < **qaṣad*; cf. OA

aqṣada 'he caused to sit' (Lane 2545);

~ Alep *qaṣad* 'faire asseoir (qqn)': *qaṣad lwalad ʿan-nūniye* 'mettre l'enfant sur le pot' (Barth 671) ~ Mard *qāṣad, yaqṣad* 'sich setzen lassen, hinsetzen, eben machen, daraufsetzen' (Vo/Wald 342) ~ Malt *qieghed, iqieghed* 'set down, place' (< **qaṣad*).

[CyA and Anatolian Arabic here both retain simplex *ṣ* with compensatory vowel length.]

keṣe, f kéṣte, pl *keṣtīn* (ap) 'sitting, sitting up (for game); unemployed, retired; in place': *l-ṣorpa kanu keṣtīn xost l-irvák* 'the guests were sitting in the veranda'; *d-dist linaxa keṣe xok m-moxte* 'we place the pot on the stove'; *yapati rax keṣe fil-arnep* 'my father went to lie in wait for rabbits'; OA *qāṣid* 'sitting.'

koṣot (vn) 'sitting; unemployment' < **quṣd*.

kóṣte 'base (of an object)': *k-kóṣte ten-naʿara* 'the base of the pitcher'; OA *quṣda* 'a horse's or camel's saddle' (Lane 2545);

~ Mard *qaṣda*, pl *-āt* 'Sitz' (Vo/Wald 343) ~ Cai *ʿaṣda* 'base, stand': *hāt karāsi w ʿaṣdāt* 'bring chairs and whatever to sit on' (Bad/Hi 710).

mkaṣet, f mkaṣte, pl *-īn* (pp) 'placed in position.'

mákāṣta, pl *-āt* 'pillow, cushion'; MLA *maqṣad* 's.th. to sit on, maqṣada' 'backside' (Wehr 912-3);

~ Egyp Ar *maqṣad* 'coussin, carreau' (Boc, Dozy II, 389) ~ Pal Ar *maqṣad*, pl *maqāṣed* 'Sitz' (Bau 277), "like *ḡanbiyyeh* (pl *ḡanābi*) [a flat, quadrangular or rectangular cushion laid on the ground] but round; it also denotes a bench and a sofa" (Canaan 1946:213-244).

q-l-b

kilep, pkyaklep (v/i) 'tilt; turn over; overturn': *kilep tenām* 'he turned over to sleep' (Frangiskou 173); *kilpet u ll-oxre naʿara* 'the other pitcher also overturned'; OA *qalaba* (i) 'turn a th. upside down' (Hava 622);

~ Alep *qalab* (e) (v/t) 'tourner dans l'autre sens'; (v/i) 'se renverser (: voiture); chavirer (: barque)' (Barth 674) ~ Dam *qalab* (e) (v/t) (Sto/Ani 250) ~ Bagh (M) *qilab* (i) 'change, ḡilab (u) 'turn, turn over' (Wood/Bee 376, 393) ~ Pal Ar *qalab* (i) 'umwenden' (Bau 315) ~ Malt *qaleb, jaqleb* (v/t/i): *qalbet l-halib* 'she spilt the milk'; *it-temp qaleb* 'the weather changed.'

maklúp, f -a, pl *-īn* (pp) 'overturned.'

kallep, pikallep (v/t) 'turn s.th. over'; OA *qallaba* (Hava 622);

~ Alep *qallab* 'retourner plusieurs fois (une volaille) dans le four.'

tourner (les feuilletés d'un livre)' (Barth 674) ~ Ani 250) ~ Pal Ar *qallab* (v/t) 'turn over' (Elihai 2000:440).

kalp 'heart, stomach, core (of fruit)': *kalpu o xazra* 'he's hardhearted'; *kel l-kalp tel pattixa kulla* 'he ate the entire core of the watermelon'; OA *qalb*, pl *qulūb* 'heart, mind, soul' (Hava 623);

~ Alep *qalb*, pl *qlūb* 'cœur; et surtout entrailles, estomac' (Barth 675) ~ Bagh (M) *gaḷub*, pl *glūb* (Wood/Bee 376, 393) ~ Pal Ar *qalb*, pl *qlūb* (Elihai 1999:155) ~ Malt *qalb*, pl *qlub*.

ma kalp- 'genuinely': *pixubba ma kalpu* 'he truly loves her.'

q-l-^c

maklū^cu, f *maklū^ca*, pl *maklu^cin* 'pulled out';

~ Alep *maqlū^c* 'arraché, deraciné' (Barth 677) ~ Çukur *miqlū^c* 'ausgestochen (Auge)' ~ Malt *maqlugh* [ma^llūḡ] 'pulled out, extracted.'

q-l-q-s

korkās, pl *krekiś* 'kind of potato'; OA *qulqās* 'colocasia; or *arum colocasia* of Linnaeus, the root of a certain plant which is eaten cooked ...' (Lane 2560); cf. Late Heb *qolqās* (Dalm II, 278); GArām *qolqsyh* 'colocasia' (Sokol 1990:479); < Anc Gk κολοκάσιον/κολοκασία 'the root of κύαμος Αἰγύπτιος, the Egyptian bean, *Nelumbium speciosum* (Liddell/Scott 1003), cf. Lat *Colocasium* (Apicius, 305);

~ Alep *qalqāz* 'colocasia' (Barth 678) ~ Pal Ar *qulqās* (Bau 70), *qalqās* (Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:89) ~ Cai *ʔulʔās* 'taro' (Bad/Hi 715) ~ Egyp Ar *ʔulʔās* 'Kolokasse, Topinambar' (Behn/Woid 1999:59) ~ Judaeo-Ar *qulqās* 'colocasia' (Diem/Raden 179).

[“Les Libanais, depuis quelques années, appellent dans certaines régions, la pomme de terre *baḡāta*, mais, le mot courant, pour désigner ce légume, est *qelqās* (pl *qelqāsāt*)” (Fegh M/J 1977:30, fn 1). Cf. Mez (1937:431): “In Palestine and Egypt a vegetable, corresponding to our potato, the Quloqas, was cultivated (Ibn Hauqal, 173) ... its existence is attested in the Greek Isles, Asia Minor and Egypt. It is the thick pulpy root-stock of *Colocasia esculenta* ...” “Various origins have been proposed for colocasia: Assam and Upper Burma, Thailand, Malaya and Indonesia ... By the tenth century, colocasia seems to have been known in Mesopotamia, the Levant, and Egypt” (Watson 1983:66). Note the difference in meaning obtaining between the ancient cognates of Gk *colocasia* and the modern.]

q-l-y

kalla, *pikalli* (v/t) 'fry'; cf. OA *qalā* (i) 'fry (meat)' (Hava 626);

~ Alep *qalla* 'frère à la poêle (des légumes) à l'huile ou au beurre

en les retournant plusieurs fois' (Barth 680) ~ Bagh (M) *galla/gila* 'fry' (Wood/Bee 394) ~ Ka^cb *qala* (i) 'braten' (Vo/Wald 347) ~ Pal Ar *qala* (i) (Bau 65) ~ Malt *qela*, *jaqli* 'fry.'

mkalli, f *mkallie*, pl *mkallin* (pp) 'fried.'

θkalla, *pkyiθkalla* (v/i) 'be fried': *ʕan^c marri tantsáy šam'amūs (šm^cʔ), mannimpek mnáðak l-ʕasel, maxxótt l-itxin pkyiθkalla ma z-zayt ...* 'when we want to make *šam'amūs*, we take some of that syrup, fry flour in oil ...';

~ Alep *tqalla*, *ʔəttqalla* 'griller d'impatience,' etc. (Barth 680).

taklie 'topping of fried onions': *ttanakol ful/lupkye taklie* 'we'll eat beans / string beans with a topping of fried onions';

Alep *məqleye* 'oignons frits à l'huile ...' (Barth 680) ~ Dam *taqliyye* (Wetzstein 1857:507, fn 31) ~ Cai *ta'liyya* 'sauce of chopped onions, etc.' (Spiro 1895:500) ~ 17th c. Egyp Ar *qilly b* 'prepare topping of fried onions' (Davies 1981:451) ~ Malt *toqlija*.

q-m-ḡ

kampx 'wheat (after harvest)', pl of mult *kumpxāt* (cf. Syr Ar *qamhāt*; Bloch 1989:128); OA *qamḡ/himḡa*, pl *himḡa* (Hava 626, 142);

[From the areal standpoint, CyA *kampx* groups this vernacular with the Arabic dialects of "Egypt, Syria, and dialects further west" (Blanc 1964:150), whereas throughout Mesopotamia, cognates of OA *himḡa* 'wheat' are the norm (*loc. cit.*); cf. also Tur, Mlah *hete* (pl) 'Weizen' (Jastrow 1990:165; 1994:178), Hert *heffe* (Jastrow 1988:189). On CyA terms for cereals, Roth (1984:328) notes: "Deux céréales sont nommées par des termes arabes: le blé et l'orge, soit *kampx* et *š'ir*; *kampx* s'utilisait, semble-t-il, pour le blé en grain, récolté et engrangé, ainsi que pour la préparation «rituelle», faite de grains de blé bouillis, aromatisée, offerte aux animaux domestiques au cours de la nuit qui précède le Nouvel An. Le blé sur pied se disait plutôt *m'all*."]]

~ Alep *qaməḡ/həmḡa* 'blé' (Barth 680, 177) ~ Dam *qaməḡ/həmḡa* 'wheat' (Sto/Ani 262) ~ [Mard *həmḡa* 'Getreide' (Vo/Wald 128) ~ Bagh (M) *himḡa* (Wood/Bee 121)] ~ Pal Ar *qamḡ/himḡa* 'Weizen' (Bau 358) ~ Cai *ʔamḡ* (coll), un n *ʔamḡāya* (Bad/Hi 717) ~ Malt *qamḡ*, pl *qmuh*.

q-m-r

kamar 'moon': *δ-δawm tel-kamar* 'moonlight'; OA *qamar*, pl *aqmār* (Hava 627);

~ Alep *qamar*, pl *qmār* 'lune' (Barth 680) ~ Pal Ar *qamar* 'Mond' (Bau 209) ~ Malt *qamar*, pl *qmura* 'moon.'

q-m-l

kampl (coll), n un -e 'lice'; OA *qaml* (Hava 628);
 ~ Alep *qaməl* 'vermine, poux' (Barth 682) ~ Dam *qaməl*, n un
 -a 'louse', pl -āt (Sto/Ani 142) ~ Pal Ar *qaml* 'Laus' (Bau 190) ~ Malt
 'qamel, n un qamla'.

q-m-n

kammín, kmemín 'charcoal furnace'; *k-kammín pkyislax teinta^{em}*
žum^{atáyn} ^{Gan} o xpír, ^{Gan} o zě^čír xazžtu exte žúmā^a 'the charcoal
 furnace has to be fed fuel for two weeks if it is big; one week suffices
 for a small one'; OA *qamīn*, pl *qumanā* 'bath-stove' (Hava 628); Syriac
qamīnā 'foculus' (R. Payne Smith 3647) < κάμινος < Lat *camīnus*
 (Vollers 1897:302); CyG *kammīni* 'charcoal furnace';

~ Alep *qammīn*, pl *qmēmīn* 'four qui sert à chauffer un *hammām*'
 (Barth 683) ~ Cai *amīna*, pl *amāyim* 'kiln' (Bad/Hi 718), *qammīn/*
qammīr 'Ofen' (Vollers, loc. cit.), 'qamīn, pl qumun/qamīnāt' (Kremer
 1883:II, 31 cit. Gabartī IV, 28).

q-n-n

konn, pl *knan* 'hencoop'; MLA *qunn*, pl *qinān* (Wehr 925); Syriac
qennā (Feghali 1918:57);

~ Alep *qənn*, pl *qnān* 'poulailler' ~ Dam *qənn*, pl *qnān* 'coop' (Sto/
 Ani 53) ~ rur Egypt Ar *qunn* 'Entenstall' (Behn/Woid 1994:397) ~ Pal Ar
qunn ed-dgāg (Dalm VII, 173).

[Ma^l *qonna* 'Hühnerstall' (Arnold, p.c.); Tur *qeno* 'Nest' (Jastrow 1985:
 179); Qaraq *qənnā* 'nest' (Khan 2002:741).]

q-n-d-l

kantúl, n un -e 'thorny bush'; OA *qundūl* 'Aspalathus, thorny shrub,
 the flowers of which yield an excellent oil; *Calycotome spinosa*, prickled
 broom' (Hava 629); MLA *qandūl* 'aspalathus (bot.)' (Wehr 927), *qundūl*
 'gorse' (Elias 1974:306);

~ Leban Ar *qandūle*, (coll) *qandūl* 'une sorte de genêt pour faire
 des haies, des clôtures' (Fegh M/J 1977:75, fn 2), 'arbrisseau épineux'
 (Denizeau 1960:433) ~ Pal Ar *qandōl/qundel* '*Calycotome villosa*'
 (Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:27).

q-w-s

kawz 'teasing bow': *ma k-kawz makkavek* (< *kwk*) *kotn* 'we card
 cotton with a teasing bow'; OA *qaws*, pl *qusiyy/aqwās/qiyās* 'bow,
 carder' (Hava 633);

~ Alep *qōš ənnadəf* 'arçon à carder le coton' (Barth 688); cf. *qaws*
an-naddāf 'arc à battre le coton' (Dozy II, 418).

q-w-l

kal, pikúl (v/t) 'say; call': *kúrtillu uv-ana: kaes ta piθkúl* '... and
 I said to him: that's a great idea! (iron.)'; *má-kanni ši* 'he didn't tell
 me anything'; *mill-ixmīs u awnke ta mankúl ^{Gtsiknopéfti} n-nes zā^čár*
u xpar piruxu pisuru ^{Gmaskes} u pkyírksu 'from Thursday onwards,
 which we call 'Shrove Thursday', people, young and old, go about in
 disguise and dance'; *aš piθkúl annimpsek ši-véxen tanni^čpax?* 'how
 about grabbing one (a turkey) and slaughtering it!'; OA *qāla* (u) (Hava
 634);

[CyA *kúrtillu* < *qultillu* shows lateralization of *l characteristic of
 CyG (Newton 1972b:112). CyG *tsiknopéfti* = Mod Gk τοικνοπέπτη.]

~ Alep *qāl* (u) 'dire' (Barth 690) ~ Kənd *qāl* (u) 'sagen (zu = lə),
 sprechen (mit = šān und šā) (Vo/Wald 350) ~ Pal Ar *qāl* (u) (Bau 250)
 ~ Malt 'qal, jghid'.

kael, pikael (v/t/i) 'accept, agree to; tolerate, go along with, encour-
 age': *kaft tannaksom l-ixkali šati ma xayyti* 'I agreed to share my fields
 with my brother'; *piθkailon ašma pisaila* 'she encourages his advances';
kaylu te^čišu mpla latuδkya 'they (the couple) agreed to live together
 without having children'; *má-kwankael* 'we didn't accept'; < **qāyal*;
 OA *qāwala* 'discourse with, confer with' (Hava 634), in MLA 'dispute,
 wrangle, argue, conclude a bargain, make a deal' (Wehr 933);

~ Alep *qāwal* 'faire un contrat avec, convenir avec (qqn)' (Barth
 690) ~ Pal Ar *qāwal* (Bau 327).

q-w-q-l

kukāle, pl *kvakīl/tvakīl* 'sheaves'; Ar *qūqāla* 'grosse botte ou gerbe';
qawqal 'réunir en grosses bottes ou gerbes' (Fleischer 1888: II, 743
 commenting on Dozy II, 428);

~ Leban Ar *qāqūle/qūqāle*, pl *qwāqīl* 'bottes ou gerbes ... solidement
 attachées par le milieu avec des cordelettes faites en écorce de mûrier
 ...' (Fegh M/J 1977:82, fn 1), *qanqūle* 'petit fagot de branchages, petite
 charge de bois ou d'herbe', *qōqāle* 'botte, gerbe' (Frayha 1947, s.v.).

q-w-m

kam, pikúm (v/i) 'rise, wake up, get up': *tavel tekūm* 'he got up late';
kam l-impšix 'Jesus has risen from the dead'; OA *qāma* (u) (Hava 634);
 ~ Alep *qām* (u) 'se lever' (Barth 691) ~ Dam *qām* (u) 'aufstehen'
 (Grotzfeld 1965:152) ~ Mard *qām* (u) (Vo/Wald 351) ~ Pal Ar *qām* (u)

(Bau 30) ~ Malt <qam, iqum> 'wake up': <qam bil-wieqfa> 'he stood up.'

kaem, pikaem (v/t) 'raise, lift; arouse (from sleep); stand, bear (pain); stir (liquid)': *kaem moxxu* 'he raised his head'; *xállini tanám, aš piθkaimni mif-fis-saxxar?* 'let me sleep, why do you wake me up so early (lit., at dawn)?'; *po'ótt dufri xost l-ixlíp u ^{Gamma} pikaem dufri l-ixxiine, pkyislax tarawpu* '(when I make yoghurt) I dip my finger tip in the [boiling] milk, and if it can stand the heat, I have to curdle it (the milk)'; Ar *qayyam* 'éveiller celui qui dort' (Dozy II, 431) < *qāyam ~ OA *qāwama* 'he withstood' (Lane 1995);

[CyA *kaem* conflates the OA **qayyam* and **qāyam*.]

~ Alep *qayyam* 'faire enlever qqe par qqn' (Barth 696) ~ Pal Ar *qayyam* 'aufwecken, qāwam 'widerstehen' (Bau 30, 362) ~ Bagh (M) *qāwam* 'resist' (Wood/Bee 381) ~ Malt <qajjem, iqajjem> 'arouse s.o. from sleep.'

q-y-h

kaex, pikaex (v/i) 'fester (wound)'; OA *qayyaḥa* 'suppurate (wound)' (Hava 636);

~ Alep *qayyaḥ* 'suppurer' (Barth 694) ~ Bagh (M) *qayyaḥ* 'fester' (Wood/Bee 382) ~ Pal Ar *qayyaḥ* 'Eitern' (Bau 90) ~ Cai 'ayyaḥ (v/t) 'cause to suppurate,' (v/i) 'suppurate, fester' (Bad/Hi 725).

kixx 'pus' (Frangiskou 103) < *qīḥ; OA *qayḥ*, pl *qyūḥ* (Hava 636); ~ Alep *qayḥ/qēḥ*, pl *qyūḥ/qyūḥa* 'pus' (Barth 694) ~ Dam 'ēḥ 'pus' (Sto/Ani 1964:183) ~ Bagh (M) *qēḥ* 'pus' (Wood/Bee 382) ~ Pal Ar *qēḥ* 'Eiter' (Bau 90) ~ AA *qīḥ/qayḥ*, pl *aqyāḥ* (Corriente 1997:450).

K

k-b-b

kabb (u) (v/t) 'spill, pour out; serve (food)': *ana kabbáyt l-impít* 'I poured out the wine'; *mprati kabbet t-tapx* 'my wife served the food'; OA *kabba* (u) 'turn over, invert (vessels), empty' (Ullmann 1970:14).

~ Alep *kabb* (ə) 'jeter (de l'eau sale, des ordures, qqe devenu inutile après usage)' (Barth 698) ~ Bagh (M) *čabb* 'pour out' (Wood/Bee 83) ~ Pal Ar *kabb* (u) 'pour; throw away' (Eliḥai 1999:217).

nkabba, pkyinkabba (v/i) 'be spilt': *nkabba l-ixlíp* 'the milk has been spilt'; OA *inkabba* 'be poured out, emptied' (Ullmann 1970:15);

~ Alep *nkabb* 'être jeté (: ordures, être répandu)' (Barth 698) ~ Dam *nkabb* 'be spilt' (Sto/Ani 220) ~ Bask *nkabb* (Abu-Haidar 1979:40) ~

Pal Ar *nkabbat il-ʔahwe* 'alē w-huwwe bišrab' 'the coffee was spilt over him as he was drinking' (Piamenta 1966:45).

kabb (vn) 'spilling, pouring';

~ Pal Ar *sabb* or *kabb min ir-rabb* 'very heavy, continuous rain from the Lord' (Canaan 1923:29).

k-b-r

kiper, pkyixpar (v/i) 'grow, become older': ^{Gos} *ta pittixpar pittixassen* 'the older she gets the prettier she becomes'; OA *kabira* (a) 'be advanced in years, kabura 'grow big' (Hava 640);

~ Alep *kəber* (a) 'devenir grand' (Barth 699) ~ Dam *kəber* (a) 'grow up' (Sto/Ani) ~ Mard *gəbər* (a) (Vo/Wald 360) ~ Bagh (M) *kubar* (a) 'grow' (Wood/Bee 398) ~ Pal Ar *kibir* (a) 'wachsen' (Bau 350) ~ Malt <kiber, jikber>.

xpir, f-e, pl *xpar* 'big'; OA *kabīr*, pl *kibār/kubarā* (Hava 641);

~ Alep *kbīr, f-e*, pl *kbār* 'grand en longueur et largeur' (Barth 700) ~ Kənd *gbīr, f-e*, pl *gbār* 'groß, älterer, erwachsen' (Vo/Wald 360) ~ Hask *gbīr/gəbīr*, pl *gbār* 'alt, groß' (Talay 2002:72) ~ Bagh (M) *kabīr/čibīr*, pl *kbār* (Wood/Bee 398) ~ Malt <kbir, pl kbar>.

axpar (elat) 'bigger, older; biggest, oldest': *ana axpar minnak* 'I'm older than you (m)'; *Yorko o l-axpar intsán xost δ-δe'a* 'George is the oldest man in the village'; OA *akbaru* (Hava 641);

~ Alep 'akbar 'plus grand' (Barth 700) ~ Mard *agbar* (Vo/Wald 360) ~ Pal Ar 'akbar (Bau 142) ~ Malt <ikbar/akbar>.

xparie 'important people, worthies, bigwigs': *l-ixparie teδ-δe'a* 'the village worthies'; < **kubāriyya*; OA *kubār/kubbār* (Hava 641);

[On the OA pl form **kubār*, cf. Fischer/Jastrow (1980:74; Justice 1987:90; Ferguson 1959b:627, fn 21) and Blanc (1964:47); note also Sa'd *kabīr*, pl *kubār* 'groß, alt' (Behnstedt 1987:294).]

~ Alep *kəbarāt ət-ṭayfe* 'les notables de la nation' (Barth 700) ~ Kənd *gbār* 'Notabeln' ~ Mxašniye *əlakābər* 'Notabeln, höhere Gesellschaft' (Vo/Wald 360, 361) ~ Mecca *kubāriyye* "mit dieser von dem Plural *kubār* (= altarab. *kibār*) gemachten Nisbahbildung bezeichnet der Mekkaner die höheren Stände" (Snouck Hurgronje 1886:5) ~ Malt <kbarat> [gba'ra:t] 'nobles; important people.'

k-t-b

kitep, pkyaxtop (v/t) 'write'; OA *kataba* (u) (Hava 642);

~ Alep *katab* (o) 'écrire' (Barth 702) ~ Kənd *katab* (ə) 'schreiben,

aufschreiben' (Vo/Wald 361) ~ Pal Ar *katab* (*i*) (Bau 265) ~ Malt *ḵiteb*, *jikteb* 'write.'

nkitep/ḥkitep, *pkyimixtep* (v/i) 'be written; be inscribed'; cf. MLA *inkataba* 'subscribe' (Wehr 951);

~ Alep *nkatab*, *yānkəteb*, passif de *katab* (Barth 702) ~ Mhall *nkatab*, *yānkəteb* 'geschrieben werden' (Vo/Wald 361) ~ Malt *ḵkiteb*, *jinkiteb*.

maxtūp, f -e, pl -in (pp) 'written, determined': o *maxtūp* 'it's written (i.e., fate, destiny)'; pl *ḥketīp* (< **fketīp* < **pketīp* < **mpketīb*) 'letter'; OA *maktūb*, pl *makātīb* (Hava 643).

xtepe (n) 'piece of writing'; OA *kitāba* (Hava 643);

~ Alep *ktābe* 'action d'écrire, page d'écriture' (Barth 703) ~ Dam *ktābe/ktībe* 'writing' (Sto/Ani 267).

k-t-f

kitf, pl *xtaf* 'shoulder'; OA *katif/katf/kitf*, pl *aktāf*, etc. (Hava 645);

~ Mard *kətaf*, pl *ktāf* 'Arm, Oberarm, Schulter; Hügel; Längsbalken' (Vo/Wald 362) ~ Pal Ar *kitf*, pl (*ʔa*)*ktāf* 'Schulter' (Bau 267).

k-ḥ-r

kiḥer, *pkyikḥar* (v/i) 'increase'; OA *kaḥura* (*u*) (Hava 645);

~ Alep *kəter* (*a*) 'devenir trop nombreux' (Barth 703) ~ Kənd *kəḥər*, (*a*) (Vo/Wald 362) ~ Pal Ar *kiter* (*a*) (Elihai 1999:230) ~ Malt *ḵotor*, *joktor* 'abound.'

kaḥḥer, *pikaḥḥer* (v/t) 'increase'; OA *kaḥḥara* (Hava 645);

~ Alep *kattar* 'rendre nombreux; multiplier' (Barth 703) ~ Pal Ar *kattar* 'vermehren' (Bau 336) ~ Malt *ḵattar*, *ikattar* 'multiply.'

xtir, f -e, pl *xtar* 'much, many': *má-pirítu sa'a xtir* 'they don't require much time'; OA *kaḥir*, pl -ūna (Hava 645);

~ Alep *ktīr*, pl général *ktār*, pl de personnes *ktīrīn* adj 'nombreux' (Barth 704) ~ Kənd *kḥīr*, f -e 'groß, viel' (Vo/Wald 362) ~ Pal Ar *nās ikḥīr* 'viele Leute' (auch *kḥār*, *kḥīrīn*) (Bau 344).

k-ḥ-l

kəxl 'antimony (used to beautify babies' eyes)'; OA *kuḥl* (Hava 645);

~ Alep *kəḥəl*, pl *khāl* 'poudre noire dont les femmes s'enduisent le bord des paupières pour donner plus d'éclat à leurs yeux; poudre médicinale pour la conservation de la vue, approx. collyre' (Barth 707) ~

Alep *kəḥəl*, pl *akhāl* 'poudre noire dont les femmes s'enduisent le bord des paupières ...' (Barth 707) ~ Pal Ar *kuḥl* 'Antimon' (Bau 21).

k-d-š

xtiš, pl *xtuš* 'horse'; nonclass Ar *kadiš* 'nag, hackney, jade'; pl *kudš* (Hava 645), *kadšān/akādīš* 'cheval qui va à l'amble' (Barth 738; cf. Dozy II, 457); < Tk *iğdiş* = *idiş* 'kastriert, verschnitten, spez. Wallach' (Steuerwald 415); Tk *iğdic*, *iğdiç* = *iğdiş* 'gelding, castrated, common packhorse' (Redhouse 516);

~ Alep *gdīš*, pl *gədəš* 'cheval barbe, cheval commun' (Barth 738) ~ Dam *g/kdīš* 'Grotzfeld 1964:96' ~ Syrian Ar *gidš/kidš/gudš/kudš/kudiš*, pl *gidšān /kudšān /gdūše /gdāyīš /kadāyīš /kdaša /kudšān* (Behnstedt 1997: 861) ~ Çukur *gdīš*, pl *gdāyīš* 'Gaul' (Procházka 2002:21) ~ Iraqī Ar *kidīš* 'Halbblut' (Denz/Edzard 1966:89) ~ Mos (M) *kādīš* (al-Bakrī 1972:406) ~ Leban Ar *kdīš*, pl *kədš*, *kədšān* (Feghali 1938:2769) ~ Pal Ar *kadiš*, pl *kuduš* 'Klepper, Mähre' (Bau 175, 198).

[Ma'1 *ktīša* 'Mähre, Gaul' < Ar < Tk (Arnold, p.c.).]

k-d-n

kiten, *pkyixten* (v/t) 'yoke (oxen)': *kintām kwannixten l-ixmir u kwaxxóttillon m-moraš xalfon* 'formerly we used to yoke the donkeys and to attach the threshing sled behind them'; Syriac *kədan* (J. Payne Smith 1903:205); nonclass Ar *kadan* (*u*) (Hava 647);

~ Alep *kadan* (*o*) 'atteler (des boeufs) à (une charrue)' (Barth 707) ~ Kfar'ab *kedən* 'il attela à la charrue' (Feghali 1918:55, 70).

xtin (vn) 'yoking'; < **kdin*.

[On the CCIC scheme for infinitives, see Intro, §IV.]

Cf. Alep *kadən*, vn of *kadan* (Barth 707).

k-r-p-s

Karpás (Cypriot topon = Gk *Karpási*).

k-r-s-n

karsinne, pl *kresín* 'vetch'; OA *kirsinna* 'bitter vetch; sort of chick peas' (Hava 651), nonclass Ar *karsanna* 'vesce noire' (Dozy II, 464); Late Heb *karšinnā*, pl *karšinnīm* (Dalm II, 269; Löw 1973: II, 483f);

~ Bišm *kirsanni* 'Wicken' (Jiha 1964:112) ~ Pal Ar *kirsanne* 'Vicia Ervilia; Knotenwicke' (Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:35; Bauer 177).

k-r-^c-l

kara^cula, pl -es 'snail'; CyG *καράολος* (Yangoullis 1997:119).

k-r-n-b

kromp 'cabbage'; OA *kurnub* 'Brassica oleracea, cabbage' (Lane 2608); GAram *krwb* (Sokol 1990:268); < Anc Gk κράμβη (Fraenkel 1886:144; Vollers 1897:303);

~ Alep *krāmb* 'gros artichaut comestible à longues épines et à cœur blanc, distinct du chardon' (Barth 714) ~ Pal Ar *kurumb* 'Kohlrabi' (Bau 177), *krumb* 'Kohlrabi, Brassica oleracea var. gongylodes' (Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:12) ~ Cai *kurunb/krumb* coll, n un *kurunba/kurumba*, pl *kurunbāt* 'cabbage' (Spiro 517) ~ Malt *krōmb* (Aquilina 1987:699).

k-r-h

CyG/CyA *kwari*, pl *kwarka* (< **kwarkya*) 'ball'; cf. OA *kura*, pl *-āt*, *kuran* 'sphere, ball' (Hava 653); MLA *kūra*, pl *kuwar* 'ball', cf. *kawwar* roll up into a ball' (Wehr 1979:991); JAram *kārīt* 'Kugel' (Levy II, 418);

[On this lexeme, see Nöldeke (1910:115-6) rejecting Jacob Barth's suggestion of a link with Syriac *karyā* 'Getreidehaufen' (ZDMG 41:615); the latter has several dialectal Arabic cognates: Riš *kwāra*, Bəḥz *kwaga* 'Vorratsschrein für Getreide im Inneren des Hauses' (Jastrow 1981:80, fn 14; 412, fn 16), Alep *kwāra* 'ruche cylindrique en terre cuite' (Barth 731), and Palm *kwāra* 'silo' (Cantineau 1934:II, 58). For the occlusivization of the CyA glide *y* in the CyA pl *kwarka* < **kwarya*, cf. Kaisse (1992) and Dawkins (1950:527-8).]

~ Bagh (M) *kura*, pl *-āt* (Wood/Bee 403) ~ Egyp Ar *kōra*, pl *-āt*, *kiwar/kiwar* 'ball' (Bad/Hi 769; Dozy II, 505), 'grosse Kugel aus Messing oder Glas, als Schmuck gebraucht' (Vollers 1896:303; 1897:618) ~ Pal Ar *čōra* (Denizeau 1960:463) ~ Sa^cd *kōra* 'Ball (neues Wort)' (Behnstedt 1987:297) ~ Tanger *kōra* 'balle; boule; boulet' (Marçais 1911:454).

k-z-z

kzazze 'skin disorder characterized by large red boils'; OA *kuzāz*, *kuzzāz* 'bad cold, shivers, ague' (Ullmann 1970:166).

k-z-b-r

kūzupra 'coriander': *l-kūzupra y-yepse maxxotta xost x-zaytūn m-maksurīn x-xōdrīn* 'we put dried coriander on broken olives when they are still fresh (i.e., not pickled)'; OA *kuzbur/kuzbūr/kuzbura/kuzbara/kazbura/kusbura* 'Coriandrum' (Freitag IV, 32); cf. GAram *kwsbrh* < Akk *kusbirrūtu* (Sokol 1990:254);

~ Alep *kazbara/kazabra* 'coriandre' (Barth 715) ~ Bagh (M) *kūzupra* 'coriander' (Wood/Bee 403) ~ Pal Ar *kuzbara* 'Coriandrum sativum' (Bau 180; Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:41) ~ Malt *kosbor*.

k-s-r

kiser, *pkysker* (v/t) 'break'; *n-nes pkyaklu*, *pkysiirpu*, *pkyakisru ped u pikulu* ^G*xristōs anēsti* 'G (on Easter Sunday) people eat, drink, break eggs, and say [to one another] "Christ is risen!"'; OA *kasara* (i) (Hava 654);

~ Alep *kasar* (e) 'briser, rompre, casser en deux morceaux' (Barth 716) ~ Kənd *kasar* (ə) 'brechen, durchbrechen, zerbrechen' (Vo/Wald 367) ~ Pal Ar *kasar* (i) (Bau 65) ~ Malt *ksiser, jikser*.

kasser, *pikasser* (v/i) 'tire oneself, become tired': *aš kassirt!* 'how tired I became!'; nonclass Ar *kassara* (v/t) 'break, humble a.o.' (Hava 654); ~ Alep *kassar* 'briser' (Barth 716) ~ Pal Ar *kassar* 'zerbrechen in viele Stücke' (Bau 374) ~ Malt *ksisser, ikisser* 'smash.'

nkiser, *pkynikser* (v/i) 'break, be broken; become embarrassed': *inkisru l-in'ēr* 'the pitchers got broken'; OA *inkasara* 'be or become broken, beaten, downhearted, ... out of humour, discouraged' (Ullmann 1970:182);

~ Alep *nkasar*, *yānkāser* 'être battu, défait' (Barth 717) ~ Pal Ar *inkasar*, *byinikser* (Elihai 1973:77), *kasr in-nafs* 'Selbsterniedrigung' (Bau 101) ~ Malt *nkiser, jinkiser* 'become embarrassed.'

maksūr, f *-a*, pl *-īn* 'broken': *zaytūn maksurīn* 'broken olives.'

mkasser, f *mkassre*, pl *mkassrīn* (pp) 'tired out, exhausted'; cf. Malt *ghajjien mkisser* 'utterly exhausted.'

kasr (vn) 'breaking.'

θkussor 'fatigue.'

k-s-l

kisel, *pkyksel* (v/i) 'be lazy': *kisel teaxtūpinna* 'he was too lazy to write to us'; OA *kasila* (a) 'be lazy, slothful, sluggish' (Hava 655);

~ Alep *ksl*—I verbe inusité au passé et à l'aoriste, *tkāsal* 'paresse' (Barth 718) ~ Cai *kisil* (a) (Bad/Hi 751) ~ Bagh (M) *takāsal* 'be lazy' (Wood/Bee 405) ~ Pal Ar *takaslan/takāsal* 'faulenzten' (Bau 108).

kasel 'laziness'; OA *kasal* (Hava 655);

~ Alep *kasal* 'paresse' (Barth 718) ~ Pal Ar *kasal* (Bau 108, 303).

kislān, f *-e*, pl *-īn* 'lazy'; OA *kasil/kaslān*, pl *kasālā* (Hava 655);

~ Alep *kaslān*, pl *kasāla* 'paresseux' (Barth 718) ~ Mhall *kaslān*, pl *kasāla* 'faul' (Vo/Wald 367) ~ Bagh (M) *kaslān*, pl *-īn*, *kasāla* 'lazy' (Wood/Bee 405) ~ Pal Ar *kaslān*, pl *-īn* (Bau 108).

k-š-f

kaššef, pikaššef (v/t) 'uncover': *kaššef l-xasie ta lá-tefúrr* (< *fwr*) *t-tapx* 'take the lid off the pot so that the cooking doesn't boil over!'; OA *kašafa* (i) (Hava 656);

~ Alep *kašaf* (e) 'découvrir, mettre à nu,' *kaššaf* (v/t), factitif et fréquent I (Barth 719) ~ Pal Ar *kašaf* (i) 'entblößen' (Bau 26) ~ Malt *kixef, jikxef* 'uncover.'

mkaššef, f mkaššfe, pl mkaššfin 'uncovered.'

θkuššof (vn) 'uncovering.'

k-š-k

kišk (f) 'dried dough made of crushed wheat and sour milk'; OA *kišk*, pl *kašūka* (Hava 656); *kašk* (aus pers. *xušk* durch Aram. Vermittlung?), vulg. *kišk* 'bruised grain soaked in milk and later dried, groats' (Ullmann 1970:221);

~ Alep *kəšk* 'mets dont il existe plusieurs variétés: *kəbbe bkəšk, kəšk ləbbəni*, composé de *laban*, de *bərgol* et de pâte levée, ...' (Barth 720) ~ Mos (M) *kušuk* (al-Bakrī 1972:409) ~ Leban Ar *kešk/keškiyye* 'nom d'un plat' (Feghali 1938:822), 'sorte de semoule' (Fegh M/J 1978:265, fn 3) ~ Bask *kišk* 'a dish of crushed wheat and yoghurt prepared annually in late summer and stored for winter, when it is usually served for breakfast' (Abu-Haidar 1979:130, fn 26) ~ Cai *kišk* 'cakes of flour and milk (for cooking with minced meat)' (Spiro 1895:521).

[See also Dozy (I, 480) and Almkvist (1891:388) s.v. *kšk*. Dalman (VI, 295): "Die Quarkklöße heißen in Aleppo *duberki*, in Nordgaliläa *leben yābis*, wohl auch *kišk*." Ma'l *xəška* (Arnold, p.c.).]

k-š-n-r

kišnár, pl *kšenír* 'pickaxe'; CyG ξιβάρι (Yangoullis 1997:215).

k-š-k

kašak (coll), n un -e 'round cakes': *tlax kašak* 'three cakes'; OA *kašak* 's.th. baked (rusk)' < Aram *kašakā* < Copt *kake* (Ullmann 1970:234); cf. Pers *kāk* (Fraenkel 1886:35; Siddiqi 1919:71; Schuchardt 1920:299);

[Dozy II, 482: "*kašak* (d'origine égyptienne, et non pas persane; Strabon nomme les *kaxeic*, sorte de pain des Egyptiens ...)"]

~ Alep *kašak* 'gimblette, craquelin' (Barth 721) ~ Pal Ar *kašak/kašik* 'Kuchen' (Bau 184), *kašak* 'Gebäck, Kringel' (Dalm III, 284; IV, 135) ~ Malt *qaghaq*, n un *qaghqa* 'round cakes.'

[Ma'l *kašakša*, pl *kašakša* 'cake' (Arnold, p.c.).]

k-f-n

kaffen, pikaffen (v/t) 'clothe dead person for burial': *fia nes ta pikaffnu* ^{Gdyoti} *fia ta má-pkyaxtru* 'there are [special] people who[se job it is to] prepare the dead for burial because some people are unable [to do so]'; OA *kaffana* 'shroud the dead' (Hava 660);

~ Alep *kaffan* 'enveloppeur (un mort) dans un linceul, ensevelir' (Barth 723) ~ Bagh (M) *čaffan* 'wrap in winding-sheet' (Wood/Bee 86) ~ Pal Ar *kaffan* 'ins Leichentuch hüllen' (Bau 192) ~ Malt *keffen, ikeffen*.

θkuffon 'clothing of deceased for burial.'

kfan 'shroud' < **kfān*; OA *akfān*, sg *kafan* (Hava 660);

~ Alep *kafan*, pl *kfān* 'linceul' (Barth 723) ~ Āz *kafan* 'Leichentuch' (Vo/Wald 368) ~ Pal Ar *kafan*, pl *akfān* (Bau 192) ~ Malt *kefen*, pl *kfen* 'shroud.'

k-l-l

kull/kiit 'totality (of), all, each, every': (suff forms: *kullu, kulla, kiitna, kiitkon, kullon*); OA *kull/kullat*- (Hava 661; Levin 1993:231-32);

[CyA *kull* shows number and gender agreement with a following definite noun (cf. Intro, §V): *kulla δ-δe'a* 'the whole village,' *kulla s-sine* 'all the year,' *kullon n-nes* 'all the people,' *kullon m-mora* 'all the children,' etc. Used anaphorically, it also copies the gender and number marking of its antecedent: *ana aššik tasko ta surt kullu timm?* 'how should I keep quiet seeing that I'm all covered in blood?' In the 2nd and 3rd pers pl, the suffix on *kull* requires interposition of [-t-]: *kiitna* (< **kullitna*) 'all of us, etc.')

~ Alep subst. *kəll* sg 'totalité,' *lkəll* 'la totalité' (Barth 726) ~ Kənd *kəll, kəllət* 'Gesamtheit, alle, jeder, ganz' (Vo/Wald 369) ~ Çukur *niħna killaytna* 'wir alle' (Procházka 2002:74) ~ Bagh (M) *kullat* 'all of': *kullatna* 'all of us' (Wood/Bee 409) ~ Ĥama *kəllāti/kəllayāti, kəllāton/kəllayāton* (Lewin 1962:23).

kullon 'everything': *pkyakol min kullon šaya* 'he eats all kinds of things (i.e., he isn't particular)' < Ar **kullhun*.

kúyyom 'every day': *kúyyom fkm* 'alepukra s-sa'a arpa'a u prux š-šo'ol 'every day I get up early at four o'clock in the morning and go to work'; < **kúlyōm* < OA *kulla yawmin* (*kllū*).

~ Āz *kəlyawm* 'jeden Tag' (57) ~ Mos *kəll-yōm* (Jastrow 1979:56) ~ Hask *kull-lōm kull-lōm* (Talay 2002:85) ~ Dam *kəll yōm* (Kuhnt 1958:115) ~ Pal Ar *kull yōm* (mit oder ohne *bi-yōmo*) (Bau 296) ~ Malt *kulljum*.

[For the CyA stress pattern, cf. Tur *kəl-yawmo* 'jeder Tag, jeden Tag' (Jastrow 1985:30), Hert *kóyyom* (Jastrow 1988a:191), Urmí *kudjom* (Garbell 1965:316), Arb *kú'd-nāša, kút-xa* 'everyone' (Khan 1999: 76-77).]

kúlsa'a/kúrsa'a 'every hour' < Ar **kull-sā'a*.

kúrsine 'every year' < Ar **kull-sana*.

kúllayle 'every night' < Ar **kull-layla*.

k-l-b

tattiklep (curse) 'may you be transformed into a dog!'; cf. OA *kaliba* (a) 'become rabid (dog); be foolish (man)' (Hava 662);

[Cf. other verbs on animal names: *taḥa'bana* 'zur Schlange werden' (Kremer 1883:28), *taḥa'aba* 'become wolfish, wicked' (Hava 225).]

cf. Alep *kaleb* (a) 'devenir enragé' (Barth 723).

kilp, pl *klep* 'dog'; OA *kalb*, pl *kilāb* (Hava 662);

~ Alep *kalb*, pl *klēb* 'chien' (Barth 723) ~ Dam *kalb*, pl *klāb* 'dog' (Sto/Ani 70) ~ Mard *kalb*, pl *klēb* 'Hund' (Vo/Wald 370) ~ Bagh (M) *čalib*, pl *člāb* (Wood/Bee 87), (J) *kalb*, pl *klīb*, (C) *kaləb*, pl *klēb* (Blanc 1964: 25) ~ Mos (C) *kaləb*, pl *klēb* (infor) ~ Pal Ar *kalb*, pl *klāb* (Bau 161) ~ Malt *kelb*, pl *kliēb*.

kilpe 'bitch': *piḥkulla umma l-ayk b-bintua*, ^G*rā*^G *kilpe*, *mā-sakkirtia b-bape*, *xallaytia maftuxa* 'the mother said to that girl: "You bitch! You didn't lock the door; you left it open"; OA *kalba* 'bitch, wicked woman' (Hava 662);

~ Alep *kalbe*, pl *-āt* 'chienne' (Barth 723) ~ Darag *kalbe* 'Hündin' (Vo/Wald 370) ~ Bagh (M) *čalba* 'bitch' (Wood/Bee 87) ~ Pal Ar *kalbe* (Bau 161) ~ Malt *kelba*.

k-l-m

kallem, *pikallem* (v/t) 'answer'; OA *kallama* 'speak to' (Hava 663);

~ Alep *kallam* 'parler à (qqn), aller voir ce que (qqn) a à nous dire' (Barth 726) ~ Pal Ar *kallam* 'jemanden ansprechen' (Bau 283) ~ Malt *kellem*, *ikellem*.

ḥkallem, *pkyiḥkallem* 'speak'; OA *takallama* (Hava 663);

~ Alep *tkallam* 'bien parler' (Barth 727) ~ Arb *tkallam* 'sagen' (Vo/Wald 371) ~ Pal Ar *tkallam* 'mit jemandem sprechen' (Bau 283) ~ Malt *kellem*, *jitellem* 'speak'.

kilme 'word; short speech'; pl *-āt/klam*: *tlax kilmat / klam* 'three words'; *axxullá k-kapr*, *k-kassís pisáy exte kilme*; *pikúl: kan kaes intsán fi zmanu; alli enne l-alli šatna* 'at the grave-side, the priest says a word or two (about the deceased); he says that he was a decent man in his lifetime; these are our customs'; *klam ten-nesfán* 'women's chatter'; OA *kilma*, pl *kilam* and *kalima*, pl *kalimāt* (Ullmann 1970:332; cf. Rabin 1952:97);

~ Alep *kälme*, pl *-āt* et *kəlam* 'mot, parole' (Barth 727) ~ Dam *kälme*, pl *-āt* (Sto/Ani 265) ~ Mhall *kälme*, pl *kälēmi* 'Wort, Rede, Äußerung' (Vo/Wald 371) ~ Bagh (M) *čilma*, pl *-āt/čilam* 'word, remark' (Wood/Bee 87) ~ Pal Ar *kilme*, pl *-āt* 'word' (Jer; Piamanta 1979b:258) ~ Malt *kelma*, pl *-iet/kliem*.

klam (pl of preceding); OA *kalām* 'language speech' (Hava 663); ~ Alep *kalām* 'langage; propos' (Barth 727) ~ Dam *kalām* 'words' (Sto/Ani 266) ~ Pal Ar *kalām* 'die menschliche Rede' (Bau 240) ~ Cen Arab *klām* 'Verse, Gedicht' (Socin 1900:II, 307) ~ Malt *kliem fieragh* [h] 'empty talk'.

k-m-m

kumm (f), pl *kmēm* (< **kimām*) 'sleeve': *tfaḥḥket l-kumm* 'the sleeve became unstitched' (Frangiskou 47); OA *kumm*, pl *akmām/kimama* (Hava 664);

~ Alep *kəmm*, pl *kmēm* 'manche (d'habit, de chemise)' (Barth 728) ~ Pal Ar *kumm*, pl *kmām* (Bau 24) ~ Malt *komma*, pl *kmiem*.

k-m-l¹

kammel, *pikammel* (v/t/i) 'complete, finish; be completed, be over; be done (cooking); draw near (time)': *kamplet sine tannākša'ak* 'it's a year ago since we [last] saw you (m)'; *aška snin kammilt* 'how old are you?'; *x-xarrúp pikammel zmanon l-^Gawsto^G* 'carobs ripen in August'; OA *kammala/akmala/istakmala* 'perfect; perform s. th.' (Hava 665);

~ Alep *kammal* 'compléter' (Barth 728) ~ Dam *kammal* 'continue' (Sto/Ani 52) ~ Kənd *kammal* 'vollenden, beenden, fertigmachen' (Vo/Wald 372) ~ Pal Ar *kammal* (Bau 345).

k-m-l²

kamila 'ceremonial bonfire' (etym ?); *sift fil-layl lina kamila* 'on [Holy] Saturday night we light a bonfire'.

[The reference is to bonfires lit on a religious feast, when young people leap over the flames and ashes (cf. Frazer 1994:726f).]

k-n

-kon (pron suff, 2nd pers pl c.): *payθkon* 'your (pl) house'; OA -kunna (2nd pers f pl);
 ~ Dam *taba^ckon/šitkon* 'yours (pl)' (Sto/Ani 269) ~ Bišm *kīfkun* 'wie geht es euch?' (Jiha 1964:127).

[On an Aramaic source for the pron suff -kon, see Diem (1971) and Behnstedt (1991).]

k-n-s¹

knise, pl *knes* (< *knēyes) 'church': ^G*kabe^G mimpukra š-šuxa šatna pikumu, pixottu slipon, piruxu l-iknise šaiton, pisallu r-rabbi, pižú žava, pkyitxawšu xost k-^Gkafenés^G u pisaw 'aták^G istories^G* 'every morning our old people get up, cross themselves, go to their church, hear Mass, come back home, gather in the coffee-houses and spin yarns'; OA *kanīsa*, pl *kanā²is* (Hava 667).

k-n-s²

kannes, pikannes (v/t) 'sweep'; OA *kanasa* (u), *kannasa* 'sweep' (Ullmann 1970:383);

~ Alep *kannas* 'balayer' (Barth 729) ~ Dam *kannas* 'sweep up' (Sto/Ani 232) ~ Pal Ar *kannas* 'abfegen' (Bau 2) ~ Malt ⟨kines, jiknes⟩.

mkannes, f *mkannse*, pl *mkannsín* (pp) 'swept.'

mi(n)kse, pl *mkenes/pkenes* (< *mpkenes*) 'hand brush'; OA *miknasa*, pl *makānis* 'broom' (Hava 667);

[Metathesis of the medial consonants in this lexeme yielding the coarticulation [ɣk] reflects the weakening of the second syllable via the shift *a > i* adjudged as a *xata² al-^cawāmm* in Jawāliqī (Derenbourg 1875:148) who here insists on the vowelling "bi-fathī an-nūn wa lā taksar."]

~ Alep *mākānse*, pl *mkēnes* 'balai' (Barth 729) ~ Ma^cd *miknasa* 'Besen aus altem Blütenstand der Dattelpalme' (Edzard 1967:311) ~ Çukur *mikinsti* 'mein Besen' (Procházka 2002:60) ~ Bagh (M) *makinsa* [= *muknāsa*], pl *mkānis* 'broom' (Wood/Bee 411) ~ Pal Ar *múkense*, pl *makānis* 'Besen' (Bau 54).

θkunnos (vn) 'sweeping.'

k-n-n

kinne, pl *knen* (< *knēyen) 'sister-in-law'; OA *kanna*, pl -āt 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law' (Ullmann 1970:372), *kanā²in* (Hava 666);

~ Alep *kanne*, pl *knēyen* 'bru' (Barth 730) ~ Dam *kānne*, pl *kanāyān* 'daughter-in-law' (Sto/Ani 60) ~ Āz *kanne*, pl *knēn* 'Schwiegertochter' (Vo/Wald 372) ~ Pal Ar *kinne*, pl *kanāyīn* (Bau 270).

k-w-k

kavek, pikavek (v/t) 'card wool, cotton, and linen'; denominal verb < Tk *kūka* 'ball of wool' (Redhouse 682), 'feines Häkelgarn in bestimmter Knäuelform' (Steuerwald 1972:561) < Pers *qūqa* 'a top-knot on a turban, a button on a garment' (Steingass 1892:1963);
 ~ Bagh (M) *kawwak* 'baste, baste together' (Wood/Bee 412).

kuke, pl *kvek* 'a tuft or ball of wool, cotton, or flax; a cotton boll';
 ~ Alep *rāšo kūke bēda* 'il a la tête entièrement chenue, lit. 'sa tête est un flocon de laine blanche' (Barth 732), *al-kūka/al-kīka*, defined *ḡawzatu l-quṭn* in al-Asadī (1988:VI, 420) ~ Egyp Ar *kūka* 'flocon, touffe de laine' (Boc, Dozy II, 500).

k-w-n

kan, pikún (v/i) 'be, exist; auxiliary verb; have (+ l-)': *kanu* 'askar u kilúx l-laxm' 'there were a lot of guests (at the party) and they ate up the meat'; *ana ttakún l-imtine pukra* 'I'll be in Nicosia tomorrow'; *má-kayyá^cirfu aš tesaw* 'they didn't know what to do'; *l-^Gayróplana^G mixxók kanyá^cāxpū* (< ^ckf), *kanyišilxu kanirúxu kanižú* 'the aeroplanes overhead were in action, dropping (bombs), coming and going'; *štrayna xakle u kallixa xžar ixtír xost* 'we bought a field and it was very rocky'; *sailnāx^G an^G kallixon šī teaklu* 'we asked him if they had anything to eat'; OA *kāna* (u) (Hava 670);

[In its function as auxiliary, CyA *kan* fuses lexically with the Imp stem and undergoes morphological simplification (cf. Blau 1966-7: II, 439): *akke kanisaw kintām, kani^caytullon, kanižipuna xullā ta kantitvažžē mara* '(when a woman's birth pains began) that's what they used to do formerly: they'd alert people, they'd bring us over to where a woman was in labour. Note the parallel development in *qeltu*-Arabic (*kān naxsəl* 'wir wuschen'; Jastrow 1988b:58), Hask *kānhammālān* 'wir luden sie auf' (Talay 2002:74), and in the dialects of Central Asian Arabic, cf. Jastrow (1998:181). Cf. Leban Ar *šār yimšu* 'a had-drüb 'Sie gingen über viele Straßen' (Jiha 1964:40).]

~ Alep *kān* (u) 'être, exister' (Barth 733) ~ Kənd *kān, ykūn* 'sein': *kāli, kālāhu*, etc. 'ich hatte, etc.'; "kāt für kānət" (Vo/Wald 375) ~ Pal Ar *kān* (u) (Bau 272) ~ Malt ⟨kien, ikun⟩.

kan 'if': *kan má-kuxxallista, kunteaxtfla* 'si je ne l'avais pas sauvée, il l'aurait tuée' (Roth 1975:96); cf. OA *inkān* 'if' (cf. Hopkins 1984:54);

~ Cen Arab *kān* (Bedingungspartikel) (Socin 1900:II, 308) ~ Anat Ar *ankā(n)* 'wenn, ob' (Vo/Wald 17) ~ Pal Ar *ʿn cān ʿint helwe/ quddāmič ʿahla u ʿahla* 'if thou art sweet/before thee there is one still sweeter' (Granqvist 1935: II, 180) ~ AA [i]n *k[i]n, kin* 'if' (Barkai/Borg, forth.), *ikkiniš tatkallam* 'if she does not speak' (Corriente 1977:1997: 28) ~ Malt *ʿjekk* 'if' (< **ikkān*).

kall- (+ pron suff) 'have' (< **kān* + *l-*: *kallini, kallik, kalliki*, etc.; cf. Borg 1985:138): *kallini payt fiḏ-ḏeʿa* 'I had a house at the village'; *ta kunt zēʿir ana yapati kallu xkali xtir* 'when I was small, my father had a many fields [under cultivation]' ~ Malt *ʿkelli, kellek, kellu, kella, kellna, kellkom, kellhom*, etc. 'I/you had, etc.'

k-y-s

kaes, f *kayse*, pl *-in* 'pretty, handsome; good, decent, correct; well; glad; in good health': *lixa fantūs kaes* 'she has a pretty face'; *xissa kaes* 'her voice is beautiful'; *ntžor b-bape kaes* 'bolt the door well!'; *o kaes ta piḏkūl* 'that's a great idea!' (iron.); ... *u akke (p)kyintamma l-ʿors; piʿišu innen kaes u naxni axsen* '... and so the wedding celebration comes to an end; they live happily and we better [than them]'; *ʿammaʿ pkyaxmi f-forn kaes, manniḏfoš ž-žampr l-exte nexa xost l-ʿavatzī* 'when the oven is quite hot, we push the embers to one side into the cavity (in the oven floor) that holds the embers'; *xlakna l-ulatna u naxni kaysin* 'we've brought our children into the world and we're glad of it'; OA *kayyis* 'acute, or sharp, or quick, intellect; ... [the diminutive *kuwayyis* ... is much used in the present day as signifying *Elegant, pretty, or beautiful*]' (Lane 2640);

~ Alep *kwayyes*, pl *-in*, f *kwayyse*, pl *-āt* 'jolie': *kwayysāt* 'jolies femmes' (Barth 735) ~ Çukur *hint mā kayyis* 'du bist nicht gut,' *bnāt il-kayyisāt* 'die schönen Mädchen' (Procházka 2002:65, 154) ~ Syr Ar *kwayyis/kayyis* 'gut, schön' (Behnstedt 1997, map 703) ~ Mard *kwayyās*, f *kwayyse*, pl Kənd *kwās*, Elativ *akwas* 'gut, schön, sorgfältig, tüchtig' (Vo/Wald 374) ~ Hask *kwīs/kwiyyās* 'id.' (Talay 2002:75) ~ rur Egyp Ar *kuwayyis* 'gut, schön' (Behnstedt 1979:76).

[For the distribution of the underived form in Syrian Arabic, see map 351; Behnstedt 1997: 703; cf. W. Neo-Aram *kayyes* (Behnstedt 1997, loc. cit.) and Tur *kāʿiso* (Prym/Socin 1881:132).]

kaes-kaes 'very well, thoroughly': *kwannaxtu l-māʿāll, kwanʿasslu kaes-kaes* '(to make *harīse*) we used to take some wheat and rinse it thoroughly.'

kaysua (f) 'pretty, beautiful'; + CyG dim suff *-úa* (< -ouða).

k-y-f

kif 'how?' (interr); that (conj, = Mod Gk ὅτι): *ma psaddek kif kal akke* 'I don't believe he said such a thing'; *pikulūllu k-kassis kif teāʿimtu* 'they (the baby's parents) tell the priest that they are going to hold a baptism'; *mā-kuntāʿāref kif kunt xawtik* 'I didn't know you're Greek'; OA *kayfa* (Hava 671);

[The interr. *kif* appears in a few frozen expressions: *kif int* (f -i, pl -u)? 'how are you?', its function having been transferred to CyA *aššik* 'how' < **ayš šikl* (see ʿ-y-š) conflating Greek πῶς and ὅτι 'daß' (Blass/Debrunner 1976:§396, fn 5).]

~ Alep *kēf* 'comment?' (Barth 735) ~ Kaʿb *kēf* 'wie' (Vo/Wald 378) ~ Pal Ar *kīf/čīf/čēf* 'wie (fragend)' (Bau 362) ~ Malt *ʿkif* 'how?'

kifta 'why': *kifta ma ruxt ʿstratyotiʿ*? 'how come you didn't enlist in the army?'; < Ar **kif-ḥattā*;

~ Leban Ar *kefta* 'pourquoi?' (Feghali 1928:229) ~ Bask *kifta* 'why' (Abu-Haidar 1979:116) ~ Cabali *kif ḥattā ʿaxaḏ?* 'how (why) did he take?' (Lewin 1969:22) ~ Kənd *kēf* 'wie, warum?' (Vo/Wald, loc. cit.).

[Cf. Darag *tay* 'warum?' (Vo/Wald 109).]

CyA *kkef* 'fun, pleasure' < CyG *kkefin* < Tk *keyf/keyif* < OA *kayf*.

[Note the isogloss with the Dodek Gk *kef/kkefi* (Dawkins 1950:544).]

~ Alep *kēf* 'bien-être physique' (Barth 735) ~ Mard *kēf*, pl *-āt*, Āz *kayf* 'Vergnügen, Laune' (Vo/Wald 377) ~ Hask *kēf* 'Vergnügen, Freude' (Talay 2002:75) ~ Pal Ar *kēf* (Bau 332).

k-y-l

kaylūn, pl *kvelīn* (< **kwēlīn*) 'reed basket'; possibly < OA *kayl* 'a measure of food stuffs' (Jeffery 1938:252) < ? Syriac *kaylā* (Fraenkel 1886:204) with the Aram dim suff *-ūn*;

~ Alep *kēl* 'mesures pour matières sèches ...' (Barth 736) ~ Pal Ar *kēl* 'Maß für Getreide' (Kampff 1936:65) ~ Malt *ʿkejl*.

L

l

l- (def. art. ; usually assimilates to word-initial labials, coronals, velars): *b-bint* 'the girl', *k-kilp* 'the dog', etc.

l-

l- (prep; ⇒ [ll] intervocalically) 'to, for' < OA *li*.

CyA *l-* occurs (i) in possessive constructions with inalienable nouns: 'ammu *l-žawzi* 'my husband's paternal uncle'; cf. Bask *ʔibnu lil-xūri* 'the priest's son' (Abu-Haidar 1979:104).

[On the Aramaic origin of this usage, cf. Intro, §V.]

(ii) before definite, animate, dir. objects (incl. placenames): *rayt l-ummak* 'I saw your (m) mother'; 'implavel *oxti viltet l-ipna* 'two years ago my sister gave birth to her son'; *kíšʕeni ll-ana* 'it was me he saw'; *rákʕalla ll-ie* 'he hit her.'

[The dir. object marker {l-} exists in several other East. Arabic dialects, where it always requires a preceding pronominal suffix copying the gender and number of the object: Pal Ar (Galilee) *ʔana lli laʔeto la-l-iktāb miš-inti* 'I'm the one who found the book, not you' (Levin 1987); Bagh (C) *šaftūnu š-šaddi* 'I saw my grandfather' (Blanc 1964:129); Mos (M) *gabbatu ləlwalad* 'sie zog den Sohn groß' (Jastrow 1979:56); Alep *šafto la ʔaxūk* 'je l'ai vu, ton frère'; Çukur *šifta la-Fātma* 'I saw Fatima' (Procházka 1995:195); for Lebanese Arabic, cf. Feghali (1928:211) and Koutsoudas (1967). Object-marking with *l-* in East. Arabic is probably a residue from Aramaic: Syriac *bənā l-baytā* 'he built the house' (Nöldeke 1904a:227), Mlah *l-a=gavre qtilen* 'sie töteten die Männer' (Jastrow 1994b:181). In contrast with the situation in the main East. Arabic colloquials, where it appears to fulfill pragmatic functions, CyA object-marking is fully grammaticalized.]

(iii) before indirect objects and emphatic pronouns: *žápilna kaʕak* 'he brought us cakes'; *pilappsullu θkyepu* 'they help him into his clothes'; *ummi ll-ana* 'my own mother'; and as a free morpheme governing pronominal suffixes: *lini, lik, liki, lu, la, lina, likon, lixon* 'to me/you (m/f), etc.' usually encoding possession.

l-ā

la- (sentence substitute conveying denial) ; *l-ixvetik piʕottu m-ḡmorósḡ kullu xost m-moe naxni lá* 'the Greeks immerse the baby completely into the water (at the baptismal font) but we don't'; < OA *lā*;

~ Alep *lā* (interj nég) (Barth 745) ~ Pal Ar *laʔ/laʔa/laʕa* 'nein' (Bau 217) ~ Malt *de* [le] (showing consonantly conditioned *imāla*).

l-ā

la (adverb negating a phrase; always carries heavy stress before verbs): *lá-tisirki* 'ne vole pas' (f sg), *lá-tipzaʕa* 'ne crains rien' (Roth 1975:115); *ta lá-rrux mnawna, fia oxre tarp* 'let us not go this way; there is another road!'; *aḏa š-šoʕol ta lá-ysur oxre trik* 'this affair must not

repeat itself!'; *ḡelaḡ yamuxnáyn la yamutlaxe* 'come (m) on Monday not on Tuesday!'; *pikáf fi exte deʕa la pēʕit mill-imtine* 'he's staying in a village not far from Nicosia'; OA *lā*;
~ Alep *lā* (adv, nég) 'ne ... pas', distinct de *mā* (Barth 745) ~ Kənd *lā* (for details, see Vo/Wald 386) ~ Pal Ar *lā tiqbal* 'nimm nicht an!' (Bauer 1910:122) ~ Malt *da toqtolx* 'thou shalt not kill!' (the negator is ordinarily omitted in spoken usage).

l-ʔ-k

mplak [bla:k] 'the angel of death, identified with Gk Charos (CyG *ime o xáros eyóni* 'I am Death'; Newton 1972a:153): *xitu l-implák*, lit., 'the angel of death took him' (= 'he died'); *lakani l-implák*, lit., '[it was as if] the angel of death accosted me' (= 'I was fuming!'); *l-implák pkyáxtaʕa x-xetán tel ʕištna u mammút* 'the angel of death cuts our thread (lit., threads) of life and we die'; OA *malak/malʕak/malāk*, pl *malāʕika* 'angel' (Jeffery 1938:269), *malaku l-mawti* 'the angel of death' (Quran III, 25); Heb *malʕāk* 'angel' (Ges/Bu 425); Syriac *malākā* (J. Payne Smith 275);

[On folk perceptions of Charos, see Hart (1992:131; Alexiou 1985).]

~ Alep *mlāk/malāk* 'ange' (Barth 799) ~ Leban Ar *mlāk* 'ange (bon)' (Feghali 1918:55) ~ Pal Ar *malāk*, pl *malāyke* 'Engel' (Bau 92), *mālik* 'Todesengel' (Kampff 1936:71), *malāk el-mōt byuḡsud* 'the angel of death is reaping' (Canaan 1935:278).

[Maʕl *milōxa* (Arnold, p.c.), Ṭur *malaxo*. Feghali (1918:55) states: "Le dialectal *mlāk* '(bon) ange' ne peut provenir phonétiquement du classique *malʕakun* (ou *malakun*) qui lui-même est probablement emprunté au syriaque *malākā* 'nuntius, missus, angelus.'" For another view on the origin of Cl Ar *malak/malʕak*, cf. also Boneschi (1945).]

l-p-θ

Lapeθ = Gk *Lápethos* (name of Cypriot village).

[An archaeological site (cf. Meyers 1997; Reyes 1993, *passim*; Wansbrough 1996:40, 176).]

l-b-s

lipes, pkyilpes (v/t) 'wear': *lipes θkyepu l-kaysin* 'he wore his fine clothes'; OA *labisa (a)* (Hava 675);

~ Alep *lābes (e)* 'vêtir, mettre, se vêtir d'(un vêtement)' (Barth 745)

~ Mard *lābəs (ə)* 'anlegen, anziehen (Kleidungsstück)' (Vo/Wald 388) ~ Malt *libes, jilbes*.

labbes, pilabbes (v/t) 'clothe': *lā-ʕaris kan tex maftuxin u kamilabbsullu*

^G*skarpes*^G, *kanilabbsullu kullon* '(on his wedding day) the groom had his arms outstretched and they helped him into his shoes, clothes, and everything; OA *labbasa* (Hava 675);

~ Alep *labbas* 'faire que (qqn) s'habille' (Barth 745) ~ Dam *labbas* 'dress' (Sto/Ani 72) ~ Pal Ar *labbas* 'kleiden' (Bau 174) ~ Malt *libbes*, *ilibbes*.

tlabbes, *pkyltlabbes* (v/i) 'get dressed': *tlabbes u rax l-iknise* 'he got dressed and went to church'; OA *talabbasa* (Hava 675);

~ Alep *tlabbas* 's'habiller avec coquetterie, se parer' (Barth 745).

lepes, *f lepe*, *pl lepsin* (ap) 'clothed, wearing': *k-kassís o lepes l-iθkyep tel* 'amete' 'he (the priest) is wearing baptismal vestments'; *int kunt lepsu* 'c'est toi qui le portais' (Roth 1975:116);

~ Alep *lebes* (pa.) (Barth 745) ~ Bagh (JC) *ləbəs* 'wearing' (Blanc 1964:52) ~ Pal Ar *lābes* 'clothed' (Elihai 1999:233) ~ Malt *liebes*, *f liebsa*, *pl lebsin*.

mplabbes, *f mplabbse*, *pl mplabbsin* (pp) 'clothed.'

lips/tlubbos (vn) 'dressing'; cf. OA *libs*, *pl lubūs* 'clothes' (Hava 675); ~ Pal Ar *libs* 'Kleidung' (Bau 174) ~ Alep *ləbs* (Barth 745).

l-b-k

lakkep, *pilakkep* (v/t) 'clean, wash up, rinse; clear (field by removing stones, weeds, etc.); pick fruit trees; pluck (chicken)'; *sift mimpukra n-nesfān pilaxxpu*, *pkyltipxu u pkyistantru tekúm l-impšix* 'on (Holy) Saturday morning, the women clean up, cook, and await Jesus' resurrection'; < (?) OA *labaka* = *rabaka* (u) 'he mixed, or mingled' (Lane 1021), 'mix a.th.; make (a soup)', cf. *rabika* 'mire' (Hava 239);

~ Leban Ar *laqqaf* 'répandre, verser de l'eau en douche avec la main' (Frayha 1947), *rabbeq* (< *labbaq*) 'il aspergea d'eau un pavé de ciment non encore sec ...' (Fegh J/M 1976:89, fn 12).

[Note also the unsystematic metathesis in CyA *skp* < OA *sbq* (Dozy II, 521), and Pal Ar *zaqqaf* < *saffaq* 'beklatschen' (Bau 49).]

tlakkep, *pkyltlakkep* 'be cleaned': *z-zaytún man^cassilon teitlaxxpu u*

tlakkep, *pkyltlakkep* (v/i) 'be cleaned': *z-zaytún man^cassilon teitlaxxpu u mantsubbon xost t-taxune teintixnu* 'we wash the olives clean and we tip them into the mill to be pressed.'

tlukkop (vn) 'cleaning, clearing, picking (fruit), etc.': *lina xarrupát ta piritu tlukkop* 'we have carob-trees that require picking.'

likep, *f lixpe*, *pl lexpín* (adj) 'clean': *k-kassís pisúbb moe lixpe u pilakkep m-^Gmorós^G mis-sapún* 'the priest pours clean water over the baby to rinse away the soap'; *ana pxuzz ž-žampr xost k-^Gkóššino^G teuká'a* *l-itrap mintáxt u pikafu ž-žampr lexpín xost k-^Gkóššino^G* 'I shake the [charcoal] embers in the sieve so that the dust falls off and the clean embers remain in the sieve'; *mara lixpe* 'a woman who keeps a clean house'; *sama likep* 'a cloudless sky.'

l-b-n¹

lipen 'yoghourt'; OA *laban* 'milk, sour milk, curd' (Hava 676);

~ Alep *laban* 'sorte de lait caillé' (Barth 746) ~ Dam *laban* (Sto/Ani 269) ~ Mard *laban* 'Dickmilch, Joghurt' (Vo/Wald 388) ~ Bišm *labin* 'Dickmilch, Yoghurt', zu unterscheiden von *labni* 'Quark' (Jiha 1964:32, fn 9; cf. *labane*, Dalman VII, 200) ~ Pal Ar *laban* 'milk, sour milk' (Granqvist 1947:265).

l-b-n²

lupn 'soft part of bread'; derived from a conflation of Ar *libn* 'un pain' (Dozy II, 522) and Ar *lubāb* 'Medulla panis' (Freytag IV:78); OA *lubb* 'heart, core, crumb of bread' (Hava 674); cf. Alep *ləbb* 'mie (du pain)' (Barth 744) ~ Malt *libeba*.

l-h-f

xef, *pl -át* 'quilt' < **lihēf*; OA *lihāf*, *pl luhuf* 'sheet wrapper, cloth, nonclass Ar, 'blanket' (Hava 680);

[For metanalysis of initial /l-/ as an article here and in CyA *sān* is also exemplified in Ka^b *hef*, *pl -át* 'Bettuch' (Vo/Wald 389).]

~ Alep *lhēf*, *pl ləhf*, 'couverture de lit piquée, en laine ou en coton, sur l'envers de laquelle est cousu un drap blanc *málhāfe*' (Barth 748) ~ Bagh (M) *lhāf*, (J) *lhīf*, (C) *lhēf* 'quilt' (Wood/Bee 418; Blanc 1964:80) ~ Bišm *šilt il-lhāf li-m^aatta'a* 'Ich nahm die zerrissene Decke' (Jiha 1964:9) ~ Pal Ar *lehāf*, *pl luhuf/lihfe* (Bau 289; cf. Dalman VII, 179).

milixve, *pl mplexef* 'bed sheet': *lina u xnayn mplexef, l-exte maxxotta mintáxt u ll-exte maxxottilyaxa mixxók* 'when preparing a dead person for burial) we also use two sheets, we place one underneath [the person] and one over him'; OA *milhafa*, *pl malāhif* 'bed-sheet, blanket'; nonclass Ar, 'bed-sheet sewn to a blanket' (Hava 680);

~ Alep *málhāfe*, *pl mlēhef* 'pièce de cotonnade cousue, faufilée, à l'envers de la couverture piquée (*lhēf*) d'un lit, pour tenir lieu du drap de dessus' (Barth 748) ~ Pal Ar *málhāfe* 'enveloppe du *lhāf* en tissu

blanc lavable' (Elihai 1973:112) ~ Judaeo-Ar *milḥafa* 'cloak which also served as a bed-cover' (Diem/Raden 195).

l-h-q

lixek, pkyilxak / xilek, pkyaxlak (v/t/i) 'reach; arrive': ^G*molis*^G *pkyilixku piḥpaxxer šupena u piḥpuson xok suḍron u pitxotton žava* 'when the godparents arrive, she wafts them with incense, kisses them on the breast, and admits them into the house'; ... *lixkitu* '... elle l'atteignit' (Roth 1987:31); OA *laḥiqa* (a) (Hava 680);

~ Alep *lāḥeq* (a) 'atteindre, rejoindre, rattraper (qqn) en courant ou en marchant, arriver à temps à un endroit' (Barth 749) ~ Kənd *lāḥəq* (a) 'erleben, einholen, erwischen, können, in der Lage sein, erreichen' (Vo/Wald 389) ~ Çukur *liḥiq* (a) 'ankommen, gelangen zu' (Procházka 2002:178) ~ Bagh (M) *liḥag* (a) 'follow, trail after' (Wood/Bee 418) ~ Bišm *ḍallu lāḥ'inu* ... 'Sie verfolgten ihn weiter ...' (Jiha 1964:48) ~ Malt *ḍaḥaq, jilḥaq* 'reach, manage.'

l-h-m

laxm 'meat', pl *xumāt* (= Mod Gk κρέατα) 'meat dishes' < **luḥūmāt*: *pri exen* ^G*kommāt*^G *laxm* 'I want a slice of meat'; OA *laḥm/laḥam*, pl *luḥūm/liḥām*, etc. (Hava 681);

[On loss of the first radical in the CyA plural here, see under *lsn*.]

~ Alep *laḥəm/laḥam* (coll) 'chair' plutot que 'viande' (Barth 749) ~ Dam *laḥəm/laḥme*, pl -*āt*, *lḥūm/lḥūmāt* 'meat' (Sto/Ani 148) ~ Āz *laḥəm*, Fəsk *laḥam*, Mard *laḥme* 'Fleisch' (Vo/Wald 390) ~ Pal Ar *laḥem*, pl *lḥūm* 'meat' (Elihai 1999:238) ~ Malt *ḍaḥam*.

l-x-l-x

laxlax (name of lieu-dit in Kormakiti.)

l-z-q

lazzek, pilazzek (v/t) 'stick, glue'; OA *alzaqa* (Hava 684), MLA *lazzaqa* (Wehr 1014);

~ Alep *lazzaq*, (v/t) factitif et fréquentatif de *lazaq* 'coller' (Barth 752) ~ Dam *lazaq* (o) (Sto/Ani 225) ~ Bagh (M) *lazzag* intens. of *lizag* (a) 'adhere' (Wood/Bee 419) ~ Pal Ar *lazzaq* 'kleben' (Bau 174).

mplazzek, f *mplazzke*, pl -*in* (pp).

lazz (vn) 'sticking, glueing'; OA *luzūq* (Hava 684); ~ Alep *lazaq* (vn) (Barth 752).

l-s-n

san (f), pl -*āt* 'tongue, language' (cf. Mod Gk γλῶσσα f): 'οδὸ *sanak!* 'lit., bite your tongue!' (Frangiskou 228), i.e., 'be quiet!'; *l-kayse san* *tenna* 'our beautiful language' (cf. Mod Gk γλῶσσα Pring 1982:380); OA *lisān* (Hava 685);

[The absence of the expected *imāla* reflex in this word suggests an etymon **lsayn*. Significantly, the diphthong (or its reflex [e]) and loss of initial /l/ in this lexeme co-occur in certain S E Anatolian Arabic dialects.]

~ Alep *lsən*, pl -*āt/ ləsən* 'langue' (Barth 753) ~ Mard *lsən* ~ Ka'b *sayn* 'Zunge, Muttersprache' (Vo/Wald 391) ~ Qarṭ *nsən* < *lsən* (Jastrow 1981:144, fn 2) ~ Hask *ssən* (Talay 2002:81) ~ Siverek (J) *sən* *taba' əl-yəḥūd* 'the language of the Jews' (Nevo 2001:87) ~ Arb *basenna* 'in unserem Dialekt' (Jastrow 1990:364) ~ Bagh (M) *lsān*, pl -*āt/alsina* (Wood/Bee 421), (J) *lsīn*, (C) *lsən* (Blanc 1964:80) ~ Malt *ḍsien*, pl *ilsna*.

sanna 'our language (i.e., CyA)' < **ssanna* < **nsayna* < **lsaynna*: *sanna maxluta* 'notre langue est melangée' (Roth 1975:21, fn 1).

l-t-š

latteš, pilatteš (v/t) 'stain (e.g., with blood); fleck with mud'; Syriac *lataš* 'smear' (J.Payne Smith 1903:241); cf. OA *lattaxa* 'einschmieren, übertünchen, beflecken' (Ullmann 1984:686);

~ Alep *latṭaš* 'he whitewashed' (al-Asadī 1988:VI, 486) ~ Leban Ar *latṭaš* 'tacher, salir' and *laṭaš, yelṭoš* 'salir, tacher ses vêtements (de boue, etc.)' (Denizeau 474); cf. also Pal Ar *latṭaš* 'planschen, latṭaš 'beklecksen' (Bau 231, 49) ~ Bagh (M) *latṭax*, intensive of *liṭax/liṭaš* 'stain, soil, spatter' (Wood/Bee 421).

[Note Pal Ar *laṭš* 'Kalktünche, Kalkfarbe' (Dalm VII, 24, 121), cf. Bagh (M) *laṭxa*, pl -*āt* 'stain, smear, spot' (Wood/Bee 421).]

tlatteš, pkyitlatteš (v/i) 'become stained (with blood, mud)': *tlatteš tmiāt* 'he became covered with blood stains';

~ Ar *talaṭṭaš* 'être souillé' (Dozy II, 539), "d'après Payne Smith, emprunté au syriaque" (Landberg 1942:2631), in relation to Daḥ *mlṭṭš* 'sich unrein machen' ~ Bagh (M) *tlatṭax* 'id.' (Wood/Bee 421).

mplatteš, f *mplattše*, pl *mplattšīn* (pp) 'stained, flecked.'

tluttoš 'grime.'

l-c-b

le'ep, *pkyl'ap* (v/t) 'play (also music); fire a gun; shoot (game)'; *le'ep exen arnep* 'he shot a rabbit'; *le'epu ma š-šipetto* 'he shot him with a rifle' (cf. CyG *épeksen ton me to oplon*); *le'pitu* 'she shot him'; *l-vyoyya* *kanyil'apu u naxni kwannā'assel l-ixrise* (< hrs) 'the violins used to play while we rinsed the *harisa* (in preparation for a wedding)'; OA *la'iba* (a) 'play, sport' (Hava 688), MLA also 'play (*'alā*) a musical instrument' (Wehr 1019); cf. CyG *č-itan na peksi to kopain činu tu kopelluškyyū* 'and he wanted to shoot (lit. play) the herd of that boy' (Newton 1972a:152);

[For the second CyA meaning, cf. Alep *la'ab* 'faire jouer (le chien d'une arme à feu)' (Barth 757).]

~ Alep *l'eb* (a) 'jouer' (Barth 757) ~ *al-Xənšāra hal-frōde tal'ab* 'les revolvers jouent' (Fleisch 1974:151) ~ Mard *l'əb* (a) 'spielen, hin und her kriechen' (Vo/Wald 391) ~ Bagh (M) *li'ab* (a) 'play' (Wood/Bee 422) ~ Malt *laghab, jilghab*.

mal'up, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'shot.'

la'ep, *pila'ep* (v/t) 'mock, ridicule; trick, swindle'; *la'pitu* 'she deceived him'; *kantla'ipna pšan tattimpsek flus* 'she used to trick us to make money'; OA *lā'aba* 'dally, joke with a.o.' (Hava 688);

cf. Alep *mlā'ab* 'roué, rusé, fourbe' (Barth 757).

tle'ep 'he shot himself'; derived from CyA I.

tla'ep, *pkýintla'ep* (v/i) 'be deceived'; cf. OA *talā'aba bi* 'trick a.o.' (Hava 688).

tlu'op 'trickery.'

le'ep 'play, horseplay': *ayšo ađa l-le'ep t-til'e* 'what's this ugly horseplay!'; OA *li'b/la'b/la'ib* 'play, sport' (Hava 688);

~ Alep *l'əb* 'jeu, action de jouer, de badiner' (Barth 757) ~ Bagh (M) *li'ib*, vn of *li'ab* (Wood/Bee 422).

l-c-q

málaka, pl *mpla'ek* ['bla'ek] 'tablespoon'; OA *mil'aqa*, pl *malā'iq* (Hava 689);

~ Alep *ma'laqa* 'cuillère' (Barth 545) ~ Kənd *ma'laqa*, pl *ma'āləq* (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Kfar'ab *mal'qa* (Feghali 1919:246) ~ Pal Ar *ma'laqa*/*mal'aqa* 'Löffel' (Dalm VII, 216) ~ Judaeo-Ar *mil'aqa* 'tureen ladle' (Diem/Raden 197).

l-c-w-s

lā'aves, *pilā'aves* (v/t) 'chew': *lā'awu šilkon kaes* 'chew (pl) your food well!'; *xalla li-škarpes šatu mimparra u mistaon b-bakar u la'awuon u rax* 'int ummu xefi 'he left his shoes outside and the cows got hold of them and chewed them up, and he returned to his mother barefoot'; cf. nonclass Ar *la'as* 'chew' (Hava 688); Syriac *l'as* 'manducavit, edit' (Brockel 369);

[Aram *bal'as* 'verschlucken, Grundw. Ps mit. vorges. P' (Levy I.236).]

[Alep *madağ* (a) 'macher' (Barth 791) ~ Dam *madağ* (a) 'chew' (Sto/Ani 40)] ~ Leban Ar *la'was* 'macher' (Denizeau 1960:476) ~ Pal Ar *la'was* 'kauen' (Bau 171) ~ [Malt *maghad, jomghod*].

tlu'vos (vn) 'chewing.'

l-f-f

laff, *pilúff* (v/t/i) (Imptv: *loff*, *luffi*, *luffu*) 'roll up, wrap, turn'; go round': *laffáyt m-miftax u l-pape fatxet* 'I turned the key and the door opened'; *laff'aristerā* 'he turned left'; *laffayna k-kantun* 'we went round the corner'; OA *laffa* (u);

~ Alep *laff* (ə) 'enrouler, envelopper, entortiller' (Barth 760).

tlaffa, *pkýitlaffa* 'be rolled up.'

maflúf, f -a, pl -in (pp) 'rolled, wrapped'; OA *mal'áf*.

l-q-y

laka, *pilaki* (v/t) 'find; meet; chance upon': *lakani t-taxk* 'I had a laughing fit' (= CyG *ivre me to yeoyo*, lit., 'laughter found me'); *má-kuntáxter ta'anti žava talaki l-imprati tapusa* 'I couldn't go inside (the house) to meet my wife and kiss her'; *ađa linaxa lakaymáx mill-čxilna* 'we inherited this (custom) from our parents'; *an' plakix tal'apu* 'if I chance upon it (the fox), I'll shoot it'; OA *lāqa* 'encounter face to face' (Hava 694);

~ Alep *lāqa* 'trouver, constater, voir' (Barth 763) ~ Bagh (M) *lāqa* 'encounter, meet' (Wood/Bee 426) ~ Pal Ar *lāqa* 'finden' (Bau 112; Bur Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 81*).

[On the diachronic aspect of this lexeme in rural Palestinian, note Schmidt/Kahle (1918:81*): "Vom Verbum laka finden ist als Imp das der III. Form *lāki* im Gebrauch, ähnlich wie *šajal* zu *šal* - ; dazu wird dann auch das Perf. III gebildet, und ist vielfach *lāka* geschrieben." Dialects showing Umlaut of Ar *ā tend to have the imalle shift in the III. stem of this verb: Arb *lāqa*, *ylāqi* 'einholen, begegnen' (Vo/Wald 392); cf. map 61 (Behnstedt 1997:123).]

ltaka, pkyilteka (v/i) 'be available or accessible'; 'être retrouvé' (Roth 1975:88): ... *manniθpox mtzaffrin: laxm, peδ, xallūm, xlip, ašma pkyilteka mtzaffer* '(during carnival) we cook fat foods: meat, eggs, xal-lumi, milk—whatever fat food happens to be available'; OA *iltaqā* 'meet together' (Hava 694);

~ Alep *ltaqa, yəltəqi/yəltāqa* 'être trouvé par hasard, se rencontrer ma' avec qqn' (Barth 763) ~ Qarṭ *ltaqa, yəltəqi* 'treffen, antreffen, begegnen' (Vo/Wald 392) ~ Bagh (M) *ltiga* 'be available' (Wood/Bee 426) ~ Pal Ar *ltaqa* 'recontrer (en général, et sur rendez-vous)' (Elihai 1973:338) ~ Malt *ltaqa, jiltaqa* 'meet s.o. (<ma>)'.

slakka, pkyislakka (v/t) 'catch a thrown object'; Ar *islaqqā* 'recevoir, retenir ce qui tombe de haut, retenir dans la main quelque chose que l'on vous jette' (Dozy II, 555); nonclass Ar *istalqā* (dir obj) *min al-hawā* 'he caught it in the air' (Hava 694);

~ Alep *slaqqa, yəslaqqa* 'recevoir un objet jeté ou tombé d'en haut'; pour *stlaqqa*, forme hybride, X^c forme greffée sur une V^c (Barth 763) ~ Hama *slaṣṣa* 'fangen, in Empfang nehmen' (Lewin 1966:211) ~ Kfar'ab *stlaqqa* 'il saisit à la volée' (Feghali 1919:190-1; 1928:251-2) ~ Kənd *stalqa, yəstalqi* (Jastrow 1978:195).

l-w-b

lupkye 'string beans'; Ar *lūbiyā* 'Bohnen' (Fraenkel 1886:145); cf. Syriac *lūbayā* (Brockel 355; Dalman II, 266) < λoβός (Vollers 1897:303);

~ Alep *lūbye* 'haricots à graines plus petites que la *fawle*' (Barth 768) ~ Pal Ar *lūbye* 'bean' (Spoer/Haddad 190).

lupkye xōδra 'string beans' (cf. Mod Gk φασολάκι φρέσκο 'string beans'; Magazis 1995:226).

[On the semantics of 'green' in CyA, cf. Intro, §IX.]

l-w-h

lox, pl (*l*)*vax* 'plank, wooden board': *lox nasex* 'a solid wooden board'; OA *lawh*, pl *alwāh* (Hava 700);

[Some speakers interpret the initial [l] in the plural form as a definite article: *štru vax* 'they bought (some) planks' (Frangiskou 228).]

~ Alep *lōh*, pl *lwāh* 'planchette (de bois)' (Barth 768) ~ Dam *lōh xašab*, pl *lwāh xašab* 'wooden board' (Sto/Ani 25) ~ Pal Ar *lōh*, pl *lwāh* 'block (wood)' (Jer, Piamenta 1979b:259).

l-y-š

leš (adj, invar) 'very dirty': *leš iftis* 'filthy, stinking'; JAram *mlawšā* 'beschmutzt' < *lwš* 'kneten' (Dalm 1938:216); OA *lawwaṭa* 'make (water) turbid' (Hava 700); Ugar *l-š* (v) 'soil, plaster' < 'knead' (del Olmo/Sanmartín 2003:505);

[Alep *lašā/lāšše* 'cadavre' < Pers *laš(e)* (Barth 744) ~ Bagh (M) *lašā, -āt/ lāš* 'carcass' (Wood/Bee 421); cf. Tk *leš* 'Tierkadaver, leš gibi' 'wie die Pest stinkend' (Steuerwald 2003:586).]

~ Alep *lēyeš*, f *lēyša* 'à l'aspect malpropre (: liquide)'; [cf. *laš* (u) *əttin* 'détremper la farine avec de l'eau avant de la malaxer, de la pétrir' (Barth 769), *layyas* 'enduire, lawwat' 'poisser, salir, souiller (les mains), lawwat' 'tacher' (Barth 771, 768, 747)] ~ Palm *lawwaṭ* 'saupoudrer' (1934:II, 37) ~ Kənd *lawwaṭ* 'bestreuen (z.B. einen Fladen mit Mehl)' (Vo/Wald 394) ~ Kfar'ab *lawwaš* 'détremper la farine' (Feghali 1935:24, 16) ~ Pal Ar *layyas* 'zuschmieren' (Bau 383), cf. *layyis tummak* 'shut up!' *tlayyas* 'it got dirty' (Jer, Piamenta, p.c.) ~ Cai *lawwis* 'pollute, contaminate' (Bad/Hi 804), *talyīs* 'crépi, crépissure, enduit de plâtre' (Boc, Dozy II, 569)].

[Cf. Az *mlawwat* 'beschmutzt' (Vo/Wald 394), Kfar'ab *lawše* 'saleté' (Feghali 1935:52, 8); Mand *lwš* 'soil, make dirty' (Drower/Macuch 1963:234); *nilauša* 'eae macula(bu)ntur' (Macuch 1965:323).]

l-y-q

kanilik, pillk (v/i) 'be seemly, fitting; deserve': *kanilkillu x-xaft ta kel* 'he deserved the thrashing he got'; *pillkillon testawfu kaes* 'they deserve to be well paid'; OA *lāqa* (i) 'befit, suit' (Hava 703);

~ Alep *lāq*, *ylīq* 'convenir à, être digne de, être séant à (qqn: chose)' (Barth 772) ~ Bagh (M) *lāg* (u) 'suit, be fitting for' (Wood/Bee 430) ~ [Pal Ar *mnāsib*, *mwāfiq*, *mtābiq*, *lābiq* 'passend' (Bau 227)].

[Cf. Dam *lāyeq* 'suitable' (Sto/Ani 230)/Wald 394), Az *lāyaq* 'für passend halten' (Wo/Wald 396).]

l-y-l

layl 'night-time'; OA *layl* (Hava 704);

~ Alep *layl/ləl* 'nuit (en général)' (Barth 772) ~ Dam *ləl* 'night' (Sto/Ani 158) ~ Pal Ar *ləl* 'Nacht, Dunkelheit' (Bau 214) ~ Malt *dejl*, pl *ljieli* 'night'.

l-layl 'during the night (as opposed to *xar* 'daytime)': *l-layl kwan-nimpši u xxar kwankáf* '(in the army) we used to march during the night and rest in the daytime.'

layle 'night (as a unit of time); du *layltáyn* 'two nights; OA *layla*, pl *layālin/laylāt* 'a night' (Hava 704);

~ Alep *layle/lēle*, pl *-āt, layāli/lyēli* 'une nuit, (telle ou telle) nuit' (Barth 772) ~ Pal Ar *lēle* 'eine bestimmte Nacht' (Bau 214) ~ Malt *lejla*.

l-layle 'this evening'; *mannistantrak l-layle* 'we'll expect you (m) this evening' (ǧbšll);

~ Alep *llēle* 'ce soir, la nuit qui vient' (Barth 772) ~ Çukur *il-lēli* 'heute' (Procházka 2002:55) ~ Pal Ar *llēle* 'heute Abend' (Bau 2) ~ Malt *il-lejla* 'this evening'.

nússulayl 'at midnight'; *tfaððayna nússulayl* 'we finished working at midnight'; < **nušš-l-layl*.

tvállayl 'during/throughout the night'; *salláyt tvállayl* 'I studied all night'; < **twāl-l-layl* (< *twl*);

~ Alep *twāl əl-ləl ana bahdos* 'toute la nuit je suis rongé par mes soucis' (Barth 494).

layl u xar/xar u layl 'day and night; round the clock'; *ana paxtom layl u xar* 'I work day and night'; < Ar **layl u nhār*.

l-y-m-n

laymūn, n un *-e* 'closed cotton boll; candied lemon'; OA *laymūn/līmūn* 'lemon, citron' (Hava 704);

~ Alep *lēmūn* (coll) 'limon, citron' (Barth 773) ~ Bagh (M) *līmūn* (van Ess 1938:169), (J) *nūmi*, n un *nūmiyyi* 'lemons' (Blanc 1964:33) ~ Pal Ar *lēmūn hāmid* 'Citrus medica' (Bau 377) ~ Judaeo-Ar *laymūn* 'lemon preserve' (Diem/Raden 199) ~ Malt *lummija* [yy].

[Behnstedt (2000:149, fn 5) notes: "*laymūn* bedeutet in den Küstendialekten sowohl "Orangen" als auch "Zitronen," letzteres jedoch meist durch *hāmuḍ* spezifiziert"; (*hmdū*): "The Chinese (Cantonese) type *li-mung, ning-mung* has given rise to Tibetan *li-men, li-mön*, Anamese *ninh-mong*, Arabic *līmūn, laymūn*, and (perhaps) Siamese *lemon*. These words all mean lemon and only that. ... Finally, the anthropological evidence points to the eastern Himalaya region as the focus for the spread of the lemon, both word and thing." (Glidden 1937:395)]

l-y-n

laen, pilaen (v/t) 'soften'; OA *layyana* (Hava 704);
~ Alep *layyan* 'rendre tendre, amollir, assouplir' (Barth 773) ~ Sii *layyen, ylayyen* 'geschmeidig machen' (Vo/Wald 396).

laen, pkyitlaen (v/i) 'become soft, supple, or tender': *l-ikvakil tlay-nu min-nite* 'the sheaves have become supple (i.e., less brittle for pulling out) in the dew'; *kalpu tlaen* 'his heart was touched' (Frangiskou 95); OA *talayyana* (Hava 704);

laen, f layne, pl *laynin* 'soft, tender, pliable'; OA *layyin* (Hava 704);
~ Alep *layyen, f layyne* 'mou, tendre' (Barth 773) ~ Sii *layyen* 'weich' (Vo/Wald 397) ~ Pal Ar *layyen* 'sanft, weich' (Bau 251, 357).

M

m-ā

mā- (negator used without the augment {-š}); always stressed; reduced to *m-* before copulas): *ana mā-ruxt žava* 'I didn't go home'; *mā-sar šī-trik* 'it's unheard of (lit., it never happened)'; *mā-kis'eni* 'he didn't see me'; *mā-lu payt* 'he has no house'; *m-ó awnke* 'he's not there.'

[The negative morpheme *ma* + copula yields: *māna* 'I'm not,' *mā-int* 'you aren't,' *mō* 'he isn't,' *mē* 'she isn't,' *mā-naxni* 'we aren't,' *mā-intu* 'you aren't (pl),' *menne* 'they aren't.' On CyA negation, cf. Roth (1996a).]

~ Anat Ar *mā rāt* 'sie sah nicht' (Jastrow 1978:312).

máy- (variant of preceding) deriving from contact with the 3rd pers marker {y-}: *máy-tži fi pali* 'I can't recall it';

~ Şandör *may f-fādi* 'es ist nicht in meinem Herzen' (Jastrow 1993:164).

māfkya 'there isn't/aren't' < **māfya* < **mā-fihā*.

mawši 'it's nothing!' = |*mā-o ši*| < **mā-(huw)wa-ši*.

(-)ma: conjunction often cliticized to an adverb or pronoun: *aynma* 'wherever,' *mnanma* 'from wherever,' *aššik(l) ma* 'no matter how,' *memma* 'whoever,' *ašma* 'whichever,' *aška ma* 'as much as'; *a(y)nma pitrux pitlakion* 'wherever you go, you meet them'; ^G*amma* ^G*pkyikipru piruxu ašma* ^G*skooyó* ^G*piritu* 'when they (children) grow up, they go to whichever school they like'; ^G*prin* ^G*ma yšidd l-asel, mankullu šurpét u mannišrapu* 'before the carob syrup thickens, we call it *šurpét* and we drink it'; *mannimpsek moyát mnan ma lina moe ... u memma pkyáxta^a* (< *qt^c*) *mantsúr* ^G*súppa* ^G'(on the feast of the Ascension) we draw water from barrels, [or] wherever we can get hold of it, ... and we drench whoever happens to pass by' (ǧrdšll).

^G*me* ... ^G*me* (< CyG) 'neither ... nor': ^G*me* ^G*pkyaxki* ^G*me* ^G*pkyisma^a*

'he can neither talk or hear'; *má-kan* ^{GmeG} *xost l-payt* ^{GmeG} *xost l-pistán* 'he was neither in the house nor in the orchard'; *mil-fáza'a teli* ^{GmeG} *kinna* ^{GmeG} *šrabna* 'à cause de ma frayer, nous n'avons ni mangé ni bu' (Roth 1996:94).

m-t-y

miten 'when' (interr adv): *má-paxter takullak miten ttakún faði* ^{GprinG} *taxki ma má'allmi* 'I can't tell you when I'm going to be free before I consult my boss'; < ? Ar **matā* + *an* (cf. OA *lammā an* 'when'; Hopkins 1984:239);

~ Alep *ʔemat/ʔemte/ʔemten*, Beir *ʔemtīn* [adv de temps] 'quand?' (Barth 20) ~ Çukur *ĩmtan/ẽmtan* 'wann?' (Procházka 2002:54) ~ Pal Ar *ʔemtan* (Piamenta 1966:200; Bauer 353) ~ Egyp Ar *matīn* 'wann?' (Behn/Woid 1994:444) ~ N Yem *mitan* (Behnstedt 1996:114) ~ ʔl-Xātūniye *mati* (Behnstedt 1992b:45) ~ Āz *mate* (Vo/Wald 401) ~ 17th c. rur Egyp Ar <mty> (Davies 1981:467).

[Torczyner (1916:36) derives the final nasal in these forms from an old Semitic accusative ending; cf. Mehri *mīten*. Note, however, the analogous merged reflexes of OA *lammā an* in the following dialects: Alep *lammān* 'lorsque' (Barth 766), Mard *laman* 'als, wenn' (Vo/Wald 394), Bask *limmin* 'when' (Abu-Haidar 1978:89), Pal Ar *lammin/limmin* (Bau 12), *lamma(n)*, *lamm-in(n)*- (Piamenta 1966:1): *lammin qarīb intālat* 'als sie beinahe voll war' (Bīr Zēt; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: 1, 272), Hōr *yōm enno šāret eθ-θōra* 'quand eut lieu l'insurrection' (Cantineau 1946:406), Kirk *lammāl* (Jastrow 1992b:250), etc. Note the analogous accretion of final /n/ in certain temporal adverbs: rur Egyp Ar *hittin* 'bis', *sa'tin*, *yomtin* (Behn/Woid 1999:78).]

m-θ-l

mix(l) 'like'; OA *miθl* (Hava 707);

[For the shift $\theta > x$, discussed in Borg (1985:27), see *θlθ*, *θmn*, and *θny*; cf. also N Yem *mihil* < *miθl* 'wie' (Behnstedt 1987:304).]

~ Pal Ar *miθl/miθil* 'wie' (Bau 362) ~ Alep *mətəl* 'pareil à, comme' (Barth 777).

mixta 'just as when': ... *mixta pi-átirfik k-kassís máy-taxtri aθkúillu* ^{GpsemataG} 'de même, que quand le prêtre te (f) confesse, tu ne peux lui dire de mensonges' (Roth 1975:97); < Ar **miθl-hattā*.

[The lexical fusion of **miθl* + **tā* is paralleled in the class of temporal conjunctions (*hty*); for *máy*, see under *m-ā*.]

m-x-x

mōxx, pl -*át* 'head': *fallek mōxxu* 'he cracked his head'; *karullu mōxxu* 'he was beheaded'; OA *mōxx* 'brain'; JAram *mōhā* 'brain, head'

(M. Jastrow 740), Syriac *muhhā* 'cerebrum, medulla' (Brockel 371); Mand *muha* 'brain, head' (Drower/Macuch 1963:260); Akk *mōxxum* 'skull, top of the head' (CAD X, pt. 2:172);

~ Alep *mōxx*, pl *mōxāx* 'somet de la tête, chez l'homme' (Barth 779) ~ Leban Ar *mōxx*, pl *mōxāx* 'tête proprement dite, la tête d'un homme (au point de vue physique), d'un animal ...'; *rās*, pl *rās* 'tête (au point de vue intellectuel), esprit, caractère ...' (Fegh M/J 1976:188, fn 26), *mōxx*, pl *mōxāx* 'tête' (Feghali 1938:829); *elli alla byēgdob* 'alayh bikabberlu *mōxxu wežrayh* 'quand Dieu maudit quelqu'un, il lui donne une grosse tête et de grands pieds' (op. cit., 116) ~ Pal Ar *mōxx* 'Hirn, Verstand' (Bau 158) ~ Malt <moħħ, pl <mhuh> 'brain.'

[Tur *mehō* 'Hirn' (Jastrow 1985:175). On the historical background to the CyA lexical gap for OA *ra's*, cf. Intro, §VIIIa.]

m-d-d

madd, *pimūdd* (v/t) 'stretch, spread out' *pšan axxaveš z-zaytūn manmaxo kvelin u mammūddon mintāxt z-zaytūne* 'in order to collect olives, we take reed baskets and lay them out under the olive tree'; OA *madda* (u) (Hava 711);

~ Alep *madd* (ə) 'allonger, étendre (les jambes, la main, le bras)' (Barth 780) ~ Pal Ar *madd* (i) (Bau 292) ~ Malt <medd, imidd>.

tmadda, *pkyitmadda* (v/i) 'stretch out, spread out'; OA *tamaddada* (Hava 711);

~ Alep *tmaddad* 's'étendre sur le dos' (Barth 780) ~ Pal Ar *tmaddad* 'lie down' (Elihai 1999:523).

matmūt/matmūt, f -*a*, pl -*in* 'stretched out': *matmūt pšik maet* 'stretched out like a corpse'; OA *mamdūd*.

tmuddo (vn) 'stretching.'

middate, pl *mtetit* 'rolling pin' (= Mod Gk πλάστης).

[For this meaning, cf. Ar. *šawbak miṭlama*, *mirqāq*, *mihlāq*, *dawbax/dūbax* (al-ʔaḡīn) noted in Karmī (1970:592).]

~ Alep *maddāde* 'pièce de bois placée en travers de deux murs' (Barth 781) ~ Pal Ar *maddāde* 'Gestell' (Dalm V, 47).

m-d-n

mtine, pl -*át* 'town, city'; OA *madīna*, pl *mudun/mudn/madā'in* (Hava 712) < Aram *mādīntā* (Jeffery 261; J. Payne Smith 1903:252);

~ Alep *mdīne*, pl *mādān* 'ville' (Barth 781) ~ Dam *madīne*, pl *mādon*

'city' (Sto/Ani 42) ~ Pal Ar *mdīne*, pl *mudun* (Bau 285); [Malt <belt>].

l-imtine 'Nicosia': *zina l-imtine* 'we came to Nicosia';

~ Alep *lmdīne* 'la vieille ville d'Alep' (Barth 781) ~ Āz *lmdīne* (alter Name für Cizre) (Vo/Wald 402) ~ Çukur *li-Mdīni* 'Adana' (Procházka 2002:179) ~ Malt <l-Imdina> (Malta's medieval capital).

m-δ-r

metri, f *metrie*, pl *metrīn* 'addled (egg)'; OA *maḍir* 'rotten (egg), dirty' (Hava 713); *maḍirat al-bayḍa* 'the egg became corrupt, or rotten' (Lane 2699); nonclass Ar *mumawḍar* 'rotten (egg)' (Hava 713);

~ Leban Ar *mmaḍḍre* (fem) 'pourrie, putride, corrompue': *bāqī 'inde biḡi ḥalāḥīn beḍe mmaḍḍre* 'il avait environ trente oeufs pourris' (Denizeau 1960:490) ~ Pal Ar *lakāhin luxriyyāt mmaḍḍrāt* 'er fand auch sie schlecht' (Blau 1960:210); [cf. Alep *mawder* 'se gâter (: œuf)' (Barth 806); Ar *mawḍr* (vulgaire) = I (Dozy II, 631)].

muntār, -a, pl *muntarīn/mneḍrīn* 'dirty'; cf. AA *maḍar qaḍar* 'inmundus' (Dozy II, 584).

[Loss of the interdental articulation of *δ after /n/ is typical of Modern Greek: *ḍeka* 'ten,' but *endeke* 'eleven.']

m-r-r

morr, f -e, pl -īn 'bitter'; OA *murr*, pl *amrār* (Hava 713);

~ Alep *mərr*, f -a, pl -āt 'amer' (Barth 783) ~ Mḥall *mərr* 'bitter' (Vo/Wald 403) ~ Pal Ar *murr* (Bau 61) ~ Malt <morr>.

m-r-ʔ

mara (= *mprat-* + pron suff), pl *nesfān* 'woman, wife': *mpratu l-'ammi* 'my paternal uncle's wife'; *ana l-imprati kuntrita xamps-isnīn* ^G*prin* ^G*tānixtep* 'I courted my wife for five years before we got engaged'; OA *marʔa/imraʔa/mara* (Hava 714), *imrāt-* (Lane 2703) < **imraʔat-*, pl *nisāʔ/niswān* (Hava 767);

~ Alep *mara* (*mart-*) 'femme' dans tous les sens du mot français' (Barth 781) ~ Çukur *mrāti* 'meine Frau' (Procházka 2002:122) ~ Bagh (M) *mara/mrayya* 'woman' (Wood/Bee 435), (J) *mḡātu*, ^ʔ*ammu l-l-walad* 'his wife, that is the boy's mother' (Mansour 1991:234) ~ Leban Ar *mara* (*mart-/mrāt-*) 'épouse, femme' (Feghali 1938:830) ~ Egyp Ar *mirāti* 'meine Frau' (Behnstedt 1979b:75).

matxāl 'maternal aunt'; < **mart xāl-*;

~ Bask *mart xāli* 'the wife of a maternal uncle' (Abu-Haidar 1979:

133) ~ Pal Ar *mart il-xāl* 'Muhme' (Bau 210).

payyómara 'a worthless woman, e.g., a disorderly housewife' (= Mod Gk *παλιογυναίκα* 'hag'; Magazis 1995:450).

m-r-t

Murtu = Gk *Myrtou* (name of Cypriot village).

m-r-h

marax, *pkyimprax* (v/t) 'clean (wheat)': *manʔassel l-imʔall u max-xallix teḥvram*; ^G*istera* ^G*mannimixu xok l-ʔarḥel pšan teḥtlaʔa f-ʔfilloʔa ta lu* 'we soak the wheat and let it swell; we then spread it over a sieve to remove its husk'; OA *marrah* 'sweep (wheat)' (Hava 715); [Aram *mrh* 'winnow' (Jastrow 1903:841); Heb *mērūʔh* 'smoothing (a pile of grain)' (Klein 1987:383, cf. Levy III, 248);

~ Leban Ar *marah* 'frotter le plancher d'une chambre avec du sable mouillé; c'est peut-être pour *maraxa*' (Dozy II, 587) ~ Cai *marrah* (v/i) 'stretch out, relax' (Bad/Hi 815).

m-r-x

marax, *pkyimprax* (v/t) 'massage'; OA *maraxa* (a) / *marraha* 'anoint' (Hava 715).

[Unattested for Alep, Pal Ar, Cairene, and Anatolian Arabic.]

Cf. Bagh (M) *marrag* 'massage, rub' (Wood/Bee 437).

marx 'massage'; OA *marx* (Hava 715).

m-r-s

CyG, CyA *morós*, pl *morá* 'baby, small child' = Mod Gk *μωρός* ~ Lat *morus* 'foolish, silly' (OLD 1136);

[Garam *mōrōs* 'fool' (Sokol 1990:296); cf. Bagh (M) *ḡāhil* 'baby, child, ignorant' (Wood/Bee 79), Kirk (J) *ḡihli u zḡayygi* 'jung und unerfahrene' (Jastrow 1992a:250), Sa'd *ḡāhilin* 'Kleinkind,' *ḡāhl* 'Kinder' (Behnstedt 1987:242); Mod Mand *ḡihil* 'Kind' (Macuch 1993:440).]

m-r-ḍ

CyG, CyA *marázzi* 'worry (n)' < Mod Gk *μαράζι* 'pining away' (Magazis 1995:418); Tk *maraz* 'disease illness, worry' (Iz/Hony 329) < OA *marad* 'sickness' (Hava 716).

[Urmi *marāz* 'illness, sickness' (Garbell 1965: 318), Mod Mand *maraz* 'malady' (Macuch 1965:510) and *mariz* 'krank' (Macuch 1993:431).]

m-r-f

Morf (village name: Gk *Morfou*).

m-r-m-g

tmarm'e, *pkyitmarm'e* (v/i) 'it rolled in the dust (animal)'; OA *tamarrağa* and nonclass Ar *tamarmağa* (Hava 717);

~ Alep *tmarmag/tmardag* 'se rouler, se vautrer (dans la poussière, dans le crottin: âne, mulet)' (Barth 782, 785) ~ Kənd *tmarma* 'sich wälzen' (Vo/Wald 404) ~ Bagh (M) *tmargal* 'wallow, roll around' (Wood/Bee 437) ~ Pal Ar *tmarmag* 'sich wälzen (Esel)' (Bau 352) ~ rur Eyp Ar *yitamarrāg* (Behn/Woid 1999:399) ~ Cai 'itmardag/itmarrağ/itmarmag (v/i) 'roll or be rolled in the dirt' (Bad/Hi 815).

tmürmo'o (vn) 'rolling in the dust (animal).'

m-s-ḥ

massex, *pimassex* (v/t) 'wipe, mop up; dry': *massxi t-tavli* 'wipe (f) the table'; *massex tek* 'dry (m) your hands!'; OA *masaḥa* (Hava 719);

~ Alep *masah* 'essuyer', *massah* 'torcher' (Barth 786) ~ Mard *masah* (a) 'wischen, wegwischen' (Vo/Wald 405) ~ Pal Ar *masah* (a) (Bau 365) ~ Malt *mesah*, *jimsah* 'wipe.'

tmassex, *pkyitmassex* (v/i) 'go away'; cf. AA *atamassah* 'pretereo' (Dozy II, 597); cf. OA *masaḥa fi l-ardi*, also *maṣaḥa* 'he set forth journeying through the land, or earth' (Lane 2713).

tmussox (vn) 'mopping up.'

masxa 'towel.'

[Apparently a local formation.]

l-impšix 'Jesus Christ; the Messiah': *l-impšix o k-kassīs u pi-assilillon žrexon* '(on Maundy Thursday) Jesus is [represented by] the priest and he washes their feet'; CMAr *al-masīḥ* (Hava 719) < Aram *māšīḥā* (Fraenkel 1903:24).

[Tur *māšihō* ~ Ma' *māšihā* (Arnold 1990a:39).]

~ Alep *lmasīḥ/l-masīḥ* 'l'Oint du Seigneur, le Messie, le Christ' (Barth 786) ~ Dam *al-masīḥ / as-sayyed l-masīḥ* 'Messias' (Sto/Ani 149) ~ Pal Ar *il-masīḥ* 'der Messias' (Bau 204).

m-s-k

misek, *pkyimpsek* (v/t) 'take, sieze (also fig.); steal; arrest, capture; begin to do s.th. (inchoative)': *amma tari tasáy lipen, pimpsek xlip u*

psaffix 'when I want to make yoghurt, I take milk and pass it through a strainer'; *annimpškillu ši šina t-toxtor tannakol* 'let's steal one of the doctor's geese and eat!'; *misku xzar tešixunni* 'they grabbed stones to pelt me with'; *misikni tesainni katigoria* 'he arrested me to charge me in court'; *sma'na kif t-turk žu teimisku k-kipri* 'we heard that the Turks had come to capture Cyprus'; *mpšikna l-aftokinito u žina mit-tarp ta kwantži panta* 'we took the car and followed the road we always took'; *mpšixt uv-ana kuntžorr x-xet sop aléy šfe-šfe šfe-šfe ost ta xattayta žava* 'I also began to pull the string (with the bait) towards me little by little until I had coaxed it (the turkey) inside'; *miskon fiza'a* 'fear seized them'; *telos panton*, *mpšiku ađi, mpšiku ađi, mpšiku ađi, mpšikna tlaxe* 'anyway, we grabbed this (sheep), and this one, and the other one—we took three'; OA *masaka* (i) (Hava 720);

[On the Narrative Imperative (in the last example), cf. Blanc (1970a: 140), Palva 1977).]

~ Alep *masek* (e) 'saisir' (Barth 787) ~ Mard *masek* (ə) 'festhalten' (Vo/Wald 406) ~ Pal Ar *misik* (i) 'packen' (Bau 226) ~ Bagh (M) *misak* (i) 'begin fasting (during Ramadan)' (Wood/Bee 444).

mampšuk, f -a, pl -in 'caught, captured; occupied; clotted.'

tmesek, *pkyitmesek* (v/i) 'be caught or found out; fight one another': *l-ixrami tmesek u rax x-xaps* 'the thief was caught and went to prison'; *tmesku* 'ils s'empoignèrent' (Roth 1987:30); OA *tamāsaka* 'get hold of' (Hava 720).

m-s-k-n

miskīn 'thin, weak (person)'; OA *miskīn* (m/f) 'poor, weak, humble' (Hava 329); Akk *muškēnu(m)* 'der sich Prosternierende, Palasthöriger, Armer' (von Soden 1985:73; 1966:684); Syriac *meskīnā* 'poor, needy, poverty-stricken'; Heb *miskēn* 'arm, ein Armer' (Levy III, 169);

~ Alep *māskīn*, f -e, pl *mšekīn* 'pauvre, indigent' (Barth 350) ~ Pal Ar *maskīn*, pl *masākīn* 'ärmlich, armselig; aussätzig' (Bau 36), *yā maskīn* 'du Armer!' (Bau 24) ~ Malt *miskīn*, pl *msieken*.

[On the Pal Ar meaning 'leprous,' see Littmann (1903:263).]

m-š-t

maššet, *pimaššet* (v/t) 'comb': *maššet šaxvitu* 'he combed his hair'; cf. OA *mašata* (u) 'dress the hair' (Hava 721);

~ Alep *maššaḥ* 'peigner' (Barth 789) ~ Bagh (M) *maššaḥ* 'comb'

(Wood/Bee 439) ~ Cai *maššat* 'comb, card' (Bad/Hi 825) ~ Pal Ar *maššat* 'kammen' (Bau 169) ~ Malt *maxat, jomxot* 'comb.'

tmaššet, pkyitmaššet (v/i) 'comb oneself'; cf. OA *imtašata* 'dress one's hair' (Hava 721);

~ Alep *tmaššat* 'se peigner' (Barth 789) ~ Bagh (M) *tmaššat* 'be combed' (Wood/Bee 439) ~ Pal Ar *tmaššat* 'se peigner' (Elihai 1973:290) ~ Cai *itmaššat* 'be combed' (Bad/Hi 825).

mašt/tmaššot 'combing'; OA *mašt*.

mušt, pl *mpšat* 'delousing comb'; OA *mušt/mišt*, etc., pl *amšat/mišat*, etc. 'comb' (Hava 721);

~ Kənd *mašt*, pl *amšat* 'Kamm' (Vo/Wald 407) ~ Mos (C) *mašat*, pl *mšati* (infor) ~ Palm *mišt*, pl *mšat* (Denizeau 1960:496) ~ Pal Ar *mušt*, pl *mšat* 'Kamm' (Bau 169) ~ Malt *moxt*, pl *-ijiet* 'comb.'

m-š-y

miši/mpša, pkyimpši (v/i) 'walk'; OA *maša* (i) (Hava 722);

~ Alep *maši, yəməši* 'marcher' (Barth 789) ~ Kənd *maši* (i) 'gehen, marschieren, sich auf den Weg machen' (Vo/Wald 408) ~ Bagh (M) *miša* (i) 'walk, go on foot' (Wood/Bee 439) ~ Pal Ar *miši/maša* (i) (Bau 126) ~ Malt *mexa, jimxi*.

tmašša, pkyitmašša (v/i) 'stroll'; OA *tmašša* (Hava 722);

~ Alep *tmašša* 'se promener' (Barth 790) ~ Kənd *tmašša* 'gehen, zu Fuß gehen, marschieren' (Vo/Wald 408).

meši, f meškye, pl meškin (ap) 'walking': *šet meškye* 'she came on foot'; OA *mašir*;

~ Alep *meši* (ap) (Barth 789) ~ Qarṭ *meši* (Vo/Wald 408) ~ Pal Ar *maši* (Bau 127) ~ Malt *miexi*.

mašk/tmaššo (vn) 'walking'; OA *mašy* (Hava 722).

maškye 'manner of walking, gait'; < **mašyuz*; OA *mišya* (Hava 722);

~ Alep *mašwe* 'allure, conduite' (Barth 790) ~ Dam *mašye/mašwe*, pl *-at* 'gait' (Sto/Ani 99) ~ Pal Ar *mašye* 'Gangart' (Bau 121) ~ Malt *mixja*.

m-š-s

mass, pimašš (v/t) 'suck'; OA *mazša* (a/o) (Hava 723);

~ Alep *mass* (ə) 'sucer' (Barth 790) ~ Dam *mass* (ə) 'suck' (Sto/Ani

229) ~ Pal Ar *mašš* (u) 'saugen' (Bau 252).

m-š-r

masrišt 'money' < nonclass Ar *mašriyyāt* 'argent, monnaie', sg *mašriyya* 'para' (Dozy II, 605);

~ Alep *mašriyyāt/mašrāt/mašāri/mšəri* 'de l'argent comptant, des espèces', sg *mašriye* 'un para' (Barth 790) ~ Dam *mašriyye* 'Silberpara' (Wetzstein 1857:483) ~ əLM^aəḏḏamiye šini *lmašriyi ? ya'ni mašriyi* *kənit ra'ṭi hek fizmān 'abəl* 'Was ist die *mašriyi*? Die *mašriyi*, die war so klein, früher ...' (Behnstedt 1990:327) ~ Pal Ar *mašāri / mašriyyāt* 'Gold', sg *mašriyye* 'Münze' (Bau 128, 211).

m-š-l

mašl, pl *-at* 'whey'; OA *mašl/mašāla* (Hava 724);

~ Dam *mašəl* 'whey' (Sto/Ani 262) ~ Pal Ar *mašl* 'petit-lait' (Denizeau 1960:497), *mašl ḡibne* 'Molke' (Dalm VI, 304).

m-š-r-n

psarīn 'intestines' (no sg) < **mpsarīn*; OA *mašārīn* (doubly pl form), *mušrān*, sg *mašār* (Hava 723);

~ Alep pl *mašārīn*, sg *mušrān* 'boyau, intestin' (Barth 790) ~ Bagh (M) *mšārīn*, sg *mušrān* 'intestine, gut' (Wood/Bee 440) ~ Pal Ar pl *mašārīn*, sg *mušrān* 'intestines' (Jer, Piamenta 1979b:260) ~ Malt *msaren*, sg *mušrana*.

m-š

maš- (governing pron suffixes) ~ *ma* (in isolation or attached to a following def. art.) 'with, by means of, containing': *ma'i, ma'ak, ma'u, maxxā, mā'āna, mā'ākon, maxxon*, 'with me/I have, with you/you have, etc.'; *mā'āni flus* 'I have some money on me'; *ī-ša'ānine l-impšallie mā'ānaxa šava* 'we keep the blessed olive branch at home'; *m-š-mammul^c pitfassek m-š-morós^c mal-faskie* 'the midwife wraps the baby in a swaddling band'; *pixābb l-pint ma kalpu* 'he genuinely loves the girl'; *takkāyt x-xarriṭp ma xažra u xattayton pkyimpallu xost l-moe* 'I pounded the carobs with a stone and I let them soak in water'; *saddet v-ve'i ma l-ixlīp* 'she covered the bowl containing the milk'; *pšan tasāy lipen paxri r-rawpe ma fitte xlip* 'in order to make yoghurt, I dissolve the curdled milk in a little [ordinary] milk'; *rabbi sawa l-intsān ma l-ikkyūn* 'God fashioned man from clay'; OA *ma'a*.

[For the OA shift **h* > **hh* here, see Rabin (1951:85).]

m-^s-z

mā'āzen 'goats,' sg 'anzē; OA *mā'āz/mā'z* 'bucks and goats,' *mā'āz* 'goat, buck' (Hava 726);

- Alep *mā'z*—'se dit dans la campagne d'Alep, pour *mā'z* et 'anz' (Barth 793) - Dam *mā'z* (coll) n un *mā'zāye*, pl *mā'āzi* 'goats' (Sto/Ani 105) - Pal Ar *mā'za/mā'zāy*, pl *mā'z* (Bauer 375) - Malt ⟨moghōz⟩ 'goats,' n un ⟨moghāz⟩ 'goat.'

m-^s-k¹

mā'ak, *pkym'ak* (v/t) 'rub'; MLA *mā'aka* (a) (Hava 727);

- Alep *mā'ak* (a) 'frotter énergiquement le linge en le lavant' (Barth 794) - Mos (M) *mā'ak* = 'fark al-malābis 'ind gaslihi ...' (al-Bakri 1972:466) - Pal Ar *mā'ak* 'scrub laundry' - Malt ⟨mieghek, jmieghek⟩ 'make s.o. roll on the ground' (Aquilina 1990:824).

m-^s-k²

mā'ik 'deep' (mq1).

m-^s-k-r

mā'akrūn 'macaroni'; MLA *mā'karūna* (Wehr 1073) < It *maccherone* (Zingarelli 1970:983);

- Alep *mā'karūne* n coll 'du macaroni' (Barth 794) - Dam *mā'karūne* (Sto/Ani 143) - Leban Ar *mā'krūn* (Feghali 1935:22, fn 3) - Pal Ar *mā'karūn* (Bau 198).

m-f-t

mūxt (adv) 'gratis'; *mā-pkyatī mūxt* 'he doesn't give anything for nothing' < Tk *mūft* 'Gratisgabe' (Steuerwald 1972:665) < Pers *muft* 'gratuitously' (Steingass 1930:1284).

[Urmi *mūfta* 'for nothing' (Garbell 1965: 319); on the CyA shift *f* > *x*, cf. Borg (1985:26).]

m-l-²

malla, *pimalli* (v/t) 'fill': *māllion moe* 'fill them with water'; cf. OA *mālā'a* (a), *mālā'a* 'he filled a vessel' (Lane 2799);

- Alep *malla*, *ymalli* / *tala*, *yātli* (moins usité que *malla*) / *talla*, *yātli* intensif de l'emplir, remplir (un vase)' (Barth 800, 92) - Dam *malla* 'fill' (Sto/Ani 89) - Kānd *ntala*, *yāntāli* 'sich füllen, voll werden' yielding secondary *tala*, *yātli* 'füllen' (Vo/Wald 73) - Sii *mala* (i) (Vo/Wald 73, 411) - Arb *tala* (Jastrow 1991b:57) - Bagh (M) *mila* (a) (Wood/Bee 444) - Kfar'ab *talla* 'il remplit' (Feghali 1919:77; 1938:747) - Pal Ar *malla* 'füllen' (Bau 119) - Malt ⟨mela, jumla⟩.

ntala, *pkyntal* (pl *pkyntāllu*) (v/i) 'be filled'; *sift nūssulayl lina k-kiddās tel-^sanāstasi^s u l-iknise pittintal nes, xpar u zā'ār* 'at midnight on [Holy] Saturday, we celebrate the Mass of the Resurrection and the church is full of people, young and old'; OA *imtala'a* (Hava 731);

[Roth (1975:86) cites the Imperfect 3rd pers pl variant *pkyntū*. Note the re-etymologization of this lexeme in several Arabic dialects exemplified here. On back-formation from Form VIII verbs, see Mez (1906:254).]

- Alep *ntala*, *yāntāli* (moins usité que *tmalla*) 'être rempli' (Barth 92) - Kānd *ntala*, *yāntāli* 'sich füllen' (Vo/Wald 73) - Arb *tala* (Jastrow 1991b:57) - Bagh (M) *mtila* 'be filled' (Wood/Bee 444) - Hama *ntala* (Lewin 1966:228) - Kfar'ab *ntala* 'il se remplit' (Feghali 1919:77; 1938:747) - Pal Ar *ntala*, *yintli* (Piamenta 1979b:262) - Malt ⟨ntela, jintela⟩.

mplan [bla:n], f -e, pl -in 'full, stout': *k-kamar o mplan* 'it's full moon' < **mlān*; OA *mal'ān* (Hava 731);

- Alep *malān*, f -e 'rempli, empli, plein' (Barth 800) - Āz *malān* 'dicht, voll' (Vo/Wald 411) - Çukur *tiyān* 'voll' (Procházka 2002:35) - Bask *mitlān* (Abu-Haidar 1978:63) - Pal Ar *malān/matlān* (Bau 345).

m-l-h

malleh, *pimalleh* (v/t) 'salten, pickle': *kism mniz-zaytūn, pimallxuon pšan tannakol š-šitvie* 'they pickle some of the olives for us to eat in the winter'; OA *mallaḥa* 'put much salt in a dish' (Hava 732);

- Fask *malleh* 'salzen' (Vo/Wald 411) - Dam *mallaḥ* 'salt' (Sto/Ani 199) - Pal Ar *mallaḥ* (Bau 251) - Malt ⟨mellaḥ, jmellaḥ⟩.

tmullox (vn) 'pickling (e.g., of olives)': *z-zaytūn piritu tmullox* 'the olives have to be pickled' (Frangiskou 127).

milx 'salt'; OA *milh* 'saltish, salt' (Hava 732);

- Alep *mālāh*, pl *mlūh* (a) 'sel' au pl 'sortes de sel' (Barth 796) - Pal Ar *mīlēh* 'Salz' (Bau 251) - Ka'b *mālāh* (Vo/Wald 411) - Cai *malh* (Bad / Hi 830) - Malt ⟨melh⟩.

melex, f *melxe*, pl -in 'salty'; nonclass Ar *māliḥ* 'saltish' (Hava 732);

- Alep *mēlēh*, f *mēlha* 'salē' (Barth 797) - Pal Ar *māliḥ* 'salzig' (Bau 251) - Malt ⟨mielaḥ, f -a, pl melhin⟩ 'salty'.

millaxa, pl -āt 'saltpan, saltcellar'; CyA name for Larnaca; OA *mallaḥa* 'a place where salt is generated' (Lane 2733);

- Alep *mallaḥa* 'salière, saline' (Barth 707) - Leban Ar *mallaḥa* 'marais salant' (Denizeau 1960:502) - Cai *mallaḥa* 'salt-cellar, salt-mine' (Spiro 1895:589) - Malt ⟨il-Mellieḥa⟩ (topon).

m-n¹

mən 'who': *mən-enne* 'who are they?'; *tel meno aḏa b-bayt?* 'whose house is this?' < **mən*; OA *man* (Hava 735);

~ Alep *mən* (Sabuni 1980:76) ~ Hit, 'Āna *mān* (Blanc 1964:138) ~ Dēr iz-Zōr *mən* (Jastrow 1978:115) ~ Dam *mīn* (seltenerer Nebenform: *mēn*) (Grotzfeld 1965:23) ~ Pal Ar *mīn* (Bau 360) ~ Malt *min*.

memma 'whoever, anyone': *memma pkyáxta'a* (< *qt'*) *mampaxxu* '(on Maundy Thursday) we bless (with incense) whoever happens to come by'; < Ar **mēn-mā*.

memma kán 'whoever it may be' < Ar **mēn-mā kán*;
~ Alep *mən-mā kán* 'qui que ce soit' (Barth 801) ~ Pal Ar *mīn mā kán* (Bau 360).

m-n²

min (prep) 'from': *minni*, *minnak* (f -ik), *minnu*, f *minna/mininna*; *minkon*, *minnon* ('from me, you, etc.'): *aš piḡkaimni mif-fis-saxxar* 'why do you wake me up so early (lit., at dawn)?'; *mpsikna* ^G*aftokínito* ^G*u žina mit-tarp ta kwantži* ^G*pantā* 'we took the car and came along the road we always took'; *ta pkyíriž-u mill-iknise*, *piruxu žava* 'inton ^G*tierniōr* l-^G*askar* ^G*pastiša* 'when they (newly married couple) return from church, they go home and offer the guests sweetmeats'; ^G*kati* ^G*šuxa ta kanu kintám mininna kanisuru* ^G*maskes*, *kaniruxu kanistarr-u xost l-iskák* '(during carnival) some old people before our time used to disguise themselves and scuffle in the street';

[CyA *min* tends to merge with a following adverb: *mnimps* 'from yesterday', *mnawnke* 'from over there', *mixxók* 'from above.']

~ Āz *čanki masihīye-nəhne əlnəs* ^G*annət mənəna* 'weil wir Christen sind, hassen uns die Leute sehr' (Jastrow 1981:189).

mnimps 'from yesterday' < Ar **min-ams*.

mimparra 'from outside, outside; by heart (= Mod Gk απ' έξω)': *mimparra kanyistantru težawzúni* 'outside, they were waiting to marry me off'; *kaffia exte* ^G*arsera* ^G*ta kant mimparra* 'there was an opening in the wall giving on to the street.'

[The last meaning suggests that a calque on απ' έξω is also at the basis of Pal Ar 'al-gāyib, 'an *gēb* 'auswendig' (Bau 39) and of MLA *gayban* and 'an *ḡahri l-gaybi* 'by heart, from memory' (Wehr 1979:807).

mixxóst 'out of' < Ar **min-fost*.

mixxók 'from above, above' < Ar **min-fawq*;
~ Kənd *fəq/mən foq/mfə* 'von oben, nach oben, oben' (Vo/Wald 320) ~ Bišm *faw*/*min faw* 'oben, etc.' (Jiha 1964:169-170).

mixxullá 'up, upwards' < Ar **min-fawq-l-ard*.

mintáxt (adv/prep) 'from below, below; under': *enne kullon parra*, *pikuuni ... mintáxt z-zaytunát u mintáxt x-xarrupát* 'they are all outside, he said to me, ... under the olive-trees and under the carob-trees'; < Ar **min-táht*;

~ Alep 'adda *mən taht əš-šəbək* 'il a passé sous les fenêtres'—précède les prépositions et certains adverbes de lieu pour leur faire exprimer le sens de la question *unde: mən 'ánd, mən táht*, etc. (Barth 801) ~ Kənd *mən taht* (prāp) 'unter'; (adv) 'von unten' (Vo/Wald 67) ~ Pal Ar *taht* (prāp/adv) (Bau 322).

mnawna 'from here; hereto': *kan xtir* ^G*šiskolo* ^G*teáxta'a šī-vəxen* *mnawna* '(during the Greek-Turkish hostilities) it was very difficult for anyone to cross over to our side'; < Ar **min-hawnā*.

mnawnke 'from there, over there': *kallina oxt*, *kallina saxrāt*, *kanu mnawnke*, *aš tantsáy?* 'we had a sister and brothers-in-law; they (too) were over there [i.e. behind the Turkish lines]; what could we do?'; *psiknaxa mnawnk-u-mnawna* 'we picked it up from either end'; < Ar **min-hawnkā*.

m-w-t

mat, *pimūt* (v/i) 'die'; *mat pšan moḏ-u* 'he died for his country'; *aš pitsaw* ^G*amma* ^G*temūt exen min šaḡkon?* 'what do you do when there's a death in the family?'; OA *māta* (u) (Hava 739);

~ Alep *māt* (u) 'mourir' (Barth 805) ~ Mard *māt* (u) 'sterben' (Vo/Wald 416) ~ Pal Ar *māt* (u) (Bau 289) ~ Malt *miet*, *imut* 'die.'

maet, *pimaet* (v/t) 'kill' < **māyyat*; OA *mawwata* (Hava 739);

~ Alep *mawwat* 'faire mourir' (Barth 805) ~ Dam *haš-šəgəl* 'am *ymawwətni* 'this work is killing me' (Sto/Ani 131) ~ Kənd *mawwet* 'töten, in den Tod reißen, verrückt machen, sich tot stellen (rəhu)' (Vo/Wald 416) ~ Pal Ar *mawwat* (Bau 303) ~ Malt *mewwet*, *imewwet*.

[Cf. medial -ww- > -yy- in JAram (Dalm 1905:316).]

mawt 'death'; OA *mawt* (Hava 739);

~ Alep *mōt/mawt* 'action de mourir' (Barth 805) ~ Mard *mawt* 'Tod'

(Vo/Wald 416) ~ Pal Ar *mōt* (Bau 301) ~ Malt ⟨mewt⟩.

maet, f *mayte*, pl -*in* 'dead; deceased person': *l-maet minlabbsu pšik lā-aris*; *mankūl savitu aris* 'we clothe the dead person like a bridegroom; we say: "She turned him into a bridegroom"'; *mannintru l-maet tvállayl ʒos^G tespáx* 'we hold a wake over the corpse all night until dawn'; *kintám kwannáxta'a mixxóst l-ixkali aška fkyora kallina u kwantžipillu m-maet* 'formerly we used to cut from the fields whatever flowers we had, and brought them for the deceased person'; OA *mayyit* (Hava 739);

~ Alep *mayyet*, f *mayyte*, pl des deux genres *mayytin*, pl f *mayytāt*, adj 'mort, morte' (Barth 806) ~ Mard *mayyət*, f *mayyte*, pl *mayytin/mwāt* 'tot, Toter' (Vo/Wald 416) ~ Pal Ar *mayyit/miyyit* (Bau 303) ~ Malt ⟨mejjēt, f -a, pl -in⟩ 'dead.'

m-w-r-ğ

moraš, pl *mvareš* 'threshing sled': *kwannak'o naxni xok m-moraš u kwannirka'a ʒyirús^G xok l-iš'ir* 'we used to mount the threshing sled and pass over the barley'; Aram *mōrag* (Fraenkel 1886:133); OA *nūrag* 'thresher' (Lane 2783, 655), *nawrag/nayrag* (Dozy II, 655); Heb *mōrag/mōrāg* (Ges/Bu 408; BDB 558);

~ Alep *mawrağ* 'herse à dépiquer le grain' (Barth 806) ~ Leban Ar *mawraž*, pl *mwārež* 'un plateau de bois plus long que large, dont la face inférieure est hérissée de petits cailloux durs et qui est utilisé au Liban pour battre le blé en écrasant la tige sèche sur l'aire' (Fegh M/J 90, fn 13; Jiha 1964:88; map 492, Behnstedt 1997) ~ Qalam *murğ/mōrağ* (Arno/Behn 1993:89) ~ Jer *mōrağ*, Hawrān, Balqā *nōrağ* 'Dreschtafel' (Dalm III, 79) ~ N Pal Ar (Gal) *nōrağ* (Bau 79), (Jer) *mōrağ* (Arraf 1982:21) ~ Cai *nōrag*, pl *nawārig* 'threshing sled' (Bad/Hi 891).

[On reflexes of **mawrağ* in Syria, see Behnstedt (*loc. cit.*), Fraenkel (1886:133) relates this lexeme to Heb and Aram *mōrag* and assigns *nawrağ* a S Arabian provenance; cf. JMA *mōrag* (Blau 1965:156).]

m-w-h

moe (< **muwayya*; cf. Nöldeke 1910:169), pl *moyāt* 'water': *man-nimpsek moyāt mnan ma lina moe ... u memma pkyáxta'a (< qf'⟨) mantsūr ʒsúppa^G* '(on "sprinkling day") we draw water from barrels, [or] wherever we can get hold of it, ... and we drench whoever happens to pass by' (ğrdšū); *moe mpsallie* 'holy water' (cf. Pal Ar *mayy mquaddase* 'Weihwasser'; Bauer 357); *moe žerkye* 'running water' (< **mwayye* ġerye); *moe soxne* 'hot water'; OA *mā*, pl *miyāh/amwāh* (Hava 740);

~ Alep *mwayy/mway*, qqf. *māy* 'eau, de l'eau' (Barth 808) ~ Kənd

mwayy, Darag *m̄m̄ōy* 'Wasser' (Vo/Wald 417) ~ Hask *mōy* (Talay 2002:77) ~ Bagh (J) *mayy*, (C) *māy* 'water' (Blanc 1964:18) ~ Leban Ar *mway* (Feghali 1935:12) ~ *mwaiye* (Fegh M/J 1977:131) ~ Pal Ar *mayy*, *mayye* [dim von *mā*'] (Bau 354) ~ Egyp Ar *muwāyya/moyya/muyya* (Behn/Woid 1999:400) ~ 19th cent Cai *ummayya* (Woidich 1995:283) ~ Malt ⟨ilma⟩.

[Urmi *moe* 'water, broth' (Garbell 1965:321) ~ Ma'l *mōya* 'Wasser' (Arnold 1990a:307).]

muvárt 'rose water' < **māward*: *mantsáy m-muvárt ma r-rixxán* 'we make freshener with basilicum'; cf. Ar *al-māward* (11th cent.; Hopkins 1984:179);

~ Dam *māwarād* 'rose water' (Sto/Ani 195) ~ Bagh (M) *mayy warid* 'rosewater, perfume made from blossoms' (Wood/Bee 449) ~ Bišm *māward* 'Rosenwasser' (Jiha:1964:164) ~ Pal Ar *mawárd* (Bau 247) ~ [Malt ⟨ilma žahar⟩].

N

n-b-δ

mpit 'wine', pl *mpet* (< **nbēyed*) 'kinds of wine'; OA *nabīδ*, pl *nabā'īδ* 'intoxicating beverage made of dates or raisins' (Hava 745);

[“Another very important item in the commerce of the island is the wine called Commandaria. The fruit is gathered in August and September; the grape is red, and the vines small and low. The wine has a rich colour, rather like that of our Chianti. It is put into jars or vessels, pointed below, each of which contains from 15 to 20 of our Tuscan barrels: these are buried up to the middle in the earth, and pitched within to prevent the earth from drawing the wine, hence Cypriot wine commonly tastes of pitch. After a year it begins to lose its redness, and to incline to yellow, and the older it gets the lighter it becomes, so that wine of eight or ten years old resembles in colour our muscadine.” (Mariti 1769:114–115)]

~ Alep *nbīd/mbīd*, pl *mbēyed* 'vin' (Barth 812) ~ Dam *nbīd/nbīt* 'wine' (Sto/Ani 264) ~ Bask *nbīd* 'wine' (Abu-Haidar 1978:57) ~ Pal Ar *nbīd/mbīd* 'Wein, nebīdāt 'Weine, Weinsorten' (Bau 357), "kommt nur bei Christen zuweilen in Frage" (Dalm VII, 217) ~ Judaeo-Ar *nabīδ* 'wine and other beverages' (Diem/Raden 207) ~ Malt ⟨nbīd⟩ 'wine', pl ⟨nbejjēd⟩ 'kinds of wine.'

n-b-ē

n-Nep'e (topon) < **nābi'a*, ap of *naba'a* (u/i/a) 'issue forth (water)'

(Hava 746); Syriac *neḅā* 'source' (J. Payne Smith 1903:326); cf. OA *yanbū* 'water-spring, streamlet', *manba*, pl *manābi*, nonclass Ar *naba* 'spring' (Hava 746);

~ Alep *nēbe* (ap) of *naba* 'jaillir (: eau de source)' (Barth 813) ~ Leban Ar *nab* (Feghali 1918:62) ~ Pal Ar *nab'a* 'Quelle' (Bau 237).

n-b-h

nabbex, *pinabbex* (v/t) 'arouse s.o. from sleep'; OA *nabbahahu/ anbahahu min an-nawm* 'he roused him from sleep' (Hava 747);

~ Alep *nabbah* 'avertir (qqn) 'ala de (qqe)' (Barth 813) ~ Pal Ar *nabbah*, *ynabbah* 'wecken, aufmerksam machen' (Bau 355) ~ Yem *nabbah* 'remind s.o. of s.th.' (Qafisheh 2000:571) ~ Malt *nebbah*, *inebbah* 'enlighten.'

tnabbex, *pkwitnabbex* (v/i) 'wake up'; OA *tanabbaha min an-nawm* (Hava 747);

~ Alep *tnabbah* 'etre averti' (Barth 813) ~ Cai *itnabbih* 'be alerted' (Bad/Hi 846).

nipxān, f -e, pl -in 'awake': *ekef nipxān* 'he remained awake' < Ar **nabhān*;

~ Alep *nabih* 'éveillé, avisé' (Barth 813).

n-ḡ-r

naḡar, *pkwitḡar* (v/t) 'bolt (door)'; cf. GAram *negrā* 'door bolt' (Sokol 1990:341); OA *naḡara (u)* 'hew (wood)' (Hava 751);

~ Alep *naḡar (o)* 'fermer une porte avec une barre de bois' (Barth 815) ~ Leban Ar *naḡar* (Fegh M/J 1977:35, fn 16).

naḡḡūr 'door bolt, latch'; MAr *nḡr* 'doorbolt' (Blau 2002:251);

~ Alep *naḡūr* 'barre de bois' (Barth 815) ~ Dam *nuḡr el-bāb* 'barre de bois pour fermer la porte' (Denizeau 1960:512).

n-ḡ-l

mintḡel, pl *mneḡel* 'sickle, scythe': *ḡammaḡ kanisūr l-im'āll u kan-yipes*, *kwarrūx*, *kwannāxistu ma l-imneḡel* 'when the wheat ripened and hardened, we used to go and reap it with sickles'; OA *minḡal*, pl *manāḡil* (Hava 752); Syriac *maggālā* 'sickle' (J. Payne Smith 1903:250);

~ Alep *manḡal*, pl *mnēḡel* 'faucille, serpe' (Barth 816) ~ Darag *mānḡal*, pl *mānēḡil* 'Sichel' (Vo/Wald 420) ~ Çukur *manḡil*, pl *mnēḡil* 'kleine Hacke' (Procházka 2002:180) ~ Pal Ar *manḡal*, pl *manāḡil* 'Sichel' (Bau 275) ~ Malt *mingel*, pl *mnieḡel* 'scythe.'

n-ḡ-m

n-nuḡm 'the morning star'; OA *nuḡum* 'stars' (Hava 753);

[The high back vowel in this CyA form suggests an etymon distinct from OA *naḡm* 'star'; note other unetymological vocalizations cited.]

~ Alep *nəḡəm*, pl *nḡūm* 'constellation, astres', *nəḡmet əs-ḡəbeḡ* 'l'étoile du matin' (Barth 816) ~ Pal Ar *niḡmet əs-ḡəbeḡ* 'Morgenstern' (Bau 209, 210) ~ Cai *nigm*, pl *nugūm* 'star, planet' (Bad/Hi 850).

naḡme, pl *ntḡum* 'star'; OA *naḡm*, pl *anḡum/anḡām/nuḡūm/nuḡum* (Hava 753);

~ Alep *nəḡme*, pl -āt 'un astre, une étoile' (Barth 816) ~ Dam *naḡme*, pl *nḡūm* 'star' (Sto/Ani 223) ~ Pal Ar *niḡme*, pl *nḡūm* 'Stern' (Bau 288) ~ Cai *nigm*, pl *nugūm/nigūm* 'star' (Bad/Hi 850).

n-ḡ-l

naxl (coll/pl), n un -e 'bees': *asel ten-naxl* 'bee honey'; *akksitni n-naxle* 'the bee stung me'; *kattēf n-naxl* 'he gathered honey'; OA *nahl*;

~ Alep *naḡəl* 'abeilles' (Barth 818) ~ Riš *naḡəl* 'Bienen', n un *naḡle*, pl -āt (Vo/Wald 420) ~ Mos (C) *naḡəl*, n un *naḡli* 'bee' (infor) ~ Pal Ar *naḡl* (Bau 60) ~ Malt *nahal*, n un *nahla*.

n-ḡ-n

naxni (subj pron; emph pron; copula) 'we, us', cf. CMAr *nḡny* (Graf 1905:16) < **naḡnā*; OA *naḡnu*;

~ Alep *nəḡən/nəḡne*, pron pers 'nous' (Barth 818) ~ Kənd *nəḡne*, Ka^b *naḡne/na^cne* ~ Sii *nə^cne* ~ Snēb *nəḡna* ~ Darag *naḡən* 'wir' (Vo/Wald 421) ~ Bišm *niḡna* (Jiha 1964:126) ~ Bask *niḡin/niḡna* (Abu-Haidar 1978:75) ~ Pal Ar *niḡna/naḡna/naḡn* (Bau 365) ~ Malt *ahna*.

n-ḡ-y

nexa (no pl) 'side, flank': *kwantārri ḡammaḡ kaffia xava; kanirūx ll-exte nexa t-tipn u ll-oxre nexa l-im'āll* 'we used to winnow when it was windy; the straw would go one way and the wheat the other way'; *l-intsān kanirū šibb; ḡanḡ kantḡi pintua kanitir moxxu ll-exte nexa* 'the husband wanted a boy; if a baby girl arrived he would turn his head away'; OA *nāḡāh/nāḡiyah*, pl *nawāḡin/nāḡiyāt* 'side, region, district, limit' (Hava 756);

~ N Pal Ar *nāḡa* 'side' (Piamenta, p.c.) ~ Sa^d *naḡa* 'bei': *naḡa d-dukkan* 'bei dem Laden' (Behnstedt 1987:306) ~ Malt *naḡa* ['naḡa] 'side', pl *nḡāwi* (< *nawāḡi*) 'neighbourhood.'

nexye (prep/adv) 'away from, apart, separately': *mannām nexye* 'we

sleep separately'; *l-iš'ir kwaxxottu nexye mill-im'áll* 'we used to keep the barley apart from the wheat'; OA *nāhiyat-* 'in the neighbourhood of' (Hopkins 1984:307), *nāhiyata* 'in the direction of' (Hava 756);

~ Alep *nāhye* 'pays, région, contrée', pl *nawāhi* 'environs': *nawāhi 'ad alkbir* 'aux environs de Pâques' (Barth 818) ~ Ka'b *nēhye* 'Seite' (Vo/Wald 420) ~ Pal Ar *nāhya*, pl *nawāhi* 'Gebiet, Landschaft' (Bau 123, 188), *nāhiye* 'District, Kanton' (Socin 1881:6) ~ Judaeo-Ar *nāhiya* '(lit., district) quarter of a town' (Diem/Raden 208).

n-x-r

maxūr, pl *mnexūr* 'nose': *nafax maxuru* 'he blew his nose'; OA *munxūr*, pl *manāxūr* (Lane 277);

~ Alep *mānxār*, pl *manāxār/mnēxār* 'narine, naseau (du cheval)' (Barth 819) ~ Hama *mūxār*, pl *mawāxār/manāxār* 'Nasenloch, Nase' (Lewin 1966:227) ~ Hat *minxār/muxxār*, etc. (Arnold 1998:308) ~ Qalam *minxār/munxār/minxoṛ/muxār/muxōṛ* (Arno/Behn 132) ~ Āz *maxxūr*, Qarṭ *malāxīn* 'Nase' (Jastrow 1978:685) ~ Leban Ar *manxūr*, pl *mnāxūr* 'nez' (Feghali 1938:832) ~ Pal Ar *munxār*, pl *manāxār* 'Nase' (Bau 216) ~ Daṯ *mūxar* 'Nasenloch' (Landberg 1920:2772) ~ N Yem *maxxūr/manxūr*, etc. 'Nase' (Behnstedt 1996:187) ~ Om *mōxra* 'Nase' (Reinhardt 1894:24) ~ Malt *ṁnieher*, pl *mnehrijiet* 'nose', *ṁmunhar* [a:] 'nostril'.

[The shift [nx] > [xx] is fairly common in CyA and invites comparison with the phasing out of the velar nasal in Hama, Daṯ *mūqār* 'Schnabel' (Lewin 1966:201; Landberg 1920:2772), Alep *mīseh*, f *mīsha* 'qui se sent mauvais, puant' < *nšh* (Barth 826); Bāḥz, Mos *mīšāg* (Jastrow 1981:414), Arb *mīšār* (Jastrow 1991b:412) 'Säge' < Ar *minšār*. Vollers' comment on this trait: '... erinnert an das Sabäische, Hebräische und Aramäische': Heb *massōr*, Syriac *massōrō* 'Säge' (Nöldeke 1910:182).]

n-x-l

naxal, *pkynxol* (v/t) 'sift (flour, grain)': *mpsixt l-itxīn, mā-xxultu* (< **nxl*) 'j'ai pris la farine, je ne l'ai pas tamisée' (Roth 1996:70); *xxult l-itxīn u karrīst* 'I sieved the flour and shaped the dough into loaves'; OA *naxala* (u) 'sift (flour)' (Hava 758);

Alep *naxal* (o) 'bluter (la farine)' (Barth 819) ~ Dam *naxxal* 'sieve (finely)' (Sto/Ani 211) ~ Bagh (M) *nixal* (u) 'sift' (Wood/Bee 454) ~ Pal Ar *naxxal* 'cribler' (Denizeau 1960:514).

xxale 'bran': *l-ixnentzīr pkyaklu xxale* 'pigs eat bran' < **nxāla*; OA *nuxāla* (Hava 758).

~ Alep *nxāle* 'son (de la farine)' (Barth 819) ~ Fəsk *nəxxāle* 'Kleie'

(Vo/Wald 421) ~ Pal Ar *nxāle* (Bau 175) ~ Malt *ṁnhhala* 'bran'

muxxol, pl *mnaxel* 'small sieve'; OA *munxul/munxul*, pl *manāxil* (Hava 758);

[On treatment of the alveolar nasal here, cf. Blanc (1964:157). Complete loss of this historical segment is exemplified in Bagh (l) *mūxol*, pl *mwīxol* (Blanc, loc cit.).]

~ Alep *mānxol*, pl *manāxel/mnēxel* 'tamis à séparer la farine du son, blutoir, tamis de cuisine' (Barth 819) ~ Dam *mānxol*, pl *manāxel* 'sieve (fine)' (Sto/Ani 211) ~ Tall Minnes *māxul* (Behnstedt 2000:183) ~ Kənd *mūxol*, pl *mawəxol* (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ 'Aq *māxol* (Jastrow 1991b:415) ~ Pal Ar *minxul/munxul/mūxul/mūxil* 'Mehlsieb' (Dalm III, 256; Bauer 276), 'Haarsieb' (Wetzstein 1891:3), pl *manāxil* (Bau 276) ~ Om *mōxal* (Reinhardt 1894:50).

n-d-y

nite 'dew'; OA *nadan* (Hava 760);

~ Alep *nāde* 'rosée' (Barth 822) ~ Dam *nāde* 'dew' (Sto/Ani 65) ~ Pal Ar *nada*, Leban Ar *nidi* 'Tau, Niederschlag' (Bau 298) ~ Malt *ṁida*.

n-r-k

Orka = Gk *Norka* (name of Cypriot village).

n-z-l

nizel, *pkyntzel* (v/i) 'descend': *ntzel mnawnke, teaxtlūk* 'get down from there or they'll kill you!'; OA *nazala* (i) (Hava 763);

~ Alep *nāzel* (e) 'descendre' (Barth 823) ~ Kənd *nāzel* (a) 'hinabsteigen, hinuntergehen' (Vo/Wald 422) ~ Pal Ar *nizil* (a/i) (Bau 157) ~ Malt *ṁnizel, jinžel*

nezel, f *nezle*, pl *nezlīn* (ap) 'descending'; OA *nāzil*;

~ Alep *nēzel* (ap) (Barth 823) ~ Pal Ar *nāzel* (Elihai 1999:312) ~ Malt *ṁniezel, f niezla, pl nezlīn*.

nazl (vn) 'descending'; OA *nuzūl*.

n-s-f

nassef, *pinassef* (v/t) 'winnow'; cf. OA *ansafa* 'scatter (dust : wind)' (Hava 766);

~ Alep *nassaf* 'vanner' (Barth 825) ~ Pal Ar *nassaf* 'von größeren Strohteilchen reinigen' (Bau 369).

tmussof (vn) 'sifting (of wheat from chaff)'

n-s-w

nesfān 'women,' sg *mara* (mr²↓): *nesfānna pišullu pšas-sē'elik* 'our women sew [clothes] for the poor' (Frangiskou 53); OA *niswān* (Hava 767);

~ Alep *nəswān* 'femmes' (Barth 826) ~ Mard *nəswān* 'Frauen' (Vo/Wald 423) ~ Hask *nəsen* (Talay 2002:78) ~ Pal Ar *niswān* (Bau 116) ~ Malt *nisa* 'women, wives.'

n-s-y

ntsa, *pkyintsi* (v/t; Imptv: *ntsi* m/f, *ntsu*) 'forget': *ntsa teaxtūpinna* 'he forgot to write to us'; OA *nasiya* (a) (Hava 768);

~ Alep *nəsi* (a) 'oublier' (Barth 826) ~ Mard *nəsi* (a) 'vergessen' (Vo/Wald 423) ~ Bagh (M) *nisa* (a) 'forget' (Wood/Bee 458) ~ Pal Ar *nisi/nasa* (a) (Bau 332) ~ Malt *nesa*, *jinsa*.

n-š-r¹

našar, *pkyintšor* (v/t) 'hang (clothes)'; OA *našara* (u/i) (Hava 769); ~ Alep *našar* (o) 'étendre (*lxasīl* la lessive pour l'essorer)' (Barth 827) ~ Kənd *našar* (ə) 'ausbreiten' (Vo/Wald 424) ~ Pal Ar *našar* (u) 'hang washing to dry' (Elihai 1999:323) ~ Malt *naxar*, *jonxor*.

našr (vn) 'hanging (laundry)'; OA *našr*.

n-š-r²

mnyeššar, f *mnyeššra*, pl *mnyeššrin* 'solitary (person); abandoned, deserted, neglected, dilapidated (house, property)': *má-ruxna sine ntaylep l-ixkali u saru mnyeššrin* 'we didn't go to tend the fields for a whole year and they became neglected'; *mat n-^Gnikočiri^G u ekef b-bayt mnyeššar* 'the proprietor died and the house remained deserted'; cf. JArām *nāšrā*, Syriac *nōšrō* 'das Abfallende' (Levy III, 454); Heb *nāšar* 'it fell off, dropped' (Klein 1987:430); nonclass *naθara* 'fall off (leaves)' (Hava 758).

[Dialectal cognates of this CyA lexeme appear to be rare.]

n-š-f

nišef, *pkyinšef* (v/i) 'dry'; OA *našifa* (a) (Hava 771); ~ Alep *nəšəf* (a) 'devenir sec' (Barth 828) ~ Ka^cb *nəšəf* (a) 'trocknen' (Vo/Wald 424) ~ Bagh (M) *nišaf* (a) 'be/become dry' (Wood/Bee 459) ~ Pal Ar *nišif* (Bau 306) ~ Malt *nixef*, *jinxef*.

naššef, *pinaššef* (v/t) 'dry'; OA *naššafa* (Hava 771);

~ Alep *naššef* 'sécher' (Barth 828) ~ Malt *nixxef*, *inixxef* (v/t) 'dry.'

nešef, f *nešfe*, pl *-in* 'dry'; OA *nāšif*;

~ Alep *nešef*, f *nešfe*, pl *-in*, *-āt* 'sec (: lieu, air, linge)' (Barth 828) ~ Pal Ar *nāšif* 'trocken' (Bau 306) ~ Malt *nixxef* 'dry.'

našf/tmuššof (vn) 'drying'; OA *našf*.

n-š-t

tnasset, *pkyitnasset* 'eavesdrop'; OA *tanaššata* (Hava 773);

~ Alep *tnaššat* 'alā' 'écouter, à la personne de (qqn)' (Barth 831) ~ Hama *ššannat* 'belauschen' (Lewin 1966:215) ~ Qarṭ *ššannat*, Āz *ššannat* 'zuhören,' Mard *ššanat* 'lauschen' (Vo/Wald 246) ~ Pal Ar *tnaššat* 'lauschen' (Bau 190); *tanaššat*, *yetnaššat* 'écouter qqn ('ala)', *naššat* 'qui écoute, qui espionne, qui prête l'oreille' (Denizeau 1960:520) ~ Egyp Ar *iššannāt* 'lauschen' (Behn/Woid 1999:381).

n-š-ḥ

nasex, f *nasxe*, pl *nasxīn* 'healthy, robust; good (i.e., not rotten, e.g., fruit); strong, solid'; *intsān nasex* 'a healthy man'; *ikl nasex* 'nutritious food'; *ut nasex* 'solid piece of wood'; *t-tuffaxe m-mexrie* (< hr²) *pit-taxri n-nasxīn* 'the rotten apple spoils the good ones' (pop. saying; Frangiskou 230); cf. nonclass Ar *nāših* 'fat' (Hava 774);

[The meaning pattern of CyA *nasex* continues the Arabic calque on Arām *bəri* 'healthy, strong, stout, fat' (M. Jastrow 1905:193); note, by way of contrast, the unrelated meaning of the Cairene cognate.]

~ Alep *nəšəḥ*, f *nəšḥa* dans *wəččo nəšəḥ et našḥān* 'il a bonne mine' [Beir 'gras, obèse'] (Barth 830) ~ Pal Ar *nāših* 'korpulent, körperlich kräftig, dick (Mensch), wohlbeleibt' (Bau 111, 135, 75, 367), *ana lyom māš nāših* 'ich bin heute nicht gut aufgelegt' (Schmidt/Kahle II, 240) ~ Cai *nāših* 'clever, intelligent, bright' (Bad/Hi 865).

n-š-f

nuss 'half, centre, middle,' requiring a suffix agreeing in gender and number with the qualified noun): *fi nussa t-tarp* 'half-way'; *nussuxar* 'midday'; *pkyixmarra*, *pkyirfa'a*, *pisáy ši sa'a sa'a w-nuss xost l-forn* '[the bread] turns brown and rises after about an hour or an hour and a half in the oven'; *nuss apkyad* 'coin of 25 mills' (cryptic term to foil Greek salesmen); < OA *nišf/nusf*, pl *anšaf* (Hava 775);

[Blau (1965:73, fn 2) ascribes the schematic shift from *fi'l* to *fu'l* (attested for the 9th c.; Blau / Hopkins 1987:133) to the analogical influence within the numerical paradigm of fractions: *nult*, *rub'*, etc. The iconicity of the OA *fi'lun* pattern has been investigated in Schub (1987).]

~ Alep *nəss*, pl *nəsš* 'moitié, demi' (Barth 831) ~ Mard *nəss* (Vo/Wald 425) ~ Bagh (M) *nəss*, pl *nəsš* (Wood/Bee 460) ~ Pal Ar *nəss* (Bau 147) ~ Malt <nofs, pl -ijiet>.

nussani, f -e 'middle (adj)';

~ Çukur *nişşeni* 'mittlerer' (Procházka 2002:45).

nuss-sa'a 'half an hour.'

nuss-okka 'half an oke'; cf. CyG *okka* < Mod Gk *oká*.

n-ṭ-r

natar, *pkýintor* (v/t) 'watch over, tend (flocks, children); hold a wake (l-maet): attinrixon l-latuðkya ta lá-yuká'u xost b-bir 'watch over the small children so that they don't fall into the well!'; *tvaxxar kaffia exte mara žumpa, kantintura, má-kantxallia vaxta* 'all day long, there was a woman at her side (i.e., of the woman in childbed), she tended her and didn't leave her on her own'; *pri tatruxi attintri b-bakar* 'I want you (f) to go and tend the cattle'; OA *naṭara* (u) 'he kept or watched vines' (Lane 2809); Syriac *nəṭar* 'custodivit' (Brockel 426);

~ Alep *naṭar* (o) 'garder (une vigne, un verger, une maison, des enfants), surveiller' (Barth 832) ~ Çukur *naṭar* 'warten': *nṭer əswayy* 'wart ein bißchen' (Procházka 2002:163, 74) ~ Leban Ar *naṭar* (u) 'warten' ~ Pal Ar *naṭar* (u) 'bewachen' (Bau 58, 353).

stanter, *pkýistanter* (v/t) 'await'; < **stanter*; cf. OA *istanḡara* 'ask a delay from' (Hava 780);

~ Alep *stanzar* 'attendre' (Barth 834) ~ Hama *stanṭar* 'warten' (Lewin 1966:227) ~ Mard *standar* (Vo/Wald 426) ~ Bask *stanzar* 'wait for' (Abu-Haidar 1979:37) ~ Pal Ar *stanzar* (Piamenta 2000:243).

[Tur *ntarli* 'wait for me!']

stuntor (vn) 'waiting.'

natr (vn) 'tending (e.g., children, the aged, etc.)'; < OA *naṭr* (Hava 778).

natúr 'guard'; OA *nāṭūr* 'watchman, keeper of vines' (Hava 778) < Aram *nāṭūrā* (Fraenkel 1886:138);

~ Alep *nāṭūr*, pl *nwēṭir* 'garde, gardien' (Barth 833) ~ Dam *nāṭūr* [= *hāfiḡ* 'l-karm wa-ḡayruhu] (Al-Qasimi 477) ~ Bagh (M) *nāṭūr*, pl *nawāṭir* 'watchman' (Wood/Bee 462) ~ Bask *naṭūr* '(orchard) keeper' (Abu-Haidar 1978:119) ~ Pal Ar *nāṭūr*, pl *nawāṭir* (Piamenta, p.c.).

[Ma'l *naṭra* 'Wächter' (Arnold 1990a:333), Tur *naṭuro* (Jastrow 1985:188). Like certain other Eastern Arabic dialects, CyA here probably continues the Aram root *nṭr* in *nāṭūrā* 'custos' (Brockel 1966:426); the OA cognate of Aram *nṭr* is *nṭr*.]

n-ḡ-f

ntif, f -e, pl *ntaf* 'clean'; OA *naḡif*, pl *nuḡafā* (Hava 780), MLA *niḡaf* (Wehr 1146);

~ Alep *nāḡif*, pl *nāḡif* 'propre' (Barth 832) ~ Pal Ar *nāḡif*, pl *nāḡif* 'rein' (Bau 242) ~ Riš *naḡif*, pl Arb *nāḡif* (Vo/Wald 427) ~ Malt <nadiif, pl *ndaf* 'clean.'

n-ḡ-r

naḡara, pl *nāḡér* (< **nḡeyer*) 'a squat pitcher for drinking-water'; cf. nonclass Ar *naḡāra* 'two-handed earthenware mug' (Hava 782);

~ Alep *naḡāra*, pl *naḡāyer* 'petite gargoulette sans bec' (Barth 835) ~ Leban Ar *naḡāra* (Denizeau 1960:522).

n-ḡ-s

neḡes, *pkýinḡas* (v/i) 'drowse, doze': *ḡammaḡ pittakol flaḡuna* (= CyG *flauna*) *pittinḡas ixtir u pitri atnām* 'eating *flauna* makes you sleepy and you feel like dozing off' < **niḡis*; OA *naḡasa* (a/u) (Hava 782);

~ Alep *neḡes* (a) 'avoir sommeil' (Barth 835) ~ Pal Ar *niḡis* (a) 'schläfrig werden' (Bau 258) ~ Mard [—], *ḡanḡas* 'einnicken' (Vo/Wald 427) ~ Bagh (M) *niḡas* (a) 'become drowsy' (Wood/Bee 462) ~ Malt [—], *ḡonghos*.

naḡes, *pinaḡes* (v/t) 'render sleepy'; MLA *naḡas/anḡas* (Wehr 1149); ~ Alep *naḡas* 'causer de la somnolence à (qqn)' (Barth 835).

naḡas 'sleepiness'; OA *naḡs* (vn) (Hava 782);

~ Alep *naḡas* (Barth 835) ~ Pal Ar *naḡas* 'envie de dormir' (Elihai 1973:366) ~ Malt <nghas> 'drowsiness.'

neḡḡsān 'sleepy' < **niḡsān*; MLA *naḡsān* (Wehr 1148);

~ Alep *naḡsān* 'somnolent' (Barth 835) ~ Bagh (M) *naḡsān* 'sleepy' (Wood/Bee 1967:463) ~ Pal Ar *naḡsān* 'schläfrig' (Bau 258).

n-ḡ-n-ḡ

nāḡāna 'mint'; MLA *naḡnaḡ/naḡnāḡ* 'mint, peppermint' (Wehr 1150);

~ Alep *naḡnāḡ* 'menthe' (Barth 837) ~ Dam *naḡnaḡ* 'mint' (Sto/Ani 150) ~ Bagh (M) *niḡnāḡ* 'variety of mint' (Wood/Bee 464) ~ Pal Ar *naḡnaḡ* 'mentha sylvestris' (Dinsmore/Dalman 1911:68) ~ Malt <nagh-niegh> [na(:)nuḡ].

n-f-x

nafax, *pkyiffox* (= |pyinfox|) (v/t/i) 'blow': *nafax maxuru* 'he blew his nose'; *pkyiffox arpi* 'the west wind is blowing'; OA *nafaxa* (u) (Hava 786);

~ Alep *nafax* (o) 'souffler avec la bouche ou avec un soufflet' (Barth 838) ~ Kənd *nafax* (ə) 'aufblasen' (Vo/Wald 428) ~ Pal Ar *nafax* (u) (Bau 26) ~ Malt *nefah*, *jonfoħ* 'blow'.

n-f-d

naffet, *pinaffet* (v/t) 'shake trees to reap the fruit': *mannaffet z-zaytune* 'we shake the olive tree'; OA *nafada/naffada* 'shake off (leaves, fruit) from a tree; shake off (leaves, fruit)' (Hava 788);

~ Alep *naffad* 'secouer plusieurs fois (un tapis); secouer (ses habits)' (Barth 841) ~ Kənd *nafad* (ə) 'abschütteln, abwerfen' (Vo/Wald 428) ~ Leban Ar *nafad* 'balayer, nettoyer (la maison)' (Denizeau 1960:524) ~ Cai *naffad* 'dust, clean, brush' (Spiro 1895:659).

naft/tnuffot (vn) 'shaking (of trees to reap fruit, or of linen to remove dust)': *z-zaytunāt piritu naft* 'lit., the olive-trees need shaking' = 'the olives have to be picked'; OA *nafā*.

n-q-t

nakket, *pinakket* (v/i/t) 'drip': *l-fustān pinakket* 'the dress is dripping (on the washing-line)'; *maxuru pinakket timm* 'his nose is bleeding' (Frangiskou 106); OA *naqqata* 'spot, speck a garment' (Hava 794); MLA *naqqata* 'fall in drops' (Wehr 1164);

~ Alep *naqqat* 'tomber souvent ou longtemps goutte à goutte' (Barth 845) ~ Mard *naqqat* 'tropfen lassen; herabtropfen' (Vo/Wald 430) ~ Pal Ar *naqqat* 'tropfen', *bitnaqqet* (*ed-dīnya*) 'es tröpfelt' (Bau 306).

noxta 'drop' = |nokta|: *noxta noxta* 'drop by drop' (Frangiskou 68); OA *nuqta*.

n-q-l

nakal, *pkyinkol* (v/t) 'transport, remove'; OA *naqala* (u) (Hava 795); ~ Alep *naqal* (o) 'transporter' (Barth 846) ~ Kənd *naqal* (ə) 'tragen, befördern' (Vo/Wald 430) ~ Bagh (M) *niqal* (u) 'transport, transmit' (Wood/Bee 468) ~ Malt *naqqal*, *inaqqal*.

nakl (vn) 'transport'; OA *naql*; ~ Alep *naql* (vn) (Barth 846) ~ Bagh (M) *naqil*, vn of *niqal* (Wood/Bee 468).

n-q-y

nakka, *pinakki* (v/t) 'clean, choose'; OA *naqqā* (Hava 796); ~ Alep *naqqa* 'trier, choisir par le triage' (Barth 847) ~ Dam *ʿani šanta naqqēt* 'which bag did you choose?' (Cowell 1964:573) ~ Qart *naqqa* 'wählen, auswählen, ablesen' (Vo/Wald 431) ~ Pal Ar *naqqa* 'auswählen' (Bau 39) ~ Malt *naqqa*, *inaqqi* 'clean (e.g., rice)'.
tnakka, *pkyitnakka* (v/i) 'be cleaned, picked out'; OA *tanaqqā/intaqā* 'select, sort out a.th.' (Hava 796)

~ Alep *tnaqqa* 'être trié, mondé, nettoyé' (Barth 847).
mnakki, f *mnakkie*, pl *mnakkīn* (pp) 'cleaned, selected'.

n-k-r

niker, *pkyinkar* (v/i) 'refuse, deny'; OA *nakira* (a) 'be ignorant of, unacquainted with; disown' (Hava 797);

~ Alep *nakar* (o) 'nier (qqe); nier (une dette, un dépôt)' (Barth 848) ~ Bagh (M) *nikar* (u) 'deny, disclaim' (Wood/Bee 471) ~ Bask *nakar* 'deny' (Abu-Haidar 1978:35) ~ Pal Ar *nakar* (i) 'leugnen' (Bau 193).

nakr (vn) 'refusal, denial'; *nakr* (Hava 797).

n-k-z

nakaz, *pkyinkoz* 'faire mal (douleur lancinante)' (Roth 1975:39); OA *nakaza* (u) 'prick a.th.' (Hava 798);

~ Alep *nakaz* (o) 'pousser ou toucher (qqn) avec la pointe d'un couteau,' plus rare que *naxaz* (o) (Barth 849) ~ Cai *naxaz* (u) (v/t) 'poke, prod' (Bad/Hi 853) ~ Malt *niggež*, *iniggež* 'prick'.

kanyininkez, *pkyininkez* (v/i) 'hurt; cause sharp pain': *pkyininkez* ^G*pantū* 'it hurts all over'.

nakza 'sharp pain';

~ Alep *nagze* (nv) (Barth 849) ~ Malt *nigza* 'prick'.

n-h-d

tnaxxet, *pkyitnaxxet* (v/i) 'sigh, sob': *tnaxxet miħ-bike* 'he wept bitterly'; OA *tanahhada* (Hava 802);

~ Alep *tnahhad* 'soupirer' (Barth 852) ~ Dam *tnahhad* 'sigh' (Sto/Ani 211) ~ Pal Ar *tnahhad* 'seufzen' (Bau 275) ~ Malt *tnieħed*, *jitnieħed* 'sigh'.

tnuxxot (vn) 'sighing, sobbing'; OA *tanahhud*.

n-h-r

xar, pl -*āt* 'day, daytime, feast': *pri axar exen xar tatúmm š-šo^{ol}* 'I need one more day to complete the task'; *θénixar ixnáyn lína l-ixxár tel-^aatra* 'on the next day, Monday (after Easter), we celebrate the feast of the Virgin'; *fkullu: áššik mó-kaes li-xxár u pit^aakep?* 'I said to him: "How (do you mean) 'something is amiss' and [why] do you fret?"; OA *nahār*, pl *anhur/nuhur* (Hava 803); (*ywm*);

~ Alep *nhār*, pl -*āt* 'jour' (Barth 852) ~ Dam *nhār*, pl -*āt* 'day' (Sto/Ani 60) ~ Kənd *nhār*, pl -*āt* 'Tag, Tageszeit' (Vo/Wald 431) ~ Hask *nahār* 'Sonne, Tageslicht' (Talay 2002:78) ~ Pal Ar *nhār*, pl -*āt* (Bau 296) ~ Malt ⟨*nhar*⟩ (no cognate pl) (*ywm*).

tváxxar 'all day long': *k-kilp telkon pi^aáššep tváxxar* 'your (pl) dog barks all day!'; < **ṭwāl n-nhār*; *núss-xar* 'half a day' < **nušš-nhār*.

nússuxar 'at midday': *θénixar nússuxar, l-impšix pikiúm u tváxxar pitokku k-^Gkampanes^G* 'at noon on the following day, Jesus rises (from the dead) and the bells ring throughout the day'; < **nušš n-nhār*.

xar u layl/layl u xar 'day and night': *ana paxtom layl u xar* 'I work round the clock';

~ Pal Ar *lél u nhār* 'Tag und Nacht' (Bau 849) ~ Malt ⟨*dejl u nhar*⟩ 'day and night.'

n-w-ḥ

navex, pinavex (v/i) 'moan, lament' < **nawwah*; OA *nāḥa* (u) 'alā 'wail for' (Hava 806);

~ Alep *nawwah* 'pousser des cris et des lamentations' (Barth 854); Pal Ar *nāḥ* (u) 'Klage jammern' (Bau 174) ~ Malt ⟨*nawah, inewwah*⟩.

nawx (vn) 'wailing, moaning'; OA *nawḥ* (Hava 806);

~ Alep *nōḥ* (vn) of *nāḥ* 'se lamenter' (Barth 853) ~ Pal Ar *nōḥ* 'Klage als Weinen bei Todesfall' (Bau 173).

timvixe 'lamentation' < **tanwīḥa*.

n-w-r

nur in the expression *šark* (*ten-núr*) 'daybreak' (*šrq*); OA *nūr*, pl *anwār/nīrān* 'light; luminous body' (Hava 807);

~ Alep *nūr*, pl *nwār* 'lumière' (Barth 854) ~ Pal Ar *nūr*, pl *anwār* 'Licht' (Bau 193).

[Tur *nuro* f 'Feuer' (Jastrow 1985:181).]

n-w-s

Naiis (toponym of *lieu-dit* in Kormakiti); cf. Ar *nā'īs* 'un caveau, une chambre souterraine, ... qui sert de sépulture' (cit. from *Muḥit* in Dozy II, 745) < Syriac *nawsā* 'sacellum pro sepeliendis mortuis (mortuary chapel)' < Anc Gk *ναός* (R. Payne Smith 2323).

n-y-s

naes, pinaes (v/t) 'dirty, defile': *naist tey* 'I dirtied my hands.'

[The etymology of this lexeme is unclear; the form and meaning suggest a connection with OA *dannasa* 'defile (clothes)' (Hava 218) and several cognates in the contemporary vernaculars: Cai *dannis* (v) 'foul' (Bad/Hi 305), Malt ⟨*dennes*⟩ (v) 'soil' etc.]

tnaes, pkyitnaes 'become soiled, defiled.'

mnaes, f mnyase, pl -*in* (pp) 'soiled, dirtied.'

tnuyos (vn) 'soiling, defiling.'

n-w-m

nam, pinám (v/i) 'sleep': *m-^Gmorós^G telna má-pinám fil-layl, pkyiḥ-kattep* 'our baby doesn't sleep at night; he takes fright'; OA *nāma* (u) (Hava 809);

~ Alep *nām* (a) 'dormir, sommeiller, s'endormir' (Barth 857) ~ Mard *nām* 'schlafen, sich schlafen legen' (Vo/Wald 434) ~ Pal Ar *nām* (a) 'schlafen (wird meistens als liegen gebraucht)' (Bau 258).

naem, pinaem (v/t) 'put to bed; lay down (on the grounds)': *kintám kwannaymu m-^Gmorós^G mintáxt l-ižrén tel-umm* 'formerly, we used to lay the [newborn] baby under the mother's legs'; *pnaymu s-sunt xullá akke* 'I lay down the plough [on the ground] like this'; < **nayyam*; OA *nawwama/anāma* (Hava 809);

~ Alep *nawwam* 'faire dormir, endormir, coucher (qqn)' (Barth 857) ~ Kənd *nayyem* 'hinlegen, schlafen legen, hineinstecken (in, fi)' (Vo/Wald 436) ~ rur Pal Ar *nayyam* 'hineinlegen' (Schmidt/Kahle II, 241).

nem, f neyme, pl *neymín* 'asleep, in bed': *o nem pxal ma partie* 'he's lying sick in bed with a cold'; OA *nā'im*;

~ Alep *nēyem* (ap) (Barth 857) ~ Bagh (J, C) *nayyem* 'sleeping' (Blanc 1964:43) ~ Pal Ar *nāyim*, pl *nāymín* 'Schläfer' (Bau 258).

nawm 'sleep': *kunt ten-nawm* 'I was sleepy'; OA *nawm* (Hava 809);

~ Alep *nōm* (Barth 857) ~ Dam *nōm* (Sto/Ani 214) ~ Pal Ar *nōm* (Bau 258).

pnam, pl -*dt* 'dream'; *rayt pnam* 'I had a dream'; *fi nawmi rayt pnam l-ummi l-marxuma* 'in my sleep I dreamed about my deceased mother'; OA *manām* 'sleep' (Hava 810);

~ Alep *manām* 'rêve, songe' (Barth 857) ~ Dam *manām* 'dream' (Sto/Ani 72) ~ Sii *mnām* 'Traum, Bett' (Vo/Wald 434) ~ Leban Ar *mnām/bnām* (Feghali 1938:839).

n-y-ʔ

nayy, f -*e*, pl -*in* 'raw'; OA *niyʔ* 'raw, uncooked (meat)' (Hava 810);

~ Alep *nayy/neyy*, f *nayye* 'cru' (Barth 860) ~ Pal Ar *nayy* 'roh' (Bau 246) ~ Cai *nay* (Spiro 1985:618) ~ Malt *nej*, f *nejja*, pl *nejjin*.

n-y-r

nir, pl *nyar* 'yoke'; OA *nīr*, pl *anyār/nīrān* (Hava 811) < Aram *nīrā* (Fraenkel 1886:131); Aram (DSS) *nīr* 'Joch' (Beyer 1987:751); GAram *nīr* 'yoke, metal instrument, part of the loom' (Sokol 1990:350); Syriac *nīrā* 'Joch' (Seidel 1988:163) < Akk *nīru(m)* (von Soden 1966:793);

~ Riš *nīr* 'Joch' (Vo/Wald 435) ~ Bask *nīr* 'yoke' (Abu-Haidar 1979:18) ~ Pal Ar *nīr*, pl *anyār/nīrān* 'Joch' (Bau 167).

[Maʿl *nīra* 'Joch' (Arnold 1990a:320), Tur *nīro* (Jastrow 1985:179).]

n-y-k

nāk, *pinīk* (v/t) 'engage in sexual intercourse (with)'; OA *nāka (i)*, *nayyaka* 'futuit, inivit mulierem' (Freytag 1837:639);

~ Alep *nāk (i)* 'coïter avec' (Barth 859) ~ Āz *nāk*, *inīk* ' ficken' (Vo/Wald 435) ~ Pal Ar *nāk (i)* ~ Malt *niek*, *inik*.

nāk (vn) 'sexual intercourse'; cf. OA *nayk*.

[This is a secondary form on the *faʿl* scheme.]

~ Alep *nek*, inf of *nāk* (Barth 859) ~ Pal Ar *nēk* 'sexual act' (Piamenta 2000:244) ~ Malt *nejk* 'sexual intercourse.'

H

hā¹

-*a* (3rd f sg pron suff encoding a dummy object): *kanivaddira mill-giskoyyō^G* < 'he used to play truant'; < OA -*hā*.

[Note the similar function of CyA *vexte*: *ttažī uv-ana u ttažīp anniš-rap šī vexte* 'je viendrai moi aussi et j'apporterai de quoi boire un coup' (Roth 1975:105).]

hā-2

aḏa 'this (m sg)'; OA *hāḏā* (Wright 1997:1, 268);

~ Alep *hād(a)* pron dém. 'celui-ci; ceci' (Barth 861) ~ Mard *hād(a)* (Vo/Wald 439) ~ rur Pal Ar *hāḏa* (Bau 76) ~ Kfarʿab *hāda* 'celui-ci' (Feghali 1919:275) ~ Bišm *hāda/hād/ha* 'dieser' (Jiha 1964:127).

aḏi 'this (f sg)' < **hāḏī*; OA *hāḏī/hāḏihi* (Wright 1997:1, 268);

~ Alep *hādi* pron dém. 'celle-ci' (Barth 861) ~ Mard *hādi* (Vo/Wald 439) ~ rur Pal Ar *hāḏī* (Bau 76) ~ Kfarʿab *hayde* 'celle-là' (Feghali 1919:275) ~ Bišm *haydi/hayd/hay* 'diese' (Jiha 1964:127).

áḏak 'that (demon, m sg)': *áḏak l-payt* 'the house over there'; OA *hāḏāka*;

~ Alep *haḏāk* (pronom et adjectif démonstratif, m sg) (Barth 864) ~ Pal Ar (rur) *haḏāk* (Bau 166) ~ Bišm *hidāk/hidāki* 'jener' (Jiha 1964:128).

áḏik 'that (demon., f sg)' < **hāḏī + k*;

~ Alep *haḏīk(e)* (pronom et adjectif démonstratif, f sg) (Barth 866) ~ Pal Ar (rur) *haḏīk* (Bau 166) ~ Bišm *hidīk/hidīki/hayḏīk/hayḏīki* (Jiha 1964:128).

ak (m sg), *ayk* (f sg) < **hāk*, **hā-īk* 'that (demon)';

[These shorter forms encode distance in time: *ak l-payt* 'that house (e.g., 'the one we talked about earlier') and in narratives: *psikna ayk t-tarp u kunna rexīn ...* 'we took that road and (as) we were going ...']

~ Adana *min hāk il-balad* 'aus jenem Land' (Procházka 2002:69) ~ Mard *hāk/hāke* ~ Darag *āk* 'jener, jene' (Vo/Wald 441) ~ Hask *āk* 'jener' (Talay 2002:65).

áksa 'short while ago' < **hayk s-sāʿa* (possibly a calque on Mod Gk εκεῖνη τὴν ὥρα); [cf. Anat Ar *fāʿāk alhīne* 'damals' (Vo/Wald 132), Hask *āk yəm* 'jener Tag' (Talay 2002:65)].

alli 'they, these (dem pron c)': *axxullá k-kapr*, *k-kassís pisáy exte kilme*; *pikúl*: *kan kaes intsán fi zmanu*; *alli enne l-alli šatna* 'at the graveside, the priest says a word or two (about the deceased); he says that he was a decent man in his lifetime; these are our customs'; < **hawli* < **hawlā* < OA *hāʿulā* (cf. Wright 1997:268; Hopkins 1984:67; Brockelmann 1908:319);

~ Alep *halli* pron démonstratif et relatif invariable (Barth 872) ~ Sii *awle/awl*, Tuzlagözü *awlī* 'diese (pl)' (Jastrow 1978:105) ~ Mos (M) *hōli* (Blanc 1964a:29) ~ Bšarri *hawle/hawli* (Grotzfeld 1980:188).

allik (dem pron) 'those' < **hawlik* < OA *hā-ulā'ika* (Hava 811);
 ~ Hal *awlok* (Vo/Wald 442) ~ Dam *hāḍolik* (Cowell 1964:552) ~
 rur Pal Ar *hāḍolāk*, f *hāḍolik* (Bau 166) ~ Bišm *hudik/hudiki/hawdik/*
hawḍiki (Jiha 1964:128) ~ Malt < *dawk(a)*.

akke 'thus, such': *akke r'allimna* 'that's what we were taught'; *akke*
šo'ol mā-psay ana 'I'll do nothing of the kind!'; OA *hākaḍā*;
 ~ Qarṭ *hākaḍa*, āg(e), Kənd *hāg(ge)*, Sii *āke*, Fəsk *hāke*, Darag
hākəz 'so, ebenso; Angelegenheit, Dingsbums' (Vo/Wald 442) ~ Mos
 (M) *hākəḍ* (Blanc 1964:8) ~ Kirk (J) *həkəḍ* (Jastrow 1992a:249) ~ əl-
 Xātūniye *hāki* 'so' (Behnstedt 1992b:45) ~ Pal Ar *hedda* [von *hākaḍa*, k
 hat sich *d* angepaßt] (Bau 278) ~ Malt < *hekk(a)* [ɛ:k:(a)] 'thus, in this
 manner, < *hekdə* [ɛ:kda] 'as, also.'

[Malt < ... *ikun li trid int kif fis-sema hekdə fl-art* 'thy will be done
 on earth as it is in heaven' (Lord's Prayer). Note that while CyA and
 Maltese here retain reflexes of OA *hākaḍā*, Pal Ar *hək* (Fellachisch)
hēc (Bau, loc. cit.), Syr Ar *hek* (Sto/Ani 241), Lebanon, Hawrān *hayk*
 (Behnstedt 1993b:88; Jiha 1964:174) continue Aram *hək* 'wie, gleichwie'
 (Levy I, 464), cf. Mod Mand *ēka* 'so' (Macuch 1965:520).]

akke v-akke 'the long and short of it': *kaluli akke v-akke* 'I was told
 the gist of the matter';

~ Pal Ar *hek u hek* 'so und so' (Bau 278) ~ Bišm *niḥna quṣṣiṭna*
hayk, hayk 'unsere Geschichte ist so und so' (Jiha 1964:40) ~ Malt < *qalli*
hekk u hekk 'he told me the gist of the matter.'

arka 'so much/many' < **ālqa* < **hal-qadd* < **hal-qadr*;

[For the CyA shift **l* > *r*, see Intro, §V.]

~ Mard *halqad*, Kənd *halqade*, Qarṭ *alqad*, Hal *alqa*, Ka^b *aqqa*
 'so, so viel, so sehr, so oft' (Vo/Wald 329) ~ Pal Ar *hal-qadd u hal-qadd*
mākināt 'so und soviel Maschinen' (Bau 278).

h-r-ʔ

xiri, pkyaxri 'dissolve (v/t)'; *pšan tasáy lipen paxri r-rawpe ma fitte*
xlip 'in order to make yoghurt, I dissolve the curdled milk in a little
 [ordinary] milk'; OA *haraʔa (a)* 'he cooked flesh-meat thoroughly or so
 that it fell off from the bone ...' (Lane 2889);

~ Alep *hara (i)* 'user, réduire en lambeaux (un habit, qqe)' (Barth
 868) ~ Cai *hara (i)* 'cause to disintegrate' (Bad/Hi 905) ~ Pal Ar (Artās)
iza biddik tihrih uskut u xallih 'if you wish to punish (lit. make rotten)
 him severely, be quiet and leave him alone' (Canaan 1935:270) ~ AA
harraʔ 'rendre assez cuit' (Dozy II, 760).

xtara, pkyaxtri (v/i) 'rot, disintegrate'; MLA *ihtaraʔa/taharraʔa* 'be
 torn, worn out' (Wehr 1201);
 ~ Beir *htara, yəhtəri* 'être usé (: habit), être gâté (: fruit, viande)'
 (Barth 869) ~ Bišm *htara* 'faul werden' (Jiha 1964:142) ~ Egyp Ar *htara*
 'pourrir, se gâter (fruits, viande, etc.)' (Dozy II, 761) ~ Pal Ar *htara* 'sich
 abnötigen (Kleid)' (Bau 5) ~ Cai *ʔithara = ʔinhara* 'disintegrate' (Bad/
 Hi 905) ~ Malt < *therra* [tɛ:r:a] 'be worn out, disintegrate': < *il-ktieb*
therra 'the book has fallen apart.'
mexri, f mexrie, pl -*in* 'rotten (fruit, vegetables)';
 ~ Alep *məhri* (Barth 868) ~ Pal Ar *mahri* 'abgenutzt, schäbig
 (Kleid)' (Bau 3, 252) ~ Malt < *mherri* 'worn out.'

h-r-b

xarap, pkyaxrop (v/i) 'go away, leave, escape': *ila^c parra, xrop* 'you
 (m) can go out, off with you!'; *kammel zmanak ta taxrop* 'it's time
 for you (m) to leave'; *kiyyom manniptel m-moe mpšan teaxrop l-*
iz-zumi^g m-morr '(to make candied citrons, we put them in water
 and) change it every day so that the bitter juice seeps out of them'; OA
haraba (u) (Hava 823);

~ Alep *harab (o)* 'fuir, s'enfuir' (Barth 866) ~ Dam *harab (o)* 'escape'
 (Sto/Ani 80) ~ Mard *harab (ə)* 'fliehen, flüchten, weglaufen' (Vo/Wald
 440) ~ Bagh (M) *hirab (u)* 'flee, run away' (Wood/Bee 479) ~ Pal Ar
harab (u) 'fliehen' (Bau 113) ~ Malt < *harab, jahrab*.

xerap, f -e, pl -*in* 'leaving, fleeing, escaping'; OA *hārib*;
 ~ Alep *hēreb (ap)* (Barth 866).

xerpān, f -e, pl -*in* 'having fled': *ipnu o xerpān ma^c exte xawtikie*
(hwki) 'his son has eloped with a Greek girl'; cf. OA *hārib* (Hava 823);
 MLA *harbān* 'fugitive, runaway' (Wehr 1202);
 ~ Dam *harbān* 'having fled, fleeing' (Cowell 1964:259, 132).

h-r-s

xrise, pl *xres* 'a dish consisting of meat with a topping of onions,
 etc. (called *taklie; qlyʔ*) usually served at weddings': *kwantsáy l-ixrise*
ta kwantzavez l-ulatna 'we used to make *harise* when we married off
 our children'; OA *harīs* 'grain or wheat bruised ... vehemently ... with
 the *mihrás* before it is cooked, for when it is cooked, it is called *harīsa*:
 'indī *harīs lil-harīsa* 'I have wheat bruised for the *harīsa*' (Lane 2891)
 ~ MLA *harīsa* 'a dish of meat and bulgur; (Eg.) a sweet pastry made of
 flour, melted butter and sugar' (Wehr 1202);

~ Alep *hrīse* 'mets de viande bouillie avec du blé mondé; *hrīset alloz*, ou *hrīset əlfəstoq*, sorte de confiserie en losanges, faite de sucre ou de pistaches' (Barth 867) ~ Çukur *hrīsi* 'eine Art Eintopf mit Fleisch, Gewürz, Kichererbsen, der vor allem an den Wallfahrtsorten gekocht wird' (Procházka 2002:181) ~ Bagh (M) *harīsa* 'dish consisting of wheat and meat boiled to the consistency of pudding' (Wood/Bee 479) ~ Cai *harīsa* 'kind of native sweets' (Spiro 1895:624) ~ Yem *harīsa* 'dish of wheat and meat juice' (Qafisheh 2000:608); [cf. Malt *mehrīez* 'mortar' < Ar *mīhrās*, pl *mahārīs* (Hava 824)].

[Cf. Qaraq *harīsa* f (< Ar) 'a kind of meat stew' (Khan 2002:733). On *harīsa* in Muslim Spain and N. Africa, see Marçais (1911:149–150, fn 3). On its ritual uses, cf. Drower (1955:117) and Mez (1937:428, fn 5) who cites *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (V, 119): "At Baghdad the first wedding dish, according to the custom there, was the *harīsa*h ..."]

h-z-z

xazz, *pixúzz* (v/t/i) 'shake; sieve; swing, rock (a swing, cradle)': *xuzz m-^Gmorós^G tenám* 'rock the baby to sleep!'; *ana pxuzz ž-žampr xost k-^Gkóššino^G teuká* 'a l-itráp mintáxt u pikafu ž-žampr lexpín (< l**bk**) xost k-^Gkóššino^G 'I shake the [charcoal] embers in the sieve so that the dust falls off and the clean embers remain in the sieve'; OA *hazza* (u) 'shake, also 'rock (a child)' (dialect of Syria) (Hava 826);

~ Alep *hazz* (ə) 'agiter (les branches: vent)' (Barth 869) ~ Dam *hazz* (ə) 'shake' (Sto/Ani 207) ~ Ka'b *hazz* (ə) 'schütteln' (Vo/Wald 440) ~ Pal Ar *hazz* (i) (Bau 267) ~ Malt *hežžež*, *jhežžež* [ɛ:z:ɛs].

txazza, *pkýitxazza* (v/i) 'swing': *xitt m-^Gmorós^G teitxazza xok s-^Gsusa^G* 'I took the child to play on a swing'; cf. OA *tahazzaza* 'be shaken' (Hava 826).

ma(n)txúz, f -a, pl -in 'shaken; passed through a sieve.'

[For other non-canonical participial reflexes of verbs with geminated consonants, cf. *lff*, *md*.]

xazz (vn) 'shaking, rocking'; cf. OA *hazza* 'shock, shake, commotion' (Hava 826).

h-n-n

innen (subj pron; emph pron; copula ⇒ *enne*) 'they, their own': *xost payton innen* 'in their own house'; *b-bkyara enne mā'ák* 'the wells are deep'; *aš enne morrín!* 'how bitter they are!'; *naxni enne fitte ta pkyá'irfu tesáw mplexef u θawpát pšall-iržél* 'there are few of us now able to produce blankets and men's shirts'; OA *hunna* (3rd. pers f pl);

Syriac *hennēn* (Nöldeke 1904a:44);

[Note here the 3rd. pers copula after a subject in the first pers.]

~ Alep *hənn/hənnə/hənnen*, pron pers isolé, 3e p. du pl des deux genres 'eux, ils, elles': *hadōl hənnen* 'ce sont eux' (Barth 874) ~ Çukur *hinni(n)* (Procházka 64) ~ Mnīn *hunnen* (Arno/Behn 77, 124) ~ Homs *hay-hinnin* 'da sind sie!' (Behnstedt 1993b:92) ~ Hask *ənnen* (Talay 2001:76) ~ Mard *hənnə*, *Hal ən*; ⇒ enclitic copulas: Mard C-*ənnə*, Kənd V-*nne*, etc. [C = consonant stem; V = vowel stem] (Vo/Wald 445) ~ Bišm *hinni/hin* (Jiha 1964:126) ~ Bask *hinni/hin* (Abu-Haidar 1978:75).

[Tur *hənnə/hənnək* (Jastrow 1985:33). On the Aramaic source of the 3rd pers pl of the pronoun in several sedentary vernaculars of Eastern Arabic, see Cantineau (1956:311), Diem (1971), and Behnstedt (1991).]

h-n-ā

awna 'here' < **hawnā* < OA *hāhunā* 'here, hither' (Hava 811);

~ Alep *hawn/hōn/hōni* 'ici' (Barth 876) ~ Mos (M) *hōni* 'here' (Blanc 1964:8) ~ urban Pal Ar *hōn/hōna* (Bau 156) ~ Malt *hawn(a)*.

avā 'here he is' < **hāwwā* < OA **hāhuwā* 'here he is' (Hava 811);

~ Anat Ar *hawn-we* 'er ist hier' (Jastrow 1978:138) ~ Pal Ar *hayyo* (Bau 156) ~ Malt *hawnu*.

anyā 'here she is' < **hawn-yā* < **hawn-hiyyā*;

~ Kənd *hawn-ye* (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Malt *hawnhi*.

annā 'here they are' < **hawn-nā* < **hawn-hinnā*;

~ Kənd *hawn-ənnə* (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Malt *hawnhuma*.

awnke 'there; (also indicates movement away from one's person, and passage of time)': *x-xava šala b-bape u xita awnke t-tarp* 'the wind blew the door off its hinges and swept it down the road'; *mim-marfā'a w-awnke* 'from Shrovetide onwards', *min-nússuxar w-awnke* 'from midday onwards', *mill-ixmīs u awnke* 'from Thursday onwards'; cf. *hwnak* 'there' (13th c. Iraqi Arabic; Levin 1975:273) < **hāhunā+kā*;

~ Mard *hawnak(e)*, Diyarbakır dialects *awnke* (Jastrow 1978:114) ~ Bagh (M) *hnāka*, Mos (M) *hnūka/hōnək* 'there' (Blanc 1964:8) ~ N Yem *hunākha*/*hunkah* (Behnstedt 1996:101).

anaxók (CyG *ða páno*) 'up here (specific)' < **hāna-fōq*.

anatáxt (CyG *ða káto*) 'down here (specific)' < **hānā-taht* (cf. rur Pal Ar *hān/hāna* 'hier') (Bau 156).

- anaxóst* (CyG *ða mésa*) 'in here (specific)' < **hānā-fost*.
awnaxók 'up here (non-specific)' < **hawnā-fōq*.
awnatáxt 'down here (non-specific)' < **hawnā-taht*.
awnaxóst 'in here (non-specific)' < **hawnā-fost*.
axxók (CyG *či páno*) 'up there (specific)' < **hawnk-fōq*.
antáxt (CyG *či káto*) 'down there (specific)' < ? **hawnk-taht*.
axxóst (CyG *či mésa*) 'in there (specific)' < **hawnkā-xost* (< **fi-wast*).
awnkaxók 'up there (non-specific)' < **hawnkā-fost*.
awnkatáxt 'down there (non-specific)' < **hawnā-taxt*.
awnkaxóst 'in there (non-specific)' < **hawnkā-fost*.
áwnarex 'in one's direction' < **hawnā-rāyih*;
 ~ Leban *hakgā(n)* 'hierher' (Biqā^c; Grotzfeld 1980:189).
áwnkerex 'further away' < **hawnkā-rāyih*;
 ~ Leban *hakrāh* 'dorthin' (Biqā^c; Grotzfeld, *loc. cit.*).
anaxullá 'over here' < **hānā-fōq l-ard*.
áwnasop 'in this direction' < **hawnā-šawb*: *kaplu áwnasop* 'look (pl) this way!'
áwnksop 'in that direction' < **hawnak-šawb*.
mnawnke 'from there, there; over there!' < **min-hawnakā*: *kallina oxt, kallina sxurát, kanu mnawnke, aš tantsáy?* 'we had a sister and brothers-in-law; they (too) were over there [i.e. behind the Turkish lines]; what could we do?'; *ntzel mnawnke* 'get down from there!'; *psiknaxa b-bape mnawnk-u mnawna* 'we grabbed the door from either end'; *annilpes θkyepna u arrúx mnawnke k-kassís* 'let's get dressed and go over to the priest's house!'
- h-w
- uo* (subj pron; emph pro; = copula *o*) 'he, his own': *k-kišk mannakula š-šitvie ta o part* 'we eat *kišk* in the winter when it's cold'; < **huwwā*;
 OA *huwa*;
 ~ Alep *hu/hū/hūwe* (et non *huwwe*) pronom personnel isolé, 3e pers m sg 'il, lui' (Barth 874) ~ Kənd *huwwe*, Sii *uwwe*, Hal *ū* [= enclit. copula -we] (Vo/Wald 446) ~ Malt *huwa* [uwwa].

[Some Arabic dialects use the 3rd Pers pron. as a general copula: Pal Ar *leš inti hū xuḍ il-mašāri bi 'arba'a u nuṣṣ fil-miyye* 'because it's you, take the money at four and a half percent' (Spoer/Haddad 1909:113); Malt *jiēna hu Alla sidek* 'I am the Lord thy God.']

(?) h-w-d-k

xawtik, f -ie, pl *xvetik* 'Greek': *sapūi xawtik* 'a Greek boy'; *pnatuk-kya xvetik* 'Greek girls'; < ? **haw + dī + distal -k* (Feghali 1919:275);
 ~ Alep *hawdik* 'ceux-là, celles-là'; (Barth 875) ~ Kfar'ab *hūdik el-ulād šāṭrīn* 'ces enfants sont espiègles' (Feghali, *op. cit.*, 276).

h-w-y

xava, pl *xvie* 'wind': *kaffia xtir xava* 'it was very windy'; *xava soxn* 'a hot wind'; OA *hawā*, pl *ahwiya* 'air', nonclass Ar 'wind' (Hava 842);
 ~ Alep *hawa* sg m, pl *ʔahuye/ʔahwəye* 'vent' (Barth 877) ~ Dam *hawa* 'air, wind' (Sto/Ani 5, 264) ~ Mard *hawa* 'Luft, Wind, Wetter' (Vo/Wald 449) ~ Pal Ar *hawa* (Bau 364).

ʕarpi and *xava l-ʕarpi* 'the west wind'; < **hawa l-garbi*.

h-y

ie (subj pron; emph pron; copula ⇒ *e*) 'she, her own': *žawza ll-ie* 'her own husband'; *oxti e parra* 'my sister is abroad'; *mene* 'who's she?'; < **hiyyā*; OA *hiya*;
 ~ Alep *hī/hi/hīye* (et non *hiyye*) (Barth 878) ~ Mard *hīye* 'sie' (Vo/Wald 450) ~ [Kənd *axti barra-ye* 'my sister is outside' (Jastrow, p.c.)] ~ Fəsk *īye* (Vo/Wald 450) ~ Malt *hija* [iyya] 'she.'

h-y-t

xat, f -i, pl -u 'give, hand over!': *xātinni l-mfetix* 'hand (m) me the keys!'; *lá-tištru^G fkyora^G, u xatu l-^Gparáes^G tantaylep kapr* 'don't buy flowers (for a funeral wreath); give us the money to prepare a grave!'; OA *hāt* (Hava 843);
 ~ Alep *hāt, hāte, hātu* 'apporte, amène' (Barth 878) ~ Pal Ar *hāt, hāti, hātu* 'give, hand over!' (Elihai 1999:126).

W

w

u (⇒ [uv] before vowels, [v] intervocalically) 'and, also': *Yúse u xayytu* 'Joseph and his brother'; *lixa u payt* 'she has also a house'; *sa'a u nuss* 'an hour and a half'; *int uv-ana* 'you and I'; *ttatrúx uv-ínt?* 'will you go

too?'; *xitnaxa v-ayk* 'we took that one (f) too'; OA *wa* (Hava 845).

[The meaning 'also' here calques Mod Gk *καί*; cf. the parallel CMAR usage discussed in Blau (1966-7: II, 454) where it also harks back to the impact of Greek.]

w-ğ-^c

viž^ce, *pkyúžā^ca* (v/t/i) 'be in pain; hurt; be sensitive' (*užā^cāt* 'I was in pain'): *pužā^cni patni* (= CyG *ponó tin kilyá mu*) or *pkyužā^cni patni* 'my belly aches'; *l-ummát pkyúžā^cu awfa mill-yapatát* 'mothers are more sensitive than fathers'; OA *wağī^ca*, *yawğā^cu* (Hava 853);

~ Alep *wuğē^c*, *yūğā^c* 'faire mal à (qqn: partie du corps endolorie)' (Barth 884) ~ Kənd *wəğə^c* (*a*) 'wehtun' (Vo/Wald 453) ~ Pal Ar *wiğī^c*, *byiwğā^c/byūğā^c* 'faire mal': *byūğā^cni baṭni* 'j'ai mal au ventre' (Elihai 1973:246) ~ Malt *wega^c*, *juğā^c* 'ache'.

kantitvažž^ce, *pittitvažž^ce* 'be in labour'; OA *tawağğā^ca* 'manifest pain, moan' (Hava 853).

vāžā^ca 'pain', pl *-āt* 'birth pains'; *miskua v-važā^cāt* 'she's in labour'; OA *wağā^c* 'pain, suffering, disease' (Hava 853);

~ Dam *wağā^c* 'ache' (Sto/Ani 2) ~ Alep *wağā^c* 'souffrance', *wağā^ca* 'maladie chronique, infirmité' (Barth 884); cf. Malt *weggha* 'pain'.

w-ğ-h

užž, pl *-āt* 'face' < **wuğğ* (cf. Barthélemy 1906:218-19; Barth 885): *assel užžu* 'he washed his face'; *rabbi ta lá tairvikilkon ḡturtša^c fi užž-kon* 'Dieu fasse que vous n'avez pas à vous trouver face aux Turcs!' (Roth 1996:79); < **wuğğ* < **wiğh*; OA *wağh*, pl *awğuh/wuğūh/uğūh* 'face, frontside, surface' (Hava 854);

[For the external pl here, cf. Hatay *wiğğ*, pl *-āt* (Arnold 1998:304).]

~ Alep *wəčč* 'visage, face' (Barth 885) ~ Dam *wəšš* (Sto/Ani 84), pl *wžūh* (Kuhnt 1958:50, 70) ~ Palm *wučč* (Cantineau 1934: II,1) ~ Uzbek Ar *učč/wučč* (W-D. Fischer 1961:237) ~ Kənd *wəčč* (Vo/Wald 454) ~ Mos (C) *wəčč* (infor) ~ Bagh (M) *wuğih/wičč* (Wood/Bee 489), (J) *wəčč/wučč* (Mansour 1991:184, fn 8) ~ Pal Ar *wiğğ/wišš* (Bau 134) ~ Cai *wišš*, pl *wišūš/wišūš/awšāš* (Bad/Hi 939) ~ Daθ *wuğğ/wiğğ* (Landberg 1923: II, 1651) ~ Yem *waš*, pl *wujih* (Qafisheh 2000:625) ~ Malt *wičč*, pl *ucuh* [h] 'face, surface'.

w-ḥ-d

(v)*exen*, f (v)*exte* 'one, someone; a certain person/thing'; [also used as a kind of indefinite article]: *xost t-tarp kaffia exte tute* 'along the

street, there was a mulberry tree'; *kaffia exte mara* 'there was a certain woman ...'; *mannirpot xost exte rok^a peḏa xaitš milx* 'we tie some salt into a white piece of cloth'; *exen šibb ḡamma^c pixubb l-exte pint* ... 'when a youth falls in love with a girl ...'; *xassāyt exen kanyitfušni tekaimni* 'I felt someone shaking me up in order to arouse me from sleep'; *ḡan^c pkyinixlek m-ḡmorós^c fil-exen* 'it, pkyimpsek l-ism tel-ḡayo^c 'if a child is born on a feast-day, it is given the saint's name'; *ttaži w-ana u ttažip annišrap ši vexte* 'je viendrai moi aussi et j'apporterai de quoi boire un coup' (Roth 1975:105); < fusion of OA *aḥad* and *wāhid* discussed in Blanc 1964:45; W-D. Fischer 1961:245);

[As noted under *w*, the initial labiodental fricative [v] here is only retained after a preceding vowel: *mā-kaffia ši-vexen* 'there was no one'; *yapāti, mā-kallu ši-vexen tesā^cātu* 'mon père, il n'avait personne pour l'aider' (Roth 1996:87). As for loss of final **d* in the masculine, cf. Om *wāhi*, f *wāhde* 'einer' (Reinhardt 1894:82). On accretion of final /n/, cf. Blau (1965:171, fn 2.) commenting on "the inclusion of *n* in short words" like *ḥid* 'one,' and *šy(ʿ)* 'thing.' Cf. Jubb'ad *aḥha* 'einer' (Correll 1978:36).]

~ Alep *wāḥəd/wəḥəd*, f *wāḥde/wəḥde* 'un, une' (Barth 886) ~ Mard *wəḥəd* 'ein, einer, einziger, Mann' (Vo/Wald 454) ~ Çukur *wəḥid*, f, *wəḥdi* 'einer, eine; jemand' (Procházka 2002:72) ~ Mos (C) *wəḥəd*, f, *wəḥdi*, 'one' (infor) ~ Bišm *wāḥid*, f *wāḥdi/wiḥdi* 'einer' (Jiha 1964:165) ~ Pal Ar *wāḥad/wāḥid/waḥad*, f *wāḥade/waḥade* (Bau 88) ~ Malt *wieḥed*, f *wahda*, pl *uḥud* 'one,' pl 'some'.

[Jiha (loc. cit.) notes: *barki* (wörtl. "Segen") tritt für das Zahlwort "eins" ein; so mißt ein Bauer die Ernte: *barki, tḡayn, tḡati* usw.]

exen-exen, f *exte-exte* 'one by one';

~ Pal Ar *wāḥid wāḥid* 'one by one' (Driver 1925:186) ~ Malt *wieḥed wieḥed*.

éxemmo^a/éxemwa (lit. in one place) 'together' < **exen-moḏā^a* < **wāḥid mawḏi^c*;

~ Fəsk *mōğah-ən wəḥed* 'eine Stelle' (Vo/Wald 18).

exte trik 'once' (trq^a).

[For feminine concord here, cf. the Modern Greek equivalent *μία φορά* 'once'.]

exen ḡsefēr^c 'once upon a time' (CyG *σεφέριν* 'time' < Tk; Yangoullis 1997:290).

éxte layle 'one night': *éxte layle raxu awnke l-amma* 'one night they went over to her paternal uncle's house.'

exte-xnayn 'a few': *sa^ca ta xlakna xost δ-δe^ca, kat^ca exen^G ayróplano^G mixxók minna u šalax exte-xnayn^G pompes^G* 'as soon as we reached the village, a plane passed overhead and dropped a couple of bombs.'

exte yomáyn 'a few days': *kafna exte yomáyn axxóst k-kassís* 'we spent a few days at the priest's house.'

[The CyA feminine form *exte* here copies the gender of Mod Gk ημέρα (f) 'day.'

ši-vexen 'nobody (after negative verb)': *má-kaffia ši-vexen žava* 'there was nobody at home.'

mill-exte ... mill-oxre 'one moment ... the next moment': *mill-exte piθkunni say akke u mill-oxre say áxaršik* 'one moment you tell me to do a thing and the next moment you tell me to do something else' (Frangiskou 65).

vaxt- (+ pron suffix) 'alone': *vaxti* 'on my own,' *vaxtak, vaxtik, vaxtu, vaxta*, etc. : *an^G pint u šibb pkyitxabbu, u exlon má-piritu tentžawzu š-šibb pkyisrok l-pint u piruxu pkyintžawzu vaxton* 'if a girl and a youth fall in love and their parents don't want them to marry, the youth elopes with the girl and they marry on their own'; *k-kišk mannakula š-šitvie ta o part; pittiniθpex vaxta u pittiniθpex ma l-laxm* 'we eat *kišk* in the winter when the weather's cold; it can be eaten either alone or together with meat'; cf. OA *wahdahu* 'by himself; he alone' (Hava 855);

~ Alep *wahd-* 'toujours à l'état construit avec un suff pron *wahdo* 'lui seul' (Barth 886) ~ Dam *wahd-* + pron suff 'alone' (Sto/Ani 7) ~ Kənd *bbahd-* 'allein' (Vo/Wald 455) ~ Pal Ar *wahdak* 'du allein' (Bau 11) ~ Malt *wahdi, -ek, -u, wehida, wehidna*, etc.).

w-ḥ-š

vešex, f *vešxe*, pl *-át* (adj) 'bad, mean, stingy; wild; (adv) very much': *xorku o vešex* 'his anger is vicious' (Frangiskou 227, 139); *žóčōna vešex* 'we were extremely hungry'; < **wiḥiš* continuing a *fa^cil* reflex of OA *wahš* 'beast of prey' (Hava 856), 'maussade, désagréable' (Dozy II, 797); ~ Alep *wəheš* 'sauvage, ... laid' (Barth 887) ~ Çukur *wiḥiš* 'schlecht, häßlich' (Procházka 2002:181) ~ Leban Ar *weheš* 'mauvais' (Feghali 1938:841) ~ Bask *wiḥiš* 'a bad (deed), *wḥiš* 'bad' (Abu-Haidar 1979: 125, 63) ~ Pal Ar *wiḥiš* 'häßlich' (Bau 150) ~ Cai *wiḥiš* 'bad, unpleasant, nasty' (Bad/Hi 927).

[Cf. Eyp Ar *wəheš* 'schlecht' (Behn/Woid 1999:403), Leban Ar *wahš* 'méchant' (Denizeau 1960:549); *el-mliḥ mn-alla wel-uhš men 'abdalla* 'le bien vient de Dieu et le mal de Abdalla' (Feghali 1938:327).]

šaxa (n) 'evil' < **wšāḥa* < **wḥāša*.

tvaššex, pkyitvaššex (v/i) 'become emaciated; become stingy, avaricious'; OA *tawahḥāša* 'become savage, wild' (Hava 856).

mafšíux, f *-a*, pl *-ín* 'very thin, emaciated.'

w-d-r

vadder, pivadder (v/t) 'use up (time, money); dismiss, expel; chase away': *vadder zmanu ke^ce xok l-islavát* 'he spent his time at his studies'; *vadder 'ištu ma n-nesfán* 'he squandered his life on women'; *vaddritu* 'she sent him away'; *kanivaddira mill-iskoyyó^G* 'he used to play truant'; OA *waddara* 'beguile a.o.; send a messenger; squander (wealth)' (Hava 859);

~ Alep *waddar* 'éloigner (qqn), gaspiller son avoir' (Barth 888) ~ Mos (M) *waddağ* (al-Bakrī 1972:492) ~ Pal Ar *waddar* 'vergeuden' (Bau 332) ~ Om (Khāb) *wdr* 'leave alone, abandon': *mā yweddaru n-naxīl* '[Omanis] won't abandon date-palms' (Brockett 1985:217).

tvadder, pkyitvadder (v/i) 'be used up; be dismissed, expelled'; *tawaddara* 'be spent away (health)' (Hava 859).

mvadder, f *mvaddre*, pl *mvaddrin* (pp) 'expelled.'

w-d-^c

mawda 'nest-egg'; Ar *mawda^ca* (Dozy II, 792);

~ Beir *mawda^ca* 'œuf qu'on met dans un nid préparé pour la ponte des poules, nichet' (Barth 889).

w-r-d

vart coll, n un *-e*, pl *-át* 'flowers, roses'; OA *ward*, pl *wurūd* (Hava 863) < Aram *wardā* (R. Payne Smith 1068);

[“Both the lily and the rose are thought to have been brought from Media and Persia” (Seymour 1907:324); cf. Old Iranian **wrđi* > Aeolian βρόδος ~ Lat *rosa*, etc. (A. Salonen 1952:2).]

~ Alep *ward* 'rosiers, roses' (Barth 890) ~ Mḥall *warde*, pl *-āt* 'Rosen, Blumen' (Vo/Wald 456) ~ Bagh (J) *wagd*, (C) *wagəd* 'flowers' (Blanc 1964:55) ~ Pal Ar *ward* 'roses, flowers' (Elihai 1999:146) ~ Malt *ward*, u n *-a* 'roses.'

muvárt 'rose water': *muvárt ter-rixxán* 'home-made basilicum freshener'; (*mwh⁰*).

w-r-q

varka, pl *varak* 'book, paper'; *amma^G sma^cāt kif žu t-turk, žit žava*

tampsek v-varak šati u ruxt ^G*stratyoti* ^G 'when I heard that the Turks had come, I came home to collect my papers and enlisted in the army'; OA *waraqa* 'leaf, sheet of paper' (Hava 864);

~ Alep *waraqa* 'une feuille (d'arbre, de rose), une feuille de papier, waraq'feuilles d'arbre; du papier' (Barth 891, 892) ~ Kənd *waraq* coll, n un *waraqa*, pl -āt 'Blätter, Zweige' (Vo/Wald 456) ~ Bagh (M) *waraqa*/ *warqa*, pl -āt 'leaf, sheet of paper' (Wood/Bee 492), (J) *waqqa* 'piece of paper' (Blanc 1964:22) ~ Malt ⟨werqa, pl weraq⟩ 'leaf (of plant).'

w-r-m

virem, pkyivram (v/i) 'swell': *virnu žrexa* 'her legs became swollen'; OA *warima, yarimu* 'be swollen' (Hava 865);

~ Alep *wurəm, yūram* 's'enfler, enfler; devenir inabordable' (Barth 892) ~ Bagh (M) *wuram* (a) 'swell up' (Wood/Bee 492) ~ Darag *wəram* (a) 'anschwellen' (Vo/Wald 457) ~ Pal Ar *wirim, byūram* (Bau 269).

varrem, pivarrem (v/t) 'cause to swell; harrass, annoy'; cf. Mod Gk πρήζω (v/t/i) 'swell': μη με πρήζεις 'don't give me a hard time!' (Magazis 1995:472); OA *awramahu/awrama bihi* 'enrage a.o.' (Hava 865);

~ Alep *warram* 'faire enfler' (Barth 892) ~ Bagh (M) *l-mu^callim warramna b-^aasⁱlta š-^aba* 'the teacher tortured us with his hard questions' (Wood/Bee 492) ~ Cai *warram buyūd(-u)* 'annoy or disgust (s.o.)' (Bad/Hi 934);

[On possible Greek influence here on the Arabic dialects of Syria and Anatolia, see Intro, §VII.]

verem, f verme, pl -in 'swollen': *anék enne vermin* 'your (m) eyes are swollen'; OA *wārim* (Hava 865);

~ Alep *warmān* (Barth 892) ~ Dam *kāhli kəllo warmān* 'my ankle is all swollen' (Sto/Ani 232) ~ Çukur *wərim* 'anschwellend' (Procházka 2002:83) ~ Pal Ar *wārem/warmān* 'enflé' (Elihai 1973:158).

varam 'swelling (n)'; OA *waram, pl awrām* (Hava 865);

~ Alep *waram* 'enflure' (Barth 892) ~ Dam *waram, pl ^aawrām* (Sto/Ani 232) ~ Mard *waram* 'Schwindsucht' (Vo/Wald 457) ~ Pal Ar *waram* 'Schwellung' (Bau 269).

w-z-n

zan, pizīn (v/t) (Imptv: *zin, f zini, pl zinu*) 'weigh': *pzin xarrúp* 'I'm weighing carobs'; OA *wazana, yazu* (Hava 867);

[Morphophonemic restructuring of this lexeme in CyA and certain Eastern Arabic dialects cited below as medially weak derives via

back-formation from the Imperative form, cf. Kfar'ab *uzān* (Feghali 1919:143). Note also Bauer (1910:29) on Palestinian Arabic: "Einige Besonderheiten bietet *wazan* 'wägen.' An seine Stelle tritt im Perfekt und Aorist gewöhnlich die II. Form des abgeleiteten Verbs."

~ Alep *zān, yzīn* (v/t) 'peser (qqe) avec toute balance autre que la romaine' (Barth 326) ~ Dam *zān* (i) / *wazan, yūzen* 'weigh' (Sto/Ani) ~ Hama *zān, izīn* 'wiegen' (Lewin 1966:229) ~ Mard *wazan, yūzan* 'wiegen, Abwiegen' (Vo/Wald 457) ~ Çukur *zān, izīn* (Procházka 2002:84) ~ Bišm *zān, bizīn* (Jiha 1964:137) ~ Pal Ar *wazzan, biwazzin/bizīn* 'wägen' (Bau 351) ~ Malt ⟨wizen, jizen⟩ (v/t/i) 'weigh.'

zan/zayn (vn) 'weighing'; cf. OA *wazn/zina* (Hava 867);

~ Hama *wzān* 'Abwiegen' (Lewin 1966:229).

intzān, pkyintzān 'be weighed';

~ Alep *nzān, yanzān* 'être pesé' (Barth 326) ~ Dam *nzān* 'be weighed' (Sto/Ani 261).

mintzān, f -e, pl -in (pp) 'weighed' < Form VII **minzān*.

mizzān (no pl) 'scales'; OA *mizān, pl mawāzīn* (Hava 867);

~ Alep *mizān, pl mwēzīn* 'balance à plateaux' (Barth 893) ~ Bagh (J) *mizīn, (C) mizēn* 'scale' (Blanc 1964:42) ~ Pal Ar *mizān, pl mayāzīn* (Elihai 1999:268) ~ Malt ⟨mizien⟩ 'scales.'

w-s-x

tvassxet, pittitvassex (v/i) 'menstruate'; OA *tawassaxa/ittasaxa* 'be filthy, defiled, soiled' (Hava 868);

[Cf. Alep *wusxa* 'impure, ayant ses règles (: femme)' (Barth 894).]

~ Alep *twassax* 'être sali, se salir' (Barth 893) ~ Āz *twassax* 'schmutzig werden' (Vo/Wald 457) ~ Pal Ar *twassax* (Bau 263).

w-s-ʃ

xost (prep/adv) 'in, into, inside, among': *štrayna xakle u kallixa xzar xtir xost* 'we bought a field and it was very rocky'; ^G*amma* ^G*l-itrunṭz teiprot maxxottu xost v-veⁱ* 'when the [candied] citrons cool down, we put them in the bowl'; *vak^a xost bbaxr u xtanak* 'he fell into the sea and drowned'; *kunna xost š-šitvie* 'it was during the winter' < **fost* < **f-waṣṣ* < OA *fī+ waṣṣ/waṣaṣ* 'midst, middle' (cf. Hava 869);

~ Alep *faṣṣ* 'au dedans de' (Barth 611) ~ Kənd *fəwaṣṣ, Qarṭ faṣṣ, Sii faṣṣ* (Vo/Wald 321) ~ 'Aq *waṣṣ* (präp) 'in, innen in, innen hinein' (Jastrow 1991b:427) ~ Malt ⟨fost⟩ 'among.'

axxóst 'in there' < ? **awnk-xost* (< **fī-waṣṣ*).

w-s-^c

sa^ca, *pisá^ca* (v/t) 'hold, contain': *aška ma kan isá^ca l-^caftokínito^c* 'an-tayna kúitna xost 'as many [of us] as the car could hold got inside'; OA *wasu^ca/wasi^ca* (a) 'be broad, ample, wide (place)' (Hava 869); ~ Alep *sā^c*, *yāsā^c* 'contenir' (Barth 328) ~ Bišm *sā^c*, *bisā^c* 'er enthält' (Jiha 1964:137) ~ Kfar^cab *sā^c*, *isā^c* (1938:781) ~ rur Eryp Ar *sā^c*, *isī^c* 'weit genug sein für, fassen' (Behn/Woid 1994:223) ~ Kənd [—], *yāsā^c*: *yāsā^cəllu arb^ca tanagāt mayy* 'it holds four tin cans of water' (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Pal Ar *wisi^c/wasa^c*, *byūsa^c* (Bau 93) ~ Malt ⟨wesa, jisa⟩.

vus^c 'capacity, width'; OA *wus^c* (Hava 869); ~ Kənd *wəsā^c* (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Pal Ar *wuso^c* 'space, breadth' (Jer, Piamenta 1979b:263) ~ Malt ⟨wisa⟩.

fsi^ci, pl *fsa^ca* 'wide' < **vsī^c*, **vsā^c*; OA *wasī^c* 'broad, spacious' (Hava 869), MLA *wasī^c*, pl *wisā^c* (Wehr 1252);

Alep *usi^c*, pl *usā^c* 'spacieux, vaste' (Barth 894) ~ Darag *wsih* 'breit' (Vo/Wald 458) ~ Çukur *wsī^c* (Procházka, p.c.) ~ Pal Ar *bēti usī^c* 'my house is wide' (Granqvist 1935: II, 225; Bauer 131).

āfsa^ca 'wider, broader'; OA *awsa^c* (Hava 869);

~ Alep *awsa^c* 'plus spacieux' (Vo/Wald 458) ~ Malt ⟨usa⟩ [ū].

w-s-y

wassa, *pivassi* (v/t) 'advise, inform': *má-vassáytni aš pkyislax tasáy* 'you did not instruct me about what I should do'; *k-kassís pkyítla^ca xok l-^ci^cprétika^c u pivassi n-nes aššik ^cprepi^c tekunu* '(on Easter Sunday) the priest goes up the pulpit and explains to the faithful how they should deport themselves'; OA *waššā* 'enjoin, command' (Penrice 1969:159); cf. Heb *šiwwā* 'Übermittlung des letzten Willens' (Dt. 3, 28; Jubilees 19, 15ff; Speyer 1971:172);

~ Alep *wassa* 'recommander' (Barth 898) ~ Dam *wašša* 'will (property)' (Sto/Ani 264) ~ Qarṭ *wašša* 'besorgen, bestellen, eine Anweisung geben (bezüglich, 'ala)' (Vo/Wald 459) ~ Bagh (M) *wašša* 'request, ask, order' (Wood/Bee 496) ~ Pal Ar *wašša bi* 'recommend' (Spoer/Haddad 1909:137) ~ Malt ⟨wissa, iwissi⟩ 'warn.'

wassie 'piece of advice, information'; OA *wašiyya*, pl *wašāyā* 'injunction, command, will' (Hava 875);

~ Alep *wašiyē* 'dernières recommandations' (Barth 898) ~ Bagh (M) *wašiyya/wašiyya*, pl -āt, *wašāya* 'request, order' (Wood/Bee 496) ~ Pal Ar *wašiyye*, pl *wašāya* 'commandment' (Piamenta 2000:246) ~ Cai *wi-*

šiyya, pl *wašāya* 'advice' (Bad/Hi 943) ~ Malt ⟨twissija⟩ 'warning.'

w-d-^c

mōda^ca/mo^ca, pl *moḏē^ci* 'place, plot of land, country (fatherland)': *pižipúon fi mōda^ca ta manzinon* 'they bring them (the carobs) to the same place so that we can weigh them'; *pri taštri aḏa m-mōda^ca* 'I want to buy this plot'; *mat pšan moḏ^cu* 'he died for his country'; *šī-mōda^ca* 'somewhere, anywhere'; < OA *mawḏī^c*, pl *mawāḏī^c* (Hava 877);

~ Alep *mawḏa^c/mōda^c*, pl *mawāḏe^c* 'lieu' (Barth 898) ~ Darag *mōza^c*, pl *mōzī^c* 'Ort, Stelle' (Vo/Wald 460).

[On the vowel /a/ in the second syllable of this lexeme, see Rabin (1951:208) and Blau (1971:3, fn 13).]

éxemmo^ca/éxemwa/exemmōda^ca 'together' < **wāḥid mawḏa^c* 'one place'; cf. Malt ⟨flimkien⟩ [< Ar **fil-makān*] 'together.'

~ Fəsk *mōvah-ən wēḥed* 'eine Stelle' (Vo/Wald 18).

w-ṭ-³

vata 'plain, lowland' (= Mod Gk κάμπος); *v-Vata* (topon): *kalunna, l-layle ttežú t-turk antaxt v-Vata u attáxirpu kúithkon* 'they said to us: the Turks are coming down to Vata tonight, and all of you had better leave'; OA *waṭ³/waṭā³* 'depressed land' (Hava 878); in toponyms: 'depression, low ground between eminences' (Groom 1983:307).

~ Alep *wāta/waṭā* «terrain bas» opposé à *ḡabal* «montagne» (Barth 899) ~ Darag *waṭa* 'Senke' (Vo/Wald 460) ~ Bagh (M) *wuṭiyya* 'ground, earth' (Wood/Bee 496) ~ Pal Ar *waṭa* 'Land' (Dalm II, 168); (rur) *wāta* 'Landstück', *arḏ wātye* 'Niederung' (Bau 188, 219), *waṭāh* 'Boden', *ḥālma yqūl ḥeḏḏa bihwi 'aleh nēir biddabbūs bigawwre fil-waṭāh sab^cin qāme* 'sobald er das sagt, fällt Nakir mit der Keule über ihn her und treibt ihn 70 Manneslängen in die Erde hinein' (Bīr Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 302, 12; Dalman VII, 97) ~ Judaeo-Ar *wiṭā³* 'sleeping carpet, bedding' (Diem/Raden 228) ~ Om (Khāb) *waṭa* (prep/adv) 'below, seawards' (Brockett 1985:220) ~ Malt ⟨wita⟩ 'low, level ground'; ⟨Il-Wita, Tal-Wata⟩ (topon) (Aquilina 1987:1535).

w-^c-y

ve^ci, pl *ve^cie* (< **wi^cāya*) 'bowl': *m-masl maxxóttillu milx u mantsubbu xost v-ve^ci* 'as for the whey, we add salt to it and pour it into a bowl'; OA *wi^cā³/wu^cā³*, pl *aw^ciya/awā^cin* 'vessel' (Hava 882);

[The CyA sg and pl forms seem to be historically closest to the Çukur-ova cognates. The shift > CyA *ie* is attested in *xkie* < *ḥikāya*.]

~ Alep *wā'a* 'vase', pl *ʔawā'i* 'ustensiles de ménage, habits' (Barth 901) ~ Çukur *wi'i*, pl *wāya* (Procházka 2002:290/2, 4) [cf. Bagh (C) *mawē'in* ~ (M) *mwā'in*, sg *mā'ūn* 'plates' (Abu-Haidar 1991:49)] ~ Pal Ar *wā'a*, pl *ʔaw'iye* 'Gefäß' (Bau 125), *wā'a*, pl *-āt* (Jer, Piamenta, p.c.); Cai *wāya*, pl *-āt* 'vessel, receptacle' (Spiro 1893:646).

w-f-y

ufā, *pkyufi* (v/t) 'pay': *pufi* 'ali' 'I'm paying dearly'; OA *awfā haqqahu* 'he paid him the whole of his due' (Hava 884);

[The association of 'paying' with the notion of 'completion, fulfilment' also occurs in Maghribī Ar *xallaṣ* 'he paid' (< OA 'he completed'); cf. Heb *šilleṣ* 'he completed, paid' ~ Akk *šalāmu* 'be unharmed, complete; be paid' (Klein 1987:662). It finds an interesting parallel in Mod Gk πλήρης 'full', πληρώνω 'pay', and συμπληρώνω 'fulfill' (Pring 2000:428).]

~ Alep *wafa*, *yūfi* 'payer, acquitter (une dette)' (Barth 902) ~ Çukur *wafa*, *yiwfi* 'bezahlen (Schuld)' (Procházka 2002:79) ~ Leban Ar *wefe*, *yūfe* 'payer, s'acquitter de' (Feghali 1938:843) ~ Pal Ar *wafa*, *byūfi* 'Versprechen halten, bezahlen' (Bau 1910:36), rur Pal Ar *u-xatṛa bāqi wāhad ḡāy yōfi niḍre* 'einmal kam einer, um sein Gelübde zu erfüllen' (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 8) ~ Cai *wafa*, *yūfi* 'fulfill, complete': *wafa denoh* 'he paid his debt' (Spiro 1895:647).

stawfa, *pkyistawfa* 'be paid': *piziniūn u pkyistawfu* 'they weigh them (the carobs) and receive their wages'; nonclass Ar *istawfā* 'exact the whole of' (Hava 884);

~ Alep *stawfa*, *yāstawfi* 'se faire payer intégralement' (Barth 902) ~ Bagh (M) *stawfa* 'obtain repayment of' (Wood/Bee 499).

mufi, f *mufie*, pl *mufin* (pp) 'paid.'

wafa 'payment'; OA *wafā* 'payment of debt' (Hava 884);

~ Alep *wafa* 'paiement total, action d'acquitter' (Barth 920) ~ Pal Ar *wafā* 'Bezahlung' (Bauer 59).

awfa (adv) 'more': *kayyīpza'a awfa minni* 'he was more scared than I was'; *awfa xilv* 'sweeter', *awfa šex* 'older', *awfa xok* 'higher up', *awfa žump* 'nearer', *awfa texte* 'sooner, as soon as possible'; *awfa θkike* 'thinner'; *meno l-awfa l-itvil tel-payt telkon* 'who's the tallest in your family?'; *l-ummāt pkyūzā'u awfa mil-yapatāt* 'mothers are more sensitive than fathers'; MLA *awfā* 'more complete' (Wehr 1273);

~ Alep *awfa* 'plus avantageux (: prix)' (Barth 902) ~ AA *awfa/awfi* 'besides' (Corriente 1997:568).

awfa ... awfa 'the more ... the more': *awfa ma texte piži*, *awfa sa'a ttekullina tantúmm šó'olna* 'the sooner he arrives, the more time we'll have to complete our task.'

l-awfa 'the majority; especially; most of all': *kwannákša'a an piruxu l-awfa*, *oxar l-i^cprofiti Ilias, monastiri maronitiko^c*, *oxar kaniruxu sop v^cvuná*, *Kakopetriá^c* 'we could see where most people were going; some to Profiti Ilias, a Maronite monastery; others to the mountains, to Kakopetriá'; *l-awfa ta kanya^cžipna kan ta kuntsáy^csalata^c núsuxar*; *kwannákša'a min kullon xost* 'what we used to enjoy most of all was making (lit. when I made) a salad at noontime; we used to chop into it a bit of everything.'

w-q-t

oxt 'time, moment': *aš oxt o ?* 'what time is it?'; *má-lini oxt alok* 'I have no time now'; < **waxt* < OA *waqt*, pl *awqāt* (Hava 885);

~ Alep *waqt/waqet* pl *uqāt* 'temps' (Barth 902) ~ Mard *waxt* 'Zeit' (Vo/Wald 461) ~ Arb *waxt* (Jastrow 1991b:426) ~ Hask *waqt* 'Zeit, wenn' (Talay 2002:84) ~ Iraqi Ar *wakt* (Denz/Edzard 1966:95); cf. rur Eyp Ar *durwak/dirwax* 'jetzt' (Behn/Woid 1994:133), *dilwaxt* (Woidich 1978:62) ~ Malt *waqt* 'time.'

[Spirantization of OA *q* > **k* > *x* before **t* occur across the Arabic dialect area: rur Eyp Ar *durwak/dirwax* 'jetzt' (Behn/Woid 1994:133), Syr Ar *taxtōr* < *daktōr* 'Doktor' (Behnstedt 2000:589), Iraqi Art *doxtōr* (Denz/Edzard 1966:85). On North African Arabic, cf. Marçais (1911:492-3; Levi-Provençal 1922:265). The shift appears to implement an unsystematic manner dissimilation rule; note also secondary occlusivization of the velar fricative implemented in Mard *šaqš* < *šaxš* 'Mann' (Jastrow 1981:4), Malt *baqxiex* [ba'šr:š] 'gratuity' < Ar *baxšiš* (Ben Cheneb 1922:19).]

l-oxt 'when (conj)': *l-oxt ta pkyisxon l-ixlíp ...* 'when the milk warms up ...'

texte 'quickly, promptly; soon, early': *kol texte*, *t-tapx tteiprot* 'come on, eat up; the food will get cold!'; *sift núsuxar pitokku k^ckampanes^c* *texte*, *pšan tekulu^coti^c kam l-impšix* 'at midday on [Holy] Saturday, the church bells ring merrily (lit., with quick strokes) to announce Jesus' resurrection'; *pa'a o texte* 'it's still early'; *yapati šax texte* 'my father aged before his time'; *kwantsáy texte tarríx naxne kintám*, *ta lá-teruxu oxar tape'u kintamna* 'we used to hurry so as to arrive first and prevent others from selling [their wares] before us'; < **diyakta* < **dī waqthā*.

[Analogous forms occur in several Arabic dialects: Alep *mān waqta* 'aussitôt' (Barth 902), Cai *dilwaqti* 'now, at present' (Spiro 1895:647) <

**dī l-waqt* (W-D. Fischer 1969:67), N Yem *ḍissa* 'jetzt' (Behnstedt 1987: 255), Judaeo-Ar *ḍi zāman* (sic) 'this time' (Blau/Hopkins 1985:446). Cf. also Bagh (J) *dī* 'used to urge someone to speed up': *dī, ḡibōnu l-ḍā l-ḡ-rūbi* 'quickly, bring this bedouin!' (Mansour 1991:228, 197, fn 40).]

alok 'now': ^G*ost*^G *alok* 'until now'; < **haloq* < **hālwaq* < **halwāqt*; ~ Alep *hallaq* (Barth 902) ~ 'En *at-Tine hallo*' 'jetzt' (Behnstedt 1997:565, map 282) ~ Āz *hālwaqt* 'jetzt' (Vo/Wald 461) ~ Leban Ar *halloq* 'maintenant' (Feghali 1938:840) ~ Dam *halla* 'now' (Sto/Ani 160) ~ Pal Ar *hallaq/halqet*, (rur) *haloqet* (Bau 166) ~ Uzbekistan *alok* 'jetzt' (W-D. Fischer 1959:246); cf. Malt *dalwaqt* 'shortly'.

[For loss of final /t/ here, note the intermediate shift of *waqt* > *waqq* (Nevo 2001:73). For further data, consult the survey of dialectal Arabic reflexes of **halwaqt* in W-D. Fischer (1959:145f) and the reflexes of **dalwaqt* cited in Behn/Woid (1985, maps 178-181).]

mnalok u terix 'from now on' < **min-hallaq u tayrūh*; cf. Pal Ar *min hal'et u tāle*/*min il-yōm u tāle* (Jer, Piamenta, p.c.).

w-q-d

okit (f) 'fire': *xe l-payt l-okit* 'the house caught fire'; OA *waqid* 'fuel', ~ Alep *uqid* 'combustible, feu, ardeur du feu' (Barth 903) ~ Leban Ar *uqid* 'feu' (Feghali 1938:843) ~ Cai *wiqid* 'fuel' (Spiro 1983:648) ~ Yem *waqid* 'charcoal, firelighting' (Qafisheh 2000:632).

[*Uqid* a pris au Liban, dans la plupart des cas, la place de *nār* «feu» — (Fegh M/J) 1977:75, fn 4); cf. E. Arabic *waqid* 'feu fait avec des combustibles' (Dozy II, 836, cit. Boc and Muhit).]

moxte 'old-fashioned kitchen stove (for firewood)'; Judaeo-Ar *mawqida* 'stove' (Diem/Raden 229); OA *mawqid*, pl *mawāqid*, nonclass Ar *mawqida*, pl *mawāqid* (Hava 886); ~ Alep *mawqde* 'fourneau' (Barth 903) ~ Bagh (M) *mogad*, pl *mwāgid* 'fireplace' (Wood/Bee 500) ~ Leban Ar *mawqde*, pl *mwāqed* 'foyer' (Feghali 1938:552) ~ Pal Ar *mawqade/mōqade* 'Koch-herd' (Dalm VII, 125, 132) ~ Yem *mawgid* pl *mawāgid* 'firelighting' (Qafisheh 2000:632).

w-q-ʿ

vakʿa, *pkjukáʿa* (v/i) 'fall; become scarce': *vakʿa fi žréy* 'he fell at my feet'; *ʿašie vakʿa park xok b-bayt žumpna* 'last night lightning struck the house next door'; *vakʿalla m-ḡmorós* 'she had a miscarriage'; OA *waqaʿa*, *yaqaʿu* (Hava 887); ~ Kənd *waqaʿ* (a) 'fallen, zu Boden fallen, hinfallen, tot umfallen, ...'

(Vo/Wald 462) ~ Leban Ar *waqaʿ*, *yūqaʿ/ūqaʿ* 'tomber' (Feghali 1938: 843) ~ Bagh (M) *wuqaʿ* (a) 'fall' (Wood/Bee 488) ~ rur Pal Ar *wiqʿ*/*waqaʿ*, *yaqaʿ* 'fallen' (Schmidt/Kahle II, 244) ~ Malt *waqaʿ*, *jaqaʿ*.

[On CyA stress in the Imp stem, cf. Syr Ar *yqaʿ/ywaqaʿ*, etc. (map 183; Behnstedt 1977:367). Roth (1975:65) has also noted an Imp paradigm of this verb with the following stress pattern: *pkjukʿa*, *pitukʿa*, etc.]

w-q-f

ekef, *pkikáf* (v/i) (Perf. : *kaft*, *kaft(i)*, *ekef*, *ekfet/efket*, *kafna*, *kaftu*, *ekfu/ekfu*; Roth 1975:64) 'stand, stop, stay, remain, end up': *l-layl kwannimpši u x-xar kwankáf* '(in the army) we used to march during night and rest during the day'; *amma kunt ana, Eleni kantakáf mpla intsun* 'were it not for me, Helen would have ended up without a husband' (Frangiskou 190); *an pikáf?* 'where are you staying?'; *kaf máʿana* 'stay with us!'; *ana kaft vaxti ma yapati l-imtine uv-ummi esket ḡ-ḡeʿa* 'I remained alone with my father in Nicosia and my mother stayed at the village'; *yapati ekef tvaxxar* 'itšán, kanyistanter moe' 'my father remained thirsty all day waiting for water [to be brought to him]'; *mat n-ḡnikočiriḡ u ekef b-bayt mnyessar* (< *nšr*) 'the proprietor died and the house remained deserted'; OA *waqafa* (i) (Hava 888);

~ Alep *wuqef/wəqef*, *yaqaf* 'se tenir debout' (Barth 904) ~ Leban Ar *wəqef*, *yūqaf* (Feghali 1938:843) ~ Anat Ar *wəqəf*, *yaqaf* 'stehenbleiben, bleiben' (Vo/Wald 462) ~ Malt *waqaf*, *jieqaf*.

ekef, f *ekfe*, pl *ekfin* 'standing, stopping, remaining': *as int ekef? kʿo!* 'why are you standing? Sit (m) down!'; OA *wāqif*; ~ Alep *wəqef* (Barth 904) ~ Bagh (JC) *wəqəf* (Blanc (1964: 43).

w-q-y¹

tvakka, *pkuyitvakka* (v/i) 'watch out, take care': *tvakka ta lá-tukáʿa xost b-bir* 'take care not to fall into the well!'; OA *tawaqqa* 'dread, guard against' (Hava 889);

~ Bagh (M) *twaqqa* 'protect oneself, be on guard' (Wood/Bee 500) ~ Leban Ar *twaqqa* 'faire attention' (Feghali 1938:843) ~ Pal Ar *twaqqa* 'sich hüten vor, twaqqi' 'Schonung' (Bau 162, 264).

w-q-y²

okie, pl *vak* 'weight equivalent to CyG *ontzá* = one fourth of an oke' (Yangoullis 1997:220); *tlax vak* 'three okies'; OA *ūqiyya*, pl *awāqin/awāq* 'ounce' (Hava 889); MLA *wiqiya* (Egyp), *wuqiye* (Syr) (Wehr 1282) < Aram *ʿwqyā* < ούγκια < Lat *uncia* (Fraenkel 1886:201);

~ Alep *wāqīye/uqīye*, pl *wāq 'ouqiyē'* (Barth 905) ~ Dam *wāīye*, pl *wā* 'Unze' (Kuhnt 1958:138) ~ Pal Ar *oqīyye*, pl *uwāq* (Bau 136), *θalθ awāq titin* '3 Okijen Tabak' (Bir Zet; Schmidt/Kahle 1918: I, 270) ~ Leban Ar *uqīyye*, pl *wāq 'once, 12e partie du ratl'* (Feghali 1938:843) ~ Cai *wiqīyya/awqīyya* 'ounce' (Spiro 1895:650), cf. Judaeo-Ar *wqyh* 'ounce' and **wqīyyt[yyn?]* 'and two ounces' (Blau/Hopkins 1987:126) ~ Malt *uqīyya*, pl *ewwieq*.

w-k->

xta, *pkixti* (v/i) 'lean' < **ktā* < **takā*, a back-formation from OA *ittaka'a* 'recline upon the side' (Hava 890): *mannaxo u ḡskales ta manixti xok z-zaytune, mannitla'a xok u maffutt ma tena* '(for olive picking) we also take ladders which we lean against the olive trees; we go up and pick (olives) with our hands';

[For the metathesis **tk* > *kt* (= [xt]), cf. *xpa* [gba] 'he wept' < *bakā*.]

~ Alep *taka*, *yətki*, pa *tēki* 'incliner, pencher (une jarre)' (Barth 89) ~ Dam *ttaka/yəttāki* 'lean' (Sto/Ani 135) ~ rur Egyp Ar *taka 'ala* 'drücken; pressen' (Behn/Woid 1994:50) ~ Bagh (M) *tačča* 'lean, prop on' (Wood/Bee 54) ~ Kənd *ntaka*, *yəntāki* 'sich anlehnen, Mħall 'sich hinlegen' (Vo/Wald 72, 431) ~ Pal Ar *ittaka/irtaka* 'sich lehnen auf' (Bau 191), [*taki*, f *tākye*, pl *tākyin* 'accoudé' (Elihai 1973:34)] ~ Cai *ittaka/ittakka* 'lean upon' (Spiro 1893:650), *ittaka* (Bad/Hi 133) ~ Yem *tkē*, *yitki* 'appoggiare' (Rossi 1939:192), *tka/tke (i)* 'ala 'lean on' (Qafisheh 2000:634) ~ Marazig *təkē*, *yətki* 'se jeter sur ('ala)' (Boris 1958:676).

[Cf. Bagh (M) *wačča* 'come to rest, perch': *tter tār w-wačča 'ala šigra* 'alya' 'the bird flew up and perched in a high tree' (Wood/Bee 489), cf. Malt *iwikka, iwikki* 'foist s.th. on s.o.']

w-l-d

viltet, *pittivlet* 'give birth': *mprati viltet fia xmenye θkyem* 'my wife gave birth a week ago'; OA *waladat*, *talidu* 'she brought forth a child' (Lane 2966) (*xlqā*);

~ Alep *wəldət/wuldət*, *tūlad* 'accoucher (: femme; femelle)' (Barth 907) ~ Mard *wəldət*, *təlad* 'Junge werfen' (Vo/Wald 463) ~ Pal Ar *wildit* 'gebären' (Bau 122).

valltet, *pitvaltet* 'assist in childbirth': *ḡistera ammaḡ kanižú kullon ḡēprepenḡ terūx težip l-ḡmammúḡ ta kantatvaltet ill-impratu* 'then when they (relatives, in-laws, etc.) all came, he (the husband) had to go and bring the midwife to assist his wife [in childbirth]'; OA *wallada* 'he

assisted her ... in bringing forth' (Lane 2966);

~ Alep *wallad* 'accoucher une femme; engendrer' (Barth 907) ~ Pal Ar *walladat* 'gebären' (Bau 122) ~ Malt *welled, iwelled* 'assist a woman in childbirth.'

(n)*tvilet*, *pkynivlet* (v/i) 'be born'; cf. OA *tawallada* (Hava 893);

~ Alep *wuled*, *yūlad* 'être né' (Barth 907) ~ Bagh (M) *nwilad* (Wood/Bee 503), (J) *nwalad* (Mansour 1991:152) ~ Pal Ar *wuled*, *byūlad* 'geboren werden' (Bau 123) ~ Cai *inwalad/itwalad* 'be born' (Spiro 600) ~ Malt *twieled, jitwieled*.

[For postnasal insertion of epenthetic *t* in CyA **nw* > (n)*tv*, see Borg (1985:23).]

valte, pl *-āt* '(one) delivery'; cf. MLA *waladat iθnayni fi walda* 'she gave birth to two at a time' (Wehr 1285).

velte, pl *-āt* (ap) 'woman in childbed'; OA *wālida* (Hava 893);

~ Alep *wāldē* 'mère' (Barth 907) ~ Pal Ar *wāldē*, pl *-āt* (Piamenta 2000:246).

vlete 'childbirth, delivery'; OA *wilāda* (Hava 893);

~ Alep *ulēde* (inf) (Barth 907) ~ Dam *wlāde* 'birth' (Sto/Ani 23) ~ Pal Ar *wilāde* 'Geburt' (Bau 124).

vilt, pl *ulāt* 'child', dim *viltui*, pl *latuḡkya/laḡukkyā* < Ar *walad*, pl *awlād* > **wlād* + CyG dim suff *-uḡkya* < -*ovdia*.

[The apocopated CyA form *lat-* concomitant with stress shift away from the stem invites comparison with the reduction or deletion of the pretonic diphthong of Ar *awlād* 'sons' > *ālād* > *lād* in Naḡdī (Kurpershoek 1999:165).]

~ Alep *walad*, pl *ulād* 'enfant' (Barth 907) ~ Mard *walad*, pl *ulād* 'Kind, Junge, Junger Mann' (Vo/Wald 463) ~ Pal Ar *walad*, pl (*ʿa*)*wlād* 'child' (Elihai 1999:141) ~ Cai *walad/wād*, pl *wilād/ʿawlād* 'male child' (Bad/Hi 955).

lē-ʿit mileti 'Christmas' < **l-ʿid milādī*; cf. MLA *milādiyy* 'relating to the birth of Christ' (Wehr 1286);

[On this structure, see (*ʿyd*).]

~ Alep *milād* 'Nativité de Jésus-Christ' (Barth 908) ~ Dam *ʿid il-milād* 'Christmas' (Sto/Ani 40) ~ Bagh (MC) *milād*, (J) *milād* 'birthday' (Blanc 1964:86) ~ Pal Ar *ʿid il-milād* 'Weihnachten' (Bau 357) ~ Malt *il-Milied*.

Y

y-ā¹

ya (vocative particle; rare): *ya rabbi sa'itna* 'God help us!'; OA *yā* (Hava 900).

ya ... ya 'either ... or': *ya pitzi alok ya máy-tzi* 'she'll either come now or not at all'; *ya teruxu kullon ya ši-vexen* 'either everybody goes or nobody'; < Tk or Pers (Barth 914);

~ Alep *yā ... yā* 'soit ... soit' (Barth 914) ~ Dam *yā ... yā* 'either ... or' (Sto/Ani 76) ~ Pal Ar *ya ... ya* 'entweder ... oder' (Kampff 1936:79) ~ Arb ... *yā lāhu ḥawēwīn, yā lāhu byūt* '... oder wenn er Vieh besitzt, oder Häuser' (Jastrow 1981:92).

y-ā²

ya (emphatic particle roughly equivalent to a tag question): *ya-l'aptu* 'but you shot it (the fox), didn't you?';

~ Alep *yā* 'n'est-ce pas' (Barth 913) ~ Hask *yā badle inte* 'andere doch deine Meinung' (Talay 2002:85).

y-b-s

yipes, pkyipes (v/i) 'dry; run dry (river); harden, wither': *γamma^G kanisūr l-im'áll u kanyipes, kwannáxistu ma l-imnežel* 'when the wheat ripened and hardened, we used to reap it with sickles'; *k-kišk^Gprin^G ta ttipes, pittittekkel nayye* 'before the kišk dries, it can be eaten uncooked'; *teipes moxxak* 'que ton cerveau se dessèche' (Roth 1975:106); OA *yabisa, yaybasu/yaybisu* (Hava 900);

~ Çukur *yibis, yibas* 'trocknen' (Procházka 2002:79) ~ Kənd *yəbəs, yəbas* 'trocknen, trocken werden' (Vo/Wald 467) ~ Pal Ar *yibis (a)* (Bau 306) ~ Malt 'ibbies, jibbies' (v/i) 'harden.'

yabbes, pkyabbes (v/t) 'dry'; OA *yabbas* 'dessicate s.th.' (Hava 900); ~ Alep *yabbas* 'rendre sec' (Barth 914) ~ Pal Ar *yabbas* 'trocknen' (Bau 306) ~ Malt 'webbes, iwebbes', only figuratively, in the expression 'webbes rasu' 'be stubborn, unflinching.'

yaps (vn) 'aridity; drying, draining, dripping': *l-lupkye pitri yaps* 'the string beans have to be drained'; OA *yabs* (Hava 900).

yepes, f yepse, pl -in 'dry'; OA *yābis*; ~ Alep *yebes, pl yēbse* 'sec, sèche; desséché' (Barth 915) ~ Hal *yəbəs, pl yəbsīn* 'trocken, dürr' (Vo/Wald 468) ~ Pal Ar *yābis* 'trocken, hart, zäh,' *rās yābis* 'eigensinnig' (Bau 306, 84) ~ Malt 'iebes' 'hard; unrelenting': 'hobz iebes' 'hard bread,' 'ghandu rasu iebsa' 'he's stubborn.'

y-d

it, pl ten 'hand, handle' < Ar *īd*, pl **īdayn*: *misek v-varka min tey u šalxa* 'he snatched the book out of my hands and threw it down'; *teipsu texon* 'may their hands wither!' (Frangiskou 228); OA *yad, pl ayādn/ ayādin*; MAR *yād* 'hand' (Blau 2002:262); JAram *yīdā* (M. Jastrow 45);

[Cf. Tur *ido* 'hand' Blau (1983:143) states: 'īd' 'hand' may ... reflect Aramaic influence since it is attested in the fragments of the Palestinian Targum'; cf. also Blau (1966-7:71, fn 45). Note the vowel [e] in rural Pal Ar *yād*, presumably continuing a historical diphthong as in JAram *'aydā* (M. Jastrow 45). Reflexes OA *yad* show up in the Maghribi dialect area: Algiers (Tapiéro 1971:161), Maltese, etc.]

~ Alep *yīd, du yīdēn, du de totalité yīdēn* 'main, bras, poignet, épaule' (Barth 21) ~ Dam *yīd, du yīdēn, pl yīdēn* 'arm, hand' (Sto/Ani 11, 110) ~ Mard *īd, pl Kənd īdayn* 'Hand' (Vo/Wald 468) ~ Pal Ar *yīd/yād/yadd, pl yīdēn, du yīdēn* (Bau 148) ~ AA *yadd, pl iddayn* (Corriente 1997:575) ~ Malt 'id, pl idejn' 'hand,' 'jedd, pl jeddijiet' 'right, entitlement.'

y-w-m

(y)*yawm* 'today' (< **yyawm* < **l-yawm*); OA *al-yawma*;

~ Alep *lyōm(e)* 'aujourd'hui' (Barth 919) ~ Qarṭ *alyawm* ~ Mard *alyawme* ~ Kənd *yōme* ~ Darag *lōme* 'heute' (Vo/Wald 470) ~ Hask *lōm/lōme* 'wenn, als, heute' (Talay 2002:76) ~ Malt 'illum' [u:] 'today'

θkyem (pl) 'days,' du *yomayn, sg xar* < **nhār: exex-xar* 'one day'; *xamps-iθkyem* 'five days'; OA **-tiyyām*;

~ Alep *yōm, pl iyēm, qqf. iyām* 'jour, journée' (Barth 919) ~ Kənd *yawm, pl Mard tyēm* (Vo/Wald 470) ~ Kənd *xams iyēm* 'five days' (Jastrow, p.c.) ~ Pal Ar *yōm, pl iyyām* 'Tag' (Bau 296) ~ Malt 'yum, pl jiem' 'day': 'hamest-ijiem' 'five days.'

exte yomáyn 'a day or two.'

[For the feminine agreement here, cf. Mod Gk *ημέρα* (f) 'day']

yamuθnáyn/yamuxnáyn '(on) Monday' < **yawm θ-θnayn; yamusift* 'on Saturday'; < **yawm is-sibt*.

kúyyom 'every day': *kúyyom skum 'alepukra s-sa'a árpa'a u prux š-šo'ol* 'every day I get up early at four o'clock in the morning and go to work'; < **kúlyōm* < OA *kulla yawmin* (klls).

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 father-in-law—h-m-w
 fatherland—w-d-c
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