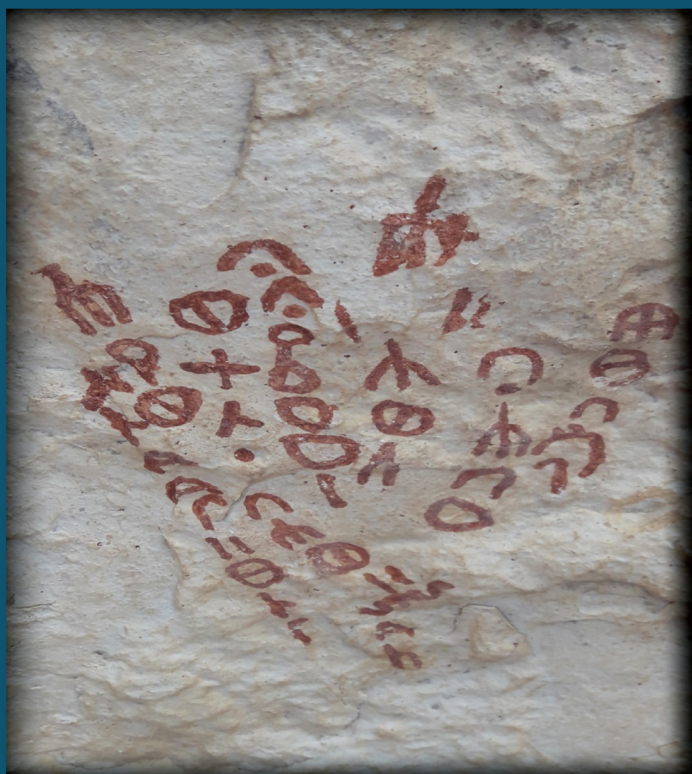


An Annotated Corpus of Three Hundred Proverbs, Sayings, and Idioms in Eastern Jibbali/Šḥarēt

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Giuliano Castagna, *An Annotated Corpus of Three Hundred Proverbs, Sayings, and Idioms in Eastern Jibbali/Ṣharēt*. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2024,
<https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0422>

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Semitic Languages and Cultures 26

ISSN (print): 2632-6906

ISSN (digital): 2632-6914

ISBN Paperback: 978-1-80511-384-3

ISBN Hardback: 978-1-80511-385-0

ISBN Digital (PDF): 978-1-80511-386-7

DOI: 10.11647/OBP.0422

Cover image: Dhofar Inscription KMH 1-8, Raxyut, Oman. Photo by Giuliano Castagna, CC BY-NC.

Cover design: Jeevanjot Kaur Nagpal

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3. CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the linguistic analysis of these collections of proverbs yields some results upon which it is worth reflecting.

1.0. Phonetics and Phonology

1.1. The Realisation of /g/

With regard to Ali al-Shahri's dialect, which is that of Ṭawi Aṣṭír, a town in the hills to the north-east of Wadi Dhabat (Dhofar), it falls within the eastern branch of Jibbali/Šḥarēt. The realisation of /g/ in his recording can be summarised as follows:

- /g/ is realised as [g] six times before fronted vowels,¹ and twice before ultra-short non-phonological vowels;²
- /g/ is realised as [gʲ] six times before fronted vowels,³ 13 times before non-fronted vowels,⁴ three times before ultra-short non-phonological vowels,⁵ once in pre-consonantic position,⁶ and five times in final position.⁷

¹ Entries (1), (11), (13), (93), (152), and (199) of al-Shahri's collection.

² Entries (179) and (189) of al-Shahri's collection.

³ Entries (54), (100), (108), (134), (150), and (172) of al-Shahri's collection.

⁴ Entries (17), (45), (68), (83), (89), (106), (110), (127), (128), (129), (135), (164), and (186) of al-Shahri's collection.

⁵ Entries (11), (70), and (179) of al-Shahri's collection.

⁶ Entry (149) of al-Shahri's collection.

⁷ Entries (1), (16), (114), (197), and (204) of al-Shahri's collection.

As for S. al-Amri's recordings, his recordings reveal, on a smaller scale,⁸ a parallel state of affairs:

- /g/ is realised as [g] three times before non-fronted vowels;⁹
- /g/ is realised as [gʲ] four times before non-fronted vowels,¹⁰ five times in final position,¹¹ and once before a fronted vowel.¹²

In light of this, it would be tempting to posit that /g/ is actually realised as [gʲ] in both varieties, and the *yod*-coloured off-glide is perceptually much more prominent before non-fronted vowels. However, only a detailed phonetic analysis might confirm this. Perceptually speaking, [gʲ] seems to be the most frequent realisation in both dialects.

1.2. The Pausal Realisation of /l/

Al-Shahri consistently renders /l/ as a devoiced alveolar tap [ɭ̥] in final position.¹³ In S. al-Amri's recordings, the /l/ phoneme occurs only once in final position and, as in al-Shahri's recordings,

⁸ Al-Shahri's collection is made up of 210 entries, whereas the other collections (MLZ, JL, and elicited entries) account for 74 entries in total.

⁹ Entries (28) of MLZ, and (7) and (22) of JL.

¹⁰ Entries (8), (28), and (39) of MLZ, and (6) of JL.

¹¹ Entries (28) and (36) of MLZ, and (1), (4), and (14) of JL. This realisation occurs only in the term *ḡegʲ*.

¹² Entry (12) of JL.

¹³ Entries (27), (122), (125), and (155) of al-Shahri's collection, that is, in all occurrences of final /l/.

it is realised as [ɕ].¹⁴ Despite the limited number of tokens in this study, S. al-Amri's natural speech shows that this pausal realisation regularly occurs in his dialect too. Furthermore, some degree of hesitation between forms with final [l] and [r] in the literature, e.g., *bidol* ~ *bīdor* 'Sarcostemma viminalis' (Miller and Morris 1988, 50) and *daǧál* ~ *daǧár* 'to prick' (JL, 35; MLZ, 331), suggests that this feature might not be limited to the eastern dialects of Jibbali/Šḥarēt.

1.3. /ɛ / > [ɔ]

In al-Shahri's dialect, certain terms and verbal forms which normally exhibit a final [ɛ] have [ɔ] instead: *ɬɔdɔ*, recorded by JL (283) as *ɬɔdɛ* 'bosom, breast; nipple and breast'; *gɔfɔ*, recorded as *gɔfɛ* 'shadow' (JL, 72); *yəṣeṣɔfɔ*,¹⁵ recorded as *yəṣeṣɔfɛ* 'to gather news, find out' (JL, 237); and *aɬɬɔdɔ*, recorded as *aɬtedɛ*¹⁶ 'to attack' (JL, 7).¹⁷

One might legitimately suppose that the vowel quality of the stressed vowel influences that of the following unstressed final vowel, where this vowel is part of the root, but this mechanism does not appear to be straightforward. For one thing, there are not enough data available to posit a phonological rule. Besides, the case of *aɬtedɛ* < *√ɬdw* casts additional doubts upon this problematic state of affairs: according to Dufour (2016, 101), the

¹⁴ Entry (32) of MLZ.

¹⁵ A 3.M.SG. imperfective of a Š1-stem < *√sfv*.

¹⁶ A third-person perfective of a T2-stem < *√ɬdw*

¹⁷ These forms are found respectively in entries (40), (45), (94), and (103) of al-Shahri's collection.

stressed vowel of the third-person perfective of a T2-stem derived from a III-weak root is [ɔ]. Therefore, the ‘regular’ verbal form should be **aštɔdɛ*, rather than *aštɛdɛ*, as reported by JL. One should, however, always bear in mind that the data reported by JL should not be absolutely relied upon, especially with regard to vocalism, notwithstanding the undoubted value of this pioneering work.¹⁸

This process is unknown to S. al-Amri’s dialect.

2.0. Morphology

2.1. The Plural Relativiser *iž* as a Genitive Exponent

The plural relativiser *iž* (Rubin 2014, 68) is used once as a genitive exponent (that is, a particle which functions in a similar way to the English preposition *of* and is often found in MSA languages and other Semitic languages).¹⁹

2.2. /i/ in Passive Verbal Forms

The verbal forms *ṭkīš*²⁰ (H1-stem) ‘to look’ (JL, 276), *ešiliḵ* (H2-stem) ‘to hang (transitive)’ (JL, 12), and *axnīt* (H1-stem) ‘to take

¹⁸ The pitfalls of relying upon JL are summarised by al-Kathiri and Dufour (2020, 172): “The verbal paradigms of the *Jibbālī Lexicon* are few in number, marred with typos or ambiguous abbreviations, and, one may suspect, not always totally accurate; moreover, the transcriptional system adopted often blurs crucial phonological facts, and in particular the position of stress.”

¹⁹ Entry (21) of the al-Shahri collection.

²⁰ For *eṭkīš*, with the loss of the initial vowel due to a phonological process described by al-Kathiri and Dufour (2020, 183).

out' (JL, 303) exhibit an unexpected long vowel /ī/.²¹ This could be a feature of the speaker's dialect. However, it must be pointed out that *axnīt* appears with the expected short vowel in entry (52).

2.3. Negation

In Jibbali/Šḥarēt, the unmarked negator for both verbal and nominal phrases is the circumfix *ɔ(l) ... lɔ* (Rubin 2014, 330). However, the element *ɔ(l)* appears without the element *lɔ* in several circumstances throughout the collections examined, many of which differ from the attested uses of the stand-alone morpheme *ɔ(l)* (Rubin 2014, 332–34). Remarkably, *ɔ(l)* is found as a negator of simple verbal phrases.

3.0. Lexis

3.1. 'Mehrising' Language

Four entries in al-Shahri's collection attest to the poetic admixture of Jibbali/Šḥarēt and Mehri described by Johnstone (1972).²² The examples in this corpus range from single lexical items to verbal forms and morphology.

3.2. Previously Unattested Terms

The analysis of these proverb collections has yielded a substantial number of terms which do not appear in the written sources. Here follows a summary of said terms in English alphabetical order.

²¹ Entries (27), (28), and (45) of the al-Shahri collection respectively.

²² Entries (13), (92), (108), and perhaps (208) of the al-Shahri collection.

Entry (146) al-Shahri: *šamit* ‘haughtiness, arrogance; pride, dignity, sense of honour, self-respect; high-mindedness, generosity’ < $\sqrt{\text{šmy}}$.²³ A semantic shift of the Arabic root $\sqrt{\text{šmy}}$ ‘blindness, ignorance, folly’ (Wehr and Cowan 1976, 647) is not to be ruled out.

Entry (204) al-Shahri: *šaz²m* ‘ordeal by fire’ < $\sqrt{\text{šzm}}$. This root primarily yields terms that fall into the semantic field of decision and invitation (JL, 21; ML, 39). However, it is interesting to note Arabic عزيمة ‘spell, incantation’ (Wehr and Cowan 1976, 611), from which Gəfəz *OHOM* ‘conjure, cast spells’ derives (Leslau 1987, 81).

Entry (31) MLZ: *elkobbi* ‘illness’. According to S. al-Amri, this term is very old, and its semantics are not transparent. All his informants agree upon this term indicating an illness, but no one knows exactly of which sort.

Entry (26) MLZ: Both the verbal form شيت reported in this proverb (MLZ, 698) and S. al-Amri’s rendition *eššabbót* (H1-stem perfective 3.F.SG.) seem to derive from a III-weak root $\sqrt{\text{šbw}}\sim\text{y}$. However, this verb, whose semantics are uncertain, is, in S. al-Amri’s opinion, used only within this expression, and it is not recorded by the lexical sources.

Entry (21) al-Shahri: the plural form *ēžed* < **e-mežed* ‘labour pains’ must correspond to a singular **megdēt* < $\sqrt{\text{gd}}\text{y}$ on the basis of similar CvCVC forms, for example, *mertēt*/*mirēt* ‘instruction, message, parcel’ (JL, 173). Cf. Arabic

²³ This word translates the Arabic term نخوة (Wehr and Cowan 1976, 950).

جدي ‘kid, young billy goat’ (Wehr and Cowan 1976, 115). Leslau (1987, 183) cites Hebrew *gāḏī*, Aramaic–Syriac *gadyā*, and Phoenician and Ugaritic *gdy* ‘kid’.

Entry (121) al-Shahri: *ḏēh* ‘misfortune, distortion’, derived from \sqrt{dbh} on the basis of the H1-stem verbal form *أَذَبَهُ* meaning ‘to distort, to seek/try to distort something’ (MLZ, 349: *شوه، سعى \ حاول تشويه الشيء*). No reliable cognates of this root seem to exist in other MSA languages or Semitic at large.

Entry (59) al-Shahri: *ḏelē* ‘early morning’ < \sqrt{dly} , a variant of *ḏelēb* (JL, 46) carrying the same meaning. The term is listed as *ḏele* in ML, as the Jibbali/Šḥarēt translation of Mehri *ḏāwbān* ‘morning’ (ML, 560).

Entry (134) al-Shahri: G-stem verb *gēs/yagḏṣ/yagḏṣ* meaning ‘to become weak, be debilitated’.²⁴ The Gəḏəz root \sqrt{gys} offers an interesting, although not necessarily illuminating, parallel in that it indicates ‘morning, tomorrow’ (Leslau 1987, 208), hence the future and becoming old.

Entry (25) MLZ: *ḡisṭ* ‘wholesome (F.SG.)’. Unrecorded as an adjective, and with no known masculine counterpart, this term has no readily detectable counterparts in the rest of MSAL or Semitic at large.

Entry (70) MLZ: *ḡagʾl* ‘in the open’, a masculine plural *nisbah* adjective with adverbial force, corresponding to an unattested singular **ḡagʾlī*. In MSAL (JL, 106; ML, 171), \sqrt{hgl} refers to the pasturing of animals. However, in Semitic at

²⁴ See al-Kathiri and Dufour (2020, 210–11) for a morphologically similar verb.

large, it indicates enclosures and rings (Leslau 1987, 228), which points to a peculiar development in MSAL.

Entry (17) elicited: The preposition *her* appears as its mono-consonantal base *h-*, although no personal suffixes are attached to it.

Entry (77) al-Shahri: *kelé* ‘wolf’. This term follows the same *CeCe* pattern as *ḍelé* ‘early morning’ (entry (59)), and shares with the latter the same apparent loss of /b/ as third root consonant, as well as semantics that match those of the /b/-final root.

Entry (165) al-Shahri: *kḥo* ‘breastbone meat’, presumably < √*kḥw*. Cf. Soqotri *kḥo* ‘poitrine’ (LS, 216).

Entry (181) al-Shahri: *ḵaṣṣarér* ‘plant’ < √*ḵsr*.

Entry (180) al-Shahri: The dubious term *letót* ‘load’ < √*ltt* ~ √*lty* ~ √*ltw*, which seems to be devoid of Semitic cognates.

Entry (191) al-Shahri: *mergʿe* ‘expected’ < √*rgw*. This root yields other terms consistent with ‘expected’ in Jibbali/Šḥarēt and Mehri (JL, 207; ML, 319).

Entry (6) elicited: *məšənóx* ‘rest’. A participial form derived from the root √*šnx*, which yields various terms related to ‘rest’ in Jibbali/Šḥarēt (JL, 263). Compare also Soqotri *šīnoh* ‘heure de la nuit’ (LS, 419).

Entry (182) al-Shahri: *məṭbaśīr* ‘mud’ < √*ṭsr* ~ √*ṭwśr*. These roots yield several terms connected with ‘clay’ and ‘earth’ (JL, 273, 281; MLZ, 584). One may raise the question as to whether we are dealing with two distinct roots, or simply with a -b- infix derived from PS *w and most commonly

found in certain plural patterns (al-Aghbari 2012, 26–27), but far from rare in other contexts, including in some obsolescent verbal classes.²⁵ See also the commentary to entry number (1) of the JL collection below.

Entry (90) al-Shahri: *mibdī* ‘exaggerated’ < \sqrt{bdy} = ‘to lie’ (JL, 23; ML, 43; LS, 82).

Entry (89) al-Shahri: The H2-stem participial form *mug’ūš* ‘gone at late night’ derives from $\sqrt{gmś}$, despite the corresponding verb being listed under the root $\sqrt{gwś}$.

Entry (7) JL: *ə-negdārét* ‘illness caused by sorcery’. Similarly to *elkobbí*, this pathonym is held to be very old by S. al-Amri’s informants. No one, however, was able to provide clues as to the illness to which it refers, except that it may be caused by sorcery.

Entry (27) al-Shahri: *šəfīl* ‘strength’ < \sqrt{kfl} . A semantic connection with the basic meaning of ‘swollen testicles’ in MSAL (JL, 124; ML, 200) is possible, but not secure.

3.3. Newly Attested Variants of Previously Attested Terms

In addition to the previously unattested terms listed above, the analysis also yielded some variants of previously recorded terms:

Entry (149) al-Shahri: the participial form *aḥzīg* < **a-məḥzīg*, recorded in JL (122) as *maḥzeg* ‘hobble’, has an [i] as the stressed vowel instead of the expected [e].

²⁵ For example, the verbs *ənxablés* ‘to grieve deeply’ < \sqrt{xls} , and *ənžəbxér* ‘to have brown marks on the teeth’ < \sqrt{gxr} .

Entry (17) al-Shahri: the diminutive form *ṣāl^gg^hán* ‘2–4 year old camel’ < √*flg*, recorded as *‘álgén* ‘2–4 year old camel’ in JL (12), is attested here with a long vowel instead of a short one. The form with a long vowel matches one of the diminutive patterns described by Johnstone (1973).

Entry (3) JL: *bob*, a variant of *ebóbne* ‘please’ in S. al-Amri’s dialect (JL, 31; MLZ, 145).

Entry (25) JL: The verb *dehém*, not recorded by MLZ, and recorded by JL as ‘to come to visit at an inappropriate time’, also means ‘to lose in a draw, in a heads-and-tails game’.

Entry (6) JL: *egédš* instead of *ežédš* ‘his root’ (JL, 70).

Entry (147) al-Shahri: the term *ēkséft* < **e-mekséft* is likely a hitherto unrecorded variant of the term *kšaf* ‘a small wicker vessel with a lid in which a woman puts her belongings’ (MLZ, 802: سلة صغيرة من الخوص لها غطا تضع فيها المرأة حاجياتها).

Entry (12) elicited: *farkét* ‘trick’. In Jibbali/Šḥarēt and Mehri, the root √*frk* has meanings connected to leaving one’s spouse and loading/polishing a gun (JL, 60–61; ML, 99; MLZ, 700). The Akkadian verbal form *parāku* ‘to hinder, to thwart, to oppose, to frustrate, to foil, to stand in the way’ (Black 2000, 265) might offer a clue as to the origin of the MSAL semantics, which are, however, best viewed as an independent development.

Entries (83) and (89) al-Shahri: The verb *gūš* ‘to go late at night’, corresponding to the hitherto unrecorded participial form *mugūš* (see above, p. 223), is listed by MLZ under the root √*gwš*. However, al-Shahri pronounces it with

a clearly audible nasalised vowel, which would point to the root being actually \sqrt{gms} .

Entry (48) al-Shahri: *ḥabbərrēdi* ‘*Kleinia saginata*’ appears here with an initial /ḥ/ and a geminate /r/, in contrast with the recorded form *hubberādi* (Miller and Morris 1988, 110). This seems to be confirmed by MLZ (214), which records حبرادي ييطف.

Entry (36) al-Shahri: *ḥum* ‘charcoal’ (JL, 111; MLZ, 269: الفحم) here means ‘splinter of wood’.

Entry (148) al-Shahri: the adjective *ṣiṣiṭ* seems to be the feminine counterpart of *ṣiḡem* ‘dumb’ < $\sqrt{\text{ṣgm}}$ (JL, 9; MLZ, 610: أصيب بالخرس).

Entry (13) JL: *kaffén* instead of *káfuḥn*. Both are diminutive forms of *kəf* ‘paw, claw; palm of the hand’ (JL, 127).

Entry (206) al-Shahri: The term *kelt*, reported to be the plural form of *keltót* ‘story’ (JL, 131; MLZ, 808: القصة، الأمثلة)، is used with the meaning of ‘speaker’.

Entry (99) al-Shahri: The term *kisét* ‘wolf’ (JL, 153; MLZ, 748: ذئب) is here given the meaning ‘animal’.

Entry (156) al-Shahri: the adverbial phrase *l-ēṣīn* ‘for a while’. According to MLZ (497), the temporal meaning of this adverbial phrase is typical of the western dialects of Jibbali/Šḥarēt spoken in *Jabal Qamar*.

Entries (48) and (49) al-Shahri: the preposition *lhes* ‘like’ causes a following vowel to become lengthened, which leads one to speculate as to whether the underlying form could be **lhes* ε, perhaps through analogical levelling after the

pattern of a compound preposition such as *ḥaṣ ε* or *ḥaḳt ε* (Rubin 2014, 361–63, 371–72).

Entry (1) JL: *maṣḥṣīm* is a variant of *múṣṣam* ‘dull and serious (fellow)’ (JL, 16), which points to *w-infixes verbal form (Castagna and al-Amri forthcoming). See also the commentary to entry (182) of the al-Shahri collection above.

Entry (2) JL: The terms *mehīnūt* ~ *ēhīnūt* are diminutives of *ehīt* ‘poor man’ (JL, 24).

Entry (20) al-Shahri: the term *mēl* ‘fullness’ (JL, 171) functions here as the head noun of a construct chain.

Entry (192) al-Shahri: the term *mālḥet* عظمة الفك ‘jawbone’ (MLZ, 829) is recorded by JL (163) as *māžḥet*, which could point to dialectal variation.²⁶

Entry (157) al-Shahri: the particle *ʔod* seems here to behave like the etymologically related auxiliary verb *d-ʔod*, although Rubin (2014, 186) states that *ʔod* “has just a single frozen form.”

Entries (116) and (208) al-Shahri: The adjective *šabrūt* ‘perfect’ is not recorded in JL. However, MLZ (499) records it with the meaning الاتقان ‘perfection’. The term *šibir* seems to be a cognate of the above term < *√sbr* ~ *√swr*.

Entry (13) MLZ: *šṭṭ* ‘distance, vast gap’ is recorded as شطاط (MLZ, 516: البعد. اليون الشاسع), which would likely be rendered as /šṭṭ/.

²⁶ And indeed, Johnstone (JL, 163) states that *mālḥet* is the eastern variant of central Jibbali/Šḥarēt *māžḥet*. However, according to S. al-Amri, the alleged eastern variant does not exist.

Entry (146) al-Shahri: The verbal form *tənʕa* < $\sqrt{n\mathfrak{w}}$ is reported to mean ‘to elegize’ (JL, 179). However, al-Shahri translates this verb into Arabic as *ثكل* ‘to be bereaved, to mourn’ (Wehr and Cowan 1976, 105).

Entry (16) MLZ, *ṭaʕmēt* ‘giving food’ (MLZ, 584: *إطاء الطعام*) is used here to convey ‘generosity’.

Entry (22) MLZ, *yaʕtēt* ‘to rest’ *vis-à-vis* ‘to feel pain, to fall ill’ (MLZ, 634: *تألم \ وجع \ مرض*).

4.0. Arabic Translation of *Jibbali Lexicon* and Elicited Entries

This section provides an Arabic rendition of the entries from the *Jibbali Lexicon* and the elicited entries.

4.1. JL

- (1) *tob ʕar múʕʕam dā geg*—إنه رجل ممل
- (2) *ehīt ʕā*—يا له من مسكين
- (3) *ebóbne*—استحلفك بالله ان ...
- (4) *ʕalfɔlɔt dā geg*—هذا الرجل يُعتمد عليه في المواقف الحرجة
- (5) *b-īfrɔki*—بوجهي
- (6) *ɔ iferɔk ar hegém ar ežédš défar*—لا يحاب العدو إلا الضعيف
- (7) *beš mən gədrét ~ beš ənegdərét*—إنه مسكون
- (8) *yəgmór hətək*—ساء حظك
- (9) *tədhɔfk həndét*—لطمتك الساحرة
- (10) *tehtélək elhyétk*—فلتهن \ اهانك الله
- (11) *he bɔʕɔkk edés ahyēri*—هذه اول زيجة لي
- (12) *ε zógum l-ɔhrɔf*—شخص حكيم
- (13) *ʕar káfuɬn ed d-isɔt*—يا للشفقة إنه صغير ليضرب

- (14) *keléb də geg*—إنه رجل نذل
 (15) *katəṣór mən défər*—يا لك من مهمل
 (16) *yəḳatél ḥask*—يا لك من مزعج
 (17) *(ε) kelébk!*—يا مسكين
 (18) *fəṣór kərəh*—ثور من غير قرون
 (19) *kəbš bə-ḡayr kərún*—كباش من غير قرون
 (20) *ṣṣər ṣəf*—اصلع
 (21) *bə-xilk*—كما تريد
 (22) *mən xək ed geṣətk*—من فمك لبدنك
 (23) *ber erdi b-ekélbəš ʔaḳ erémnəm*—إنه شخص بليد
 (24) *e-défər yaṣkór ʔaḳ āhén*—الجبان يتراجع في الشدائد
 (25) *erməs bes!*—اتركها لنفسك (بطريقة سلبية)
 (26) *beš fúdat tīrín*—فلان عديم الفائدة

4.2. Elicited Entries

- (1) *ēhlét erhūt axér ar īdét*—الكلمة الطيبة خير من العطاء
 (2) *fəkər əl ʔīb lə*—الفكر ليس عيباً
 (3) *axér aḥbét kiṭét ar aḥbét štabét*—المنزل الصيفي خير من الشتوي
 المنزل
 (4) *i-mīh her dəṣr əl ʔəd išḥəfés lə*—لا تبكي على الحليب المسكوب
 (5) *ə ikín məndəx ʔar bə šəṭ*—لا يوجد دخان بدون نار
 (6) *ə ikín məšənəx ar mən šəṭ*—لا توجد راحة إلا بعد شقاء
 (7) *araḥəmún əl zum kərəh kərún lə*—الله لم يعطي الحمار قرون
 (8) *ədīlin ebšé dərbét*—فلان صار له سنام
 (9) *ə ifəsk ar in ḡəṭbər ʔərš adité*—ما اجتمعت عليه الايدي \ الإتحاد قوة—
 ينجز
 (10) *ə šī ar tīrək*—لا شيء كالوطن
 (11) *erḥīm əl ʔyūr lə*—الزین لا یکتمل

- (12) *kəl še heš fərkét*— لكل مشكلة حل
- (13) *šfəkə bə tət d-ɔ tfeṭún kōr ε īsə lə*— لا تتزوج من امرأة تتذكر موت أبيها
- (14) *her a-tdəṣá dəṣá ḥanúf bə xar*— إذا دعوت ادع لنفسك بالخير
- (15) *ε-tifér ɔ yəšxanót mən te lə*— خشمك منك لو كان عوج
- (16) *ε d-šəṣér yərótəf*— من جاد عاد
- (17) *aḡád h-e-gizəréṭ, ōṭəl āḥtəl b-e-gizəréṭ*— سارت تبغي قرون رجعت
بلا ذنين²⁷
- (18) *ɔ keníš izák iz šeš lə yəkúnš ēkət*— لي ما يادّبه اهله يادّبه الزمان
- (19) *yəkúdum zāḥar əl-féne ε-ṭalṣayt*— استيق الحدث
- (20) *e-défər ɔ yəṣterér ar e-dófərsə lə*— الطبع يغلب التطبع

²⁷ The feminine gender in the Arabic translation of this proverb implies a she-goat as its subject.

