Eight texts in *Šrūgi* Arabic

Qasim Hassan

1. Introduction

The eight texts in the charts below have been recorded in 2022 in parts of the *Šrūgi* area,[1] namely in an-Nāṣrīya (Text 1) and north Baṣra (Text 2) on the Tigris, and in an-Nağaf (Text 3), ad-Dīwānīya (Text 4), Karbala (Text 5), and three further texts in as-Samāwa (Texts 6, 7, and 8) on the Euphrates, to provide further evidence for the linguistic tendencies of *Šrūgi* Arabic that have been already discussed in earlier works (cf. Hassan 2023, 2021a, 2021b, 2020, 2016, 2015, among others). Remarkable linguistic tendencies of *Šrūgi* Arabic that appear in the texts are thoroughly discussed in appropriate footnotes.

Text (1) was recorded in ar-Rifāʿi, a district in an-Nāṣrīya, about 360 kilometers southeast of Baghdad. The speaker, a fifty-year-old man, hails from the large tribe of Zbēd. As will be seen, the speaker spent long years with his family in Kuwait and returned later to his village in ar-Rifāʿi. It seems that for this reason his speech is somewhat contaminated with some Bedouin elements, which are duly discussed below. Text (2) has been recorded in the district of ʾil-iHwēr in north Baṣra.[2] The speaker is uneducated sixty-year-old elderly who spent most of his life dwelling in the nearby marshes.

Text (3) is in the speech of a forty-year-old teacher from the rural area on the outskirts of an-Nağaf, a city approximately 160 kilometers southeast of Baghdad. Text (4) is a dialogue between two men from aš-Šāmīya, a district located on the outskirts of ad-Dīwānīya, about 147 kilometers south of Baghdad. The speakers are a fifty-five-year-old teacher of Arabic language [A] and his eighty-year-old maternal cousin [B]. Text (5) has been delivered in the speech of three male informants [A, B, and C] belonging to the sedentary Bedouin clan of il-Masʿūd. The clan is a part of the tribal confederation of Šammar in the rural district of al-Ḥussaynīya in Karbala governorate, about 100 kilometers southwest of Baghdad.

Texts (6, 7, and 8) were recorded in some parts of as-Samāwa, a city about 300 kilometers southwest of Baghdad. In Text (6), a thirty-five-year-old teacher [A], talks to a seventy-year-old man

---

[1] For a thorough discussion of this area, cf. Hassan (2023a, 2021a, 2021b, 2020a, 2020b).

[2] For more details on the historical development of the town of ʾil-iHwēr, cf. (Westphal-Hellbusch and Westphal 1962: 129–36).

[B]. Both are members of āl-bu-Ḥassān, a clan of the tribal confederation of Bani Ḥčēm.[3] Text (7) is reported by three men, who used to have meetings in a Divan belonging to a chieftain of the large tribe of Bani Ḥčēm. They are close in age with only a couple of years dividing them and are labelled here [A], [B] and [C]. Text (8) was recorded in a Divan of Sayyids[4] in as-Samāwa. The speakers [A, B, C] are in the age range of 65 to 70.

Text 1

1. *waḷḷa ḥna činna ʿāyšīn bil-ikwēt, wil-ikwēt tidri nta činna ḥna nās ʿirāġiyīn,[5] riḥna minnā ibzimān ubūy, aḷḷa yruḥma,[6] šaṛad imniḏ-ḏuruf il-bil-ʿiṛāġ.*

2. *ʾil-ʿiṛāġ kānat ḏuṛūfa taʿbāna, šuġuḷ māku, w-taʿbāna lu-mūr, hāy l-ḥači bis-sittīnāt, min ṛāḥ ubūy lil-ikwēt ġād,[7] nās taʿaṛṛaf ʿalēha aṣuḷha badu, w-aku nās ikwētiyīn w-aku mnil-baḥrēn, ʾanwāʿ w-aškāl in-nās.*

3. *fa-šuġḷa šinu, aḷḷa yṛuḥma, čān šuġḷa bil-ḥalāl, ybīʿ w-yištiri bil-aġnām, sayyāṛāt, mā-ʿrif šini štaġaḷ, ʾib-šarika māl qasil.[8] ʾil-muhim ḥabḅō li-kwētyīn li-ʾannu yištiġil w-ṣixi,[9] yištiġil ib-ṛāḥa w-nās ithibba, ʾištimāʿi, miṯil mā-tgūl, baʿdēn*

1. By Allah we lived in Kuwait, and Kuwait you know we are Iraqis, we went from here in the time of my father, may God have mercy on him, he left [to Kuwait] due to the bad conditions in Iraq.

2. The conditions in Iraq were bad. There was no work, and the conditions were bad. This was in the sixties, when my father went to Kuwait. He knew people from a Bedouin origin, and there were Kuwaiti people and Bahrainis, all kinds and types of people.

3. So, what was his work? May God have mercy on him, he was working with livestock, he would buy and sell sheep, cars, I do not know what work he did, in a car wash. Anyway, the Kuwaitis loved him because he worked [honestly] and being generous, he worked

---

[3] Cf. Meissner (1903b: 286) on this tribe.

[4] Descendants of the prophet Mohammad (cf. Thesiger 1967: 222, Meissner 1903a: 127).

[5] The voiced uvular plosive /q/ is changed to /ġ/ here, which is a characteristic feature of the majority of *šrūgi* speakers.

[6] The phrase *ʾaḷḷa yṛuḥma* is a form of polite address when referring to a deceased.

[7] The locative demonstrative *ġād* is found in most Iraqi Arabic dialects, be they of *qəltu* or *gələt* type, cf. (Hassan 2022a: 616, 2022b: 89, 2020a: 187) and Ingham (2007: 127, 2000: 128, 1973: 538).

[8] The voiceless uvular plosive /ġ/ of LA *ġasl* is shifted to /q/.

[9] The /s/ in LA *saxī* is replaced by the voiceless velarized dental sibilant /ṣ/.

tizawwaǧ wālitti,[10] *min*[11] *-tizawwaǧha hamm*[12] *ṛāḥat la-hnāk wyāhuṃ.*

quietly and the people loved him, a social man, one can say. After that he married my mother, when he married her, she went there with them.

4. *giʿidaw, gaḅuḷ gaʿdāthuṃ ṃū miṯil hassa byūt w-hāy, gaʿdāthuṃ ibyūt šaʿar, ṃā-ṭṭōhuṃ iǧ-ǧinsīya, iṭṭōhuṃ ʿaqid zawāǧ, w-iṭṭōhuṃ kammīya*[13] *w-iṯḥīn.*

4. They settled [in a house], in the past they did not settle in houses like now and the like, they settled in goat-hair tents. They did not give them nationality, they gave them a marriage certificate, and they gave them a food voucher and flour.

5. *čān ubūy čān yištuġuḷ ib-ṛaʿi l-aġnām, ʾaku čān ʿinda ʿṃāl ihwāy minha ib-ṛaʿi l-aġnām, ʾawwal bidāya ylimmūn ḥaṣu min-il-ḅaṛṛ, ṃā-čānat ālīyāt, bass krāka, ylimmūn ṯalit tayyām*[14] *aṛbaʿ tayyām, minnā lammā*[15] *yṣīr kōd,*[16] *yṣīr lōrī,*[17] *daṛuḅ lōrī.*

5. My father worked in sheep grazing, he had many jobs, among these is sheep grazing. In the beginning they collected gravel in the desert, there were no vehicles, only spades, they collected [gravel] for three or four days, until it becomes a heap, it becomes a lory, a lory load.

6. *yiǧi abu l-lōrī*[18] *yǧībilhuṃ akil wīyā w- ṃāy bārid liʾan ṃāku saḥṛā,*[19] *saḥṛā,*[20] *kišši*[21] *ṃāku, fa-čānaw yiʿtamdūn ʿala bu-s-sayyāṛa, yǧībilhuṃ*

6. The truck driver comes, and he brings with him food and cold water because there is nothing; it is a desert, a desert, there is nothing in it. So, they would rely on the

---

[10] The /d/ is assimilated to /t/ in the form *wālitti* 'my mother.'

[11] The form *min* is used here as a subordinating conjunction expressing time.

[12] The particle *hamm* is characteristic of almost all Iraqi Arabic dialects (cf. Jastrow 2006: 423); cf. also Ingham (2006: 575) for its uses in Khuzestan Arabic.

[13] This lexical item has gained over time a new meaning without losing its original identity.

[14] After numerals from three to ten, the glottal of a following noun is usually replaced by a *t-* prefix.

[15] The subordinator *minnā lammā* is a combination of the simple conjunctions *minnā* 'hereon' and *lammā* 'when'.

[16] For this form in Gulf Arabic, cf. Holes (2001: 468).

[17] Eng. *lory.*

[18] The teknonym *abu l-lōrī* is used here to express possession, cf. Sadok (1998) for the different uses of *abu* and *umm* in Iraqi Arabic.

[19] The sibilant /ṣ/ is develarized to /s/ in the LA form *ṣaḥṛāʾ.*

[20] The form *saḥṛā* is repeated twice to add intensiveness to the story.

[21] The /l/ in *kill* is assimilated to the first consonant of the noun *ši,* giving *kišši.*

māy w-t̲aliǧ id̲-d̲uhur, w-yḥamlūla ḥumma bil-ikṛāka yḥisbūn ʿalēh lōriyyāt ib-bakitha.[22]

truck driver. He would bring them water and ice at noon, and they would load [the truck] for him with the spades. They would pay him according the number of trucks [he loaded].

7. *baʿdēn*[23] *intahat hāy iš-šaġla, wēn riǧʿaw, riǧʿaw gāṃaw*[24] *yištaġlūn bil-ġasīl ṃāl is-sayyāṛāt, hadēl*[25] *ištaġaḷ yiṛʿa ġnām, yiṛbuṭha, yxallīha fatra, lō ṣāṛat ribīʿ yintiqil ihnā ʾaku ṃanṭaġa isimha ṣ-ṣab̲b̲īye.*[26]

7. After that, this work was completed, where did they return to? They started working in car wash, after that he started working in sheep grazing, he raised them, he let them roam for some time. When spring came, he moved here to a location called *ʾiṣ-ṣab̲b̲iyye.*

8. *ʿišna bīha fatra ḥilwa, ṭaḅʿan*[27] *il-maskan bēt šaʿaṛ, qisim lin-niswān w-qisim liz-zilim, ydigūn gahwa čānaw, ʿidna čāy, ʿīša ḅasīṭa bass ḥilwa, lā-niški min taʿab lā-nḥis ib-taʿab.*

8. We lived a nice time in it. Of course, the house was goat-hair tent, a part of it is for women and the other part for men. They would grind coffee beans, we'd have tea. A simple life but beautiful. We did not complain of being tired, and we did not feel tired.

9. *yaʿni*[28] *ḥilwa ḥilwa,*[29] *maʿa l-ʿilim lā kahṛaḅā lā ṃāy, bass xazān ḥāṛ ytirsa t-tankar*[30] *w-yimši,*

9. It was beautiful, beautiful. Mind you, there was neither electricity nor [drinking] water, only a hot tank which is filled [with water] by a tanker. It would last for three or two

---

[22] The sound /q/ may change to /k/ in some forms, such as in the LA form *waqt* 'time; cf. Al-Ani (1976, 55) for more instances from Iraqi Arabic.

[23] On this temporal adverb, cf. Prochazka (2000: 102ff.).

[24] A postural verb indicating the time contour of the following phrase.

[25] This form is an unusual feature for *Šrūgi* Arabic and seems to be a loanword from the Bedouin dialects in the area.

[26] The raising of the feminine ending /a/ to /e/ in the form *ʾṣ-ṣab̲b̲iyye* is not a feature of *Šrūgi* Arabic. Within Iraq, such raising is only found in the urban dialect of Kbēse (cf. Hassan 2022b: 81), maybe under the influence of the Shawi dialects, and among some other tribes of Bedouin origin.

[27] This item is one of many classicisms that became an integral part of all Iraqi Arabic dialects.

[28] A pan-Iraqi continuative that usually introduces an assertion.

[29] The adjective *ḥilwa* is repeated twice in order to make the narrative more extensive.

[30] Eng. *tanker*.

ʾinḏul bī tlat tišuṛ haḏa l-māy šahṛēn, w-nās ḅaṣīṭa, ḥatta akilna.

months, this water. We are simple people, even our food.

10. laḥad it-tisʿīn riǧaʿ ubūy l-ʿaṛaḅ ḥamīd, yḥib ʿaṛaḅ ḥamīd, tidri ʿaṛaḅna [31] w-hāy, fa-l-ʿinda xiṭīya [32] ṣaṛafhin huwwa, ṣaṛafhin ib-ḏāk iz-zimān ḏibāyiḥ w-kaṛāṃāt, tidri b-hāy is-suwālif.

10. Until the nineties, my father returned to ʿArab Ḥamīd, he likes ʿArab Ḥamīd, you know they are our relatives, he spent what he had, poor man, he spent it at that time for [slaughtering] animals and [giving] gifts, you know such things.

11. taqrīban šubih ṣaffaṛ [33] gaḅuḷ lā yitwaffa bil-wāḥid w-tisʿīn, tuwaffa bil-wāḥid w-tisʿīn huwwa, ʾin-nōb [34] iǧāna l-ḥiṣāṛ, [35] ʾil-ḥiṣāṛ taʿʿabna.

11. He almost spent all his money before he died in ninety-one, he died in ninety-one. Then the embargo came. The embargo exhausted us.

12. w-iḥna bil-ʿaṛaḅ w-mā-naʿarif baʿadna zġār, [36] ʾaxūy xaṭiyya č-čibīr tibarraʿ bil-ʿamal, gām yištuġul ib-siyyārt abūi, ʿidda bīkam[37] čānat.

12. When we were in the village we did not know [about things]. We were still small. My older brother took it upon himself to work with the car of my father. He had a pick-up truck.

13. wil-ḥizib[38] taʿʿabna waqitha, ṣuxṛa ṃā-ṣuxra,[39] ʾilā-an bāʿ is-sayyāṛa w-ištaṛēnā-n-na[40] bēt bil-

13. And the [ruling] party exhausted us at the time, forced labor and the like, until he sold the car and bought a house for us in the city.

---

[31] The idiomatic use of the form ʿarab 'Arabs` is very common and it usually refers to acquaintances or relatives who lives in the country, cf. Ingham (1973: 533) on the dichotomy ʿarab and ḥaḍar.

[32] An invariable expression of sympathy.

[33] The form ṣaffar is derived from LA ṣifr 'zero' and is used here in the sense 'to go broke.'

[34] A temporal adverb derived from the LA noun nawba 'time' and seems to be grammaticalized for time in most Iraqi Arabic dialects. Note that in non-Šrūgi dialects the definite article al- remains as it is in LA, while in Šrūgi Arabic the /a/ is usually raised to /i/, giving then ʾan-nōb instead of ʾin-nōb.

[35] The US-led embargo against Iraq in the nineties.

[36] In general, the /ṣ/ in LA ṣiġār is changed to the voiced dental sibilant /z/ in both gələt and qəltu Arabic.

[37] Eng. pick-up truck.

[38] The ḥizib il-baʿaṭ 'the Baʿath party,' which ruled Iraq until it was overthrown in 2003.

[39] The particle mā is inserted between two identical words to give the meaning 'like that'. For similar phrases in Gulf Arabic, cf. Holes (2016: 102).

[40] The lateral /l/ is assimilated to nasal /n/.

iwlāya, ʾil-muhim čānat ḥayātna ṃutʿiba, bit-tisʿīnāt ṃutʿiba.

14. *ʿišna fatra bil-yizīra, waṛa l-ḥiṣār ištaṛēna ḥalāl w-ġanam, w-tikṛam* [41] *hōš, ʾilā-an iǧāna ǧēš ṣaddām,* [42] *ʾāna činit ṭālib, dāwamit bil-ṃūṣil fatra, hamm istaḥabbatni nās, ḏaḷēt bīha sana w-nuṣṣ.*

15. *hassa āna ṣārat ʿiddi muškila wayy ʿašīrt iṛ-ṛufēʿ,* [43] *ištarēt minhum sayyāṛa, ba-smāhum, w-min ištarētha b-asmāhum ḥiǧzōha w-istawlaw ʿalēha, li-ḥad ilān mašākil wyāhum ṭaḷāyib, ʾil-ʿašāyir mā- nistaġni ʿanha, muškila mā-nistaġni ʿanha, yōm ilak w-yōm ʿalēk.*

Anyway, our life was difficult, difficult in the nineties.

14. We lived for some time in the Ğazīra, after the embargo. We bought livestock and sheep, ... and cows, until the army of Saddam came to us, I was a student, I was in Mosul for some time. I stayed there one and a half years.

15. I now have a problem with the tribe of ʾir-rufēʿ. I bought a car from them. It is registered in their name, and when I bought it, they impounded it and seized it. There are problems with them until now. We cannot dispense with the tribes; the problem is that we cannot dispense with the tribes. A day for you and a day against you.

Text 2

1. **A:** *manṭaqat iš-šōṛa* [44] *manṭaqa rīfiya, yaʿni tiǧmaʿ in-nās il-bīha, nās ʿidha ḥalāl* [45] *ʿāyšīn, nās il-yištiġuḷ ʿammāla, illi ʿinda waḏīfa, yaʿni min hāy in-namāḏiǧ.* **B:** *naʿam.*

1. **A:** ʾIš-Šōra is a rural area, that is there are many kinds of people in it. [Some] people have cattle [from which] they live, [and some] are daily workers, [and some] have jobs, and the like. **B:** Yes.

---

[41] A polite expression which is usually used by the speaker as a sign of respect to the hearer when referring to animals or something impure, cf. Holes (2016: 465) for its uses in Gulf Arabic.

[42] The former president of Iraq who was overthrown by the US-led coalition in 2003.

[43] ʾir-Rufēʿ is a large Bedouin tribe found in many parts of Iraq and beyond, cf. Ingham (2009) for more details on the life cycle of this tribe.

[44] An agricultural area in the far north of Basra, bordering the marshland of *ič-Čibāyiš* (cf. Salim 1955 on the marshland of *ič-Čibāyiš*).

[45] The form *ḥalāl* 'cattle' refers only to animals that are farmed for meat and milk such as sheep, cows and goats.

2. **A**: ʿala ḥadd iš-šōṛa hamm kaḏālik[46] hamm nās ahal muwāši, ʿidha ḥalāl. **B**: šinu ḥalāl yṛabḅūna? **A**: ḥalāl ǧimas hōš. **B**: naʿam. **A**: w-illi-yištiġil miṯil mā-ygūl ydawwirla zūrīyāt simčāt ʿalaṃūd ydabbir nafsa.[47] **B**: naʿam.

3. **A**: w-uḅu waḏīfa ib-waḏīfta, ʾin-nās ʿala hāy ʿāyša wēn tṛūḥ? **B**: ʾakṯar šī miʿtamdīn ihnā ʿal-hōṛ. **A**: bil-hōṛ ʾiḏa ʾaku ṃāy w-ʾaku simač **A**: ē. ʿas-simač niʿtimid. **B**: naʿam. **A**: ʾin-nās wēn tṛūḥ, ʾil-aġlabīya ḅaṭṭāḷa, wiḏāyif ṃāku. **B**: ṣaḥīḥ.

4. **A**: ʾiḏā xirrīǧ tilgā wāṣil ʾila-maṛhala w-waḏīfta ṃāku ši-l-fāyda yaʿni, š- ṛāḥ yākil ʾiḏā ṃā-yištiġil, lō ʿaṃṃāla lō yiṭlaʿ ydawwirla zūrīyāt. **B**: hamm yṛabḅūn ḥalāl šī? **A**: ē yṛabḅūn. **B**: šī- yṛabḅūn? **A**: yṛabḅūn duwāb yṛabḅūn hōš.

5. **B**: xōš ḥači, mnēn yǧīḅūn il-ʿalaf, mištaṛa ynizlūn imnil-hōṛ? **A**: naʿam mištaṛa ʾil-ʿalaf mištaṛa, w-aku nās tiǧmaʿ daġaḷ ʾaṃṃa ḥašīš bardi čōlān,[48] hāḏa l-yākla l-ḥalāl min

---

2. **A**: On the outskirts of ʾIš-Šōra [there are] also people, who have cattle, they have cattle. **B**: What cattle do they breed? **A**: Cattle, [such as] buffaloes, cows. **B**: Yes. **A**: [And some] work, say, he searches for small fish, fish, to manage oneself. **B**: Yes.

3. **A**: [And those] who have jobs do their job. People live from these [works], where should they go? **B**: [You] mostly rely on the marshland here. **A**: [We mostly rely on the] marshland when there is water and there is fish. **A**: Yes, we rely on the fish. **B**: Yes. **A**: Where should people go? The majority are jobless, there are no jobs. **B**: Right.

4. **A**: [Imagine] that you find a graduate without a job, so what is the point of this? What should he eat when he does not work? He either be a daily worker or he goes fishing small fish. **B**: Do they breed cattle also? **A**: Yes, they breed [cattle]. **B**: What do they breed? **A**: They breed buffaloes, they breed cows.

5. **B**: Good. Where do you get the food [for your cattle]? Do they buy it, [or] they go to the marshland? **A**: Yes, they buy the food. There are also people [who] collect

---

[46] The use of the LA form *kaḏālik* is not to elevate one's own stylistic level, but is still relatively common in the speech of the general population.

[47] A variety of *mdabbir ṛūḥa* (cf. fn. 98).

[48] Cf. Edzard (1967: 308) on this kind of marshland plants.

māl il-hōṛ, w-ilbaqīya lā yištiṛūn mnil-wlāyāt, yištiṛūn tibin yištiṛūn nxāḷa yištiṛūn ʾiṭḥīn, fī sabīl ydabbir maʿīšat ḥalāla.

bush or grass, papyrus, Čōlān. These are the products of the marshland on which the cattle are living. The rest [of food] is bought in the towns. They buy hay, they buy wheat bran, they buy flour, to manage the life of his cattle.

6. **B**: *naʿam.* **A**: *ē.* **B**: *zēn hamm aku nās ʿāyša ʿaz-zaṛaʿ hnāna?* **A**: *lēš ṃāku, ʾaku manāṭiq bīha ziṛāʿa.* **B**: *naʿam, šī-ziṛʿūn maṭalan?* **A**: *qisim tizṛaʿ ḥinṭa šʿīr, nās tizṛaʿ ṃaxāḏīr, miṯil ṃā-ygūl ṭaṃāṭa xyār haḏa il-ʿaṭṛūzi, min dīratna hāy ṃāl il-baṣra.*

6. **B**: Yes. **A**: Yes. **B**: Are there also people who live from crops here? **A**: Why [there is] not? There are areas in which crops are [planted]. **B**: Yes. What do they plant, for example? A: Some plant wheat [and] barely. Some plant vegetables, as you say, tomatoes [and] cucumber. This is in our area in Baṣra.

7. **B**: *naʿam.* **A**: *ē, yziṛʿūn bāṃya, kill wāḥid ʿala l-yigdar ʿalī.* **B**: *ǧayyid.* **A**: *ʾil-ġālibīya nās ḏuʿafā, ṃā-ʿidha ḏāk il-ṃādda w-yigdar ysawwi zaṛaʿ ʿamali.* **B**: *ṣaḥīḥ.* **A**: *ē, ṃāku šī rixīṣ, ʾil-bazuṛ ġāli il-kaṛaḅ ġāli il-kīmyāwi⁴⁹ ġāli, kilha ʿala ḥsābak, hamm ṃāku wāḥid yʿīnak, id-dawla ṃā-tsāʿdak.* **B**: *hā.*

7. **B**: Yes. **A**: Yes, they plant okra. Everyone [plants] what he can. **B**: Good. **A**: The majority [of people] are poor. They do not have the wherewithal to plant [crops]. **B**: Right. **A**: Yes, there is nothing cheap. The seeds are expensive, the ploughing is expensive, the chemical [fertilizer] is expensive. You must pay everything, no one helps you, the state does not help you. **A**: Aha.

8. **A**: *naʿam.* **B**: *zēn hamm aku hnā ǧaṃāʿa bisātīn ʿidhuṃ naxaḷ.* **A**: *naʿam.* **B**: *šinu n-naxaḷ šinu waḏiʿhuṃ.* **A**: *ʾin-nxal qadīm ṃā-ziṛʿō l-yōṃ, ʾil-baʿuḏ ʿidhuṃ ašǧār naḅig ṃā-naḅig ṛuṃṃān, ʾil-baʿuḏ ʿidhuṃ ḥāṃuḏ haḏa l-laymūn ḅuṛtuqāl, yaʿni baʿuḏ ṃū-*

8. **A**: Yes. **B**: Okay, are there also people who have date palm fields? **A**: Yes. **B**: What for date palms, what about their situation? **A**: The date palms are old; they did not plant them today. Some [people] have jujube trees and the like, pomegranates; some have citrus fruits

---

⁴⁹ The form *kīmyāwi* 'chemical' usually refers to 'fertilizer.'

ḥwāy, ʾilli ʿidhuṃ hāḏa qilla nās qilla mū-ḥwāy.

like lemon, oranges; some of them, not many of them. A few people have these [crops], not many [of them].

9. **B**: *hā.* **A**: *ē, wil-baqīya lō zaṛʿāt[50] lō ydawwirla simčāt lō ʿidda žāṃūsa žāṃūstēn ydabbir nafsa ʿalēhin yʿayyišhin w-yʿīš minhin, haš-šakil.* **B**: *yaʿni ḥatta illi ʿinda ḥalāl ihnā hamm mū ḥalāl ḥwāy, lō ʾaku bīha nās ʿidha ḥalāl ḥwāy.* **A**: *ʾaku nās ḥalāl ḥwāy.* **B**: *zēn hāḏa ʾuḅu ḥalāl ḥwāy yibqa ǧawwa[51] yinzil lil-hōṛ?* **A**: *lā bil-hōṛ.*

9. **B**: Aha. **A**: Yes. And the other [people have] either crop, or he searches fish [in the marshland], or he may have one or two buffalos through which he manages himself. He keeps them on live and he lives from them, that it is. **B**: That is, even those who have cattle, they have only few cattle; some people have a large number of cattle. **A**: There are people who have a large number of cattle. **B**: Okay. Do [people] who have a large number of cattle stay inside [the village] or they go to the marshland? **A**: No, they stay in the marshland.

Text 3

1. *ḏīč is-sina[52] ʿidna ǧamāʿa ḍaḷḷaw yxuṃṃūn[53] bil-ḥimād, tuwāli š-šita, yaʿni hēč b-ēḏār,[54] labālhum yḥaṣlūlhum ġidṛān ṃāy lal-ḥalāl, tāli ayyisaw gālaw ṃāku ġēr intiḥ lad-dīra.*

1. One year there was a group [of our relatives] looking around in the desert, at the end of the winter, in about March. They thought they would find creeks to the livestock. Eventually they gave up and they said there is nothing better than to drive [the livestock] to our village.

---

[50] A diminutive collective of the form *zaṛaʿ* 'crops.'

[51] Cf. Fox (1998: 20) and Prochazka (1993: 221-224) for an etymology of the form *ǧawwa.*

[52] The expression *ḏīč is-sina* is usually used to initiate a narrative.

[53] An exception to this is the transitional dialect of Zubair, west of Basra, in which the verb *xaṃṃ* is used in the sense 'to sweep,' just like in Gulf Arabic (cf. Holes 2001: 160).

[54] A very unusual raising of long /ā/ to /ē/.

2. *waḷḷa ṣaffat hāy l-ʿaraḅ w-kilha gōṭaṛat, gōṭaṛat kilha lid-dīra mišat taḥḥat hāy l-ʿurbān taḥḥat ib-ġanamha, tāli min titnawwaʿ[55] ṃāy ṃāku ġidṛān ṃāku, w-gāṃatlak il-ġanam titwāgaʿ, titwāgaʿ imnil-ʿiṭaš.*

3. *ʾiddōṛ hāy l-wādim xāfat, xāfat ʿala- ṛwāḥatha, ʾil-bašar mū l-ġanam, xāfat ʿala-ṛwāḥatha tmawwit, ʿidhum wāḥid ṛažžāl čibīr hāḏa šwayya ʿidda baxat,[56] ʾižō gālōla ḥažži ʾiḥna ṛāḥ inmūt, ʿūf il-ḥalāl, il-ḥalāl gām yitxazzal.*

4. *ʾiḥna ṛāḥ inmawwit ṃāku ṃāy, hāḏa l-ḥažži ṭaḷḷaʿ giṣṣita w-daʿa gāl yā-baxt umm saʿīd, ygūlūn subḥāna ḷḷā ṃāku bil-aṭnā[57] ʾamar ʾaḷḷā subḥāna wa-taʿālā hāy is-sima titnawwaʿilha wa-lā ġēma bīha.*

5. *waṛa šwayya wil-ġēm iltam, iltam il-ġēm, killa ltam,[58] subḥānak ya-ṛaḅḅi, w-hīya muṭaṛat mū muṭaṛ[59] ḥatta l-wādim ḥatta ġirigat ib-ḏāk il-ḥimād w-ġirigat min kiṯr il-muṭaṛ.*

6. *ʾil-ḥamdililāh wiš-šukur ṛawwaw lal-ḥalāl w-šibʿō w-taḥḥaw itwāṣaḷaw laṃṃan wuṣaḷaw lad-dīra, hāy ysōlfūnna gaḅuḷ.*

2. By Aḷḷah, the Arabs gathered and all of them walked, all of them walked towards [their] village, they drove their sheep. After that, when you look around, so there is no water, no creeks. The sheep started to fallen over, to fallen over because of thirst.

3. After that, the people were afraid, they feared for their own live, the people, not the sheep, they were afraid that they would die. There was an old man with them, he had a little luck, they came to him and said to him: Hažži, we will die, let the livestock be gone, the livestock started to disperse.

4. We will die, there is no water, the Hažži exposed his forehead and asked [Aḷḷah], and he said by the luck of Umm Saʿīd. It is said that, praise be to Aḷḷah, immediately Aḷḷah`s command, the Almighty, when you look up into the sky, [you see] no cloud in it.

5. A little later, and the clouds gathered, the clouds gathered, all of them gathered, praise be to my God. And it rained, not [normal] rain, so that people sunk, because of the rainfall amounts.

6. Thank Aḷḷah, they quenched the thirst of the cattle and they were full. They drove

---

[55] This verb for seeing is peculiar of *Šrūgi* Arabic (cf. Hassan 2020b: 171).

[56] A Persian loanword (cf. Boyle 1949: 29).

[57] A complex adverb which is derived through the grammaticalization of the phrase *ib-hāy l-aṭnāʾ*.

[58] The threefold repetition of the verb *iltam* is to indicate emphasis to the action; cf. Holes (2016: 450) for similar phrases in Gulf Arabic.

[59] The negative morpheme *mū* is used here to express intensiveness of the noun *muṭaṛ* 'rain.'

the cattle and went on until they arrived to the village. This is what we have been told in the past.

7. w-sālfa gaḅuḷ ygūlūn aku ʿažža žāyya qawīya b-sana ysammūnha sant iṣ-ṣifir, ʾižat bīha ʿažžāt w-bardāt qawīya, w-aku wāḥid min sādat bani ḥisan, ysammūna sayyid iʿbēd.

7. And [another] story, it is said that a strong wind came, it was in a year called 'the Zero year'. There came strong winds and cold [waves]. And there was a person, a Sayyid from Bani Ḥisan, called Sayyid Iʿbēd.

8. hāḏa sayyid iʿbēd ygūlūn il-ʿažža ž-žāyya, žāyya ʿažža ḍaḷma ibḥēṭ īdak guwwa ššūfha, w-hāy il-ʿažža min quwwatha ṃāxḏa bēt iš-šaʿaṛ ṃālta w-iġnima⁶⁰ ṛāyḥa.

8. It said that this Sayyid Iʿbēd, the wind was coming, it is so dark that you hardly see your hand. And because this wind is so strong, it took his goat-hair tent and he lost his sheep.

9. ṛāḥat ġinima, yaʿni ġnima bīha gdar agūl ṯaliṭ mīya akṯar min ṯaliṭ mīya, ʾiža yṣayyiḥ ya-flān ya-sālim ya-sālim taʿāl itlāḥagna gāḷḷa hā⁶¹ š-ʿiddak, gāḷḷa hīč w-hīč is-sālfa, ṃā-hiyya ġinimi.

9. His sheep were lost, I can say they were three hundred or more than three hundred. He came and screamed: Oh so-and-so, oh Sālim oh Sālim, come help us, he said to him: What is the matter? He said to him: so and so, my sheep are not there.

10. ṛāḥ wīyā, guwwa guwwa⁶² yšūfūn,⁶³ ʾilwaytāt⁶⁴ hīč ʿidhum w-guwwa yšūfūn, tālīha mišaw yxuṃṃūn, mišaw yxuṃṃūn bil-ḥimād w-ydawṛūn, kilman rikab firisa, ligaw ġanam bid-daṛub ʿala-hal-luwaytāt, bass hā ḏaḷām bīha.

10. He went with him, they can hardly see, they had torches and they could only hardly see. At last, they went to look around in the desert, everyone has ridden his own horse. They found sheep on the way while they used the torches, but it was somewhat dark.

---

⁶⁰ The form ġnima is resyllabified by deletion of /a/ in C1.

⁶¹ An interjection with a cautionary content (cf. Hassan 2016: 46).

⁶² The adverb guwwa is repeated twice to indicate emphasis.

⁶³ For this verb for seeing, cf. Hassan (2020b) and Grigore (2014).

⁶⁴ A diminutive collective of the English loanword 'light' (intended meaning here is the noun 'torch').

11. *wēn ylizmūn ġanam yšiddūn maṯalan wāḥid min-ʿidhin, ḥatta l-baqīya yḏ̣allan suwa b-bičān*[65] *wāḥid, yḏ̣allan suwa, yšiddūn wāḥid maṯalan ib-šižara, yšiddūn rižl in-naʿaža bīha w-yḏ̣allan ʾaxawātha yamha.*

11. Each time when they catch sheep, they tie one of them, so that the others remain together at one place. They, for example, tie one of them to a tree, they tie the foot of the sheep to it [the tee], so that the other sheep remain near it.

12. *w-baʿdēn il-wakit gām yitkaššaf, yitkaššaf il-ḥad-mā gāṃaw yšūfūn ʿurbān w-ynišdūnhuṃ*[66] *ʿan il-ġanam, bīhuṃ galaw la-tarḥūn aku maṛkūs, il-markaz māl is-siʿūdīya ysaṃṃūna maṛkūs.*

12. After that, it became clear, it became [gradually] clear until they could see villagers whom they asked about the sheep. Some of them said to them: do not go [because] there is a Markūs. The Saudi border post is called Markūs.

13. *taṛḥūn lil-maṛkūs tilgūn ġanamkum, ṣidig*[67] *hāḏa s-sayyid w-ili-wyāh ṛāḥaw iʿla kitr il-maṛkūs, ʾil-maṛkūs is-siʿūdi, w-ižāhuṃ širṭi yirkuḏ̣, gāl arīd il-ibšāṛa, gālaw ṃā-maʿāna*[68] *ši ḥatta niṭṭīk ibšāṛa, gāl ṃā-ʿarif ānī, āna aʿarif ibšāṛti.*

13. You go to the Markūs and you will find your sheep. The Sayyid and his companions went toward the Markūs, the Saudi Markūs. A policeman came running to them, he said I want my gift, they said we have nothing to give, he said: I do not know, I know my gift.

14. *gālla ya-walad*[69] *hāk ilak dīnar, gālla waš*[70] *id-dīnar waš id-dīnar, ʾāna arīd ibšāṛti, gālla ili wyāh sālim hāḏa s-sayyid ṃā-ʿidda w-ḥalāla killa ṛāḥ, gāl ʾana ṃā-ʿarif sayyid ʾana ʾabi*[71] *b-ibšāṛti.*

14. He said to him: take this Dīnar for you, what Dīnar what Dīnar, I want my gift, the man with him, Sālim, said to him: this Sayyid owns nothing and he lost his

---

[65]The /k/ of LA *makān* is palatalized to /č/.

[66] For a geographic distribution of this verb, cf. (Hassan 2020a: 185); cf. also Ingham (2000: 127, 1976: 73, 1973: 538) for its uses in the southern part of the *Šrūgi* area.

[67] The form *ṣidig*, sometimes also the metathesized *ṣigid*, is fossilized to express inchoative meaning.

[68] The preposition *maʿa* 'with' seems to be a loanword from neighboring Bedouin dialects.

[69] It is customary in the *Šrūgi* area to add the form *walad* to the particle *ya-* to express the vocative mood. Note that this form is usually used among friends or acquaintances of the same age.

[70] It seems to be a loanword from Bedouin dialects.

[71] A loanword from Bedouin dialects, cf. Holes (2016: 302-303) for its uses in Gulf Arabic.

animals, he said I do not know Sayyid, I want my gift.

15. *gālla ya-xūy*[72] *ta*[73]*-xiḏ w-taṛa*[74] *štiki ᶜlēk, ʾiḏa mā-tirḏa aṛūḥ aštiki ᶜlēk, hāḏa min simaᶜ biš-šičīya w-hāy čanna hāḏa ṛād il-ibšāṛa miṯl il-baṛṭīl,*[75] *min simaᶜ bīha šičīya ḅaṭṭal, yaḷḷa hāy-hīya qibalit.*

15. He said to him: Oh brother, take it or I will report you, when you do not agree I will report you. When he heard of the report, he agreed to take the gift as a bribe. When he heard of the report, he stopped [talking about the bribe], [and said] come on, I agree.

Text 4

1. **A:** *hā bu-ḥmayyid,*[76] *hā bin xāḷti.* **B:** *ʾahlan*[77] *diktōr.* **A:** *šlōnak?* **B:** *ʾigᶜid ihnā, ihnā.* **A:** *hāy hīya*[78] *gaᶜadit gaᶜadit.* **B:** *ʾigᶜid ʾigᶜid ihnā.* **A:** *ʾaḷḷā bul-xēr.*[79] **B:** *ʾaḷḷā bul-xēr.*

1. **A:** Hey, father of Ḥmayyid. Hey, my [maternal] cousin. **B:** Welcome doctor. **A:** How are you doing? **B:** Sit down here, here. **B:** That set, I sat down. **B:** Sit down, sit down here. **A:** ʾAḷḷā bul-xēr **B:** ʾAḷḷā bul-xēr.

2. **A:** *taᶜāl sōlifli s-sawwēt mā-sawwēt.* **B:** *ᶜalamūd-man?* **A:** *šini ᶜala mūd-man? čā*[80] *ġēr*[81] *gitt la-bu-yūnis, hāḏa bnak hamm čanna ṃā-yiftihim.* **B:**

2. **A:** Come and tell me what you did do. **B:** What about? What "what about"? I did tell Abu Yūnis, it looks like your son doesn't

---

[72] A common pattern of addressing males of the same age to show intimacy and politeness to the addressee.

[73] A variety of the exhortative *da-*.

[74] An invariable particle which is derived from the LA verb for seeing *raʾa*. Within Iraq, this verb for seeing is restricted to the *qǝltu* Arabic in Bәḥzāni and Mērgī, cf. (Hassan 2023b: 21, fn. 57) and Jastrow (1981: 412); cf. also Jastrow (1990, 10) for ᶜAqra Arabic.

[75] A Persian loanword (cf. Steingass 1892: 150)

[76] A widespread strategy of addressing a man or a woman, wherein the second part of the teknonym is the firstborn son/daughter, cf. Sadok (1998) for more examples.

[77] The term *ʾahlan* or alternatively the paronomastic phrase *ʾahlan wa-sahlan* is a pan-Iraqi greeting formula.

[78] Sometimes also *hāḏ huwwa* (lit. that is he/it) is a fixed expression which is said when two or more persons agree on a certain matter.

[79] A phrase said by the host to a guest, when the later has sat down (cf. Woodhead 1967: 150).

[80] A multifunctional discourse particle in the *Šrūgi* area, cf. Ingham (1973: 550, fn. 38).

[81] This is a good example of conditioned serialization of the discourse particles *čā* and *ġēr* in *Šrūgi* Arabic, cf. Hassan (2016: 48) for a thorough discussion of these particles.

waḷḷa wa-lā wāḥid gālli. **A**: *būya*[82] *bassām.* **B**: *lā-bassām w-lā ḥsēn.*[83]

3. **A**: *ha?* **B**: *lā w-rūḥ ubūk,*[84] *ʾinta gitt iṭṭīni muhla yōmēn.* **A**: *ē ṭṭēni muhla yōmēn, ʾāni wēn riḥit ib-ḏanni il-yōmēn, xābart id-dīwānīya.* **B**: *ē.* **A**: *da*[85]*-ḏallila hāḏa xall niftihim* [the TV], *xābart id-dīwānīya, gittilhum hāḏa š-šāriʿ māl il-..., ʾagillak ḏallila hāḏa šū tʿallī!* **B**: *hā hā nisēta, ē.*

4. **A**: *gittilhum hāḏa š-šāriʿ māl ālbu-ʿzēb mašmūl yō*[86] *mā-mašmūl.* **B**: *riḥit lid-dīwānīya?* **A**: *xābarit hāḏa il-walad il-bid-dīwānīya, taʿarfa.* **B**: *ē, ē. gāl ē mašmūl, gittla bin xāḷti ṛāḥ lil-baladīya.* **B**: *mašmūl, ē.*

5. **A**: *w-gāylatla l-baladīya ʾḥna nsawwī bass urufʿu t-taǧāwizāt māl il-kahṛabā.* **B**: *ʾil-kahṛabā mū niḏāmīya.* **A**: *mū niḏāmīya.* **B**: *ē.* **A**: *ē, fa-gālli āni xābṛak, lal-lēl xābaṛni, gālli xalli baladīyat iš-šāmīya tiktibinna.* **B**: *tiktib ṃū-niḏāmīya ǧēr?*[87]

understand anything. **B**: By Aḷḷah, no one told me. **A**: Oh father, Bassām. **B**: Either Bassām nor Ḥsēn.

3. **A**. Really? **B**: No, by the soul of your father, you asked me to grant you two days delay. **A**: Yes, grant me two days delay, where did I go in these two days? I called in id-Dīwānīya. **B**. Yes. **A**: Would you turn down this [TV] so we understand? I called in id-Dīwānīya, I said to them: this street of... I asked you to turn down it, but you turn it up instead. **B**: Oh, oh, I forget it, yes.

4. **A**: I asked them whether the street of Ālbu-ʿzēb is included. **B**: Did you go to id-Dīwānīya? **A**: I called the man, who is in id-Dīwānīya, you know him. **B**: Yes, yes, he said yes, it is included. I told him that my maternal cousin went to the municipality. **B**: It is included, yes.

5. **A**: The municipality said to him: we will do it but you have to get rid of the encroachments upon the electricity. **B**: The electricity is irregular. **A**: irregular. **B**: Yes. **A**: Yes, so he said that he will call me. He called me at night, he said to me: Let the municipality of

---

[82] The form *būya* is used here to show endearment to the addressee.

[83] Such compound negative sentences are regular in both *gələt* and *qəltu* Arabic.

[84] On the LA form *ʾabb* in oath-taking phrases, cf. Sadok (1998: 122).

[85] The prefix *da-* functions as an exhortative in imperatives.

[86] The conjunction *yō*, sometimes realized as *yā*, is a Persian loanword, which is used along with the pan-Iraqi *lō*, cf. Hassan (2023b: 20, fn. 53).

[87] This form must not be confused with LA *ǧēr*; it is actually a grammaticalized item with multiple colloquial functions, depending on text (cf. Hassan 2016).

iš-Šāmīya write to us. **B**: It should write that

the electricity is irregular, right?

6. **A**: *ē, kaḥṛabāt iš-šāmīya tiktib kaḥṛabāt id-dīwānīya tgūl ṃū-niḏāmīya.* **B**: *ē.* **A**: *w-žībha w-hāḏa w-baʿdēn huṃṃa ysawwūn iš-šabaka.* **B**: *huṃṃa yxāṭbūnhuṃ ygūlūlhuṃ ṃū-niḏāmīya.* **A**: *ē.* **B**: *ygūlūlhuṃ yardūn yšaġlūha.* **A**: *ē.* **B**: *ġēr hīči?* **A**: *ē.*

6. **A**: Yes, the electricity administration in iš-Šāmīya should write to the electricity administration in id-Dīwānīya and says it is irregular. **B**: Yes. **A**: And bring it, and after that they will manage the electrical grid. **B**: They write to them and say it is irregular. **A**: Yes. **B**: They tell them that they want to turn it on. **A**: Yes. **B**: Isn't it? **A**: Yes.

7. **B**: *ē, maḥḥad ižāni w-gālli.* **A**: *ʾāni gitt il-bassām.* **B**: *bil-ʿaḅḅās čifīlak.*[88] **A**: *čā huwwa bassām čān yimši huwwa w-ibin tāyih.* **B**: *yamta gittilhuṃ inta?* **A**: *qabil yōmēn.* **B**: *čā ṛūḥ bāčir iḏā hāy, ʾiṛṛūḥ lil-mudīr.*

7. **B**: Yes, nobody came and told me. **A**: I told Bassām. **B**: By il-ʿAḅḅās is your guarantor. **A**: Bassām was walking with the son of Tāyih. **B**: When did you tell them? **A**: Two days ago. **B**: So, go tomorrow, we go to the manager.

8. **A**: *ē, huwwa l-mudīr min-xawānna?* **B**: *waḷḷa mā-ʿarfa.* **A**: *ē.* **B**: *ʾaṛūḥla gilla id-dīwānīya riḥit gāl xall yxāṭibna bu š-šāmīya* **A**: *ʾabu*[89] *š-šāmīya, ʾaḥsanit.*[90] **B**: *yxāṭibna ygillinna gālaw yšaġlūnha.* **A**: *ē.*

8. **A**: Yes, is the manager one of our maternal uncles? **B**: By Aḷḷah, I do not know him. **A**: Yes. **B**: I will go to him and tell him that id-Dīwānīya says let iš-Šāmīya write to us. **A**: ʾAbu š-Šāmīya, right. **B**: He writes to us that they said they turn it on. **A**: Yes.

Text 5

1. **A**: *zarʿātak ibʿadhin*[91] *sawwēthin?* **B**: *wa-ḷḷa ā-tamṛāt*[92] *ḏaḷḷan.* **A**: *ḏaḷḷan.* **B**: *ʾarīd is-siʿir yzūd.*

1. **A**: Are your plants still there or did you do them? **B**: By Aḷḷah, the dates are still there. **A**:

---

[88] The form *čifīl* (< LA *kafīl* 'guarantor') is occasionally used in oaths involving Aḷḷāh, Mohammad, or Imams (cf. Sadok 1999: 92).

[89] The form *ʾabu* is followed by a city name to indicate a place.

[90] The final consonant cluster /nt/ of LA *ʾaḥsant* is dissolved by a prosthetic vowel, giving /nit/.

[91] An initial consonant cluster /bʿ/ is created by a-deletion, which seems to be characteristic of this Bedouin dialect.

[92] A characteristic feature of this dialect is that the LA definite article *al-* is either assimilated to a next sun letter as in LA, or rendered as long /ā/ in the vicinity of moon letters. As will be shown in this text, some speakers do not follow this rule due to contact-induced influence by other neighboring dialects.

A: *šī-zūd baʕad akṯar min hāy z-ziyāda baʕad? lā-ṣṣīr ṭaṃṃāʕ iṭ-ṭuṃaʕ mū-zēn, bīʕhin w-ixlaṣ.*

2. **B**: *ḏīč is-sina ʾiya wāḥid ʕalēna.* **A**: *ē.* **B**: *gāl ʕammi*[93] *mā-tiṭīna ṛ-ṛadyōn.*[94] **A**: *ē.* **B**: *čān išyūʕi wya būy gaḅuḷ, w-hāḏa mallāču ibin ʕaṃṃu.* **A**: *mallāču.* **B**: *ḏāġuṭ ʕalē w-māxiḏ gāʕa, māxiḏ gāʕa, gām wēn yṛūḥ yam aṣdiqāʾu ā-qidāma.* **B**: *wēn yṛūḥ?* **A**: *ybāt yamhuṃ ysōlif wyāhuṃ, gāl ʕammi ṃā-tiṭīna ā-ṛadyōn, gittla ši-sawwi bu, gāl ʕammi balki*[95] *aḥaṣlilkuṃ iṣbiʕ ib-hāy ā-ḥukūṃa, ʾib-yā-zaman ib-ḏāk is-sitta w-iṯmānīn sabʕa w-iṯmānīn ib-zaman āmōn.*[96] **B**: *ē.*

3. **A**: *w-hassa ʾangas, ʾilkum iṣbiʕ ib-hāy l-ḥukūma.* **B**: *hassa ḥna lā-b-ḏīč wa-lā-b-hāy ā-ḥukūma, ʾaflasna flasna.*

4. **A**: *hāḏa gaḅuḷ ahalna yiṣʕadūn an-naxaḷ, yitfaninūn ib-takrību w-tanḏīfu, ʾāni hamm čint aṣʕad naxaḷ, ʾinxala* [97] *ysawwūnha mṛāya.* **B**: *tanḏīf.* **A**: *tanḏīf, ywaxṛūn is-silla ʕanna.*

Still there. **B**: I want the price to rise. **A**: What should the price rise more than it be now? Don't be so greedy. Greed is not good. Sell them and get rid from them.

2. **B**: One year someone came to us. **A**: Yes. **B**: He said: my uncle, would you give us the radio? **A**: Yes. **B**: He was a communist with my father in the past, and the land owner of this [communist] is his paternal cousin. **A**: The land owner. **B**: Where should he go? He spent the night with them, he chatted with them, he said: uncle, would you give me the radio? I said to him what do you want to do with it? He said: my uncle, I hope I get a finger for you in this government. In which time? In the sixties, in the time of Amun. **B**: Yes.

3. **A**: And now it is worse, you have a finger in this government. **B**: We now are neither in this nor in that government. We bankrupted, we bankrupted.

4. **A**: Our family used to climb on the palm tree. They are talented in trimming the nodules from the palm tree and cleaning it. I also used to climb on palm trees. They make the palm tree as clear as a mirror. **B**: Cleaning. **A**: Cleaning, they remove the thorns from it.

---

[93] The form *ʕammi* is used here as an address form.

[94] English *radio.*

[95] Turkish *belki* 'perhaps' (cf. Jastrow 2011: 95).

[96] The speaker uses the name of the pharaoh Amun to symbolize the former Iraqi president Saddam Husein.

[97] This is an example of *gahawa*-syndrome (cf. de Jong 2016), which is characteristic of this Bedouin dialect.

5. **C:** *tačrīb.* **A:** *li-ʾannahu xāf*[98] *yḏibḅūn ā-silla bā-*
    zaraʿ w-xāf ā-fallāḥ yiḥṣid w-yʿawṛa s-silla, w-
    yṭuḅḅūn lan-nahar yikṛūn, yaʿni ʾabūy čān aḷḷa
    yiṛḥamu bas-sina martēn yṭuḅḅ lan-nahar, yikṛa
    n-nahar, ygūl hāḏa māʿūn hāḏa šlōn nākil minnu
    ʾiḏā ṃū niḏīf? ā-falālīḥ[99] *ṭaḅʿan anwāʿ qisim*
    ḥarīṣ ʿala šuġlu w-niḏīf yaʿni mā-yġiš min ybīʿ
    fākiha mā-yġiš, yaʿni min niġsil at-taṃur abūy
    šī-gūl ygūl at-tākla ḥuṭṭa, at-tištahya tākla ḥuṭṭa
    al-ṃā-tištahya tākla ḏuḅḅa, ḥikma ba-ixḷāṣ, at-
    tištahya ḥuṭṭa al-ṃā-tištahya ḏuḅḅa.

    5. **C:** Trimming [the nodules]. **A:** Because they
    fear that when they throw the thorns in the
    field, it may injure the farmer when he
    harvests. They also enter into the river to
    dredge it. My father, may God have mercy on
    him, used to enter the river twice a year to
    dredge it. He says this [river] is like a dish, so
    how can we eat in it when it is unclean? The
    farmers are of many kinds, some of them are
    careful in their work and clean, that is he
    does not cheat when he sells the fruits. When
    we wash the dates, my father says put [in the
    fruit box] what you eat. Put what you crave
    to eat, and throw away what you do not crave
    to eat. It is a wisdom full of faithfulness, put
    in what you crave to eat, and throw away
    what you do not crave to eat.

6. **B:** *ʾaḷḷā.* **A:** *ʾaku qisim ši-ysawwūn yxallūn*
    ṭabaqat ruṃṃān zēna ǧawwa, yḥuṭṭūna hāḏa l-
    ṃū-zēn ban-nuṣṣ w-baʿdēn yxallūn, haḏōl at-
    tiǧǧār yištiṛūn ba-ʿalwa ši-ysawwūn, yiguḷbūna
    yiguḷbūn aš-šālīy, w-min yiġluḅ aš-šālīy yʿātbak
    ygūllak ṃū-fašla ṃū-ʿēb ʿalēk, ʾinta fallāḥ, ši-
    tgūlūn la-ḷḷa?

    6. **B:** Oh God. **A:** There are people who make
    some layers of good pomegranates
    underneath in the boxes and they put then
    bad pomegranates in the middle of the
    boxes. When the traders buy in a farmer's
    market, they turn over the bag, and when he
    turns the bag over, he will blame you and
    says shame on you! You are a farmer, what
    would say to Aḷḷah?

7. **C:** *liḥad ilʾān min abīʿ yitʿāṛukūn ʿala z-zaraʿ*
    mālti. **A:** *naḏīf.* **C:** *yišhad aḷḷa il-ḥad hāy l-laḥḏa*
    w-mā-yxuṃṃūn zaṛʿi il-ḥad hāy l-laḥḏa w-bass

    7. **C:** Until now, when I happen to sell [my
    crops], [the traders] compete to get my
    crops. **A:** Clean. **C:** God bears witness, until

---

[98] The adverb *xāf* 'maybe' or sometimes also *ʾaxāf*, is the result of the grammaticalization of the LA verb *xāf* 'to fear'.

[99] In the speech of the general population, the plural pattern *CaCāCīC* is occasionally used for singulars of the form *CaCCāC*, e.g., *giṣāṣīb* 'butchers', *niǧāǧīr* 'carpenters', *ḥimāmīl* 'porters.'

yaʿarfūn sayyāṛti yčillūn ʿalīha w-yitʿāṛkūn ʿalamūd yaxḏūn iz-zaṛaʿ iz-zēn, lēš liʾan taʿallamit min qabil ʾannahu mā-ʾaġiš wa-li-ḥad hāy l-laḥḏa.

now they never check my crops. As soon as they know my car, they gather around it and they compete to get the good crops. That is because I never cheated in the past, and I never cheat now.

Text 6

1. **A**: *ʾas-salām ʿalaykum*[100] *ḥažži.* **B**: *šōlnak*[101] *š-axbāṛak.* **B**: *wa-ʿalaykum is-salām.*[102] **A**: *ḥažži ʿidna suʾāl.* **B**: *ē.* **A**: *hāy il-ʿišāyir šlōn titkawwan ʿidkum ihnā w-asmāʾha.* **B**: *ʾasmāʾha maṯalan hassa nrīd nigūl ʿišīrat āl-bu-ḥassān.*

1. **A**: Peace be upon you, how are you Ḥažži? What is your news? **B**: And upon you be peace. **A**: Ḥažži, we have a question. **B**: Yes. **A**: What is the makeup of your clans and what are their names? **B**: Their names for example, say, the tribe of āl-bu-Hassān.

2. **A**: *ē.* **B**: *yigūlūn ʿidhum ǧadd isma ḥassān.* **A**: *xōḅ.*[103] **B**: *min ḥassān ṯibat wāḥid min wāḥid min wāḥid ʾilā ʾan ṣāṛat ʿašīra kabīra,*[104] *ši-simha? ʿašīrat āl-bu-ḥassān.* **A**: *ʿašīrat āl-bu-ḥassān.* **B**: *ē.*

2. **A**: Yes. **B**: They say they have a grandfather called Hassān. **A**: Good. **B**: One after another descended from Hassān until it became a big clan, what is its name? the clan of āl-bu-Hassān. **A**: the tribe of āl-bu-Hassān. **B**: Yes.

3. **B**: *bini ḥčēm mitkawna min fadd*[105] *ʿišrīn ʿašīra, ʾil-isim bini ḥčēm.* **A**: *ʾil-isim ʾil-ʿām.* **B**: *ʾil-isim ʾil-ʿām bini ḥčēm, bass ʾihi*[106] *mitfarqa il-ʿišāyir.* **A**: *hā.* **B**: *āl-bu-ḥassān, ḏuwālim, šinābra kaḏā, hāḏa ysamūna bini ḥčēm.* **A**: *hāy bini ḥčēm.*

3. **B**: Bini Ḥčēm consists of about twenty clans, the name is Bini Ḥčēm. **A**: The general name. **B**: The general name is Bani Ḥčēm, but it is segmented into several clans. **A**: hmmm. **B**:

---

[100] Although it has an Islamic coloring, this greeting formula is used by almost all religious communities throughout the country, cf. (Hassan 2017a and 2017b) on greetings in *Šrūgi* Arabic; cf. also Ferguson (1997: 198) for this formula in other Arabic dialects.

[101] A typical greeting question in Iraqi Arabic, cf. Hassan (2017a).

[102] A response to the greeting *as-salām ʿalaykum.*

[103] A Persian loanword (cf. Boyle 1949: 64).

[104] The form *kabīra* is unusual in this area and seems to be an attempt to elevate one's own stylistic level.

[105] With the exception of the urban dialect of Kbēse (cf. Hassan 2022b), using the lexeme *farid* or its syncopated form *fadd* are the basic way of expressing indefiniteness in almost all Iraqi Arabic dialects, including *qəltu* Arabic (cf. Hassan 2023b: 14, fn. 37, 2022a: 617); cf. also Leitner and Prochazka (2021) on the uses of this lexeme in Iraqi Arabic.

[106] The third person pronoun *ʾihi* seems to be a trace of Bedouin influence.

āl-bu-Hassān, Ḏuw ālim, Šinābra, etc, these are all called Bini Ḥčēm. **A**: This is Bini Ḥčēm.

4. **B**: *fa*[107]*-hāḏi ḏāk il-wakit ʿāyša l-ʿālam, hāḏa l-ʿidda ḥalāl.* **A**: *miʿīšathuṃ?* **B**: *miʿīšathuṃ hāḏa l-ʿidda ḥalāl, fallāḥ ḥunṭāt šʿīrāt*[108] *madri šini, fa-hāy miʿīšathuṃ, miʿīša qalīla yaʿni ṃū miʿīša kabīra miʿīšathuṃ, fa-qūt qalīl yaʿni, mdabbir ṛūḥa.*[109]

4. **B**: So, this is how people lived back then, this applies for those who owns livestock. **A**: Their live style? **B**: Their live style, this applies for those who owns livestock, [or] a farmer [who has] some wheat and barley and the like, so this was their people lifestyle, a constrained life, that is, it was not an abundant life. That is, there was little food, [but] one managed.

5. **A**: *ē.* **B**: *maṯalan wāḥid yiḥtāz, hāḏa yāxiḏ min hāḏa qurḏāt, šini ṭarīqat il-qurḏāt yaʿni? qurḏa yaʿni flūs yāxiḏ mina yaʿni miḥtāz hāḏa.* **A**: *ē.* **B**: *ʾaxaḏ minna maṯal ʿašur xamis danānīr gaḅuḷ māku malāyīn.* **A**: *ē.* **B**: *dīnār w-dīnārēn w-ṯaliṯ danānīr, ṯaliṯ danānīr čān yimlik bīhin, ʿala mā-yṣīran ʿidda čam filis.*

5. **B**: Yes. **B**: for example, if someone is in need so that one borrows from another, how do people borrow from each other? Borrowing means lending money, one takes money when in need. **A**: Yes. **B**: He borrows from him, for example, ten or five dinars; there were no millions of dinars in the past. **A**: Yes. **B**: One dinar, two dinars, three dinars. One would have [a lot] with three dinars, so that he may have a bit of [some money].

6. **A**: *ṣāṛat ʿiddak hāy il-ḥāla ʾinta, ḥažži?* **B**: *ē, ṣāṛat.* **A**: *šlōn sawwētha w-išlōn ḥallētha?* **B**: *ʾiddayanit min wāḥid min gaṛāybi ʿinda flūs, xaḏēt minna, ʾāna ʿindi zaṛaʿ, miṯil mā-tfallaḥit miṯil mā-hāy žibit xalli nigūl ba-xaḏar, axaḏar šinu l-axaḏar?*

6. **A**: Have you ever experienced such a case, Hažži? **B**: Yes, it happened. **A**: How did it happen and how did you manage it? **B**: I borrowed money from a relative of mine, who has money, I took [money] from him, I have crops, because I had planted. We could say that I got money through *axaḏar.* What is *axaḏar?*

---

[107] A widespread Iraqi Arabic continuative conjunction.

[108] The forms *ḥunṭāt* and *šʿīrāt* are the diminutive collectives of the forms *ḥunṭa* and *šʿīr*, respectively.

[109] The phrase *mdabbir ṛūḥa*, also alternatively *mdabbir nafsa*, is a common idiomatic expression.

7. **A:** *naʿam.* **B:** *nizīb flūs w-niṭṭi bidāla ṭaʿām* [110] *lil-mūsim, hičči.* **A:** *hičči.* **B:** *hāḏa tāǧir āxiḏ minna āna flūs.* **A:** *ē.* **B:** *w-agilla ṭṭīni ḥimil maṭal mītēn kēlo.* **A:** *xōš.* **B:** *ʾiṭṭīni ḥimlēn, bēš yiḥsibhin, ʾiš-šiʿīr maṭalan ib-dinārēn, ʾaxaḏit minna ṛbaʿ danānīr, hāḏa ḥimlēn, ʾiža l-mūsim iṭṭēthin ila.*

7. A: Yes. **B:** We get money and give wheat and barley instead when next harvest comes, that's how it is. **A:** That's how it is. **B:** He is a trader and I take the money from him. **A:** Yes. **B:** And I ask him to give me the price of a load, for example, two hundred kilos. **A:** Good. **B:** He gives me two loads, for how much would he give them to me? The barely would, for example, cost two dinars, so I take four dinars from him, this is [the value] of two loads, when the harvest time comes, I give them to him.

8. **A:** *saddadthin ila.* **B:** *saddadithin ila huwwa yibīʿhin yirḅaḥ bīhin, yḥaṣṣilla dinār nuṣṣ dinār kaḏā.* **A:** *ḏāk it-tāǧir.* **B:** *ḏāk it-tāǧir.* **A:** *hāḏa t-tāǧir dāxil il-madīna.* **B:** *dāxil il-madīna.*

8. A: You paid them off. **B:** I paid them off. He sells them on and profits from them. He gets a half dinar or one dinar and the like. **A:** This is as far as the dealer is concerned. **B:** This is as far as the dealer is concerned. **A:** This trader is in the city. B: In the city.

9. **A:** *tiʿtamdūn tarbiyat ḥaywānāt šī?* **B:** *ē, ʿidna tarbiyat hōš ibāʿir ġanam maṭalan, ʾirrabbi bī, ʾiḏā mā-ʿidna wārid ziṛāʿa nibīʿ imnil-ḥalāl w-insaddid id-dēn.*

9. A: Did you practice animal husbandry or the like? A: Yes, we breed cows, camels, sheep, we raise them. When we do not have income from the agriculture, we sell some and pay off the debts.

10. **A:** *ʾil-marʾa šini dōrha b-ḏāk il-wakit?* **B:** *ʾil-marʾa dōrha miltazma wīya ṛ-ṛažil, ʾiḏā čānat mizzawǧa hīya wīya zawiǧha, yiḥsid timši tiḥsid wīyā.* **A:** *hā.* **B:** *tištiġil wīyā, tilim zaṛaʿ wīyā, tisraḥ bil...* **A:** *ʾitʿāwna yaʿni.* **B:** *ʾitʿāwna.* **A:** *ē.*

10. A: What role had a woman at that time? **B:** A woman's role is she stands by the man. If she is married, she stands by her husband, when he goes harvest, she goes also harvest with him. **A:** hmmm. **B:** She works with him, she collects crops with him, herding... **A:** She helps him, that is. **B:** She helps him. **A:** Yes.

---

[110] In rural *Šrūgi* Arabic this form refers to wheat and barley.

11.B: *ē, ʾiddōṛ*[111] *tiži tiṯẖanilha xubza, gaḅuḷ māku tāḥūnāt miṯil hassa.* **A**: *ē.* **B**: *biž-žāwan w-iddigha w-tiṯẖanha w-itsawīha w-itʿayyiš nafisha, hāy dōṛ il-maṛa.* **A**: *hāy il-maṛa.* **B**: *ē, hāy gaḅuḷ dōṛ il-maṛa.*

11. **B**: Yes, after that she comes and mills [wheat or barely] to [to prepare] bread, there were no [electric flour] mills like now. **A**: Yes. **B**: She grinds it with a mortar and pestle, she lives from that, this is the roll of the woman. **A**: this is [the roll of] the woman. **B**: Yes, this is the roll of the woman in the past.

12.A: *ṭarīqat iz-zawwāǧ?* **B**: *ṭarīqat iz-zawwāǧ qabil māku lā ʿaqid maḥkama lā… yiṛūḥ yižībilha mūman*[112] *yimličha ʿādi w-yirham wīya halha ʾiḏā gaṛābatha maṯalan.* **A**: *hāḏa l-ḥači b-yā sina mnis-sinīn yaʿni?* **B**: *bis-sittīnāt.* **A**: *hā, bis-sittīnāt.* **B**: *bis-sittīnāt.* **A**: *yaʿni bil-arbiʿīnāt …* **B**: *bil-arbiʿīnāt nafs il-ḥāla.* **A**: *hā.* **B**: *ʾimnil-xamsīn w-žāy, ʾāni waʿēt hāḏa mawǧūd ʿiddi.*

12. **A**: What about marriage? **B**: There was no marriage contract nor at that time, no… He goes and brings a Mūman to her in order to marry them and gets on well with her family in case they are relatives. **A**: On what year was this so? **B**: In the sixties. **A**: Aha, in the sixties. **B**: In the sixties. **A**: In the forties. **B**: The same is in the forties. **A**: Aha. **B**: From the fifties on, I still remember, it was like this.

13.A: *hā.* **B**: *ē, min-ʿuṃri santēn tlāṯa ftahamit wil-hāḏa t-tārīx, hassa ʿuṃri bis-sabʿīn.* **A**: *zawāǧha nafs il-ʿašīra lō ibin ʿamha?* **B**: *ʾaku bīhum nafs il-ʿašīra w-ʾaku yizawžūn min ġēr ʿašīra, w-yixtāṛūn maṯal hāḏa l-bēt xōš ṛažžāl abu l-maṛa yižūn yixiṭbūnha yāxḏūnha.*

13. **A**: Aha. **B**: Yes, from when I was two or three years until this date, I have understood it; now I am seventy. **A**: Is her marriage within the clan or with her cousin? **B**: There are [those] among them [who marry] within the clan and there are [those who] marry from another clan. They choose [the future wife], for example, the family, [when he is] a good [person], the father of a young woman one knows that the father of the girl is a good person, they come ask for her hand and then take her.

14.A: *yaʿni ṭarīqat il-ixtīyār ʿala š-šaxuṣ?* **B**: *ʿala š-šaxuṣ ʿala l-bēt ʿala l-manṭaqa ʿal-ʿašīra.* **A**: *hā.* **B**:

14. **A**: Does this mean that choosing [a wife] is according to [the reputation] of the person?

---

[111] A widespread adverb of time in *Šrūgi* Arabic.

[112] A marriage officiant who presides over the wedding.

hāḏa mawǧūd. **A:** *hāy b-ḏāk il-wakit.* **B:** *ē, hāḏa mawǧūd b-ḏāk il-wakit ʿidna.*

A: According to the person, the house, the area, the tribe. **A:** Aha. **B:** That is how it was. **A:** That is how it was at that time. **B:** Yes, that is how it was for us at that time.

15.A: *zēn, ʾiḏā ṣāṛat muškila bēn ʿišīra w- ʿišīra.* **B:** *ʾiḏā ṣāṛat bēn ʿišīra w-ʿišīra muškila ʾaku ʿidna sāda yṭubḅūn maṭal sāṛ bīha ramī kaḏā.* **A:** *hāḏa wēn dāxil il-ʿišīra lō bēn ʿišīra w-ʿišīra?* **B:** *dāxil il-ʿišīra il-wiḥda.* **A:** *ʾil-ʿišīra il-wiḥda.* **B:** *il-wiḥda, ṭaḅḅathum ʿašāyir sāda w-bīha ṣaṛākīl*[113] *ikbār, yṭuḅha maṭal qānūn dawla tiḥtal il-muškila trūḥ, yšūfūn šini l-asbāb.*

15. **A:** Good, [what] if a problem occurs between [one] clan and [another] clan? **B:** If [there] occurs a problem between [one] clan and [another] clan, there are Sayyids among us who intervene, when, for example, there is a shooting, or the like. **A:** Does this apply within one [and the same] clan or between [two different] clans? **B:** Within one clan. **A:** Within one clan. **B:** The one [clan], the Sayyids tribes and notable Ṣaṛākīl intervene. Sometimes the state law may intervene. The problem will be solved. They see what the reasons are.

16.A: *yaʿni qānūn id-dawla ḍaṛūri lō maṛṛāt yḥillūnha il-ʿašāyir?* **B:** *lā, ʾakṯar ši yḥillūnha il-ʿašāyir.* **A:** *hā.* **B:** *ē, ʾakṯar ši, ʾil-qānūn id-dawla tōgaf bin-nuṣṣ.* **A:** *hā.* **B:** *wis-sāda waḷḷa huwwa l-ḥall.*

16. **A:** Does this mean that the state law is necessary or sometimes can problems be solved by the clans? **B:** No, problems are mostly solved by the clans. **A:** Aha. **A:** Yes, in most cases, the state law stands in the middle. **A:** Aha. **B:** And the Sayyids and Aḷḷah are the solution.

17.B: *yḏibḅūn mablaġ.* **A:** *šini hāḏa l-mablaġ iḥčīlīyāh.* **B:** *flūs yaʿni.* **A:** *š-ysammūna ʿidkum?*

17. **B:** They pay an amount of money. **A:** What is this amount of money? Tell me. **B:** Money, that is. **A:** What do you call it? **A:** Blood money. **B:** Ḥišam. A: Ḥišam. **B:** Yes, someone is injured. **A:** For example, somebody kills a person intentionally. **B:** The one who kills a person intentionally must pay, for example,

---

[113] Plural form of Persian *sri kār* 'chief, supervisor'.

B: *ysaṃṃūna yaʕni faṣuḷ*[114] *ḥišam.*[115] **A**: *faṣuḷ.* **B**: *ḥišam.* **A**: *ḥišam.* **B**: *ē, wāḥid tiṣawwaḅ.* **A**: *maṭal wāḥid kital wāḥid mutaʕammid.* **B**: *hāḏa l-mitʕammid maṭalan ʕlē nigūl ib-ḏāk il-wakit māku ib-ḏāk il-wakit ʕlē xamsīn dīnār hāḏa l-mitʕammid.*

let us say, there is not at that time fifty dinars at that time, [this is regarding] the one who kills intentionally.

18.A: *hā.* **B**: *hāḏa yḍibbūn ʕlē xamsīn dīnār.* **A**: *ʾiḏā ġēr mitʕammid?* **B**: *ʾiḏā ġēr mitʕammid yinfiṣil xamsa w-ʕišrīn xaṃuṣṭaʕaš maṭal.* **A**: *yaʕni ṭrūḥ tifṣil lō tḥaḍir mašya.* **B**: *ʾitḥaḍir mašya*[116] *w-itwaddi wāḥid ysaṃṃū ʕihda*[117] *yāxiḏ ʕihda ʕašir tayyām xamis tayyām, w-itwaddi wādim*[118] *w-yigūlūlak taʕāl w-yāxḏūn sāda w-išyūx w-ygiʕdūn yfiṣḷūn w-ysawwūn sānya*[119] *ḅaʕuḏhum ṃā*[120]*-ḅaʕuḏ, warqa.*

18. **A**: Aha. **B**: This [who kills intentionally] has to pay fifty dinars. **A**: [And what] if unintentionally? **B**: If unintentionally one must pay a blood money of twenty-five or fifteen dinars. **A**: This means either you pay faṣuḷ or you prepare a Mašya. **B**: You prepare a Mašya and send somebody called ʕIhda to take a ʕIhda for ten or five days, you send people and they call you, they also take Sayyids and sheikhs and meet to set the blood money, they make a sānya with each other, a [sheet] of paper.

19.A: *hāy šī-saṃṃūnha l-warqa?* **B**: *sānya ysaṃṃūnha ʕašāʾirīyan.* **A**: *hā sānya.* **B**: *sānya ʕašāʾirīyan imwaqʕīha iš-šiyūx.* **A**: *xōḅ* **B**: *w-ikbār il-manṭaqa.*

19. **A**: What do they call of this paper? **B**: It is called sānya by the clans. **A**: Aha, sānya. **B**: A sānya, signed by the sheikhs. **A**: Good. **B**: And the notables of the area.

---

[114] The notion *faṣuḷ* refers to the entire dispute settlement procedure between warring tribes, but in its narrow sense, it can be defined as the amount of money that is paid by an accused or the accused's tribe to the victim's tribe (cf. Edzard 1967: 308, Thesiger 1967: 221, Hassan forthcoming and Meißner 1903: 137 for more details).

[115] In some circumstances, the notion *faṣuḷ* can be replaced by the notions *ḥišam* and *ʕḏāb*. The former refers to abusive behaviors towards a member of another tribe such as pulling the headscarf of a woman or the headband of a man, while the later includes intentionally or recklessly assaults occasioning grievous bodily harm (cf. Hassan forthcoming).

[116] The commissioners who come together to begin the mediation session between the warring tribes.

[117] A temporary truce that must be immediately negotiated after committing a crime. It is an important precautionary measure to contain conflict and suppress violence, before initiating any forging of a settlement between the disputing parties. Cf. also Hassan (forthcoming).

[118] This is the plural form of *ʾādami*, in which the glottal /ʾ/is changed to /w/. It is used interchanged with the forms *nās* and *ʕālam* in this area of dialects.

[119] A specific set of tribal laws that must be followed in order to settle disputes.

[120] The pharyngeal /ʕ/ of the LA preposition *maʕa* 'with' is elided and short /a/ is lengthened, cf. (Abu Haidar 2004: 6) for a similar case in Rabīʕa.

20.A: *naʿam.* **B:** *ē, w-miṯil mā-faṣla xamsīn ʾiḏā ʿtida baʿad yṣīr mītēn.* **A:** *šī-sammūn hāḏa.* **B:** *ʾimṛabbaʿa.* **A:** *hā mṛabbaʿ, hāy šini fāʾidatha?* **B:** *fāʾidatha ḥatta yuṛbuṭ ēda*[121] *baʿad ma-yiḥtidi.*[122]

21 **A:** *ḥatta ṃā-ṣṣīr*[123] *xilāf?* **B:** *ḥatta ṃā-ṣṣīr xilāf bēn hāḏa w-bēn hāḏa.* **A:** *ʾil-mitʿāṛkīn?* **B:** *ʾil-mitʿāṛkīn.* **A:** *hāy dāxil il-ʿašīra l-wiḥda.* **B:** *hāy dāxil il-ʿašīra l-wiḥda, ʿašīra ib-ʿašīra?* **A:** *naʿam.* **B:** *tiḏāṛubat ʿašīra ib-ʿašīra, ʾaku ʿašīra mitwaxra tiži tifzaʿ itṣīr ʿihda maṯal.*

22 **A:** *xoš.* **B:** *bēn hāḏa w-hāḏa tōgaf bin-nuṣṣ bēn il-ʿašīrtēn.* **A:** *ḥilu.* **B:** *wugaf iṛ-ṛami baʿad min ḏōlāk w-min-ḏōla, ʾiža hāḏa masʿūl*[124] *il-ʿašīra, yāba*[125] *ʾintum š-tardūn imnil-ʿašīra hāy? ʾiṭūna ʿihda ysammūnha ʿihda, ʾiṭūna xamis tayyām isbūʿ ʿašir tayyām ʾilā-ʾan nifuḏ il-muškila, giʿdaw maṯalan iš-šiyūx w-hal-ʿašāyir illi tiḏāṛuban taḥāčaw w-gālaw ʿalēman il-xilāf maṯal ʿala-maṛa ʿala gāʿ ʾaṃṃa ʿala ṭifil inbuṣaṭ ʿala sayyāṛa, gabul māku sayyāṛāt.*

20. **A:** Yes. **B:** Yes, and after paying a blood money of fifty dinars, so he will be forced to pay two hundreds in case he aggresses again. **A:** What is this [procedure] called? **B:** ʾImṛabbaʿa. **A:** What is this ʾimṛabbaʿa useful for? **B:** Its usefulness is to restrain him and he cannot aggress anybody.

21. **A:** To avoid any dispute. **B:** To avoid any dispute between this and that. **A:** The fighters? **B:** The fighters. **A:** This applies within the same clan. **B:** This applies within the same clan. What about aggression between two different clans? **A:** Yes. In case of an aggression between two different clans, an outsider clan intervenes and becomes an ʿIhda.

22. **A:** Good. **B:** [The outsider clan] stands between the two warring clans. **A:** Nice. **B:** Shooting stops from those and those, the chieftain comes [and asks] what do you want from this clan? [They say] give us an ʿIhda, give us an ʿIhda for five days, they call it ʿIhda, one week, or ten days, until we solve the problem. The sheikhs and the warring clans meet, discuss and determine what the dispute is about. Is it, for example, because of a woman, agricultural land, child, who has

---

[121] The phrase '*yuṛbuṭ ēda*' (lit. to tie one's hand) is an idiomatic expression for 'to restrain him'.

[122] The /ʿ/ of LA *muʿtadi* is changed to /ḥ/.

[123] The /t/ is assimilated to next /ṣ/.

[124] The word-medial glottal is shifted to the voiced pharyngeal /ʿ/.

[125] An affectionate kinship term that is usually used as a vocative when addressing people.

been beaten by somebody, or a car. There were no cars in the past.

Text 7

1. **A**: *ʾiḥna wiṣanna b-ʿumur ḥariğ.* **B**: *ē bi-llā ḥariğ.* **C**: *huwwa l-ʿumur waṛa l-arbiʿīn...* **A**: *ʾiḥna ḥayātna killha nākil laḥam.* **C**: *ʾuḅu aḥmad gaḅuḷ il-wādim ib-ʿizāyimha...* **A**: *ḥatta lō tākil tištiġil.* **B**: *tištiġil il-wādim, tiḥrig.* **A**: *tiḥrig. hassa wēn bil-bāb sayyāṛa, ḥatta ḥaṛaka māku.* **B**: *tākil w-itnām.*

1. **A**: We are in a critical age. **B**: Yes, by Aḷḷāh, critical. **C**: The age after forty... **A**: We have been eating meat during our lifetime. **C**: Abu Aḥmad! What about people's banquet in the past... **A**: Even when they eat [too much], they work. **B**: The people work, they burn [the food]. **A**: They burn. Nowadays, [every one] has a car in front of his house, there is no movement. **B**: [The people] eat and sleep.

2. **C**: *ʾakl w-nōṃ, zēn, gaḅuḷ aku ṃufāṭīḥ*[126] *w-hāy is-suwālif lō-lā.* **A**: *ṃāku, laḥam qalīl.* **B**: *bass āna gillak iš-šīyūx, ʾib-fātḥat salmān ān-nāṣir ṣidig sawwaw imfaṭṭaḥ, w-aku čam fātḥa bay-yām iš-šahadā*[127] *biṯ-ṯimānīnāt aku mfaṭṭaḥ.* **C**: *ʾiš-šahadā...* **B**: *ē bay-yām il-qādisīya b-ḥaṛb īṛān.* **A**: *čānat il-fātḥa ṯalit tayyām.* **B**: *ṯalit tayyām.*

2. **C**: Eating and sleeping, good. Was there big meat cuts and the like, or not? **A**: There was nothing [like this], little meat. **B**: But I can say that the sheikhs [serve meat]. In the commemorative service of Salmān Ān-nāṣir they cooked meat cuts, and also there were meat cuts in some commemorative services in the days of the martyrs in the eighties. **C**: The martyrs. **B**: Yes, in the days of Al-Qādisīya during the war with Iran. **A**: A commemorative service lasted three days at the time. **B**: Three days.

3. **A**: *ē.* **C**: *w-il-iʿzūbīya gaḅuḷ?* **B**: *lā māku, ḏbayḥa zġayrūna*[128] *w-biž-žimāʿa b-maʿžāna wi-yḥiṭla ʿla xubza.* **C**: *hā.* **B**: *waḷḷa.* **A**: *wādim qalīla čānat*

3. **A**: Yes. **C**: What about hospitality in the past? **B**: No, there was not, a small slaughtered animal, they put it in a bowl and each person get a piece on a bread. **C**: Aha. **B**: By Aḷḷāh. **A**:

---

[126] A primal meat cut which is usually cooked and served as it is, that is without dividing it in subprimal cuts.

[127] LA word-final /ʾ/ is usually lost in *šrūgi* Arabic and the pre-pausal long vowel is shortened.

[128] The suffix *-ūn* is added to LA *ṣaġīr* 'small' to create the diminutive form, cf. (Sadok 1997: 27) for more similar examples.

māku, lā sayyāṛāt lā telefōnāt.[129] **B**. *ē.* **A**: *ē, māku wādim, nās iḡḷayla.*

There were little people, no cars, no telephones. **B**: Yes. **A**: Yes, there were no people, little people.

4. **C**: *humma yā sana taʿārikaw āl-bu-ḥassān wayy l-aʿāǧīb?* **A**: *ṭmānya w-sittīn.* **B**: *ṭmānya w-sittīn.* **C**: *mawǧūd inta?* **A**: *lā mā-ṣāyir.* **C**: *ʿalaṃūd*[130] *maṛa ma-dri šini hīya.* **A**: *lā ya-xūy yā-maṛa, ʿalaṃūd…* **C**: *gāʿ? hwāy āl-bu-ḥassān hwāy mitʿāṛkīn, wayy bani ʿāriḏ.* **B**: *taʿārikat nahawīya*[131] *bīha ysaṃṃūnha.* **C**: *šinīya.* **B**: *nahawīya.* **C**: *maṛa lō hičči?* **B**: *ē maṛa.* **A**: *nihbat?*[132]

4. **C**: In which year did the war broke out between āl-bu-Ḥassān and ʾil-Aʿāǧīb? **A**: In the eighties. **B**: In the eighties. **C**: Were you there? **A**: No, I wasn't born yet. **C**: It was because of a woman or the like. **A**: No, my brother, what for a woman. It is because of… **C**: Agricultural land? āl-bu-Ḥassān were often involved in fighting with Bani ʿĀriḏ. **B**: They fought because of an opposition; they call it. **C**: What? **B**: Opposition. **C**: A woman or the like? **B**: Yes, a woman. **A**: Eloped?

5. **B**: *ṃū nihbat, mišat la-xawāḷha l-maṛa w-bitha wyāha nahawīya, ʾibin xāḷha gāṃ yitwannas wayyāha w-ma-dri šlōn.* **C**: *ʾaxaḏ bitha.*[133] **B**: *ē bil-ḥaṛāṃ, ṭāṛša*[134] *la-xawāḷha.* **A**: *ṭāṛša la-xawāḷha.* **B**: *w-gāṃ yistaʿmilha.*[135] **C**: *hā hā.*

5. She did not elope. The woman went to her maternal uncles with her daughter. The son of her maternal uncle has had sex intercourse with her, and the like. **C**: He took her daughter. **B**: Yes, in an illegal way, she went as a guest to her maternal uncles. **A**: A guest to her maternal uncles. **B**: And he started to use her. **C**: Aha, Aha.

---

[129] English *telephone.*

[130] This conjunction is common in Iraqi Arabic, including some *qəltu* dialects, where usually the conjunctions *mbōǧər* or *mbōr* predominates (cf. Hassan 2023b: 20, 2022a: 619).

[131] This is to oppose a stranger to marry of *bint il-ʿamm* 'the father's brother's daughter' (cf. Khuri 1970: 597, Salim 1955: 473).

[132] To flee with the lover against the family's will and without its knowledge.

[133] In this context, the verb *ʾaxaḏ* is used in the sense 'to get married with, to have sex intercourse with.' This use of the verb *ʾaxaḏ* is common, especially among the elderly.

[134] This form is nowadays restricted to the elderly in rural areas; cf. Woodhead (1967: 288) for its uses in Iraqi Arabic; for Gulf Arabic, cf. Holes (2001: 321).

[135] The form *yistaʿmilha* 'to use her' is a euphemism for 'to have sex intercourse with her'.

6. **C**: *gaḅḅat.*[136] **B**: *bini ḥčēm killha.* **A**: *humma kt̠ar šī ʿārikaw āl-bu-ḥassān, humma kt̠ar šī āl-bu-ḥassān w-ilbu-ʿili.* **C**: *wayy bini zrēǧ*[137] *hamm.* **B**: *w-hamm wayy bini zrēǧ hammāt*[138] *hāḏa ysammūna ubu-ġḥūf ṣāṛat ʿarka.* **C**: *nahar lō manṭaġa.*[139] **B**: *nahar.* **C**: *ʾubu-ġḥūf?* **B**: *ē.*

6. **C**: [A dispute] broke out. **B**: All Bini Ḥčēm. **A**: Most people who fought were from āl-bu-Ḥassān, āl-bu-Ḥassān and ʾilbu-ʿIli. **C**: Against Bini Zrēǧ, too. **B**: There was also a dispute with Bini Zrēǧ [near] ʾUbu-Ġḥūf. **C**: [Is that] a river or an area? **B**: River. **C**: ʾUḅu-Ġḥūf? **B**: Yes.

7. **A**: *ʿabd āṛ-ṛāhi arbiʿīn wāḥid čātil,*[140] *hāḏa ǧāsim tiṣawwaḅ bīha l-ʿaṛka.* **C**: *baʿad mā-ʿidna ʿaṛik?* **A**: *lā māku.* **C**: *tidri līš*[141] *āl-bu-ḥassān ymuṛṛūn ib-hīč maʿārik, il-mawqiʿ iǧ-ǧiġṛāfi.* **A**: *ē.* **B**: *ē, ṭaḅʿan ila dōṛ.*

7. **A**: ʿAbd ār-Rāhi killed forty persons. Ǧāsim was injured in the dispute. **C**: Any other disputes? **A**: No, there isn't. **C**: Do you know why āl-bu-Ḥassān experience such disputes? It is because of the geographic location. **A**: Yes. **B**: Yes, it plays a roll.

8. **A**: *bass hīya ṃūš*[142] *iʿla ǧīʿān*[143] *killha ṃū iʿla ǧīʿān il-ʿaṛkāt, ʿarkatna wayya ḏ-ḏuwālim*[144] *ḏāčir*[145] *āl-iḥsēn tifal iʿla čyād āl-šaʿlān, ʾiǧ-ǧēš iddaxxal gāṃ yiḏ̣ruḅ dān,*[146] *il-midāfiʿ gaḅuḷ ysaṃṃūha dān.* **C**: *šinuwwa, il-midāfiʿ ysaṃṃūha dān?* **A**: *ē ē.*

8. **A**: But disputes aren't necessarily due to agricultural lands, our dispute with ʾiḏ-Ḏuwālim because Ḏāčir āl-iḤsēn spit in the face of Čyād āl-Šaʿlān. The army intervened and used cannons. A cannon is called *dān* in the past. **C**: What? Cannons are called *dān*? **A**: Yes, yes.

9. **C**: *bass ygillak hāḏa ibin xawwāṃ yiṭḅax w-ywaddi lāl-bu-ḥassān.* **A**: *ē hāḏa karīm, ḥatta*

9. **C**: But they say that the son of Khawwāṃ was cooking and sending [food] to āl-bu-

---

[136] The verb *gaḅḅ* 'to come up, spring up' is used here idiomatically to mean 'a tribal dispute is broken out.'

[137] A clan of the tribal confederation of *ič-Čabša* in as-Samāwa.

[138] A variety of the Persian loanword *hamm*.

[139] The /q/ of LA *minṭaqa* is changed to /ġ/.

[140] The /k/ is affricated to /č/.

[141] The colloquial /ē/ is raised to long /ī/; for more details on such raising among the marsh Arabs, cf. Hassan (2023a: 673) and Ingham (2000: 128); note that raising /ē/ > /ī/ in the form *ʿalīš*, which Ingham (2000: 128) cited as a marshland characteristic, is also found in the *qəltu* Arabic of al-Dōr (cf. Hassan 2022a: 617).

[142] For this negative morpheme, cf. Hassan (2016: 303) and Ingham (1976: 70, fn. 27).

[143] The velar stop /g/ is fronted and affricated to /ǧ/, cf. Blanc (1969: 23, fn. 76) for a historical overview of /g/ > /ǧ/ in Iraqi Arabic.

[144] A clan of the tribal confederation of Bini Ḥčēm with land and members in as-Samāwa.

[145] The interdental fricative /ḏ/ in LA *ḏākir* is shifted to /ḏ̣/.

[146] A Persian loanword into Iraqi Arabic, cf. Boyle (1949: 46).

ˤiduwwa yiḥtarma, bass ygūlūn hīya l-gāˤ lil-xizāˤil li-ḥad il-ān bini ḥčēm. **B:** *il-xizāˤil čānaw yḥikṃūnha.* **C:** *ʾiqtāˤiyīn čānaw wayya l-barīṭāniyīn, huṃṃa l-waḥīdīn.*

Ḥassān. **A:** Yes, he is generous, even his enemy respects him. It is said that the land belongs to the Khizāˤil, Bini Ḥčēm say. **B:** The Khizāˤil controlled it. **C:** They were feudalists with the British, they were the only [ones with the British].

10. **A:** *baˤdēn bini zrēǧ hamm istaqwaw, hāy kilha xaḏōha.* **C:** *xaḏōha guwwa, bass abu ḥmad il-xizāˤil il-ˤišīra l-waḥīda lli huṃṃa ḥilif wīya l-barīṭāniyīn.* **A:** *ē.* **C:** *mā ḥāṛubaw wa-lā ṯāṛaw iˤla l-barīṭāniyīn dōṃ.*[147]

10. **A:** After that, Bini Zrēǧ became stronger, they took all these [lands]. **C:** They took it with force. But, ʾUbu Aḥmad, the Khizāˤil is the only tribe that allied with the British. **A:** Yes. **C:** They never fought or rose up against the British.

Text 8

1. **A:** *ˤāzaw iṯnēn.* **B:** *ē.* **A:** *baˤad nāyif ṃā yišṛaḅ*[148] *ǧigāyir w-ygilla ṭni, yidri b-nāyif gāṭiˤ iǧ-ǧigāyir.* **B:** *w-āna gilitla ṭni l-bākēt.*[149] **A:** *lā bil-llā gilit la*[150]*-fāliḥ.*

1. **A:** They needed two [cigarettes]. **B:** Yes. **A:** Nāyif does not smoke cigarettes, but he still asks him [for cigarettes], he knows that Nāyif stopped smoking. **B:** I asked him to give me the cigarettes casket. **A:** No, by Aḷḷāh you said that to Fāliḥ.

2. **A:** *fāliḥ fāliḥ xūya*[151] *iǧ-ǧigāyir, gāḷḷa šini iǧ-ǧigāyir, gāḷḷa šini iǧ-ǧigāyir, gāḷḷa ǧigāyri xiḷṣan*

2. **A:** Fāliḥ Fāliḥ, brother [give me] the cigarettes, he said to him what cigarettes? He said to him my cigarettes are finished, he said to him, Hey! I have only five cigarettes, so what should I smoke when I give you them?

---

[147] This form seems to be a development of the LA adverb of time *dawman* 'always', which underwent phonological and semantic changes. Phonologically, the diphthong /aw/ is monophthongized to /ō/ and the nunation *-an* is lost. Semantically, on the other hand, it has lost its adverbial value and gained a new negative meaning, 'never', in negative constructions.

[148] In addition to its regular meaning 'to drink', the form *yišṛaḅ* is usually used in the sense 'to smoke cigarettes' too.

[149] Eng. *packet*.

[150] A characteristic feature of this dialect is to use the preposition *la-* instead of *il-*, e.g., **il-baġdād > la-baġdād*.

[151] The kindship term serving here as an address form to peers.

ǧigāyri, gāḷḷa wilak [152] *ʕindi xamis ǧigāyir čā aṭṭīkīyāhin wa-ḏaḷḷ š-ašṛaḅ.*

3. A: *hassa nta yāhu š-šārih iʕlēk itwazziʕ ǧigāyir, gāḷḷa ʾaku wāḥid šarah iʕlēk itwazziʕ ǧigāyir, gāḷḷa kāfi ḏōla li-ṭēthum kāfi.*

4.   A. *xūya w-ṭrida* [153] *fāliḥ ṃā-ṭṭā.* **B:** *ʾiṭāni l-bākēt fāliḥ.* **A:** *lā waḷḷa ṃā-ṭṭāk, gāḷḷak ʕindi xamis ǧigāyir, yiṭṭīkīyāhin šlōn, yāhu š-šārih iʕlēk itrīd itwazziʕ?*

5.   C. *ḥatta dikān bil- ṃanṭaqa ṃāku.* **A:** *ṃāku, xūya ḥna gāʕdīn w-il-gāṛuṣ ṃōt.* **B:** *il-gāṛuṣ ṃōt.* **A:** *ṃōt. yaḷḷa ziffu xēri ziffū, waddu xēri waddō.*

6.   A: *ʾiḥna nšūf itḷaṣḷaṣ iftaylatha mni-r-ruwēzīna.* [154] **B:** *šamʕa ġēr.* **A:** *ʾaku šamʕa ʾaku ṣxām? yāhu il-yaʕarif šamʕa. laḅḅa* [155] *ḥāṭṭilha fitīla mni-č-ṃāġ* [156] *w-nafṭāt, ḥāṭṭilha min ṭarf ičṃāġ il-ʕirrīs.*

3. A: Who asked you now to distribute cigarettes? He said to him who asked you to distribute cigarettes? He said to him it is enough what you gave.

4. A. Oh brother, Fāliḥ has kicked him out, he did not give him [the cigarettes]. **B**: Fāliḥ gave me the cigarettes casket. **A:** No, by Aḷḷāh, he did not give it to you. He said to you he had only five cigarettes, how would he then give them to you? Who asked you now to distribute cigarettes?

5. C: There was even no shop in the area. **A:** There was not. We were sitting and the bug was killing [us]. **B:** The bug was [us]. **A:** Killing [us]. Komm on, bring Khēri the to the bride's room, they sent him.

6. A: We would see the small wick glowing through a small window. **B:** A candle, isn't it? **A:** Is there a candle, is there a soot? Who knows what a candle is at that time? A kerosine lamp whose wick is made of the head dress of the bridegroom.

7. A: And the kids came and started to play flute. We had dinner and we sent the bridegroom and we look at him every now and then. ʕĀdil

---

[152] The vocative particle *wilak* seems to be a variety of LA *wayk* 'woe to you' and is found in almost all *gələt* dialects, while *wərak* is peculiar of some *qəltu* dialects such as Mosul and Tikrit and its varieties (own material). However, Ingham (1982: 87) considers it a Mesopotamian expletive. Cf. Abu Haidar (1991: 120) for its use in the Christian Arabic of Baghdad.

[153] The form *ṭrida* is resyllabified by deletion of the vowel in the initial open syllable.

[154] A diminutive form of the Persian loanword *rāzūna* (cf. Hassan 2020a: 187).

[155] Eng. *lamp* 'Kerosine lamp'. The nasal /m/ is assimilated to next /b/.

[156] Turkisch *yaşmak* 'veil' (cf. Devllioglu 2007: 617), man's head dress or kerchief of white cloth with red or black diamond-shaped embroidery (cf. Woodhead & Beene 1967: 508).

7. **A**: *w-il-ifṛūx ižōhuṃ gāṃaw yṃōṣḷūn, w-itʿašēna ḥna w-il-ʿirrīs w-waddēnā w-nitnawwaʿla kissāʿ, w-ʿādil waddō la-ḫlām w-hāḏa la ğamīla.*

has been sent to ʾAḥlām and this one to Ğamīla.

8. **B**: *ʾilli yṃōṣil yāhū.* **A**: *ʾil-ifṛūx yṃōṣḷūn, āl-fahad ma-dri yāhuṃ.* **C**: *hā ya-walad, intam wēn riḥtu?* **A**: *ʾiḥna wēn riḥna? gitla ğāsim xalli nṛūḥ bidūn ṭīṃāllā.*[157]

8. B: Who played flute? **A**: The kids played flute. [They belong to] ʾĀl fahad or the like. **C**: Hey man, where did you go. **A**: Where did we go? I said to Ğāsim let us leave without [saying] Goodbye.

9. **A**: *ṛūḥ šaġl is-sayyāṛa w-nitḷaʿ awwal fāl*[158] *ib-ġēr ḍuwwa, guḅaḷ šilaʿna, w-inxalli l-ʿaṛārīs baʿad ṃā-darēna bīhuṃ.* **B**: *ṃā-bittu yamm fāliḥ?* **A**: *guḅaḷ šilaʿna.*

9. A: Go and start the car and we first drive it without switching on the lights. We immediately drove. And we left the grooms and we did not know [anything] about them. **B**: Did not you spend the night with Fāliḥ? **A**: We immediately drove.

10. **A**: *yāsir w-ʿabid āl-ʿalwān māšīn ma-dri š-ysawwūn lil-hōṛ, yō…* **B**: *ʾahalhuṃ hnāk, yitnēsinūn*[159] *waḷḷa l-ʿaḏīm*[160] *ʾahalhuṃ hnāk.* **A**: *lō māšīn ywačdūn šī, bass ib-xēlhuṃ ṛāyḥīn.* **B**: *ʾubūy ysōlifha dōṃ ygūl il-na ʾahal hnāk, yḥaṣdūn šilib,*[161] *w-žaddak,*[162] *taṃuṛ ylimmūn.*

10. A: Yāsir and ʿAbid Āl-ʿAlwān were on their way to the marsh, I did not know what they want to do, or… **B**: Their families are there, they spend the harvest time there, by the Almighty, their families are there. **A**: Or they were on their way to check something. But they were riding their horses. **B**: My father always says that we have families there, they harvest rice crops, by your grandfather, they collect dates.

---

[157] A valedictory phrase common to all Iraqi Arabic dialects, cf. Krotkoff (1964: 74, fn. 28).

[158] This expression is usually used interchanged with *ʾawwal hēl* 'first of all' (cf. Prochazka 2018: 189 for its uses in the Arabic dialects in eastern Anatolia and WAD III for other Arabic dialects.

[159] This verb is derived from the month name *nīsān* 'April', the harvest season, and refers to the act of working in someone else's wheat and barley fields to get some crops.

[160] It is customary in almost all Iraqi Arabic dialects to swear on one's life or by Aḷḷah.

[161] Rice before processing for food (cf. Woodhead 1967: 247).

[162] Swearing by close persons such as grandfathers is a shared feature in almost all Iraqi Arabic dialects (cf. Sadok 1999: 85).

11. A: *ē, yğūz, ʾil-ṃuhim xūya ygūl yōṃēn maḥḥad iža, haḏōla b-ġēr ačil.*[163] **C:** *yōṃēn ṃāku.* **A:** *wilak inwayyir, hāy il-ifrūx gāṃ ittinōni win-niswān intahat, šū žīb wāḥid imnil-xirfān.*

11. A: Yes, maybe. Anyway, brother, he said no one came for two days. They did not have food. **C:** There is none for two days. **A:** Hey Nwayyir, the children became weak and the women are exhausted. Bring one of the sheep.

12. D: *ši-yīb.* **A:** *wilak nwayyir žīb il-xuṛūf, žība.* **D:** *ʾiḏibḥa.* **A:** *ʾiḏibḥa, xalli li-ʿyāl tišbaʿ, ṛāḥ itfaṭṭis itmawwit.*[164] **B:** *ʾayyaḅḅā.*[165] **A:** *ē waḷḷā w-ṛūḥ žaddak, ygillak w-ḏibaḥa lhuṃ, w-hīya kilman žābat židirha hīya wi-fṛūxha, istiwa w-žadditi kil wiḥda min čināyinha tiži tiṭīha hīya w-ifṛūxha.*

12. D: What does he bring? **A:** Hey Nwayyir bring the sheep, bring it. **D:** He slaughtered it. **A:** He slaughtered it, let the family get full. They will die. **B:** Oh Gott. **A:** Yes, by Aḷḷāh and by the soul of your grandfather. It is said he has slaughtered it to them. And each woman came together with her children and pot. The food was ready and my grandmother gave [food] to each one of her daughters-in-law and her children.

References

Abu Haidar, Farida. 1991. *Christian Arabic of Baghdad*. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.

Abu-Haidar, Farida. 2004. "The Arabic of Rabīʿa: A *qəltu* dialect of Northwestern Iraq." In: *Approaches to Arabic dialects: A collection of articles presented to Manfred Woidich on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday,* edited by Martine Haak, Rudolf de Jong and Kees Versteegh, 1-12. Leiden: Brill.

Al-Ani, Salman. 1976. "The development and distribution of the Arabic sound "Qaf" in Iraq." In: *Essays on Islamic civilization*, edited by Donald P. Little, 48-55. Leiden: Brill.

Blanc, Haim. 1964. *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Boyle, John Andrew. 1949. *A practical dictionary of the Persian language*. London.

de Jong, Rudolf. (2006) "Gahawa-Syndrome." In: *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Managing Editors Online Edition: Lutz Edzard, Rudolf de Jong.

Edzard, Dietz Otto. 1967. "Zum Vokabular der Ma'dan-Araber im südlichen Iraq." *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, edited by Gernolt Weissner: 305-317. Wisbaden: Harrassowitz.

---

[163] The /k/ is affricated to /č/.

[164] The two synonymous verbs *itfaṭṭis* and *itmawwit* are used to add emphasis to the action.

[165] An exclamation expressing surprise.

Fox, Joshua. 1998. "Isolated nouns in the Semitic languages." *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 11: 1– 31.

Grigore, George. 2014. "The verb of perception *šāf* 'to see' in Baghdadi Arabic." *Romano-Arabica* 14: 139-147.

Hassan, Qasim. 2015. "Concerning some negative markers in south Iraqi Arabic." *Proceedings of the 11th Conference of AIDA (2015) University of Bucharest*: 301-308. Bucharest: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti.

Hassan, Qasim. 2016. "The grammaticalization of the modal particles in South Iraqi Arabic." *Romano-Arabica* 16 ("Modalities in Arabic"): 45-55.

Hassan, Qasim. 2017a. "On the synonymous repetition of greeting questions in South Iraqi Arabic: A Sociopragmatic Study." The international scientific conference: *Oriental Studies – yesterday, today, tomorrow.* University of Belgrade, Department of Oriental Studies: 129-136.

Hassan, Qasim. 2017b. "Exploring the Conventionalized Directional Greetings with 'Where?' in the Southeastern Gilit Dialects Area." In: *Studies on Arabic Dialectology and Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference of AIDA held in Marseille from 30th May- 2nd June 2017* [online]. Aix-en-Provence: Institut de recherches et d'études sur les mondes arabes et musulmans.

Hassan, Qasim. 2020a. "Reconsidering the Lexical Features of the south-Mesopotamian Dialects." *Folia Orientalia* 57: 183-193.

Hassan, Qasim. 2020b. "The Geographic Distribution of the Verbs for Seeing and Looking in Iraqi Arabic." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 110: 165-185.

Hassan, Qasim. 2021a. "New Insights on Infixed –an(n)- in Iraqi-Arabic Dialects. *Kervan* 25/2: 195-206.

Hassan, Qasim. 2021b. "Phonological evidence for the division of the *gələt* dialects of Iraq into *šrūgi* and non-*šrūgi*." *Kervan* 25: 51-61.

Hassan, Qasim. 2022a. "The Qəltu Dialect of Al-Dōr." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 67/2: 607-625.

Hassan, Qasim. 2022b. "The Arabic Dialect of Kbēse: An Oasis Dialect in Western Iraq." *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 76/2: 37-57.

Hassan, Qasim. 2023a. "On negation with the bipartite constructions ʕēb-(v/v:)š and mā-(v/v:)š in Šrūgi Arabic." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 68/2: 665-678.

Hassan, Qasim. 2023b. "The Christian Arabic dialect of Mērgī." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 68/1: 1-24.

Hassan, Qasim. Forthcoming. "Exploring the tribal terms in Šrūgi area." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 114.

Holes, Clive. 2001. *Dialect, Culture and Society in Eastern Arabia* 1: *Glossary*. Leiden: Brill.

Holes, Clive. 2006. Kuwaiti Arabic. In: K. Versteegh et al. (eds.). *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, vol. 2, (Leiden-Boston: Brill) 608-620.

Holes, Clive. 2016. '*Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia*, vol. 3: *Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Style*. Leiden: Brill.

Ingham, Bruce. 1973. "Urban and Rural Arabic in Khuzestan." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 36/3: 533-55.

Ingham, Bruce. 1976. "Regional and Social Factors in the Dialect Geography of Southern Iraq and Khuzestan." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39/1: 62-82.

Ingham, Bruce. 1982. *North East Arabian Dialects.* London: Kegan Paul.

Ingham, Bruce. 2000. 'The Dialect of the Miʕdān or "Marsh Arabs"'. In: *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of AIDA: Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe: Held at Malta, 29 March–2 April 1998*, edited by Manwel Mifsud, 125–130. Malta: Salesian Press.

Ingham, Bruce. 2007. "The Arabic dialect of Khuzestan." In: *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics,* Vol. 2, edited by Kees Versteegh, 571–578. Leiden. Brill.

Ingham, Bruce. 2009. "The dialect of the Euphrates Bedouin. A fringe Mesopotamian dialect." In: Arabic Dialectology: in Honor of Clive Holes on his Sixtieth Birthday, edited by Enam Al-Wer and Rudolf de Jong, Rudolf, 99-108. Leiden: Brill.

Jastrow, Otto. 1981. *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen qəltu-Dialekte: Bd. II, Volkskundliche Texte in elf Dialekten.* Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Jastrow, Otto. 1990. *Der Arabische Dialekt der Juden von ʿAqra und Arbīl.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jastrow, Otto. 2006. "Iraq." In: *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 2, edited by Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich and Andrzej Zaborski, 414-423. Leiden: Brill.

Jastrow, Otto. 2011. "Anatolian Arabic." In: *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics.* Managing Editors Online Edition: Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong, 87-96. Leiden: Brill.

Khuri, Fuad. 1970. "Parallel cousin Marriage reconsidered: a Middle Eastern practice that nullifies the effects of marriage on the intensity of family relationships." *Man* 5: 597-618.

Krotkoff, Georg. 1972. "Bagdader Studien." In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 122: 66-90.

Leitner, Bettina and Stephan Procházka. 2021. "The Polyfunctional Lexeme /Fard/ in the Arabic Dialects of Iraq and Khuzestan: More than an Indefinite Article." *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics* 13: 1–44.

Meissner, Bruno. 1903a. "Neuarabische Geschichten aus dem Iraq." *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 5: 1–148.

Meissner, Bruno. 1903b. "Zu den geographischen Eigennamen des südlichen Iraqs." *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* 7: 286–288.

Prochazka, Stephan. 2000. "Über einige rätselhalfte Formen auf -[è]n in den arabischen Dialekten." *Oriente Moderno* 19: 99–109.

Prochazka, Stephan. 2018. "The Northern Fertile Crescent." In: *Arabic Historical Dialectology: Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Approaches,* edited by Clive Holes, 256-291. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sadok, Masliyah. 1997. "The Diminutive in Spoken Iraqi Arabic." *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 33: 68–88.

Sadok, Masliyah. 1998. "Abu and Umm in the Iraqi Dialect." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 1: 113–129.

Sadok, Masliyah. 2001. "Curses and insults in Iraqi Arabic." *Journal of Semitic studies* 46/2: 267-308.

Salim, Shakir Mostafa.1955. *Ech-Chibayish: An Anthropological Study of a Marsh Arab village in Iraq.* London: University of London.

Steingass, Francis Joseph. 1892. *A Comprehensive Persian-English dictionary, including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature.* London: Routledge & K. Paul.

Thesiger, Wilfred. 1967. "The Marsh Arabs of Iraq." *Geographical Magazine* 27: 138–144.

Westphal-Helbusch, Siegrid and Heinz Westphal. 1962. *Die Miˤdān: Kultur und Geschichte der Marschenaraber im Süd-Iraq.* Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt.

Zaborski, Andrzej. 2011. "Somali." In: *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics.* Managing Editors Online Edition: Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong, 272-275. Leiden: Brill.

———————————————

Qasim Hassan holds a PhD in General Linguistics from the University of Wuppertal. He is currently a member of the College of Arts at the University of Basra. His major interests lay in Arabic linguistics and Iraqi Arabic dialectology. He published numerous papers in journals and conference proceedings.

Qasim can be reached at: q558288@gmail.com