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# FEMALE ISSUES IN ARABIC DIALECTS: WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS RELATED TO THE FEMALE BODY AND REPRODUCTION

ASUNTOS FEMENINOS EN ÁRABE DIALECTAL:
PALABRAS Y EXPRESIONES RELACIONADAS CON EL CUERPO FEMENINO Y LA REPRODUCCIÓN

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# Abstract

The article on comparative Arabic lexicography includes an analysis of semantic fields specific to "women's issues" as well as a comprehensive list of lexical items on more than thirty Arabic dialects provided by our contributors.

#### Resumen

Este artículo sobre lexicografía árabe comparada incluye el análisis de algunos campos semánticos específicos de los "asuntos femeninos" además de una lista de

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<sup>\*</sup> This article owes much to our contributors who provided us so readily with their knowledge in their respective fields of expertise. We would like to thank them all for their collaboration and their efforts in this project. Without their contributions the present study could not have been carried out. The individual researchers are responsible for the information they provided from their respective geographical regions of study (given in the Appendix). However, we alone are responsible for any errors in the linguistic and cultural interpretation of the information we have received.

términos sobre el tema en más de treinta dialectos árabes, provistos por los.autores que han contribuido.

**Keywords**: Arabic dialects, comparative dialectology, lexicography, gender studies.

Palabras clave: dialectos árabes, dialectología comparada, lexicografía, estudios de género.

For many decades Arabic dialectology has been dominated by male researchers who normally had no or only very limited access to the milieu of women in Middle Eastern and North African societies. Thus "women's words" are usually underrepresented in most glossaries and dictionaries of vernacular Arabic, the authors of which are almost exclusively men<sup>1</sup>. For the same reasons "women's issues" are rarely found in text collections<sup>2</sup>.

This article is a first attempt to rectify this imbalance. It is one production of a two-year project called "Women's World – Women's Word" that has been carried out by a team of thirteen researchers from Austria, France, and Spain<sup>3</sup>.

The focus of our article is on words and expressions which are normally used by women when talking among themselves about matters closely related to the female body and reproduction. The material is arranged according to eight semantic fields:

- Menstruation
- Virginity and defloration
- Pregnancy
- o Birth
- Breast-feeding
- o Barrenness and menopause
- Contraceptives
- Illegitimate pregnancy

As can be seen, sexual activity in the strict sense of the term (including expressions for the genitals) is omitted from this article. The reason is that our project is too small-scaled to handle its sociolinguistic complexity. There are huge differences in the diction concerning the sphere of sexuality not only between female and male speech, but also between the speech of the old and the young, and between the speech of the educated, the less educated, and the uneducated. More-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Among the very few exceptions are the dictionaries for Mauritanian and Sudanese Arabic compiled by Catherine Taine-Cheikh and by Arlette Roth-Laly.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> From the few can be cited: Rosina-Fawzia B. Al-Rawi: *Studien zum Arabischen Dialekt von Abū Daby.* Heidelberg: J. Groos, 1990 (esp. 137ff.); Clive Holes: *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia.* II: *Ethnographic Texts.* Leiden: Brill 2005 (esp. 223ff.); Peter Behnstedt Manfred Woidich: *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte.* Vol. 3, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1988 (esp. 424ff.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. http://www.univie.ac.at/arabic-gender-linguistics/

over, the innumerable vulgarisms related to this field of speech<sup>4</sup> would have required much more time and a much larger research team (both female and male) than was available.

In spite of our restriction to a rather small field of the lexicon, we are convinced that studies like the present article are important for Arabic lexicography. The main reason why the lexicography of Arabic is, when compared to other philologies, underdeveloped is the lack of special studies devoted to special areas of the lexicon. This is true for the Classical language, and even truer for Arabic dialects: specialized lexical studies have seldom been done for single dialects, and comparative lexical studies are almost nonexistent<sup>5</sup>. If a comprehensive dictionary of Arabic dialects is ever attempted, well-focused comparative studies like the present will be important sources for it.

This study is mainly based on the data given in the Appendix. It was collected by a large team of dialectologists, all experienced in fieldwork. In only a few cases have we drawn from material in previous publications<sup>6</sup>. We are aware of the short-comings resulting from this restriction; but a systematic survey of the relevant works in all Arabic dialects would have been beyond the capacities of the authors and collaborators. Thus it must also be admitted that the material collected for this article is far from complete. Our material is rather unevenly distributed geographically: for example, it does not cover the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula except that of the Yemeni capital Sanaa. Eastern Bedouin and even village dialects are especially underrepresented – though for other regions, especially Morocco, we present abundant material.

As it is evident from the Appendix, there are not a few lacunae because not all the contributors provided information in every one of our eight semantic fields. Another problem is that sociolinguistic parameters have not been available for all the regions covered. But from those areas where we do know them (e.g. Cairo), it becomes clear that, in many of the domains discussed here, education in particular plays an important role with regard to the use of words. Another point is that, for many of the subjects in question, the use of a certain word or phrase is often determined by the sex of the spreaker. For example, a woman will certainly use different words regarding her menstruation when talking with another woman than when talking with a male member of her family. And many words considered as taboo will often be alluded to euphemistically. Many sociolinguistic details of this kind have not been treated by all of our collaborators, which regrettably diminishes the value of this study. But we would again emphasize that this study is only intended to be a first step toward a better understanding of women's issues in Arabic

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  See for example the list for the Maṛāzīg in Ritt 2004 and the overview given by Shivtiel in EALL IV, s.v. 'Taboo'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A first, but very important step, will be the publication of the *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte* by Peter Behnstedt and Manfred Woidich, the first volume of which is scheduled to be released in December 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> E.g. an article on euphemisms by William Marçais (Marçais 1955).

dialects, an area which will hopefully attract the attention of more scholars in the future.

### Important remarks

The term Old Arabic (abbreviated OA) indicates words which are attested for in older layers of Arabic. Hence the term as used by us is not only restricted to words belonging to the pre-Classical language, but includes words which were coined during the period of Classical Arabic. We regard as loans from Standard Arabic (SA) those words which were taken from the Standard Language, including both so-called classicisms and neologisms<sup>7</sup>. To avoid the trivial cataloguing of slight variants of dialectal words we have used /.../to indicate the basic form (sometimes inferred and not attested) from which the dialectal variants can be deduced through phonological rules<sup>8</sup>.

We have only sporadically crosschecked our material with existing dictionaries of vernacular Arabic, and mostly just in the case of unusual or particularly interesting words. Transcriptions are normalized wherever possible. They are more or less consistent with regard to consonants; but for vowels we often followed the transcription given by the collaborator in question since strict normalization here could have led to erroneous results.

It is not our intention in the following sections to analyze all the words in the Appendix at the end of this article. Our intention is simply to show similarities and differences, to point out the geographical spread of certain roots and words, and the like. Therefore not every single word is explained, and the *List of Words* is an integral part of this paper. The List also demonstrates that there is usually more than one word for each lemma, variously reflecting vulgar, polite, educated, and/or scientific (especially medical) usage.

## 1. Menstruation

Many different terms are found in the Arabic dialects for 'menstruation', among them SA words, foreign words, and dialectal words. As in other semantic fields, the choice of words depends on the age and education of the speaker. The term /al-'āda/'the habit, the custom' is sometimes combined with the adjective /aš-šahriyya/'monthly' and found from Morocco in the West to Yemen in the East. Another common term for 'menstruation' is /ad-dawra (aš-šahriyya)/ 'the (monthly) turn, cycle', which can be considered a loan from SA9 because in the majority of the dialects the diphthong aw is not subject to monophthongisation when the word is used to mean 'menstruation'. In contrast to dawra, the term /ḥayd/ 'menstruation' seems to be purely dialectal<sup>10</sup>, reflecting its OA counterpart. In the Sudan it is used in rural regions and in Cairo by lower classes only. We find ḥēḍ in the dialects of

 $<sup>^7</sup>$  An example of a classicism is 'udriyya 'virginity', and of a neologism man' al-ḥaml 'contraception'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For example, the expression  $/g\bar{a}$ 'at/'she came', can stand for gat, žat, žāt, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> It seems to be a rather recent neologism which is not found in Wehr 1979 (also not in the German edition of 1985).

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  Shown for instance by the monophthongisation of ay to  $\bar{e}$ .

Damascus, Jerusalem, Algiers, and Morocco. In some of the Moroccon dialects, and among the Maṛāzīg in southern Tunisia, it is supplied with the feminine ending: *I-ḥayḍa* or *iI-ḥēḍa*. Like *dawra*, the word /tamt/ for 'menstruation' seems to be a loanword from SA and is attested only for Damascus and Tripolis. The use of /dam/ 'blood' for 'menstruation' is heard in various Moroccan dialects. The menses is so closely associated with womanhood that words like /dam/, which in normal usage are grammatically masculine, become feminine when denoting the menses – for example žāt-ni əd-dəmm in Errachidiya and Marrakesh<sup>11</sup>. The word damm for 'menstruation' is also combined with prepositions like 'alā and fī (for instance in Cairo and Khartoum) for expressing 'she is menstruating': e.g. 'alēha d-damm heard in Cairo.

Various <code>idafa</code>-constructions with <code>šahr</code> 'month' as nomen rectum can be found in the dialects. One of these, <code>/haqq aš-šahr/</code> 'belonging to (every) month', is, among the Eastern dialects, only documented for Sanaa; but we hear it also on the opposite edge of the Arab World, in Morocco. <code>/bint aš-šahr/</code> 'the daughter of the month' is found only in Algerian dialects. And <code>/tarīq aš-šahr/</code> 'the road of the month' is only recorded for Tunis. In southern Tunisia we find <code>/tarīq/</code> without 'month' for 'menstruation'.

The negative associations of menstruation are expressed in these three phrases from Chaouen in Morocco:  $fiha\ hu\check{s}$  'she has an annoying thing'<sup>13</sup>;  $fiha\ d\bar{i}c$  ol-hamm 'she has that distress'; and  $\check{z}\bar{a}\underline{t}a\ d\bar{i}c$   $z-zm\bar{a}s$  'she has that disagreeable thing'<sup>14</sup>.

/ma'dūra/ 'excused (from praying, fasting)' is used in Sanaa, Damascus, and Jerusalem<sup>15</sup>. In some places a fictitious visit of the maternal aunt or maternal uncle serves as the "excuse": thus in Sanaa axwālha 'her maternal uncles' and in Morocco xālti 'my maternal aunt' are chiffres for 'menstruation' 16. When a woman

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cf. the analogous development in the word  $h\bar{e}\partial a$  above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See W. Marçais 1955:357: taġsel utúnšur 'elle lave et étend (ses linges)', i.e. 'elle est pubère et réglée'; ma-zālet ma-ġáslet 'elle n'a pas encore lavé', i.e. 'elle n'est pas encore pubère'; elġásla šaddétha múdda-ṭwīla 'le lavage l'a retenue longtemps', i.e. 'ses règles ont duré longtemps'; tqáṭ'et "līha-lġásla 'le lavage a pris fin pour elle', i.e. 'elle a dépassé la ménopause'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> huš is normally used to shoo away flies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Compare with Colin 1993-94, III, 734: *zməṛ*: 'tout objet ou être sale, désagréable, gênant etc ... dont on parle avec colère et mépris et dont la présence est agaçante, énervante, irritante, indésirable parce que gênante et inutile; saleté, saloperie...'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The similar 'andi 'uzr' I have an excuse' is used in Cairo.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See also W. Marçais 1955:357 for Rabat: zāretha xāltha 'sa tante maternelle l'a visitée'.

in Galilee says *xālti 'indi* 'my aunt is with me' it means that she is menstruating. In Damascus it is not the aunt that comes for a visit but her daughter. The phrase *je suis occupée* 'I am busy' used in Errachidiya for 'menstruation' parallels the Cairene 'ana marfū'a mu'aqqatan min al-xidma, lit.: 'I am temporarily out of service' (an allusion to the well-known recorded message of telephone companies: p.c. Gabriel Rosenbaum).

The pain of menstruation is alluded to in the *I-marḍ* lit. 'illness' of Morocco (Sadiqi 2003:82) and the *mrīḍa* lit. 'sick' of Tunis. If the term ṣāxne used in Beirut expresses the meaning given for form I. by Barthélemy 337 for central Syria – 'tomber malade' – it fits this category as well. In Marrakesh *fīyya I-ūža'* is used, which simply means 'I have pain' 17. In Cairo one expression for 'menstruation' is 'andi ḍ-ḍahr' I have back pain' 18. In Baghdad āni hassa naksa is used, which means 'I am currently weak and sick'.

The English word *period* is documented for Jerusalem, for Malta, and for the upper class of Cairo (where it is grammatically feminine). The acronym *tom* for 'time of month' is found only in Cairo. The French word *règle(s)* for 'menstruation' is used in Cairo, Beirut, and many North African cities. In northern Morocco we also find the Spanish *la regla*.

In the Moroccan towns of Oujda and Safi a figure of literature, *Madame Bovary*, and one of comics, *Madame Rouge*, are used to designate 'menstruation'. Another unique term is *bayt al-aḥmar* lit. 'the red house' heard in Sanaa<sup>19</sup>.

**Menstrual blood**: There is no distinct word for 'menstrual blood': it is either simply called /ad-dam/ 'the blood'; or /dam/ 'blood' is combined with the locally-common term for 'menstruation' in an  $id\bar{a}fa$ -construction. In Tunis one hears xasla hamra lit. 'a red wash' (from the root g-s-1 'to wash')<sup>20</sup>, and in Cairo simply eks ('X')<sup>21</sup>. Our collaborator for Tolga and Sidi Aïssa cites  $bant \check{s}-\check{s}har$  'the daughter of the month' for both 'menstruation' and 'menstrual blood'.

**'She is menstruating'** is expressed by verbs like  $/g\bar{a}$ 'at/'it came' (followed by a direct or indirect object) combined with the locally appropriate term for 'menstruation' as subject. Elliptic constructions containing only the verb  $/g\bar{a}$ 'at/ or its active participle + direct or indirect suffix suffice to express 'her period started':

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Also Mosul: *wəğ'āni* 'hurting'.

 $<sup>^{18}</sup>$  W. Marçais 1955:357 gives  $^{\it e}$  Iīha <code>ð</code>háṛha 'son dos s'impose à elle' for Tunisia as a euphemism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Sometimes in Cairo 'menstruation' is alluded to with *il-farawla gat* 'the strawberries came'. In Casablanca the feminine form of 'red', *ḥamṛa*, denotes 'menstruation' – for instance in '*Iī-ha I-ḥamṛa* 'she has her period'. In Errachidiya we find *fī-ya ət-təḥmēṛa* for 'I have my period'; and Colin gives *I-lḥam u-māṭēša* 'meat and tomatoes' for 'les menstrues' (Colin 1993-94, VII, 1844).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See Marçais Guîga 1958-61:2820: ġasla 'un lavage'; euphémistiquement avec valeur de terme générique 'menstrues'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> In Alexandria is said *ma'āya l-'igz* 'I have my period'; and in Cairo *'alēha l-eks'* 'she is having her period' (lit.: 'she is marked by x'). Hinds/Badawi 1986:29 gives *'iks'* [*euphem*] menses'. Perhaps the *x* is an abbreviation of the English word 'excuse'.

e.g. in Beirut  $\check{z}\bar{e}y ota$  'it came to her', with similar constructions heard in 'Isifya, Jerusalem, Mosul, and Errachidiya ( $\check{z}\bar{a}t$ -ni 'it came to me'). In the Moroccan dialects one hears  $h\bar{a}d\bar{i}k$  'that one' – as in the Errachidiyan  $\check{z}\bar{a}t$ -ni  $h\bar{a}d\bar{i}k$  'that one arrived to me'<sup>22</sup>. The prepositions 'alā, ma'a (Beirut), fī (especially in Moroccan and rural-central Sudanese dialects), and 'ind are suffixed with pronouns and express 'I, she has' – e.g. 'alēha l-'āda' 'she is menstruating'. In Maltese the phrase  $qed\ tara\ (scil.\ d\text{-}demm)$  'she is seeing (the blood)' is in use.

A woman's period is also alluded to by indicating that she is not praying or fasting during the month of Ramadan. An example from Sanaa is  $m\bar{a}$  'alayya ṣala/ṣiyām 'I am not praying/fasting', and from Baghdad  $m\bar{a}$  'indi ṣala 'I don't pray'<sup>23</sup>.

The term documented for Jerusalem, m'ayyde, is most probably an irregular derivative of the root '-w-d and hence related to il-' $\bar{a}de$  'the period'. The medial yy was probably chosen to differentiate this word from m'awwde 'to have got used to'.

Today the most-used **sanitary towels** in the Arab world are modern name-brands. The most popular used from Morocco to Yemen, is  $^{\text{TM}}AIways$ , the name of which shows different degrees of integration into the various dialects. In Ceuta, for instance, it is pronounced  $\bar{o}Iw\bar{e}y\bar{s}$ . Other brand-names are  $I\bar{u}Ii$  (Cairo), modes (Khartoum, Sanaa:  $m\bar{u}d\bar{i}s$ ),  $r\bar{i}bi$  (Mauritania), and fams (Morocco). The brand-name most used in speech depends on the age of the woman: in Beirut aIways is said by the younger generation, whereas koteks, perhaps from having been on the market longer, is used by the older generation.  $^{\text{TM}}Kotex$  is also fairly wide-spread, being heard in Sanaa and Baghdad as well as in Beirut.

The English word *pad* is found in Cairo, and the French word *bande* in Algeria. In Galilee we hear the Hebrew *taxbošet* 'bandage'. Arabic */šarīṭ/* lit. 'band, strip' is documented for Fes only.

The piece of cloth traditionally used as a sanitary towel is what is meant by *fūṭa* or *fūṭa ṣiḥḥiyya*, used for 'sanitary napkin' all over the Arab World. However, in the Maghrib the French word for 'napkin' *serviette* seems to be preferred (Mauritania, Tunis). In Morocco we hear the French *couche(s)* 'diaper, nappy', and *torchon* 'cloth, rag'. Reflexes of OA *xirqa* meaning 'cloth, rag' are used in the dialects of Sanaa, Baghdad (alongside *wuṣaḥ*), and various parts of Morocco. Reflexes of OA *ruq'a* expressing 'patch, piece of cloth' are found in Chaouen and Anjra. Regionally restricted terms are *əz-zīf* <sup>24</sup> meaning 'rag, cloth' in Marrakesh, *šwaləq* <sup>25</sup> with a similar meaning in Sidi Aïssa, and *šərwāta*, which seems to correspond to the word *šəṛwēṭa* given by Colin 1993-94, IV, 938, in Casablanca.

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$  See also W. Marçais 1955:342 who gives for Algeria: 'ándha-hādūk' 'elle a ceux-là', i.e. 'elle a ses menstrues'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> W. Marçais 1955:357 gives hurmet (ou harmān)-eṣṣlā 'l'interdiction de la prière' as a euphemism for menstruation in Tunisia and southern Algeria.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Cf. de Premare 1993-99, V, 444 'torchon, nappe, mouchoir'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> In de Premare 1993-99, VII, 167 *šəllōqa* and *šəllīq* with the meaning 'chiffon, loque' can be found. Possibly *šwaləq* is their plural form.

Reflexes of /qutn/ 'cotton padding', documented for Khartoum, Galilee, and Mosul, denote the material used in sanitary towels. In Tripolis (Libya) the SA word nisā'i 'women's' is added to stress the meaning more clearly. /kattān/, which literally means 'linen', denotes 'sanitary towel' in Tadla and other places. tarf 'piece of cloth' is documented for Tunis. The task sanitary towels perform, protection, is alluded to by words composed of the root h-f-z – for instance hutād of in Cairo and hitāzāt, used by rural speakers in the Sudan<sup>27</sup>.

According to many of our informants, **tampons** are used by very few women; consequently there are few terms for this item in the Arabic dialects. Nevertheless the French English word *tampon* is sometimes heard. The terms  $\dot{g}l\bar{a}q$  and  $\dot{g}oll\bar{a}qa$ , from the root 'to close', are documented for Ceuta<sup>28</sup>, as well as  $\dot{g}att\bar{a}s$  (lit. 'diver'). In Malta the English is used for both 'sanitary napkin' and 'tampon'.

## 2. Virginity and defloration

In spite of the high esteem in which virginity is held in Arab society, the abstract noun 'virginity' seems to be rarely used in everyday speech. Reflexes of *bikāra* and *'udriyya* are attested for some urban dialects; but they are most likely loans from SA and are restricted to the speech of the educated. The same is true of 'hymen', for which no special term seems to be used in the great majority of the dialects.

For the most part the term used for 'virgin' is the same as the word for 'girl' – i.e. reflexes of OA *bint* or words closely related to it, such as *bnayya* in Baghdad and *bnīta* in Chaouen. However, in a couple of dialects additional words are used to specify 'virgin girl', like *bitt fatā* in the Sudanese dialects and */bint bunūt/* in Cairo, Beirut, and Jerusalem. The latter phrase consists of the word *bint* and a cognate which looks like its plural form but the use of which is restricted to this phrase only<sup>29</sup>.

Characteristic of Tunisian dialects are reflexes of the OA word *ṣabiyya*, which also means 'young girl'; for example, the south Tunisian *ṣūbiyya*. The same approach most probably underlies the term *ṣġiṛa*, literally 'young, small', found in the Algerian dialects of Tolga and Sidi Aïssa. In Maltese the word *tfajla* 'girl' is usually further specified by the Italian loanword *verġni*.

Typically Moroccan for 'virgin' (but also found in Mauritania) are words derived from the root  $^{c}$ -z-b meaning 'single, unmarried'  $^{30}$ .

Reflexes of the OA *bikr* 'virgin' are found in various, particularly urban, dialects from Iraq to Algeria. We suppose that this word has entered the dialects via Standard Arabic like those words derived from the root '- $\underline{d}$ -r which normally exhibit the shift  $\underline{d} > z$  typical for loans from SA.

The word <u>rabā</u>'iyye, attested for Kordofan, is perhaps connected to 'arba' four'. It recalls two terms heard in Sudanese dialects: <u>rubā</u>' child of four or five or six

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Also in Hinds/Badawi 1986:213 it is given with the meaning 'sanitary napkin'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Compare to SA *ḥifāz al-ḥayḍ* 'sanitary napkin' (Wehr 1979, p. 221).

 $<sup>^{28}</sup>$   $\dot{g}l\bar{a}q$  is found in Colin 1993-94, VI, 1397 with the meaning 'tout ce qui sert à boucher ou à fermer; fermeture'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Cf. Hinds/Badawi 1986:105; not in Barthélemy 1935-1969.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Colin 1993-94, V, 1258.

spans height', and *murābi'ye* 'girl of four spans' (Roth-Laly 1969:183). But it is also possible that it is related to Upper Egyptian *rib'iyye* 'young lamb or kid' (Behnstedt/Woidich 1994:155).

The Algerian ' $\bar{a}tqa$  might seem inappropriate, given that it is derived from the root '-t-q 'old'. However, it denotes a girl who is an actual adolescent and no longer a mere child – as in the Moroccan ' $\bar{a}taq$  'fille nubile, adolescene, bonne à marier; jeune fille vierge (de 14 à 16 ans)'<sup>31</sup>.

The term  $m ext{-}sd\bar{u}da$ , found in the archaic urban Moroccan dialects of Fes and Sefrou, is clearly related to the root s-d-d 'to close'<sup>32</sup> and thus is the antithetical counterpart of h-l-l 'to open', which is used in these two dialects with regard to defloration.

The French word *vierge* is also widely used among educated people in many, especially urban, dialects of the Maghrib.

In Arab society a woman who has lost her virginity is normally assumed to be married, and thus called /mar'a/, /hurma/, etc. Other expressions designating a woman who is no longer a virgin are most often vulgar and used primarily by men when speaking about unmarried non-virgins, or words which allude to the loss of honour accompanying the loss of virginity outside matrimony. (See below 'Blood of defloration')

Unfortunately we do not have information for all regions of the Arab world, but it is obvious that in at least a few dialects the expression for 'deflowering' depends on the circumstances, whether an illegitimate liaison<sup>33</sup> or the actual consummation of a marriage. The word used to denote a girl or woman who has been deflowered is almost exclusively a passive participle, mostly derived from a root meaning 'to open', 'to pierce', 'to bore'.

The Eastern dialects are relatively homogenous in their term for 'defloration': in most areas /maftūha/'opened' is used. Only in Iraq is /manqūba/'pierced' heard.

Many different lexemes are reported for 'defloration' in the Maghribinian dialects and there are often three or more words used for it in one single dialect. As has been mentioned, the connection with 'opening' through the word  $mahl\bar{u}la$  is found in the urban Moroccan dialects of Fes and Sefrou. Much more widespread are roots bearing the actual meaning of 'piercing' – for instance the passive participles of x-r-q, q-r-r and t-q-b in Algeria and Moroccan dialects. Other roots used in the context of 'deflowered' are the passive voice of x-s-r 'destroyed' (muxassara)' in Algeria and Morocco, and k-s-r 'broken' (mukassara)' in Algeria and Tunisia. In Marrakesh and other Moroccan dialects msarrha 'unblocked' is common. The verb sarrah also has the meaning 'to let free' and most probably this term is related to OA musarraha 'woman dismissed by divorce' because a divorced woman is usually not a virgin. The word msarraha attested for Chaouen in

Com 1993-94, V, 1227.

<sup>31</sup> Colin 1993-94, V, 1227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Cf. de Premare 1993-99, VI, 59: *məsdūd* 'fermé, clos'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> We did not include words for 'raping' into our list.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Cf. de Premare 1993-99, VI, 67.

northern Morocco goes back to the verb *fsəd* meaning 'to become bad' and is related to *fāsda* 'femme de mauvaise vie' 35.

The legitimate consummation of the marriage on the wedding night is most commonly and politely referred to by the phrase /daxal 'alayhā / 'he entered her', which is widely used over the whole area from Baghdad to Ceuta. The phrase /fataḥhā/ 'he opened her' is well attested for Syro-Palestinian dialects and the Sudan, but only occasionally found in the West. 'To break (open)' is used among the Maṛāzīg of Tunisia (kaṣṣaṛha) and, with the verb /faḍḍ/, in Cairo and Khartoum³6. Other words with similar semantic implications are /xazaq/ 'to tear, rip up' (Sanaa, Jerusalem³7) and naqaba 'he pierced her' (Mosul).

In a couple of urban Moroccan dialects one finds the form II verb *hanna* which seems to be a reflex of OA *hanna'a* 'to make happy'<sup>38</sup>. A similar idea is found in *ziyyən bī-ha* (Casablanca) which literally means 'he made her beautiful'<sup>39</sup>.

Not all dialects investigated by us exhibit special terms for the 'blood of defloration', but terms such as the rural Egyptian *damm iš-šaraf* 'blood of honour' and the San'ani *nāmūs* 'honour' clearly show the underlying social (and religious) concepts<sup>40</sup>. In some regions, such as Yemen and the Maghrib, the word /aṣ-ṣabāḥ/ 'morning' is found<sup>41</sup>. This can be explained by the widespread custom of presenting a bloody handkerchief or blanket as a proof of the bride's virginity the morning after the wedding.

 $^{36}$  In this context the verb fadd is probably a loan from SA because fadd a bakarataha is also very common in Standard Arabic.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Colin 1993-94, VI, 1462.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Barthélemy 1935-1969:201: xazaq 'déchirer, lacérer'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Outside Morocco this root is only found in the dialect of the Maṛāzīg, where *thannat* is a socially acceptable term for saying 'she has been deflowered'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Cf. de Premare 1993-99, V, 447f. W. Marçais 1955:366 gives many different euphemistic terms for 'deflowering' and 'being deflowered' for the Maghrib: *xdālha báxt-ṣbāha* 'lui prendre son bon lot de fille', and *naḥḥālha xtāmha* 'lui enlever son scellement' for Tunisia; *zāž <sup>®</sup>līha* 'il a passé sur elle' for southern Algeria; *rāḥ bīha* 'il l'a emmenée' for Rabat; *bātet* 'elle a (bien) passé la nuit', and *thannāt* 'elle a été mise en paix' ('i.e. trouvée vierge et plaisante par son mari') for Tunis; *ṣúbḥat* 'elle est (bien) arrivée au matin' for southern Tunisia; *záyyen bīha* 'il lui a fait les choses bien'. Consequently 'he deflowers her' is, according to W. Marçais 1955:366, *bayyétha, hannāha*, and *ṣabbāḥḥa*.

 $<sup>^{40}</sup>$  For non-nuptial defloration other terms are in use – such as the *d-dəmm d-əz-zīna* 'blood of adultery' of Ceuta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> See also W. Marçais 1955:366.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Cf. Marçais/Guîga 1958-61:2178.

## 3. Pregnancy

Equivalents of the abstract noun 'pregnancy' do exist in colloquial Arabic, but they are much less frequently used than the cognate verbs. Most common are reflexes of haml and habal only in urban Moroccan dialects are reflexes of hubāl(a) found.

In the majority of the dialects, 'becoming, being, and making pregnant' are expressed by words derived from the two roots *h-b-1* 'to be pregnant' and *h-m-1* 'to carry; to be pregnant', both already used with those same meanings in OA.

Reflexes of habila 'to become or be pregnant', hublā 'pregnant', and the form II verb habbala 'to make pregnant' prevail in the Eastern dialects. In the Maghrib they are found only in such pre-Hilālī urban vernaculars as those of Tunis, Ceuta, and Fes.

Reflexes of *ḥamala* and *ḥāmil*<sup>43</sup> are, particularly in the Eastern dialects, mostly found alongside words derived from the root h-b-1. Thus, for many dialects we can assume that the h-m-l words are (probably quite old) loans from SA - an assumption supported by (1) the use of /hamil/, which belongs to the class of unmarked feminine participles very rarely found in pure dialect, and (2) the observation by several of our collaborators that these words are mainly used by the educated and upper classes.

However, in a couple of Maghribinian, especially Moroccan, dialects one of the words for 'pregnant' is /hamila/, which exhibits the feminine ending and thus is more integrated into common dialectal word patterns.

Usually a form II verb, /hammal/ exists to denote 'making pregnant' in those dialects where /hāmil(a)/occurs.

The same semantic notion as h-m-l is expressed by the root  $\check{s}$ -v-l, which means 'to carry, to lift, to pick up' in many Eastern dialects<sup>44</sup>. Derivatives of this root, in particular the participle /sayla/, are found in the pregnancy vocabulary of Upper Egypt and the Sudan. Another verb denoting more or less the same semantic concept is /hazz/, used west of Libya for 'to lift, to pick up'45. In Moroccan dialects it mainly occurs in combination with words such as əl-kərš 'the belly'.

Words from the root *t-q-1* 'heavy',46 are found in a number of (mostly Bedouin) dialects from Upper Egypt in the east to Casablanca in the west. Since tqila 'pregnant' is also heard in Maltese, where taggalha is found in the sense of 'he made her pregnant', it can be suggested that in former times this root was more widespread than at present in the Maghribian dialects. In Classical Arabic taqulati 1-mar'atu is used with the meaning of 'the woman felt pregnant'<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> In SA the form II verb *ḥammala* is not attested in the sense of 'making pregnant'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Cf., for instance, Hinds/Badawi 1986:490.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Cf. Aguadé/Benyahia 2005:67. The same is true for the root r-f- $\frac{1}{2}$ , which is attested in pregnancy words only for the dialect of the Marāzīg (S-Tunisia):  $r\bar{a}fi^c$ ,  $r\bar{a}f^a$ ;  $rfa^c$  -  $yarfa^c$ . W. Marçais 1955:358 gives the following examples with the semantic meaning 'to carry': réfdet belkérš 'elle a fait portage de son ventre' for Algeria; and házzet ou ráf et beddnā 'elle a fait portage de postérité' for the Eastern Maghrib.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Cf. Latin gravida.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Wahrmund 1877, I, 384.

Occasionally words having the original meaning of 'weak' or 'tired' are also found to denote 'pregnant', e.g. 'ayyāna (root 'y-y) in Chaouen and among the Maṛāzīg of Tunisia<sup>48</sup>, and *qalbāne* in Kordofan. Only in Mauritania is pregnancy semantically connected to 'pain' – specifically through the root  $w-\check{g}$ -. This same root was (or still is?) found in the Moroccan  $m\bar{u}\check{z}\check{a}'a$  'woman in her last month's pregnancy' (Jouin 1953 with reference to Marrakesh, thus perhaps from an old Marrakesh dialect).

The opposite attitude toward the woman's experience of pregnancy is found in parts of the Levant – especially in the speech of the elderly, where /mustaqīma/means 'pregnant', the word being a loan from SA with the meaning 'in good, right condition'<sup>49</sup>..

In Middle Egypt *malāna* 'full' also means 'pregnant'<sup>50</sup>, and 'abba 'to fill' is used for 'making pregnant' not only in these dialects, but also among the Maṛāzīg, where the (vulgar) phrases 'abbā-lha baṭ'nha and *m¹lā-lha kar³šha*, 'he filled her belly for her', are heard. A similar idea is encountered in the word /nafax/, literally 'to blow up' used, for example in Beirut, hence *mänfūxa* for 'pregnant'. But both terms are regarded as rather vulgar.

A very interesting semantic shift is reported in the Yemeni dialects, where the "pregnancy words" are all derived from the root *w-ḥ-m*<sup>51</sup>. In Standard Arabic and many modern dialects (see below at the end of this section) this root designates the craving for particular foods commonly experienced by pregnant women. However, in the dialect of the north Moroccan town of Chaouen *mʁa mwaḥima* and *mḥalḥla bəl-ūḥam* are also used in the sense of 'to become pregnant', and in many Moroccan dialects *mwuḥima* denotes a woman pregnant in the first trimester during the period of food cravings<sup>52</sup>. This is probably yet another example of the well-known close relationship between the Yemeni dialects and those of the far West (Andalusia, Morocco)<sup>53</sup>.

In Damascus a newly married woman is asked *xabbēti šī*? 'Have you already hidden something (in your belly)?'.

In the Algerian dialects many expressions for 'becoming being pregnant' contain such words for belly as kərš and žūf: ṛā-hi b əl-kərš, ṛā-hi b əl-žawf/žūf; ṭāḥət b əl-žawf/žūf; rəfdət əl-kərš, rəfdət əl-zawf/žūf.

The idea of an unborn child who remains undeveloped for a period longer than the usual nine months (i.e. one, two years) in her/his mother's belly seems to exist

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> And, according to W. Marçais 1955:358, among the settled population of Tunisia as well.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> The only evidence for this special meaning in written Arabic is Wahrmund 1877, II, 540: *istaqāma* 'to be pregnant' (indicated as a neologism).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Compare the original meaning of the root *h-b-1* 'to be full'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Cf. also Behnstedt 1992-2006:1287.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Colin 1993-94, VIII, 2037f./de Premare 1993-99, 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Cf. Corriente 1989.

only in North Africa and Sudan. In this situation the unborn infant is almost everywhere said to be  $r\bar{a}qid/$  'sleeping'.

As was mentioned, the craving for certain foods during pregnancy is most often denoted by reflexes of waham/wiham. A form V verb derived from the same root exists in many dialects.

## 4. Birth

Words of the root *w-l-d* are dominant in the majority of the dialects for 'birth' and, especially, 'giving birth, to bear'. In many regions lexemes derived from this well-known root are found side by side with the other roots discussed below.

Reflexes of *wilāda* 'birth' are mainly found in the East. In the Maghribinian dialects it seems that the noun 'birth' is attested only for a few urban dialects, such as those of Chaouen and Ceuta.

In most dialects the corresponding verb is of form I, thus a reflex of OA waladat/talidu. Exceptions to this are found in Syria and Lebanon, where form II verbs are used – such as wällädit in Beirut. This can be explained by the common tendency of these dialects to use form II verbs for roots with an initial  $w^{54}$ . This explanation of course does not fit Maltese, where the form II verb welldet is used too<sup>55</sup>. Perhaps the causative stem of the root w-l-d can be explained by the influence of European languages, such as the English 'to bring forth a child'.

A characteristic of Syro-Palestinian and some Egyptian dialects<sup>56</sup> is the use of verbs derived from the root x-I-f, the original meaning of which is 'to beget/bear offsprings'. But the cognate noun /xilfa/ is used in only a few dialects to denote 'birth'.

The very same dialects which have /xallafat/ also use the verb / $\S abat$ / 'to bring'. In addition to Syro-Palestinian and some Egyptian dialects, this verb is also typically heard in Iraqi dialects<sup>57</sup>. It is probably also used in Maghribinian dialects (although not much attested in our list apart from the Tunisian Maṛāzīg and Tripolis)<sup>58</sup>.

/ǧābat/ corresponds to the English 'to deliver/to give birth to (a child)', and thus is often combined with a direct object, as in /ǧābat walad, bint, ṣaby/ 'she gave birth to a child; girl, boy'<sup>59</sup>. The only example of a noun derived from this root is the Baghdadi and Maslāwi ǧēbūba/ǧēbūbi 'delivery, birth'.

The root *n-f-s* (see also below), which is also attested in OA in the sense of 'having born' (*nafisat*), is found in the Sudan and in two archaic Bedouin dialects of the Maghrib, those of the Maṛāzīg and in Ḥassāniyya. It is reported for Chaouen as well.

<sup>57</sup> In the West, for example Algiers, it is also used for miscarriage.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Damascus wa"af 'to stop' (trans. and intr.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> For *wildet* cf. Aquilina 1987-1990:1533.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Cf. also Behnstedt/Woidich 1994:120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> It is, however, found for Tunisia in Marçais/Guîga 1958-61:697 and for Morocco in Colin 1993-94, II, 270: *žābət* 'mettre au monde, enfanter'.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 59}$  The negated form is used to express 'barrenness'.

In a couple of the dialects of the central Maghrib we come across the root z-y-d 'to increase, augment', which generates both verbs (zayyad,  $z\bar{a}d$ ) and nouns ( $zy\bar{a}da$ ). The nouns are more widespread than the verbs, being heard even in Morocco.

All other roots seem to be of local usage as they are attested for in only one or two dialects.

In Baghdadi Arabic the verb 'to throw' for 'giving birth' is found in the phrase *dabbat* (*ǧāhil*). An interesting word is *brāt*, the word for 'to bear' used by the younger generation in Mauritania. Its actual meaning is 'to create'.

In Kordofan  $xil\bar{a}sa$  is used for 'birth'. The root x-l-s actually means 'to accomplish, complete'.

# Premature delivery

In most dialects 'premature delivery' is expressed by the phrase 'she delivered before her time'. Examples are *ǧābət qabəl waqta* in Mosul, *walladet 'ab'l wa''ta* in Damascus, *wuldət qbal il-waqt* in Tunis, *wəldəţu qbəl šăhru* in Ceuta, and *twelid qabel iż-żmien* in Malta. In the Sudan the participle */nāqiṣ/* 'deficient' is used instead of 'before her time'.

In many dialects pre-term birth is expressed by phrases that include the word sab'a 'seven' (though such terms are not restricted to deliveries during the seventh month). In the dialect of Damascus the form II verb sabba'et 'she had a pre-term delivery' is derived from this root.

## Miscarriage and abortion

Words for 'miscarriage' are generally derived from roots meaning 'to (let) fall' and 'to throw'. The root *s-q-t* prevails in the urban dialects of Egypt, Sudan, and Yemen, but is also reported for northwest Morocco. In the latter region, as well as in Cairo, a form I verb is used which, in this case, clearly reflects Old Arabic form IV – which is actually heard in Sanaa.

The root  $\underline{t}$ -y- $\underline{h}$  'to fall' is used in many Maghribinian dialects, usually as a form I verb<sup>60</sup> having the (unborn) child as its subject: e.g. Tunis  $\underline{t}\bar{a}\underline{h}$   $\partial z$ - $z\underline{\dot{g}}\bar{t}r$ . In some dialects the mother is the indirect object: e.g. Marrakesh  $\underline{t}\bar{a}\underline{h}$   $l\bar{t}ha$   $bn\bar{a}d\partial m$ .

In Iraq and in parts of Syria the root *t-r-h* 'to throw' is used. The same is true for the dialects in Galilee, where reflexes of Old Arabic *r-m-y* are found.

Other roots used for 'miscarriage' are rare. Kordofanian Arabic has d-f-q 'to pour out'. In some urban Maghribian dialects miscarriage is associated with 'losing', hence expressed by the roots d-y- $^c$  or x-s-r. In central Syria and the Lebanon the form II verb /rawwahat/, literally 'to make go', is used<sup>61</sup>.

In many dialects deliberate abortion<sup>62</sup> is denoted by the form II verb which corresponds to the form I verb used for 'having a miscarriage'. Examples are

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> An exception is the Mauritanian *ṭayḥat*, which seems to be form II. Taine-Cheikh 1989-98: VII, 1338, however, writes that *ṭayyaḥ* means 'faire avorter'.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. also Barthélemy 1935-1969:299 (avorter).

 $<sup>^{62}</sup>$  It seems that there is not always a clear distinction made between these two kinds of abortion.

/saggatat/ and /tarrahat/ in the Eastern dialects, and /tayyahat/ in the Western dialects. In some dialects, such as those of Cairo and Mosul, the verb in question is followed by the reflexive pronoun<sup>63</sup>.

The second form of *n-z-l*, 'to make going down', is used for 'abortion' in 'Isifye near Haifa and, with the word for 'child' as direct object, in Cairo and Yemen.

Roots meaning 'to throw' are used to describe intentional abortion in Kordofan (r-m-y) and Mauritania (z-r-g). In Maltese Arabic we find korriet, which is a loan from the Sicilian curriri (Aquilina 1987-1990:691).

The corresponding noun is either a cognate of the form II verbs mentioned above (i.e. taṭrīḥ, tanzīl), or, particularly in the urban dialects, the medical term 'iǧhāḍ. In the Maghrib the French loanword curetage is found too.

#### **Foetus**

It cannot be taken for granted that all the words given below exactly correspond to the meaning of 'foetus', because in most dialects the unborn child is not strictly differentiated from 'child'. Thus the Cairene tifl, Baghdadi ğāhil, and nīnī of Sanaa<sup>64</sup> all designate both 'foetus' and 'baby'.

In the central Maghrib derivatives of the root *ṣ-ġ-r* 'small' mean 'foetus'. In Morocco many different words are found: in the NW t-twābi/ət-tərbiyya; in Casablanca and Safi reflexes of ibn Adam; and in other cities derivatives of the root w-l-d - e.g. Tadla:  $\partial t$ -tīlād. The word  $i\partial -\partial n\bar{e}$  used among the Marāzīg is certainly related to the verb /danā/ 'to have/produce offspring' 65, which is also used in connection to barrenness (see below). Perhaps it is related to the OA root *d-n-y*, 'meagre, thin'. In some dialects the English baby and French bébé are also attested. In Malta fetu is heard.

The term *ğanīn* 'foetus', which is exclusively used for an unborn child, is a loan from SA and attested for in most urban dialects of the East.

Because of the Islamic idea that the soul enters an unborn child only in the fourth month of pregnancy, a few dialects use a separate term for the 'foetus between the first and the fourth months of pregnancy'. Examples are lahmeh in Sanaa, xulf in Kordofan, and /nutfa/in Mauritania and Cairo.

In Mauritania and Algeria iššīr and I-yəššir are used for 'foetus'66. The word is probably of Berber origin: cf. Taifi 1991:703: iširran 'garçon, jeune garçon'.

## Labour pains

In the Iraqi, Syro-Palestinian, Egyptian, and Sudanese dialects words derived from the root t-l-q are frequently found for 'labour pains'. Most often reflexes of the OA term for 'labour pains', talq, are used, which is sometimes preceded by a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Cf. SA 'ağhaḍat nafsahā in the same sense.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Cf. Behnstedt 1992-2006:1243: *nīni* 'baby' and 'pupil'; cf. *nūnu* in Syria for 'baby' (Barthélemy 1935-1969:857).

<sup>65</sup> Cf., for the Marāzīg, Boris 1958:365; for Morocco, Colin 1993-94, V, 1135: dna/idna 'engendrer une postérité'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> In Tunisia there are words meaning 'child' derived from the root  $\dot{g}$ - $\dot{s}$ -r (cf., e.g., Boris 1958:438).

word meaning 'pains' (e.g. Mosul 'alam əṭ-ṭaləq)<sup>67</sup>. The phrase 'pain(s) of birth'<sup>68</sup> is also heard, in addition to /talq/, in such urban dialects as those of Cairo, Algiers, and Salé, as well as in Malta (uġigħ tal-ħlas). In many Moroccan dialects, and among the Tunisian Maṛāzīg, /al-waǧ / alone, when used in the context of birth, can denote 'labour pains'69.

Other roots with "painful meanings" are found in combination with the word for birth in Yemen (las'āt al-wilād 'the stings of birth') and in Morocco, where the root *ḥ-r-q* 'to burn' is used (e.g. Errachidiya: *lə-ḥrīq d-l-ūlāda*). In Yemen zaḥarāt alwilād 'the groans of birth' is also found<sup>70</sup>.

In some Algerian and North Moroccan dialects we come across nouns of the root z-h-m which signify 'labour pains' in OA as well (esp. zahma; cf. Wahrmund 1877, I, 826). The OA maxād, however, is only attested in Beiruti 'ālām əl-maxād, which is most probably a loan from SA.

In Upper Egypt the term *šawha* is used for 'labour pains'. It seems to be related to the verb *šawaḥ* 'to throw'<sup>71</sup>.

The Mauritanian term *layya/leyye* is of unclear origin: Heath 2004:131 suggested it is a semantic extension of layya 'reins, bridle (of a camel)'.

#### Caesarean section

The Standard Arabic medical term for 'Caesarian section', /amaliyya qayṣariyya/, is used in many dialects of the large cities in the East<sup>72</sup>. Also heard is this term with a verb in the place of the first word, e.g. Cairo: wildit qayşariyya/wildit qayşari 'she has delivered/given birth by Caesarean section'. In the West the phrase 'she has delivered/given birth in an operation' is used with the term for 'operation', the most frequent of which is /'amaliyya/, though in Algeria the French loan bārāsyōn is found, and in some Moroccan dialects the word ftīh 'opening' is used<sup>73</sup>.

Probably restricted to the speech of the uneducated are phrases like 'splitting/opening (of the belly)' (šaqq/fath al-batn)<sup>74</sup> and 'they have opened her' (heard in Sanaa and Algiers).

<sup>69</sup> For Morocco Colin 1993-94, IV, 915 notes the phrase Xa f-əš-šdāid 'Xa est dans les douleurs de l'enfantement' (plural of šədda 'moment de détresse, etc.').

<sup>72</sup> In Beirut and some cities of the Maghrib the French césarienne can also be heard. In Ceuta the Spanish cesárea is used, and in Malta the Italian cesarja.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Other derivatives of this root are rare: examples are talga in Kordofan and tlūga in Baghdad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> E.g. <sup>3</sup>alam/wağa <sup>c</sup> al-wilāda.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Cf. Piamenta 1990-91, I, 197: zahīr 'groan of pain of woman in labour'.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Behnstedt/Woidich 1994:252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Cf. Colin 1993-94, VI, 1421: '(1) intervention chirurgicale, (2) action de s'ouvrir'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Cairo, Jerusalem, Baghdad, Khartoum.

## Midwife

In three broad geographical regions three different types of expressions are used to designate the 'traditional midwife': in Iraq and Yemen one hears words which also mean 'grandmother', such as habbūba and ğaddah; in most Syro-Palestinian, Egyptian, and Sudanese dialects the Persian loanword dāya is used'; and in almost all Maghribinian dialects, including Maltese, reflexes of OA qābila are found. The latter word is often heard (in addition to dāya) in urban Eastern dialects; but there it is certainly a loan from Standard Arabic and mostly used by younger and educated people<sup>76</sup>. An intensive noun of the same root is found in Ceuta, qābbāla. Of the same pattern, but derived from the root w-l-d, is wəllāda, the word for 'midwife' in the Moroccan towns of Safi and Sefrou. In Mauritania gabbāðt le-lavāt is used.

The term /muwallida/, heard in large cities like Cairo or Casablanca, designates a modern midwife working in a hospital. A trained midwife might also be called a 'nurse' (mumarriḍa) or, by various expressions, a 'doctor' (cf. in the list Sanaa, Cairo, Chaouen). The Upper Egyptian ḥakīme, however, seems to be used for the traditional midwife.

In the Maghrib the French loan *sage-femme* is also widespread, especially for medically-trained midwives. In Morocco *fərmliyya* 'nurse' (< French *infirmier*) is also heard.

## Woman in childbed

Without exception the words for a woman in puerperium are derived from the OA root n-f-s bearing the same meaning. In the Eastern dialects mostly reflexes of the different OA words are found: for example, reflexes of  $nafas\bar{a}^3/nafs\bar{a}^3$  in Egypt, Galilee, and Mosul; and reflexes of  $nufs\bar{a}^3$  in Beirut and Baghdad. The form  $nuf\bar{a}sa$  of Khartoum is probably a reflex of  $nif\bar{a}s$  with an additional feminine ending. (Wahrmund 1877, II, 1044).

In the Maghribinian dialects, however, newly developed derivations of this root (i.e., those which do not have an OA etymon) are almost exclusively used. Most common are the two patterns *nfīsa* and *nāfŝa*, the latter also found without a feminine ending in the dialect of the Maṛāzīg tribe. Such unmarked feminine words are also heard in Yemen (*nafīās*) and in Jordan and Palestine (*nafās*).

A special form is used in Damascus, mon fse.

#### First-born child

With the exception of some Moroccan dialects, the term for 'first-born' is almost universally derived from the OA word *bikr*. The more conservative dialects of the East use */bikr/* for female and male children alike (e.g. Yemen, Iraq, Sudan). In other dialects the sex difference is usually marked. In the Maghrib we come across the pair */bikr/* (masc.): */bikra/* (fem.). In urban Syrian, Lebanese, Egyptian, and some Western dialects (such as those of Casablanca and Meknes) the suffix *-i* for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Cf. Steingass 1977:502: dāya 'nurse, foster-mother, midwife'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Sometimes with additional attributes; such as in the Damascene 'āble 'ānūniyye.

the masculine and -iyya for the feminine has been added: thus Cairo is bikri, bikriyya.

Only in a few Moroccan dialects is the idea of the first-born explicitly connected to the word 'first' in reflexes of 'awwal.

# 5. Breast-feeding Breast(s)

As in many other languages, the word for 'chest' – that is, reflexes of OA <code>sadr</code> – can also be used in the sense of 'breast(s)'. This usage is attested for dialects from Iraq in the East to Morocco in the West, and it can be assumed that <code>/sadr/</code> is in most dialects a neutral term belonging to a higher register than the words discussed in the following.

Words which specifically mean 'breast, mammary' are more diversified. In Syro-Palestinian, Egyptian, and Yemeni dialects we mainly find reflexes of OA  $bizz\sim buzz$ , the original meaning of which is rather 'nipple' than 'bosom'. Probably etymologically related to this are the words derived from the root  $b-z-1^{77}$  which are widely used in the Maghribinian dialects of both the Hilāli and pre-Hilāli types. Two examples are  $bazz\bar{u}l$  (Maṛāzīg), and  $bazz\bar{u}la$  (Tunis)<sup>78</sup>.

More geographically restricted words for 'breast' are *dēs*, which is typical for Iraqi dialects, and */nahad/*, found in Kordofan and in eastern Morocco. Both lexemes are attested for in OA: *days* 'nipple' (Wahrmund 1877, I, 697); and *nahd* 'swelling bosom', *nahdā*' 'girl with swelling breasts' (Wahrmund 1877, II, 1072).

In Mauritania and Sefrou the word for 'bosom' is connected to the root r-d- $\tilde{c}$  'to nurse'. The  $z\bar{z}z$  of Algiers is probably a so-called "babble-word" used by babies.

The origin of šatur (pl. šitūr) found in Khartoum is unclear.

## Nipple

Reflexes of OA halama 'nipple' are by far the most widespread words for 'nipple'. They are found in most Eastern dialects and in the eastern parts of the Maghrib (for example Tripolis). Exceptions to this geographical rule are the Yemeni  $summah^{79}$  and  $d\bar{e}d$  in Kordofan, which is also heard among the Maṛāzīg of southern Tunisia where it means 'breast'. Most probably this word goes back to baby talk<sup>80</sup>.

In many Maghribian dialects west of Libya 'nipple' is expressed by phrases meaning 'top/child/kernel of the bosom' – Tunis:  $r\bar{a}s$ -əl-bazzūla, Chaouen:  $\varkappa$ - $\varkappa\bar{a}s$  d əs-sdə $\varkappa$ , Errachidiya: w-əld lə-bz $\bar{z}z$ l $\bar{a}t$ , Casablanca: h-əbba d əl-bəzzūla, Malta: il-ponta tas-sider.

In many dialects there are other words for 'bosom' and 'nipple' which are used only by men and are commonly regarded as vulgar. An example is *ḥumṣa* in Tripoli.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Cf. OA *buzāl* 'opening, bung (of a cask, etc.)' (Blachère 1967, I, 604).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> In Anjra *bzīna*, which shows the very common shift l > n, is heard.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Behnstedt 1992-2006:578: 'Schnuller, Zitze, Brustwarze' cf. *tummah*.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Boris 1958:189: 'probablement mot enfantin qui échappe à la dérivation normale'.

The lexemes for **'breast-feeding'** and semantically related words like 'wet-nurse' and 'foster sister/brother' show a remarkable uniformity: they are almost exclusively derived from the root r-d- $\zeta$ , which is well attested in the same sense in OA. In the great majority of the dialects one finds reflexes of OA  $rid\bar{a}$ 'a. For some urban dialects of the East (Damascus, Baghdad)  $/tard\bar{\iota}$ ' is attested too. In San'ani Arabic the verb ta'gi' 'she nurses' is used<sup>81</sup>. The term for 'wet-nurse' is /murdi'a', an active participle of the form IV verb /arda'a and hence certainly a loan from SA<sup>82</sup>. A noun of the pattern fa ' $\bar{a}$ ' $\bar{a}$ a,  $radd\bar{a}$ 'a, is used in two such distant places as Sanaa and Casablanca. In some Moroccan dialects a wet-nurse is called 'mother of breast-feeding' – for example, Marrakesh:  $umm b ar - rd\bar{a}$ 'a.

A term for 'breast-feeding' based on a root other than *r-d-*' is *murbiyya*, which means 'fostering'. However, this term is known only from the Moroccan town of Errachidiya.

The term  $d\bar{a}da$  used in the Moroccan town of Safi is of Berber origin (root d-d/3)<sup>83</sup>. There is no special word for 'foster sister/brother' in the majority of the dialects. The usual terms are 'sister/brother in breast-feeding' (a phrase containing the preposition  $f\bar{i}$  or  $b\bar{i}$ -) and, in the Western dialects, 'sister/brother from breast-feeding' (a phrase containing the preposition min). Reflexes of OA  $rad\bar{i}^c$  are attested for Kordofan and Marrakesh only. Colin presents also  $metr\bar{a}da^{c\$4}$ .

# 6. Barrenness and menopause

Reflexes of /'uqm/ and /'aqr/ are used for the abstract noun 'sterility'. But these are loans from SA and thus not very wide-spread. Only the terms la-'gar in Marrakesh and Salé, and 'ug'r among the Marāzīg, are not loans from SA.

The most wide-spread adjective meaning 'barren' is the unmarked feminine participle <code>/āqir/</code>, which in Cairo, for example, seems to be a loan from SA because it is pronounced 'āqir. In some dialects, particularly those of Morocco and the Algerian dialects of Tolga and Sidi Aïssa, this adjective is provided with the ending for the feminine (cf. above <code>hāmla</code>), whereas the unmarked form is used for the masculine. Among the Maṛāzīg of southern Tunisia the verb 'ugṛat 'she became sterile' is used for a woman who had given birth but who, because of age or any other reason, is now barren. Another adjective meaning 'barren' also frequently used is <code>/ˈaqim/</code> and its feminine form <code>//aqima/</code>.

Infertility can also be implied by putting the verbs 'to give birth' and 'to have offspring' in the negative. For instance in Damascus one says  $m\bar{a}$  bətžīb 'wlād and in Baghdad  $m\bar{a}$  yṣīr 'idha ǧahhāl for 'she doesn't have children'. The same notion is expressed in Sanaa by  $m\bar{a}$  bat'awwalš so and in Ceuta by tə'məl ši l-'yāl. Similarly the verbs /tūlid/ 'to give birth', and /tǧīb/, /taðna/, and /txallif/ 'to have

82 Only for Beirut is the participle of the corresponding form II verb attested.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. OA 'aǧā Wahrmund 1877, II, 217.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Taifi 1991:53: udud 'action de téter' and other related words.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Colin 1993-94, III, 633: X u Y mətṛāḍ'ēn 'X et Y sont frères de lait.'

<sup>85</sup> Cf., for instance, in Behnstedt 1992-2006:880: mi'awwil 'kinderreich'.

offspring' denote infertility when negated. The terms expressing 'to have offspring/children' can also be applied to a man.

In Jerusalem and Sanaa the expression <code>/ard/ būr/</code> 'fallow ground' can be used as a metaphor for a barren woman. In Cairo infertility is expressed with 'āgiz and 'agza 'unable'. The San'ani <code>gati</code>, which can be used for both sexes, suggests the notion of 'being prevented (from having children)'86. The term <code>mara zalame</code> 'virago' used in Damascus is clearly negative because it denies a woman's femininity.

The Galilean 'indo/'inda masākel 'he/she has problems' is a more general term for 'infertility'. Phrases like ma səhhəl š 'lī-ha !ļāh 'God did not facilitate (it for her)' from Errachidiya and ma 'tā-ha š !lāh 'God did not give her (children)' from Fes attributes a woman's barrenness to God's will.

Some terms in use blame barrenness on the evil eye or witchcraft. One of these, heard in Cairo, is *kabsa*, the active participle of the verb which is translated by Hinds/Badawi 1986:732 as '[*magic*] to jinx into sterility'.

In this semantic word field only Maltese uses foreign words, specifically the Italian *sterilità* and its adjective *sterili*.

#### Menopause

There is no term in the dialects specifically for 'menopause'. Thus educated speakers use the SA *sinn al-ya's* 'age of despair'; and in the dialects it is expressed either with reflexes of the verb <code>/qaṭa'a/</code> with its intransitive meaning 'to end, to terminate'<sup>87</sup>, with forms V, VII or VIII of the same verb, or with verbs like <code>/rāħ/</code> and <code>/mašā/</code>, 'it left, it went away', in combination with a term for 'menstruation'. The expression <code>sinn il-'amal</code> 'age of hope' used in Jerusalem clearly is a euphemism. Especially in capital cities a foreign word is used – the French <code>ménopause</code> in Beirut and Tunis, and the Italian <code>il-menopawsa</code> in Malta. That a menopausal woman is considered old is implied in terms like <code>gadi 'aǧūz</code> in Sanaa, <code>hīya kibrit</code> in Cairo, and 'ādet mṛa kbūra in Mauritania, all of which mean 'she became old'. A metaphorical expression for 'becoming sterile' based on the verb 'yāt' 'she has become tired' is used in Marrakesh.

The dis-esteem in which some sectors of Arab society hold post-menopausal women is expressed in the term *jagga* 'old cow' by men in Kordofan<sup>88</sup> and the phrase *ma bqāt ṣālḥa* 'she has expired' in Errachidiya. By contrast, *thəddnāt*, also from Errachidiya, actually means that 'she has calmed down'.

#### 7. Contraceptives

Since most contraceptives are products of modern medical technology, the influence of Standard Arabic and of foreign languages (English for the Mashriq and French for the Maghrib) is very strong on the lexicography of this field. In Malta only English words are heard for contraceptives.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Behnstedt 1992-2006:1007: 'verspätet, verhindert'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> The corresponding form in SA is the passive voice *quți<sup>c</sup>a*.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Qāsim 2002:203: '... tuṭlaqu 'alā l-mar'ati ḍ-ḍaxmati l-ğismi llatī bada'at tuwaddi'u ššabāba'.

For 'contraception' in general /man' al-ḥaml/ is used. In Cairo 'contraceptive' is wasīla, literally 'means, device'.

In most of the dialects the **birth control pill** is called /habb, hubūb man al-ḥaml, al-ḥabal/ or simply /ḥabb, hubūb/ 'pills'. The French pilule is used in Beirut and Tunis, and cachet and kaši manə l-ḥaməl in Algeria. The word pastiyyāt known from Chaouen can be traced back to Spanish pastilla.

The geographical spread of some terms for 'the pill' is very limited. Specific to the Moroccan dialects is  $k\bar{n}na^{89}$  for 'pill' (in Ceuta also  $kn\bar{n}ns$ ). In Marrakesh  $ol-f\bar{a}n\bar{i}d^{90}$  is used.  $har\bar{a}bi\bar{s}$  is only documented for southern Tunisia. In Cairo alone  $bir\bar{s}\bar{a}m$  is heard, a term in SA designating 'altar bread', which is similar in form to pills (and also is swallowed)<sup>91</sup>.

## Condom

The majority of terms denoting 'condom' are borrowings from European, mostly Romance, languages. Reflexes of the French word *capote* are used in many Maghribi and Mashriqi dialects in the form of *kabbūd, kabbūt, kabbūt.* At least in the Mashriq it may have entered some dialects via the Turkish *kaput.* The French *préservatif* can be found in the Maghrib and in Beirut. The Spanish *la goma* is heard as *l-gūma* in Ceuta. The *kawitšu* of Algeria could be of Italian origin, very possibly from *caucciù*. The word *condom* is common among the upper class of Cairo, and, not surprisingly, known in the majority of dialects (for instance in Sanaa as *kindom*).

SA is represented by the widely used word *wāqi (zakari)* 'protector' (also *wiqāya* 'precaution'; cf. German *Verhütung*).

In Marrakesh *taqšīra*, which actually means 'sock', can be heard. A similar idea is behind the terms *žəlda* 'skin', used in Meknes, *ġša* 'covering, skin', found in Ceuta, *kīs* 'bag', heard in Amman, and probably also Iraqi *flāš leder* (< English *flash leather*).

Well-known condom brand-names are commonly applied to the article generically, e.g. *proteks* (TMProtex) in Marrakesh.

In Meknes dyāl tlāta/dyāl sotta '(a package) with three/(a package) with six' refers to packages of three or six condoms.

#### Loon

/lawlab/'loop' is the term used in the capital cities of the Mashriq. In Cairo it is heard alongside  $\check{sirit}$  (lit. 'band, strip')<sup>92</sup>. A more general term is  $w\bar{a}$ sta (lit. 'device, means'), used in 'Isifya and Galilee and most probably a calque of English *intra-uterine device*.

90 Cf. de Premare 1993-99, X, 164: 'comprimés pharmaceutiques, cachets, pilules'.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. de Premare 1993-99, X, 677: 'quinine'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Cf. Hinds/Badawi 1986:65 *biršām* 'pill(s)' < Persian *parčin*. The etymon given by Hinds/Badawi is Persian and Ottoman-Turkish *perčīn/perčīm* meaning 'clenching of a nail' (Redhouse 1890:440).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Hinds/Badawi 1986:460: 'intra-uterine device'.

/silk/'filament, wire' is, in our material, typical only of Morocco. The *filsa* heard among the Maṛāzīg of southern Tunisia is perhaps a derivative of the root *f-l-s* or related to the French word *fil*.

The French *stérilet* is found in Beirut, Tunis, and Meknes, the English *loop* in Beirut.

The word  $sk\bar{u}b\bar{i}du$ , probably related to the very popular so-called scoubidou friendship-bands, which consist of plasticized PVC tubes, is documented for Casablanca as a general term for these divices<sup>93</sup>.

# 8. Illegitimate pregnancy

In almost all the dialects studied here the term for an illegitimate child is derived from the root *ḥ-r-m*. It appears in words like /ibn, bint ḥarām/ and /ḥarāmī/, the latter of which has become in many dialects ḥarāymi, perhaps to differentiate it from 'robber'. Another very common term for 'bastard' is /ibn, bint zinā/ 'son, daughter of fornication', which is documented mainly for the Mashriq but also heard in the Moroccan town of Salé. The word used for 'bastard' in Sanaa, zanwah, is a derivative of the same root<sup>94</sup>. The expression /ibn, bint sitāḥ/ 'son, daughter of fornication' is documented only for Cairo and most probably not a dialectal term. The term /ġayr šarʿī/ 'illegitimate' is common in Beirut, Jerusalem, and Damascus as well as in Mauritania and the Moroccan town of Salé. A child whose father is unknown or whose mother was unmarried when giving birth is considered to be without origin: thus he or she is not 'the son or daughter of a family or a house' but 'of the street or the gutter'. In Morocco (Marrakesh and Errachidiya), this is expressed in terms like /walad, bint aš-šāri¹, az-zanqa/.

In the Maghrib from Mauritania to Tunisia the word /farx/, usually applied to cubs and little birds, is used for a child born out of wedlock. The Maṛāzīg of southern Tunisia use form II of this root, faṛṛˈxat 'she cast her young one', to mean 'giving birth to a bastard'.

Derivatives of /laqīt/, the original meaning of which is 'foundling', are used in Beirut, Jerusalem, Algiers, Safi (ləqtāt-u), and Tadla (mləggət) for 'bastard'. The San'ani lugṭah is certainly a derivative of the same root<sup>95</sup>.

Some terms for 'illegitimacy' are geographically restricted. Among them is *kabbūl*, documented only for Algeria and southern Tunisia. The term *bazṛamīt*, known from Cairo, is translated in Hinds/Badawi 1986:72 as 'of mixed blood, mongrel'. /bandūq/ for 'bastard' is documented only for 'Isifya, for Galilee<sup>97</sup> and for Beirut. The term *naġal* (SA *naġl* 'bastard'; from the root *n-ġ-l* 'to be rotten,

<sup>95</sup> See for instance Behnstedt 1992-2006:1119: *lagaṭ - yilguṭ* 'etwas auflesen, etwas einsammeln'.

 $<sup>^{93}</sup>$  Saada 1971:347 (43) states that the words  $skubid\bar{u}$  and  $skibid\bar{u}$  used among Tunisian Muslims mean 'birth control pill'.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Behnstedt 1992-2006:512: zinweh 'uneheliches Kind'.

 $<sup>^{96}</sup>$  See Wahrmund 1877, I, 259 s.v. *bundūq*, where it is attested as a neologism. For an etymology cf. Barthélemy 1935-1969:63.

 $<sup>^{97}</sup>$  Where also the term 'akrūṭ is documented. Barthélemy 1935-1969:542 gives 'akrūd with the meaning 'maquereau, souteneur, proxénète'.

depraved') is used both in Baghdad and Mosul.  $b\bar{i}g$ , documented only for Mosul, is a loan from Ottoman Turkish,  $p\bar{i}c$  'bastard', ultimately of Iranian origin (cf. Redhouse 1890:462).

Paraphrases for an 'illegitimate child' like 's.o. who doesn't know his father' and 'he doesn't have a father' are likely to be found in most of the dialects.

Many of the above cited words are of course also used as insults.

## Conclusion

In the following chapter it was not our aim to analyze the frequency and geographical distribution of certain words but to summarize five frequently found etymological categories:

**Euphemisms**<sup>98</sup> are used either to speak about something in a socially acceptable manner – for example the verb *thannat* 'she was deflowered' used among the Maṛāzīg – or to give a positive spin to something otherwise considered very negative, as *sinn al-'amal* for 'menopause'. We find 'menstruation' described almost exclusively by euphemisms, for example words that emphasize its regularity. There are very few words regarding menstruation that are not euphemisms, e.g. */ad-dam/* and */al-ḥayd/*. The loss of virginity is also a highly sensitive wordarea replete with euphemistic expressions. It can be suggested that also most words related to pregnancy are or have at a certain stage in the history of language been euphemisms (e.g. 'carrying' instead of 'being pregnant')<sup>99</sup>. Euphemisms breach the social barriers between young and old, male and female, intimate and casual, by providing a way of breaking verbal taboos.

**Loans from Standard Arabic** are frequently found in the eight semantic fields here considered, particularly in the speech of educated people. They can be divided into those words or expressions which certainly entered the dialects in pre-modern times, and those which are neologisms taken from Modern Standard Arabic.

Words from Standard Arabic seem to be regarded by the speakers as neutral – that is, neither vulgar nor embarrassing – and thus, in the semantic fields invest-tigated in this article, serve the function that Latin or Greek words have in many European languages.

Words typically taken from Classical Arabic are abstract nouns like *bikāra* and *'udriyya'* 'virginity'. The same is true for medical terms such as *ğanīn'* 'foetus' and *'aqm/'uqr'* 'sterility, barrenness', and (probably) *'iğhād'* 'abortion'.

Modern scientific terminology has found its way into the dialects via Modern Standard Arabic<sup>100</sup>. Among these are *ad-dawra* (*aš-šahriyya*) – certainly a calque of 'monthly cycle/period' – *al-'amaliyya al-qayṣariyya* 'Caesarean section' and *māni*' *al-haml* 'contraceptive'.

 $<sup>^{98}</sup>$  For the sub-divisions of euphemisms see W. Marçais 1955 and Farghal 2007, s.v.  $\it Euphemism.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> For examples of euphemisms in the semantic fields of 'menstruation', 'defloration' and 'pregnancy' see W. Marçais 1955:357-359, 365f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> In the same domains foreign words are also found: see below.

Terms for modern hygienic articles – such as *ḥifāz (al-ḥayḍ)* 'sanitary towel' – are also most certainly loans from SA.

### Vulgarisms

Words clearly designated as vulgarisms by our collaborators mostly refer to the sphere of sexuality. Most probably these words are predominantly employed by men but presumably some young, modern, self-confident female speakers also use them. A couple of examples are given among the terms for 'non-virgin', 'to deflower', and 'to make pregnant' in our list. There are certainly many more vulgar words for 'bosoms' and 'nipple' than found in our list, which is mainly based on female speech. An example is <code>humsa</code>, used in Tripoli.

Pejorative male expressions often are used regarding 'menstruating women' or 'women in menopause'. One such is the *jagga* 'old cow' of Kordofan.

The use and spread of **foreign words** depends on the region and the education of the speakers. Especially in capital cities foreign words are considered more "modern" and therefore their use is more popular. Also younger and thus more educated speakers are more likely to choose a foreign word instead of the ordinary dialectal term. The use of foreign words is also characteristic of the upper strata of society. Thus one is more likely to hear the purely dialectal terms among older, often illiterate, speakers. The strong tendency to adopt a foreign is paralleled by the tendency to adopt SA terms. Perhaps the adoption of foreign and SA words in these linguistic fields, where many words are considered taboo, can be regarded as another euphemistic device. The use of foreign words is frequent in word fields where euphemisms are frequent, as in the area of 'menstruation'.

Foreign words are often integrated into dialects when no dialectal term exists (for example various contraceptives), whereas in traditional fields, such as pregnancy and birth, we normally do not find foreign words. Caesarean section, which is not the traditional way of giving birth, is thus designated by foreign words. A foreign word often is used for the modern variant of a traditional phenomenon: for example a 'modern' medically-trained midwife might be denoted by (for instance) a French term, whereas the local midwife is known under the local traditional word for 'midwife'.

**Brand-names** are most likely to enter the dialects through a new product, or a new variety of a familiar product. This happened when 'modern' sanitary napkins increasingly replaced the traditional rags and pieces of cloth. But brand-names used generically in this manner are found exclusively in the areas of contraceptives and monthly sanitary control.

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## **APPENDIX**

It should be kept in mind that the Arabic words do not always exactly correspond to the English terms given in the left column, e.g. the counterpart of an English noun can be a verb in Arabic and vice versa.

Table A: Mauritania and Morocco

	Ḥassāniyya	Morocco <sup>1</sup>	Safi	Marrakesh	Casablanca <sup>2</sup>
	Aline	Catherine	A.	Pablo	A.
	Tauzin	Miller	Barontin	Sánchez	Barontini &
			i & K.	A. Barontini	K. Ziamari
			Ziamari	& K.	
3.5				Ziamari	
Menstruation	*	1 11	16.1		
menstruation	dowra	l-lḥam u	Madame	əd-dəmm	
		māṭēša	Bovary	ḥaqq əš-šahr	
		ḥaqq ššhar l-wsax	Madame	1-ʿāda š-	
			Rouge	šahriyya	
		l-marḍ hadik	məsṭāṛa	la règle, les	
		xaltek		règles	
		ma'lūma			
		les règles			
menstrual	demm	dəmm hašek		əd-dəmm	əd-dəmm
blood	denim	идини назек		eu-uemm	eu-uemm
she is/I am		musxa 'filthy'	kā-	fiyya d-	Iī-ha əd-
menstruating		11140114 1114119	təġsəl	dəmm	dəmm
8			žāt-ni	fiyya 1-ūžə	Iī-ha I-
			xālt-i	(euph.)	hamra
			<sup>c</sup> ādma	žāt-ni əd-	žāt-ha 1-
				dəmm	<i>ḥamṛa</i>
				fī-ya ḥaqq	
				əš-šahr	
				žāw-ni les	
				règles	
sanitary	serviet		fāms	ōlūyīz	xəṛqa
towels	<i>rībi</i> (brand-		(old	(TMAlways)	couche
	name)		brand-	torchon	šərwāta
			name)	əz-zīf	
				fōṭā	
tampons					
Virginity					
virginity		bakāra			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Catherine Miller extracted terms and phrases from various secondary sources on Moroccon dialects, which are given in the list of References.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 2}$  One of the informants is a 60-year-old woman from Taounat who lives in Casablanca.

	Ḥassāniyya	Morocco <sup>1</sup>	Safi	Marrakesh	Casablanca <sup>2</sup>
virgin girl	'azbe	<i>ṣāina</i>		bənt	bāqa bənt
		'préservée'		<sup>c</sup> əzba	'əzba
		ṣālḥa			
		<i>cadra</i> (in			
		Colin 1235			
		<i>'adṛā</i> 'belle			
		jeune fille')			
		bəkra			
		daily			
		conversation:			
		bənt			
		'azba			
		vierge			
versus non		maši bent	mxəssra	mṛa	mṛa
virgin		pas vierge	IIIA ƏSSI A	пца	xāsṛa
girl/woman		Used by men:			xasi a
giri/ woman		mtqūba			
		mserrḥa mḥrūda			
she is a virgin		minuda		'əzba	
she is a virgin				bāqya bənt	
1			1	bāqya <sup>c</sup> əzba	1 -1
hymen			lə-ġša	əl-bakāra əl-ģišā'	əş-şbāḥ
Defloration					
defloration			əl-līla	əd-dəxla	
she was				unmarried	ziyyən bī-
deflowered				but not a	ha
				virgin:	ziyynāt
				mətqūba	
				'pierced'	
				(often used	
				by men;	
				pej.)	
			]	msərrha	
				'unblocked'	
			]	tsərrhāt 'she	
			]	was	
			1	unblocked'	
			]	təqbāt	
he deflowered	degdeghe			dxəl bī-ha	
her			]	tqub 'to	
			]	pierce'	
				(pej.) sərrəḥ	
			]	'to unblock'	
			]	(pej.)	
blood of	demm	<i>șbaḥ</i>		əṣ-ṣbāḥ	
defloration	dellill	Şoan	]	อจ-จุบสม	
acrioration		1	<del> </del>		
			L		İ

	Ḥassāniyya	Morocco <sup>1</sup>	Safi	Marrakesh	Casablanca <sup>2</sup>
Pregnancy					
pregnancy		ḥaml iyyām lə- hbāla			
being pregnant	uža' (le- 'layāt) 'maladie (des femmes)' mowžū'a	hāmla hāmla b-əl- kerš hbəl hobla, həbla həblet b-wuld həblet ma' X 1st three months: mwuḥḥma 4th-9th: tqīla, hāmla, mūḥūla, ḥabla 9th month: nfīsa, mūžā'a		ḥamla, ḥāmla mətqla	ḥāmla mtəqqla wāḥla f ṛās- ha 'ūšra (also for animals)
to become pregnant	utaž <sup>c</sup> et		dārət kərš	āna ḥməlt (used by women) ḥəmlāt wəllāt žūž	həzzāt əl- kərš (for non desired pregnancy)
to make pregnant				sərbāt mənni (used by men) 'she drank from me' həmməlt wāhəd əl- bənt (used by men) 'I made a girl pregnant' huwwa həmməlni (used by women) 'he made me pregnant'	ḥəmməl-ha
imaginary pregnancy	iššīr xāṣer ('l'enfant imaginaire')				
Birth					
birth		fekkān xlōq			
to deliver a	nves (old)	šadda f-əl-		tūləd,	kā-təwləd

	Ḥassāniyya	Morocco <sup>1</sup>	Safi	Marrakesh	Casablanca <sup>2</sup>
baby, to give birth	bṛa	hbəl 'elle est sur le point d' accoucher' (hbəl: 'corde à laquelle se cramponne la parturiente pour faciliter la délivrance') fekk tūled tūḍa' əl-ḥməl nfəs		wəldāt	
labour pains	leyye	šadda ḥozza nifās		I-ūžə <sup>∢</sup>	fī-ha l-ūžə <sup>c</sup>
Caesarean section	'amaliyye brāt be- 'amaliyye			əl-mra ūldāt b əl-ftīḥ (ftīḥ 'surgery') wəldāt b əl- ftīḥ	əl-ġərāz ('the stitches')
to have a preterm birth	brāt mā vāt temmet brāt sābeg waqthe			wəld/bənt sətt/sba' šhūr 'three/two- month- premature baby' wəldāt qbəl I-wəqt	wəldāt qbəl l-wəqt
to lose the baby	ṭayḥat			ṭāḥ līha bnādəm xṣar līha bnādəm	xəssrāt (intr.) ṭāḥ l-ha bnādəm
foetus	notfa (before the age of 4 months) iššīr (after the age of 4 months)		bnādəm ət- tərbiyya	ət-tīlād	əd-dərri bnādəm
abortion (willingly); to procure the abortion of a child	zerget ('elle a jeté')			(dīr) əl- kurṭāž; xaṣṣək tiyyhī bnādəm 'you have to get rid of the human	xəssrāt curetage

	Ḥassāniyya	Morocco <sup>1</sup>	Safi	Marrakesh	Casablanca <sup>2</sup>
				being, you must abort' təyvhāt-u	
After giving birth				івуунаг-и	
woman in childbed	nevse	nfīsa — nfāisāt (pl.) hād-əl-mūḥūla ʿḍamha maḥlūlīn	nāfŝa	nfīsa xəṣṣha tənfəs 'she must rest 40 days' rb'īn yūm dyāl nfās: xəṣṣha tarb'ān	nfisa
first-born child	beker bekre			əl-bīkər əl-wəld əl- kbīr lə-bkər – əl- bəkra	l-uwwəl lə-bkər əl-bəkri/əl- bəkriyya
midwife (traditional and modern)	gabbāðt le- layāt sažfām	qābla	əl- wəllāda	əl-qābla (trad.) əl-fərmliyya (modern)	əl-qābla əl- muwəllīda
Breast-feeding					
breasts	rðā ʿa	bzūl, bzūla bəzzūla		bzāzəl	lə-bzāzəl
nipple				ṛās d əl- bzāzəl	ḥəbba d əl- bəzzūla
breast-feeding / period of breast-feeding	traǧða <sup>c</sup>	<i>ṛṇḍḍaʿ</i> 'allaiter'		rḍəʻ əṛ-ṛḍāʻa kā-tṛəddəʻ	əṛ-ṛḍāʿa
wet-nurse			dāda	rḍāʿa umm b əṛ- ṛḍāʿa	ṛḍēʿa
foster brother/sister	xo/ext men er-rḏāʿa	Xu Y mətṛāḍ'ēn 'X et Y sont frères de lait' (Colin 633)		ṛḍī <sup>c</sup> -u ṛḍī <sup>c</sup> t-u	
Barrenness					
barrenness barren	'āger (f.)	bass 'le mal qui empêche la fécondation' bərd 'le froid' nafs 'mauvais œil' sakenha el-		lə-'gər mra 'āgra rāžəl 'āgər	āgər – āgra

	Ḥassāniyya	Morocco <sup>1</sup>	Safi	Marrakesh	Casablanca <sup>2</sup>
		berd 'le froid l'habite' ləmra blā wled nāyba			
menopause	ʻādet mṛa kbīra mā tlāt tžīhe ed- dōra	gaṭaʿat al ʿāda sinn l-yās	ma bqāt š kā- təġsəl	tqəṭṭ'āt lī-ha haqq əš-šhar 'yāt 'she became sterile' (lit. 'she tired herself out') 'yā l ši wāḥəd l- mōtōr = əl- mōtōr 'andu/'andh a 'ayyān 'his/her engine is exhausted' (women because of their age; man/ woman has lost his/her sexual appetite)	mšāt əd- dəmm
Contraceptive s					
birth control pill	ḥabb mene <sup>c</sup> el-ḥamel			əl-fănīd	kīna
condom				préservatif proteks (the most common) əl- kappūt/əl- kabbūṭ taqšīra (lit. 'sock')	
loop					səlk skūbīdu
Illegitimate pregnancy	mṛa mverxa		ləqṭāt-u	kərš dyāl əz-zənqa ḥmāla d əz- zənqa	kərš lə- ḥrām

	Ḥassāniyya	Morocco <sup>1</sup>	Safi	Marrakesh	Casablanca <sup>2</sup>
bastard	verx/a			wəld/bənt l-	ḥrāymi
	māhu šar'i			<i>ḥārām</i>	
				wəld lə-	
				ḥrām	
				wəld/bənt z-	
				zənqa/š-	
				šārə <sup>c</sup>	
				salgūṭa	
				('whore')	
				salgūţ	
				'street boy'	
				šālūṭiyya	
				'street girl,	
				prostitute'	
				znāqiyya	
				'street girl'	

Table B: Morocco

	Salé	Tadla	Meknes	Fes	Sefrou
	Ángeles	A.	A.	A. Barontini	A.
	Vicente	Barontini	Barontini	&	Barontini
		&	&	K. Ziamari	&
		K. Ziamari	K. Ziamari		K. Ziamari
Menstruation					
menstruation	ḥəqq š-šhər l-ḥīḍa			əl-məsxōṭa	əl-ḥēḍ
menstrual	dəmm 1-				
blood	<i>ḥīḍa</i>				
she is/I am	Tīya həqq			žāt-ni l-	žāt-ha xālt-
menstruating	š-šhər			məsxōṭa	ha
_	žātni d-			•	
	dəmm				
	Tīya 1-ḥīḍa				
sanitary	xarga	kəttāna	<i>fāms</i> (old	<i>šrēţ</i>	
towels			brand-		
			name)		
tampons	tanpom				
Virginity					
virginity	1-hna	ʿūdriyya			
virgin girl	<sup>c</sup> əzba			mḥāfḍā 'la	
	bənt			dāk-š-ši	
				māzāl dāk-š-	
				ši f blāṣt-u	
versus non	māši 'əzba	mxəssra		ma 'ənd-ha š	məḥlūla
virgin	māši bənt			dāk-š-ši	ma bqāt š
girl/woman				məḥlūla	bənt
she is a virgin	<i>hĭyya</i>			məsdūda	məsdūda

	Salé	Tadla	Meknes	Fes	Sefrou
	māzāla				māzāla b
	<i>`əzba</i>				mīkt-ha
	māzāla				
	bənt				
hymen		lə-ġša			
Defloration					
defloration	1-hna				
she was deflowered				fərg'āt əṛ- rommāna (lit. 'the pomegranate has burst')	ftātəḥ-ha (lit. 'he conquered her') dəššən-ha (lit. 'he inaugurated her')
he deflowered her	hiyya mxəssra (out of wedlock) hiwwa xəssərha (out of wedlock)	dxəl II-ha		<i>šrək-ha</i> (lit. 'he tore her up') <i>šərrəg-ha</i> (lit. 'he tore her up')	
blood of	,				
defloration					
Pregnancy					
pregnancy			<i>ḥbāla</i>	ḥbāla ḥmūliyya	<i>ḥbāla</i>
being	<i>ḥāmla</i>				
pregnant					
to become		həzzāt kā-	kā-thəzz		
pregnant		təwləd			
to make	hŭwwa			dār 1-ha d-	dār l-ha d-
pregnant	ḥəmməlha			dərri	dərri
imaginary					
pregnancy	<del> </del>				
Birth	gruādo.				
birth	zyāda ūlāda				
to deliver a baby, to give birth	hĭyya wəldāt			bəzzāt	
labour pains	ūžəʿ l-ḥməl				
Caesarean	wəldāt b-				
section	əl-ftīḥ				
to have a	zyāda wəld			wəldāt mən	
preterm birth	ma kəmməl			sbə° šhūr	
	š			žābt-u sbā'i	
to lose the	tāḥ l-wəld			ḍāʿ l-ha əl-	

	Salé	Tadla	Meknes	Fes	Sefrou
baby				wəld	
foetus	tālīd	ət-tīlād			
abortion	kurtāž		curetage		
(willingly); to	tĭyyḥāt l-		cureuge		
procure the	wəld				
abortion of a	77014				
child					
After giving birth					
woman in childbed				nāfsa	
first-born	l-bkər		əl-bəkri –		
child	l-bəkra		əl-bəkriyya		
midwife	1 OGRI U	əl-gābla	ет вектууи		əl-wəllāda
(traditional		61-gaoia			er-weriada
and modern)					
Breast-feeding					+
breasts	şdăr	ən-nhūd			məḥlāba
orcasts	bəzzūla	ən-mud			(lit. 'cheese shop')  līmūnāt  rdēd'āt
nipple					iucu ai
breast-feeding / period of breast-feeding	wəqt r-rḍā <sup>∢</sup>				
wet-nurse		ṛḍēʿt-i		mm-u b əṛ-	əl-muṛḍi⁺a
wet-nurse		mmwi		rdāʿa	ər-maiçii a
foster	xūya/xti f-	iiiiiiiiiii		i ça a	xū-ya/xt-i f
brother/sister	ər-rḍā <sup>€</sup>				ən-nəşş/d ən-nəşş
Barrenness					
barrenness	l-'gər				
barren	I-ʿāgra (women) I-ʿāgər (men)			ma ʿṭā-ha š ḷḷāh	
menopause	ma bqāt š kā-tŭwləd	tqəṭṭʿāt l-ha sinn əl- ya'əs			tsālāt (lit. 'she is finished')
Contraceptives					
birth control	l-kīna d-əl-				
pill	ḥəml				
condom		l-wāqi	əl-wāqi l-ʿāzīl l-capote préservatif əž-žəlda dyāl		

	Salé	Tadla	Meknes	Fes	Sefrou
			tlāta/dyāl sətta (lit. 'boxes of 3/6 condoms') l-wiqāya		
loop	səlk		stérilet		
Illegitimate	ḥməl l-				
pregnancy	<i>ḥrām</i> (by				
	adultery)				
	wəld z-zna				
	(by				
	adultery)				
bastard	wəld māši	mləggəţ			
	šər'i				
	wəld 1-				
	ḥrām				
	mūlūd f-əl-				
	ḥrām				

Table C: Morocco

	Xmīs d-Anjra	Ceuta (Spain)	Chaouen	Errachidiya	Oujda
	Ángeles Vicente	Ángeles Vicente	Aicha Rahmouni	A. Barontini & K. Ziamari	A. Baronti ni & K. Ziamari
Menstruation menstruation	ţəşbīna l-hāyda	ţəṣbīna d-dăwra š- šăhrĭyya	ḥa›› š-šhaʁ l-ḥayḍa	əd-dəmm les règles əl- <sup>c</sup> āda š- šəhriyya	Madam e Bovary
menstrual blood	dəmm l-hāyda		d-dəm d əl- ḥayḍa	əd-dəmm	
she is/I am menstruating	fiyya ţ-ţəşbīna fiyya d-dəmm	žāţni ţ- ţəşbīna	fīha huš fīha dīç əl- hamm žāṭa dīç əl- ġzāla žāṭa dīç z- zmāʁ	fī-ha əd- dəmm žāt-ni əd- dəmm fī-ha/fī-ya les règles žāt-ni/ha les règles je suis occupée žāt-ni žāt-ni hādīk	Madam e Bovary žāt

	Xmīs d-Anjra	Ceuta (Spain)	Chaouen	Errachidiya	Oujda
				fī-ya hādīk fī-ya ət- təḥmēṛa	
sanitary towels	<i>šəmmāla</i> pl. <i>šmāməl</i> <i>rŭq⁴a</i> (rural)	ōlwēyš	f-ţubbān ʁu' <sup>c</sup> a fams sōnya olways	xərqət əd- dəmm xərqa lə-xrūq les couches	
tampons		ģlāq ģəllāqa ġăţṭāş			
Virginity					
virginity		l-hna d-əl- bənţ ʿzūbiyya ţăʿzūbīţ			
virgin girl		hĭyya bāqa bənţ hĭyya bnīţa	bā'a bənī <u>t</u> a	ʻəzba bənt bənt ən-nās	
versus non virgin girl/woman		ma bqāţ ši bənţ māši bənţ	ma b'āṯ ši bnīṯa məfsūḏa	mṛa	
she is a virgin		ʻ <i>ăzba</i> pl. <i>ʻăzbāt</i>	hiyya bā'a bniţa	bāqi ma qās-ha ḥədd ma dxəl š 'lī-ha ṛāžəl bāqa bənt bāqa 'əzba bāqa ma mzəwwža š mḥāfḍa 'la ṛās-ha 'she preserves herself'	
hymen		ž-žəlda	əl-hnā	əl-bakāra əl-ģišā <sup>&gt;</sup>	
Defloration					
defloration		l-hna	hanna	līlt əd-dəxla līlt lə-ʿməṛ līlt əš-šhāda əd-dəxla	ət-tqīb
she was deflowered	gāz fìha fàt fìha	hŭwwa dxəl Iiha hŭwwa ma xăllāhāši bnīţa hĭyya	ţhanna <u>t</u>	tfər'āt 'she was torn up' ttəqbāt 'she was pierced"	

	Xmīs d-Anjra	Ceuta (Spain)	Chaouen	Errachidiya	Oujda
		desvirgarūh a ṭăyyəḥ la l- hna		'fa !!āh wəllāt mṛa tsərrḥāt ('she was unblocked') ṣəbḥāt tfərg āt ('she was blown up') tšərrgāt ('she was torn up') tšərkāt ('she was torn up')	
he deflowered her	thanna bīha	hŭwwa hənnāha hŭwwa ḥăwwāha (very vulgar)	hannāha ʁ- ʁāžəl dyāla aw l-ʿʁūs dyāla	ap )	
blood of defloration		d-dəmm d- əz-zīna d-dəmm d- əl-hna	d-dəm d əl- hnā səbḥa <u>t</u> məzyāna	əd-dəmm əş-şbūḥi əş-şbāḥ	
Pregnancy					
pregnancy				lə-ḥməl	
being pregnant	m'ăddba (lit. 'uncomfortable ') ḥāməl	<u>ḥŭbla</u>	тва ḥamla ʻušва mţa''la ʻayyāna mва mwaḥḥma mḥalḥla bəl- ūḥam	kā-tūləd ḥāmla	
to become pregnant		hĭyya ḥŭbla	ţa <sup>›</sup> 'lə <u>t</u> ḥəmlə <u>t</u> ''āṯ l-'yāl	ḥəmlāt kā-tūləd	
to make pregnant		hŭwwa xăllāha ḥŭbla ḥəbbəlha	ţa <sup>›</sup> la ḥammla	ḥəmməl-ha dār l-ha	
imaginary pregnancy <b>Birth</b>	fīha rāqəd		t-pəṭna f-pəṭna	ḥsāb 1-ha kā-tūləd	
birth		l-wəlda			
to deliver a baby, to give		hĭyya wəldət	wuldə <u>t</u> nəfsət	wəldāt wəlldāt-ha	

	Xmīs d-Anjra	Ceuta (Spain)	Chaouen	Errachidiya	Oujda
birth			mka nzadla ši mka nzad 'anda l- 'wīyəl aw 'wīla aw ţwām	I-qābla	
labour pains	I-ḥrəq I- məssūs (light pains) zaḥma pl. zḥayəm (contractions)	l-ḥrēq d-əl- wŭlda msāwwəs (contraction s)	ḥʁa' d əl- wulda z-zaḥma	I-ūžəʻ lə-ḥrīq d-I- ūlāda əz-zbēṛ (ʻpruning')	
Caesarean section		dərbūla 'la l-kərša wəldət b-əs- sēsārēa wəldət b-əl- 'āmālĭyya	wulda b l- <sup>c</sup> amāliyya	lə-ftīḥ césarienne wəldāt anormal wəldāt mkərfsa wəldāt məskīna bārāsyŏ lə-ġrāzi 'the stitches'	
to have a preterm birth	sbā'i	wəldəţu qbəl šăhru	wulda sbāʿiyya	əs-sbā'i (after 7 months) wəldāt qbəl l-wəqt wəldāt-u sbā'i wəldāt-u ma kāməl š	
to lose the baby		səqtət kān <sup>c</sup> ănda s- sāqūţ	sa²ṭə <u>t</u>	xəssrāt (intr.) ṭāḥ l-ha māt l-ha	
foetus	<i>ţrābi</i> (baby and foetus)	žānīn	ţ-ţĸābi	lə-wlīyəd l-bēbē əş-şġīwər əş-şabi	
abortion (willingly); to procure the abortion		ţĭyyḥātu	tayyḥət/zwə wlat ət-tkābi tayyḥət dīç l-fəkx lli kān f bətna	bġāt tṭəyyəḥ ma bġāt š tūləd ṭəyyḥāt-u ṭəyyḥāt	

	Xmīs d-Anjra	Ceuta (Spain)	Chaouen	Errachidiya	Oujda
After giving birth					
woman in childbed		nfīsa	nfisa	nfisa tamzurt	nāfsa
first-born child	l-bəkri dyāli l-bəkrĭyya dyāli	I-wəld I- lŭwwəl I-kbīr I-bənţ I- lŭwwlĭyya I-kbīra	əl-kbīk w əl- kbīka aw luwwli w luwwliyya	l-uwwəl lə-bkər əş-şabi əz-zyāda	l- məzyūd
midwife (traditional and modern)		qăbbāla	tbība aw I- mumaʁʁiḍa	sage-femme əl-qābla (trad.) əl-fərmliyya (mod.) lə-mṛa lli kā-twəlləd	
Breast- feeding					
breasts	<i>bzīna</i> , pl. <i>bzīnāt, bzāzən</i>	şḍăr	əs-sdəĸ	lə-bzāzəl les seins əs-sdər	ən-nhūd
nipple			sdэк sdэк	ḥəbbāt lə- bzāzəl wəld lə- bzīzlāt	dəwwāṛ a d-əl- bəzzūla
breast- feeding / period of breast- feeding		rḍā <sup>c</sup> a fətrat r- rḍā <sup>c</sup> a kā-tərḍă <sup>c</sup>	ĸţā'a	əṛ-ṇḍāʿa lə-fətra d- əṛ-ṇḍāʿ	
wet-nurse		umm r-rḍāʿa (hĭyya) rəḍʿātni	yimmah d ʁṭāʿa wəlla yimmah ţ- ṭānya	əl-murbiyya nourrice umm ət- tānya	
foster brother/sister		l-xūt mən r- rḍā <sup>c</sup> a l-xūt mən l- ḥlīb	xāy m sṭāʿa xţi m sṭāʿa	xū-ya/xt-i b əṛ-ṇḍāʿa	xū- ya/xt-i m əl- ḥlīb
Barrenness					
barrenness				lə- <sup>c</sup> gər la stérilité	
barren	(hĭyya) ma kā- tŭwləd ši (hŭwwa) ma kā-yŭwləd ši	(hĭyya) ma kā-tə'məl ši l-'yāl (hŭwwa) ma kā- yə'məl ši l-	ʻagək - ʻagka ma la- dəwlad ši	Tagra ma kā-tūləd š ma səhhəl š Tī-ha ḷḷāh ma 'ṭā-ha š	

	Xmīs d-Anjra	Ceuta (Spain)	Chaouen	Errachidiya	Oujda
		'yāl		ļļāh əd- duṛṛiyya	
menopause			ţ-ţəşbīna mšāţ ḥa'' š-šəhaʁ ma b'āţ ši ǧǧi	kəbrāt ma bqāt ṣālḥa thəddnāt 'she calmed down' mšāt l-ha ma kā- təģsəl š	
Contraceptiv es			ţ-ţəbʿī₫	təḥdīd ən- nasl	
birth control pill		knīnəs l-kīna d-əl- ḥbāla	pastiyyā <u>t</u>	kā-tdīr əl- kīna	
condom		l-ġša l-gūma			
loop			s-səlk	dārət əs- səlk	
Illegitimate pregnancy	wəld d-əṛ-ṛḍa (by mistake)		f bəṭna l- ḥʁāmi mxabbʻa ʻammʁu la bəṭna	bənt lə- ḥrām təqḥāb	mqəllša
bastard		wəld l-ḥrām ḥrāymi ʿəmləţ ḥrāymi	hหลิmi bla bābah ma <sup>c</sup> aหfu bābah faynu	wəld əz- zənqa wəld lə- ḥrām ma <sup>c</sup> ənd-u š bbā-h	fərx

Table D: Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Malta

	Algiers <sup>3</sup>	Tolga (T) Sidi Aïssa (SA) <sup>4</sup>	Douz (Maṛāzīg, southern Tunisia)	Tunis	Tripolis	Malta <sup>5</sup>
	Amina Bensalah	Mohamed Meouak	V. Ritt- Benmi- moun	Christo- phe Pereira	Christo- phe Pereira	Martine Vanhove
Menstrua- tion						
Menstrua- tion	bənt əš- šhar əl-'āda əl-ġasl mā hi š ṭāhəṛ əl-ḥayḍ	I-'ada š- šahriyya bənt š- šhəŗ	il-ʿāda (š- šahriyya) ir-rāgil iṭ-ṭʻṭrīg il-ḥēða id-damm	trīq əš- šhar	al-ʿāda ad- dawṛa	il-period
menstrual blood		bənt š- šhər	id-damm	dəmm xasla ḥamra	dəmm ad- dawṛa (aṭ- ṭamaṯ)	id-demm tal-period
she is/I am menstruat ing		žatha bənt š-šhər	ʻalāha iṭ- ṭˈrīg ʻalāha/žat ha/ʻindha I-ʻāda ʻindha d- damm	mrīða	<sup>a</sup> (Tē-ha 1- ʿāda ʿand-ha I-ʿāda ʿand-ha d-dawṛa	qed tara (i.e. qed tara d- demm) jien bil- period (everyday usage)
sanitary towels		šwaləq (SA) lə-band		tarf serviette	gṭon nisāʾi qoṭon nisāʾi	sanitary towels
tampons						tampons
Virginity virginity	'ūdriyya	1		sbē	bakāra	verģinità
virgin girl	<sup>c</sup> ātqa bakr	șģiŗa	ṣūbiyya bikra	şbiyya	bent bekər Gadra	tfajla verģni
versus non virgin			°m <sup>c</sup> arrsa hažžāla °mkașș <sup>i</sup> ṛa	mṛā	mṛa	tfajla mhux verģni

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 3}$  The informant is a woman who lives in Algiers but whose family is from Bou Saada in Southern Algeria.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In the two regions of Biskra and M'sila.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Maltese words are given in official Maltese orthography.

	Algiers <sup>3</sup>	Tolga (T) Sidi Aïssa (SA) <sup>4</sup>	Douz (Maṛāzīg, southern Tunisia)	Tunis	Tripolis	Malta <sup>5</sup>
girl/woma n						(m'għadh iex verġni)
she is a virgin		hiyya şġiṛa	hī ṣūbiyya	hīya ṣbiyya		hi/dik verģni
hymen				șbē ț-țufla sūriyya	ġišā'	verģinità
Deflora- tion Deflora-			(lēlt) id-	<i>โเโอt-อโ-</i>	əd-duxla	
tion			duxla tiksīr	'ərs	əl-fatəḥ	
she was deflowere d	mkəssra 'broken' mxəssra 'lost' fāzda 'rotten, outdated' məxrūga 'pierced' məg'ūra 'deflower ed, pierced'	kbiṛa maši mṛa (T) mxaṣra mtarbga maxruga	t'kaşş'rat t'hannat (socially acceptable term)	şabhət mra	dəxxlu Iē-ha °ndxəl <sup>a</sup> Iē-ha °nfatḥət	
he deflowere d her			kaşşaṛha		lə-ʿrīs dxəl ʿlē- ha <sup>a</sup> ftəh-ha	
blood of defloratio n	əd-dəmm əl-qmūža əş-şbāḥ		ș <sup>u</sup> bāḥ	<i>șbē</i>	dəmm- la- <sup>c</sup> rūs dəmm- əl- bəkāra dəmm- əd-duxla	
Pregnan- cy						
Pregnan- cy			'ayan		l-ḥaməl	it-tqala
being pregnant	ṛā-hi b əl- kərš tqīla ṛā-hi b lə- ḥaml ḥāməl	b-l-ḥəml b-l-žuf rahi ḥəmla	'ayyāna - 'ayāyīn <u>t</u> 'gīla, kunt <u>t</u> 'gīla <sup>a</sup> mtaggla rāfī', rāf'a	ḥəbla	<i>ḥāməl</i>	mara tqila

	Algiers <sup>3</sup>	Tolga (T) Sidi Aïssa (SA) <sup>4</sup>	Douz (Maṛāzīg, southern Tunisia)	Tunis	Tripolis	Malta <sup>5</sup>
	ṛā-hi b əl- žawf/žūf		rfa'- yarfa' hāzza			
to become pregnant	tāḥət b əl- žawf/žūf rəfdət əl- kərš rəfdət əl- žawf/žūf	rəfdət l- kərš	hazzat t <sup>i c</sup> ayy <sup>i</sup> nat ° <u>tt</u> agg <sup>i</sup> lat	ḥəblət	taḥməl	inqabdet tqila tinqabad tqila
to make pregnant		rafədha l- žuf rafədha l- kərš	<sup>c</sup> ayyanha <sup>c</sup> abbā-lha baṭ nha m <sup>i</sup> lā-lha kar³šha	ḥabbalha	yxəlli- ha taḥməl ḥamlət mənn-ah	taqqalha
imaginary pregnanc y	fì-ha rāgəd	ər-ragəd	r <sup>i</sup> gad fāha r <sup>i</sup> gad fī- baṭn umma	təs <sup>s</sup> xāyəl rūḥ-ha ḥəbla	ḥaməl kəddāb ḥaməl kəddābi	
Birth birth		l-ulada ən-nfas z-zyada			wilāda žyāb	it-twelid
to deliver a baby, to give birth	wəldət ziyydət haṭṭət əş- ṣġīr		nifsat, tamfas, nāfis – niffis, nāfsāt wildat – tūlid, tilid zādat w'lad žābat	wuldət zādət	tūləd tžīb	twelled tarbija welldet
labour pains	ūžə <sup>c</sup> əz- zyāda sṭər tā <sup>c</sup> əz- zyāda	z-zḥam	w <sup>i</sup> ža <sup>c</sup> verb: wiž <sup>c</sup> at; tūži <sup>c</sup>	taˈbət twəžž'ət	wažə <sup>c</sup> əl- wilāda wažə <sup>c</sup> əž-žyāb	l-uģigħ tal-ħlas
Caesarean section	bārāsyōn ḥəllu l-ha l-kərš	əz-zyada b-l- ʻamaliyya əz-zyada b-l- barasyun saqət	'imlō-lha 'amaliyya nifsat/wild at b-il- 'amaliyya	'amaliyya césarienne (fr.)	ʻamaliyy a qayşariy ya	Ċesarja
to have a preterm	şġīr qbəl waqt-u	zaydət fə- s-sabə	bū sab³ <sup>←</sup> šhūṛ	wuldət qbal il-	gabəl wogt-ah	twelid qabel iż-

	Algiers <sup>3</sup>	Tolga (T) Sidi Aïssa (SA) <sup>4</sup>	Douz (Maṛāzīg, southern Tunisia)	Tunis	Tripolis	Malta <sup>5</sup>
birth	žābət əs- sbāyə	sabə <sup>c</sup> i	bū sabʻa, bint sabʻa °sbūʻi, °sbūʻiyya žat ʻala timn°šhūr	waqt sbū'i (7 months) tmūni (8 months)	nāgəş mawlūd bakri wilāda bakri	żmien
to lose the baby	dəyy'ət tərhət zərwtət tāh əş-şġīr	ət-tzərwiț ət-triḥ	laww ḥat iờ-ở nē ở nāha ṭāḥ	ặā <sup>c</sup> ṭāḥ əz-zġīr	nazzlət əl-žanīn ṭayyḥət əl-žanīn	korriet, tkorri
foetus	əṭ-ṭfol əṣ-ṣġīr əl-žanīn	şģiṛ l-yəššiṛ	iặ-ặ nē iṣ-ṣ ġīr bēbē	əz-zġīr	žanīn <sup>c</sup> ayyəl	fetu
abortion (willingly ); to procure the abortion of a child  After		tarhət lahət sgirha zərwiət (SA) turhət (SA)	ṭayy <sup>i</sup> ḥat ṭayy <sup>i</sup> ḥāta	tnaḥḥī-h tṭəyyḥ-u	<sup>2</sup> ižhāḍ	abort
giving birth						
woman in childbed	nāfsa	n-nafsa	nāfis	nāfsa	nāfəs	
first-born child	əl-bəkr — əl-bəkra əl-bəkri — əl- bəkriyya	l-bəkri	bik <sup>a</sup> r - bikra bik <sup>a</sup> rha žat bin <sup>a</sup> t	bəkr- umm-u bəkrət- umm-ha lə-kbīr lə-kbīra	bekər – bekra	l-ewwel wild, tifel/tifla
midwife (tradition al and modern)	əl-qābla əd-dāya	l-a'žuz Ili- taqbəl I-mṛa Ili- taqbəl qabla	gābla – g <sup>u</sup> wābil, gāblāt	sage- femme (fr.) qābla sūri (in hospitals) qābla ʿarbi	gābla	qabla midwife
Breast- feeding						
breasts	lə-bzāzəl əz-zwāyəz (zəyza/zīz a 'one breast') əs-sdər	sdar bəzzula	bazzūl ṣad ṛ ṇṇ² (pej.) dēd	bazzūla	bazzūl tadi ṣadər	sider

	Algiers <sup>3</sup>	Tolga (T) Sidi Aïssa (SA) <sup>4</sup>	Douz (Maṛāzīg, southern Tunisia)	Tunis	Tripolis	Malta <sup>5</sup>
nipple			ḥif ma	rās-əl- bazzūla	<i>ḥalma</i> <i>ḥumṣa</i> (vulgar)	il-ponta tas-sider
breast- feeding / period of breast- feeding	əṛ-ṛḍā <sup>c</sup> a		ṛǧāʿa, fatṛat iṛ- ṛǧāʿa	rǧā <sup>c</sup> a	rḍāʿa, riḍāʿa	treddigħ
wet-nurse	əl-muṛḍiʿa	raḍḍa <sup>c</sup> a		murð <sup>c</sup> a	murḍi <sup>c</sup> a	
foster brother/si ster	āx mən əṛ-ṛaḍā <sup>←</sup>			xwāt m- ər-rǧāʿa	āx/uxt b-ər- r(i)ḍā <sup>c</sup> a	
Barren-						
ness						
Barren- ness			'ug³ ṛ			sterilità
barren	'āqər (woman) ma tūləd š ma tžīb š ūlād ma təðni š ma tənžəb š ma yžīb š ūlād ma yəðni š ma yənžəb š	ʻagra ma-təḍniš; ʻagər ma-yəḍniš	'āgir - 'ugguṛ (m/f) verb: 'ugṛat 'to become infertile' mā-yaðnā- š mā-taðnā- š mā-yžīb-š id-dirr mā-džīb-š id-dirr	rāqər mā-təḍnā- š mā-yžīb- əš mā-tžīb-əš	men: 'agim women: 'agima	sterili
Meno- pause	gəṭ'ət əl- 'āda rāḥət bənt əš-šhaṛ trōḥ əl- ġəsla	raḥt <sup>c</sup> aliha bənt š- šəhṛ žat <sup>c</sup> aliha bənt š- šəhṛ		ménopaus e (fr.)	gaṭ'ət əl-'āda sənn al- ya's	il- menopaw sa
Contracep tives		manə <sup>c</sup> l- haməl				kontraċett ivi
birth control pill	əl-cachet	kaši manə <sup>c</sup> l- ḥaməl	<i>ḥarābiš</i>	pilule	ḥbūb manə <sup>←</sup> əl-ḥaməl	il-pill
condom		l-kawitšu	il-wāqi il-kabbūţ	préservatif	kəndəm wāqi kabbūţ	il- kondom

loon	Algiers <sup>3</sup>	Tolga (T) Sidi Aïssa (SA) <sup>4</sup>	Douz (Maṛāzīg, southern Tunisia) fīlsa pl.	Tunis stérilet	Tripolis	Malta <sup>5</sup> il-loop
loop			flis	sternet		п-100р
Illegitima	fərxət		faṛṛ <sup>i</sup> xat		<i>ḥaməl</i>	
-te	kərš lə-				b-əl-	
pregnancy	ḥrām				ḥrām	
bastard	wlīd ḥrām fərx	kəbbul (T) fərx (SA)	wild/bint hª rām	wuld hrām	ḥaraymi wuld	
	əl-lqīt	(- )	far <sup>3</sup> X —	bənt hrām	hrām	
	kəbbūl		farxa	•	·	
			(among			
			youngster			
			s 'cute')			
			kabbūl –			
			kabbōla			

Table E: Egypt and the Sudan

	Cairo	Middle and Upper	Khartoum/Omdurman	Kordofan
		Egypt		
	I. Mostegel/G.	M.	Khalid Tamadur	Stefano
	Rosenbaum/M. Woidich	Woidich		Manfredi
Menstruation				
menstruation	'āda hēḍ (only lower classes) dawra (šahriyya) Exp. il-'āda 'umraha ma xalafīt ma'ād līha 'her menstruation was always regular' biriod (fem.) (upper class) rare in upper class: règles, tom (time of month)		al-ʿāda ad-dawra (aš- šahriyya) rural central: al-ʿāda al-ḥayz	dowra ~ dōra
menstrual	X		damm al-ʿāda/ad-	damm
blood	(damm) il-ḥēḍ		dawra	

	Cairo	Middle	Khartoum/Omdurman	Kordofan
		and		
		Upper		
	damm	Egypt		
she is/I am	'alēha ḍahraha;		fiha d-damm	
menstruating	'andi d-dahr		'indi ad-dawra/al-	
	'alēha l-'āda		<sup>c</sup> āda	
	<sup>c</sup> alēha d-damm		rural central: fini /	
	kānit <sup>c</sup> alayya d-		fīha ad-dawra/al-ʿāda	
	dawra; 'ana 'andi			
	d-dawra; 'andaha			
	d-dawra -š-			
	šahriyya; ma gatli d-dawra			
	('ana) 'andi l-			
	piryud; gat laha			
	l-biriod			
	'andi eks, l-eks;			
	<i>il-eks 1 gatli</i> (old			
	fashioned)			
	(Alexandria:			
	maʿāya l-ʾigz)			
	'andi 'uzr 'I have			
	an excuse'			
	in some families: il-farawla gat			
	ana marfū <sup>c</sup> a			
	mu'aqqatan min			
	al-xidma lit.: 'I			
	am temporarily			
	out of service'			
sanitary	<i>lūli</i> [brand-name,		giṭaʿad-dawra	
towels	informal]		guṭṭon	
	ḥufāḍ		fuwaț șiḥḥiyya	
	fūṭa ṣiḥḥiyya		modes, always	
	always (the		rural: <i>ḥifāẓāt</i>	
	word) 'olwez pad			
tampons	tampaks (rarely			
unipons	used, only in			
	upper class)			
	il-bitā'a di lli b-			
	titḥaṭṭ guwwa			
Virginity				
virginity	<sup>c</sup> uzriyya		al-bakāra	
	bakāra, bikāra			
virgin girl	bikr		bitt fatā	bitt al-fatá

	Cairo	Middle and Upper Egypt	Khartoum/Omdurman	Kordofan
	bint, bint 1 bnūt <sup>c</sup> azrā <sup>6</sup> <sup>2</sup> ānisa 'Miss'		bikir <sup>c</sup> azra (educated)	ṛabā <sup>‹</sup> iyye
versus non virgin girl/woman	hīya maftūḥa (vulgar) hīya ma'yūba madām 'Mrs.' hīya sitt hīya miš bint/bikr		mara <sup>c</sup> azaba maftūḥa	maftūḥa (euphem. fem.) maṛa masʾūla not married: ʿazaba
she is a virgin	X hīya bint/bikr hīya bint 1 bnūt hīya madaxalitš (sic!) il-bint 1 lissa matfataḥitš		(lissa) fatā/bikir	
hymen	wišš ģišā' il-bakāra/il- bikāra (rare)		ģišā al-bakāra	
Defloration				
defloration	'inaba (easy), kilwa (hard), maṭāṭi (no trace) [< internet] duxla, duxūl il-fatḥ		duxal	šaraf typ. male speech: xaṣṣāra educated: fataḥ, dammar
she was deflowered	itfaḍḍit itfataḥit lissa daxla 'imbāriḥ 'she was just deflowered yesterday [after the wedding]; she just got married yesterday'		maftūḥa	maftūḥa
he deflowered her	xad wiššaha, bawwazha il-ʿarīs faḍḍaha,		daxal <sup>c</sup> alēha fataḥha fakk al- <sup>c</sup> uzriyya	

 $^6$  Rosenbaum indicated that the  $^\prime \! \bar{A}mmiyya$  version of this word,  $^\prime \! adra$ , is only used when referring to the Holy Virgin (by both Copts and Muslims), with the definite article il- $^\prime \! adra$  ('The Virgin') or il- $^\prime \! adra$  Maryam ('Virgin Mary').

	Cairo	Middle	Khartoum/Omdurman	Kordofan
		and		
		Upper Egypt		
	faḍḍ ı ġišāʾ il-	Lgypt	fazz al-bakara	
	bikāra/il-		Tuee ar ounara	
	bakāra/bakaritha			
	daxal <sup>c</sup> alēha			
	fataḥ-ha (out of			
	wedlock)			
	fawwitu (vulgar)			
	daxal <sup>c</sup> alēha			
	baladi 'he			
	opened her in the popular style			
	[i.e. with the			
	finger]'			
blood of	damm iš-šaraf			
defloration	(rural)			
	ramz il- iffa			
	damm			
	<i>šaraf il-bint</i> is			
	the handkerchief			
	with the blood			
Pregnancy	1 1 1 1 1			1 -1
pregnancy	ḥaml, ḥabal hāmil ( <sup>3</sup> ana	Middle	žāvio hāmil	ḥumāl qalbāne
being pregnant	nāmii ('ana hāmil minnak 'I	Egypt:	<i>šāyla, ḥāmil</i> (educated)	('tired')
pregnant	am pregnant	malāna	rural: <i>tagīla</i>	janine (newly
	from you')	Upper	fiha jana	pregnant)
	hibla, habla	Egypt:	11114 /4114	<i>ḥāmil</i> (urban)
	<i>malyāna</i> [in	taglāna,		(
	certain phrases]	tigīla,		
	šayla	šāyil,		
	(walad/bint)	šāyla		
	'carrying (a			
	boy/a girl)'			
to become	ḥimlit	Upper	ḥimlat ×ālat	bigat qalbāne
pregnant	šālit, tišīl hiblit	Egypt:	šālat	
	inom	tiglit, titgal		
		masakit,		
		timsik		
to make	ḥabbil, yiḥabbil	Middle	hammalha	
pregnant	waḥda	Egypt:	•	
-	vulgar: nafax,	<sup>c</sup> abba,		
	yunfux (yunşur	yi <sup>c</sup> abbi		
	dīn illi nafaxik!)	waḥda		
	ḥammil,	Upper		
	yiḥammil (more	Egypt:		
	upper class)	taggil,		

	Cairo	Middle and	Khartoum/Omdurman	Kordofan
		Upper Egypt		
	<i>ʿāširha</i> (rural,	yitaggil		
	vulgar, usually	waḥda		
	for animals)			
imaginary	ḥaml ı kāzib		rāgid	jena rāgid
pregnancy	ḥiml ı kāzib			
Birth				
birth	wilāda, nifās			xilāṣa wilāda (educ.)
to deliver a	wildit, xallifit		waḍaʿat	
baby, to give	gābit		wildat	
birth	(bint/walad)		nifsat	
	<i>waḍaʿit</i> 'she		itḥallat	
	gave birth' (orig.			
	Fuṣḥā)			
	gih: galak/galik			
	<i>7ēh?</i> 'what child			
	did you have?'; gāli walad/gat li			
	bint 'I've had a			
	boy/a girl'			
	rabbina 'idda			
	'God gave'			
	rabbina karam			
	'God conferred			
	upon'			
	rabbina 'iddāni			
	walad/bint			
	rabbina karamni			
	biwalad/bint			
	xallif (masc.)			
	and <i>xallifit</i>			
	(fem.) 'to have			
lohour mains	offspring'  tal' (upper class)	Unnan	waja <sup>c</sup> al-wilāda	talaa
labour pains	<i>jal</i> (upper ciass)	Upper Egypt:	aṭ-ṭalig	<i>țalga</i>
	waga cil-wilāda	žawha	ai-iang	
	(lower classes)	sawija		
	il-waga <sup>c</sup>			
	bititwagga ( 'she			
	suffers pains'			
Caesarean	<sup>c</sup> amaliyya		wilāda gayṣariyya;	<sup>c</sup> amaliyye
section	qayşariyya		fatiḥ baṭun, ġēr ṭabī ʿi	
	Salma wildit			
	qayşariyya			
	wilāda			
	qayşariyya			

	Cairo	Middle and	Khartoum/Omdurman	Kordofan
		Upper Egypt		
	wildit qayşari			
	lower classes:			
	ša'' il-baṭn; fatḥ il-batn			
to have a	wildit 'abl 1		ma tāmmi	wildit ma
preterm birth	ma'adha		jana nāgis	tāmme
P	wildit fi sab <sup>c</sup> a		jana sāb <sup>c</sup> a	wildit nāgiş
	(even when in			
	other month);			
	'son of seven			
	months of			
	pregnancy': 'ibn 1 sab'a			
	wilāda			
	mubakkira			
	wildit 'abl 1 l-			
	ma <sup>c</sup> ād			
to lose the	si <sup>v</sup> țit, tis <sup>v</sup> aț		saggaṭat	dāfagat
baby	sa"ațit (intr.)		nazal	
foetus	ganīn		janīn; jana	janīn Samala
	țifl nuțfa			female speech: xulf
	пиџта			(1 <sup>st</sup> 4 months)
				male speech:
				dammāy
abortion	sa''aṭit, tisa''aṭ		ijhā <u>z</u>	al-maṛa di
(willingly); to	sa"ațit			ramat
procure the	roḥha/nafsaha			
abortion of a child	nazzilit iţ-ţifl <sup>c</sup> amalit			
Ciliu	'ighāḍ~'aghaḍit			
	nafsaha (upper			
	class)			
	tafrīġ 'to empty'			
	tas <sup>3</sup> īt			
	nizil 'to go			
A from crivring	down'			
After giving birth			~	
woman in childbed	nafasa		nufăsa	jinn
first-born child	bikri, bikriyya		al-bikir (m/f)	al-bikir (only male)
midwife	dāya (trad.)	Upper	dāya; gabīla (formal)	dāya
(traditional	muwallida	Egypt:	sister (modern)	
and modern)	(mumarriḍa,	ḥakīme,		

	Cairo	Middle and Upper Egypt	Khartoum/Omdurman	Kordofan
	duktūra) (mod.) ḥakīma (mod.; not very common)	gāble		
Breast-feeding				
breasts	sidr bizz (lower class, younger people) bizzaha zayy il- lamūna/ir- rummān		šatur pl. šitūr ṣadur	nahad
nipple	bizz, ḥalama, ḥalamit il-bizz		<i>ḥaluma</i>	dēd
breast-feeding / period of breast-feeding	raḍāʿa riḍāʿa ṭabiʿiyya bitraḍḍaʿ		ruḍāʿa	<i>raḍḍaʿat</i> (verb)
wet-nurse	murḍi ʿa		murḍa <sup>c</sup> a	murḍi <sup>c</sup> a
foster brother/sister	²axūya/²uxti fi r- riḍāʿa ²axūya/²uxti bir- riḍāʿa		murabbi, -iyya	raḍīʿ axū ar-riḍāʿ
Barrenness				
barrenness	'aqr, 'uqr (for women) 'uqm by sorcery, evil eye: ikkabasit; tikkibis			
barren	kabsa Adj. 'aqīm, 'aqīma 'āqim (for men) 'āqir (for women) hīya mabitxallifs hūwa mabiyxallifs hīya 'agza/hūwa 'āgiz		'āgir	maṇa ʿāgir maṇa xunsul (male speech) male: lōṭi
menopause	sinn il-ya's (not a common term) upper class: 'inqiṭā' id-dawra hīya kibrit id-dawra		gaṭaʿat al-ʿāda al-guṭuʿ	gaṭaʿat ad- dowra jagga (male speech ʻold cow') bigat maṛa

	Cairo	Middle and Upper Egypt	Khartoum/Omdurman	Kordofan
	'it'aṭa'it''in'aṭa'it 'aṭa'it 'anha 'it'aṭa'it''in'aṭa'it 'anha; 'in'aṭa'it id-dawra/il- biriod			kabīre
Contraceptives	wasīla 'device, means'		al-māni <sup>c</sup>	
birth control pill	hubūb (man' il- haml) biršām 'capsule'		al-ḥabba	not used
condom	kabbūd, kabbūt upper class: condom 'āzil (ṣiḥḥi) wāqi (zakari)			
loop	lawlab širīṭ lit. 'ribbon'			
Illegitimate pregnancy	ḥaml I ḥarām/zina/sifāḥ ḥimlit fi l-ḥarām gabitu min iz- zina hīya xallifīt fī l- ḥarām		ḥimlat bel ḥarām	
bastard	ibn ı ḥaṭām; bint ı ḥarām bazṭamīṭ ibn ı zina/sifāḥ		ṭāfìh hagēr	jena l-ḥarām wald al- maxṣūra (male speech)

Table F: Palestine, Israel, Jordan and Lebanon

	Jerusalem	'Isifya (Druze, Israel)	Galilee	Amman (Palestinia n origin)	Beirut
	Amina Sayyad	Yafit Marom	J. Rosenhouse/ E. Saigh- Haddad	Leila Kaplan	MA. Germanos
Menstruation					
menstruation	dawra (šahriyye) <sup>c</sup> āde	<sup>c</sup> ādi	el-ʿāde ed-dawre š- šahriyye	əd-dawre š-šahriyye əl- <sup>c</sup> āde	l- <sup>c</sup> āde règles

	Jerusalem	'Isifya (Druze, Israel)	Galilee	Amman (Palestinia n origin)	Beirut
	(šahriyye) period hēḍ		imğiyyi		
menstrual blood	dam ed- dawra				dämm
she is/I am menstruating	žāyītha ažatha/žāyīt ni ma'zūra rāsha/rāsi wisex m'ayyde 'alēha/'alayy ed-dawra	ižatni; žāyitni	ṣār maʿi l- ʿāde ʾaǧatni/ǧāyitn i l-ʿāde xālti ʿindi		žēyəta ma'a I-'āde ṣāxne
sanitary towels	fuwaț xira' tāku always	ōlwez	qoṭon (old) always taxbošet (Hebrew) fūṭa (in Jordan)		always (young) koteks (old) fūṭa ṣəḥḥiyye (rare)
tampons			tambōn ṭibbi		
Virginity					
virginity	<sup>c</sup> uzriyye		bakāra	odriyye (not commonly used)	
virgin girl	bint bēt bint bnūt mbannate 'ānes (an old virgin)	binit	binet <sup>c</sup> adrā	hiyye <sup>c</sup> a <u>d</u> ra	cadra vierge bənt, bənt bnūt məš maftūḥa
versus non virgin girl/woman	mara	maftūḥa baṭṭalit binit miš binit	maftūḥa mara ḥurma		maftūḥa
she is a virgin		hī binit	hiyye binet		
hymen	ģišā' el- bakāra		ģišā³ el- bakāra	ģišā əl- <sup>c</sup> a <u>d</u> āra	
Defloration					
defloration	duxle/lēlet ed-duxle		intihāk	infitāḥ	
she was deflowered	maftūḥa maxtūme daxlat ed- dinya	baṭṭalit binit nāmat maʿā	faqdat šarafha intahkat		nfataḥit fäkk <sup>c</sup> əzra
he	fatahha	nām	fataḥḥa		fataha

	Jerusalem	'Isifya (Druze, Israel)	Galilee	Amman (Palestinia n origin)	Beirut
deflowered her	'axad wižehha xaza'ha	ma'āha	intahakha		
blood of defloration	dam ed- duxle dam šaraf bayāḍ el- wižeh				dämm
Pregnancy					
pregnancy		ḥamil	ḥamel ḥabal	ḥamel ḥabal	ḥabal ʾəstiʾāme
being pregnant	ḥāmel ḥiblā mxabbye mḥawše m'aššre	<i>ḥibla</i>	hibla hāmel mistqīme (rural, old)	hiyye ḥeblā hiyye ḥāmel	hāmel həble məst'īme mänfūxa (vulgar)
to become pregnant	ḥiblet ḥimlet ʿaššarat	ḥiblit ṣārat ḥibla	<i>ḥiblet</i>		təḥbal təstʾīm
to make pregnant	ḥabbalha <sup>c</sup> aššarha		<i>ḥabbalha</i>		<i>ḥabbal</i> <i>näfäx</i> (vulgar)
imaginary pregnancy	ḥamel kāzeb	ḥamil kaḏḏāb	ḥabal kādeb		ḥamäl kēzib, ḥamäl kəzzēbe, 'əsti'āme wähmiyye, ḥabal wähme
Birth					
birth		xilfi žiyābi	xilfe (wilāde)	wilāde	
to deliver a baby, to give birth	wildet 'āmat bi-s- salāme xallafat	xallafat žābat	xallafat ğābat walad/bint wildat 'ağāha walad	hiyye bətxallef hiyye btūlad bətžīb ūlād	xälläfit wällädit žēbit wäläd xallaṣit (b- xēr) fä''äsit wlēd (if a couple has already many children; pej.)
labour pains	ṭaleʾ ṣār ʿindha tawassuʿāt	<i>țaliq</i>	ţaleq	ṭale'; iǧāhā ṭ- ṭale' (ṭalaq, talač)	țala <sup>)</sup> ('ālām) əl- maxāḍ
Caesarean	<sup>c</sup> amaliyye	žābat fi	<sup>c</sup> amaliyye	'amaliyye	xälläfit/wälläd

	Jerusalem	'Isifya (Druze, Israel)	Galilee	Amman (Palestinia n origin)	Beirut
section	qayşariyye ša'{āha] wildet bi-l- žirāḥa	<sup>c</sup> amaliyy i	qayşariyye	qayşariyye	it šä'' wlēde šä' 'césarienne qayṣariyye
to have a preterm birth	xuddaž ṭary inwalad sbāʿi	žābat bakkīr žābat qabil- ma txalliş šahirha	xallafat qabel waqtha	wilāde s°bā'iyye/ s°māniyye	wällädit 'ab' l wä'ta xəli' 'ab' l tərmo/'abl b- wä't
to lose the baby	țerțet nazzalat xisritu sa <sup>33</sup> ațat	il-walad māt fi baṭinha	ramat ṭarraḥat (el- walad)	tanzīl; hiyye bətnazzel	rawwaḥit
foetus	žanīn elli bi- baṭenha bubbu	žanīn	<i>ğanīn</i>		žanīn baby; bébé
abortion (willingly); to procure the abortion of a child	ižhāḍ, ažhaḍat nazzalat sa³³aṭat	ramat nazzalat qāmat	taṭrīḥ 'imlat gredá	tanzīl	'əžhāḍ; 'ažhaḍit sa''aṭit
After giving birth					
woman in childbed	nafasa	nafās	nafsa	ən-nafās	mwällde ždīd nəfse (old)
first-born child	il-walad il- bikr il-bint il- bikr	bikir, bikriyyi	biker (m/f)	əl-bik³r	bək <sup>ə</sup> r, bəkriyye
midwife (traditional and modern)	qābile dāye wallāde	dāyi (old) nārsi	dāye qāble (rare)	dāye	dēye (trad.)  'āble (modern) sage-femme
Breast- feeding					
breasts	bzāz șider	sidir bizz	șider bizz		şə¢ <sup>†</sup> r bəzz
nipple breast- feeding / period of breast- feeding	ḥalame rḍāʿa ṭabiʿiyye tamṣīṣ	ḥalami riǧāʿa fatrat ir- riǧāʿa	ḥalame rḍāʿa fatrat er-rḍāʿa	əl-mara bətraḍḍe <sup>₹</sup>	ḥalame (fătrit) rḍā <sup>c</sup> a (fătrit) tərḍī <sup>c</sup>
wet-nurse	murḍi <sup>c</sup> a		murḍiʿa,	əl-³imm bi	mərḍ <sup>c</sup> a

	Jerusalem	'Isifya (Druze, Israel)	Galilee	Amman (Palestinia n origin)	Beirut
			merḍ <sup>c</sup> a	r-r³ḍāʿa	
foster brother/sister	ax/uxt bi-r- riḍā <sup>‹</sup> a	ixwi fi r-riǧāʿa	³axū/³uxtu ba-r-rḍāʿa		xäyy/²əxt b- ər-rḍāʿa
Barrenness					
barrenness	<i>`uqum</i>		<sup>c</sup> uqom	<sup>c</sup> uqum	
barren	'āqer 'aqim, 'aqime 'arḍ būr ma biyxallef ma bitxallef	biģdarš yxallif bižībš uwlād btiģdarš 'tžīb uwlād 'indha mašākil	hiyye ʿāqer ʿindo/ʿinda mašākel bitxallifeš	hiyye ʿāqim mā bətxallef	ʿāqir (m/f) ʿaqīm, -e ma fīya tžīb wlēd
menopause	sinn il-ya's sinn il-'amal 'aṭ'atha id- dawra/il- 'āde	baṭṭalat tižīha qaṭ <sup>c</sup> atha	qaṭʿatha el- ʿāde sinn el-yaʾs (Bedouins)		baṭṭalit təžīya 'aṭa'əta sənn əl-yä's (old) ménopause
Contraceptive	māne <sup>c</sup>			əl-māne <sup>⟨</sup> ,	
s				əl- mawāne⁴	
birth control pill	ḥbūb mane <sup>c</sup> il-ḥamel	dawa	ḥbūb man <sup>c</sup> el-ḥabal	ḥbūb əl- māne <sup>c</sup> ḥbūb māne <sup>c</sup> l- hamel	ḥbūb man³ ʿ ḥamäl pilule
condom	kundum	kondōm		əl-kīs əl-kabbūt	käbbūt (vulgar) préservatif condom
loop	lawlab	wāṣṭa	wāṣṭa	lawlab	lawlab stérilet loop
Illegitimate pregnancy	ḥamel ġēr šarʿi ḥiblet bi-l- ḥarām				
bastard	iben ḥarām iben zina laqīṭ immuh zanat fī	bandūq, -a ibin/bint ḥarām	bandūq ʿakrūṭ	ib°n ḥarām	təf l ger šar'e; 'əb'n ḥarām, 'əb'n zina, 'əb'n barrēt əz-zawēž; la'īṭ; bändū' ('rusé')

Table G: Syria, Iraq and Yemen

	Damascus	Baghdad	Mosul	Sanaa
	R. Al-Doukhi	Amira Jaafar	Sonia	H. Maloom &
	N. Grigoryan		Aldulayme	F. Dumas
Menstruation				
menstruation	əd-dawra (əš- šahriyye) əl-ʿāde əš-šahriyye əl-ḥēḍ əṭ-ṭaməs	il-ʿāda modern: id- dawra	əl-ʿādi	al-ʿādah ḥagg aš-šahr bayt al-aḥmar axwālha ad-dawreh maʿdūreh
menstrual blood	damm əl-ḥēḍ, damm ət-ṭaməs, damm əd-dawra	id-damm, damm il-ʿāda id-damm māl il-ʿāda	damm əl- <sup>c</sup> ādi	dam al- <sup>c</sup> ādah dam al-ḥayð
she is/I am menstruating	°əžətni bənt xālti žāyytni əd-dawra (əl-'āde, bənt xālti) ma'zūra	'alēha I-'āda, 'idha I-'āda 'alayya I-'āda old: āni hassa naksa mā 'indi şala	'alayya l-'ādi ğətta l-'ādi wəğ'āni ğayyəta	ğat laha I- 'ādah 'andha ḥagg aš-šahr 'andha bayt al-aḥmar 'andha axwālha ğat laha d- dawreh Euphemisms: ana ma'dūreh mā 'alayya ṣala/ṣiyām maǧǧizeh
sanitary towels	fūṭa	kōtaks trad. wuṣal (pl. of wiṣla) xirag	qəṭn əl-ʿādi olweyz	olwayz kūteks mūdīs fūṭa (ṣiḥḥiyyah) ḥafāzāt min ḥagg an- niswān xirgah/gaṣīrah (old)
tampons				
Virginity				
virginity	<sup>c</sup> əzriyye bakāra bətüle	('adriyye)		ḥagg an-nās nāmūs (al- bint) bikr (al-bint) ʿad̞riyah

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	Damascus	Baghdad	Mosul	Sanaa
virgin girl	bən <sup>o</sup> t	bnayya	bəkəġ	ʿādīh bint/bikr
	<sup>c</sup> azra		bənət	<sup>c</sup> azbah
	bək <sup>ə</sup> r			'adrā'
	batūl			mā aḥad gad
				daxal
				'alayha/'assha
versus non	mara		mā bənət	mā ʿādīhš
virgin	<i>ḥərme</i>		ʻāmli s-sətti	bint/bikr
girl/woman			w-əs-sab'a	gad aḥad
			(she had	'assha/daxal
			relations out	<sup>c</sup> alayha
	1 - 1 1		of wedlock)	C= 1-1
she is a virgin	ləssāta bən³t	hiyya bnayya ba <sup>c</sup> adha		<sup>c</sup> ādīh
				bint/bikr/'adrā
1	::¥=) -1 11-=	bnayya	ġəšāʾ əl-	
hymen	ģišā³ əl-bakāra		_	
Defloration			bakāġa	
defloration	fadd əl-bakāra			
she was	mā 'ādet bən' t	indaxal <sup>c</sup> alēha	manqūbi	gad aşbahat
deflowered	sāret mara	manur arena	ənnaqabət	gad tammu
	ətžawwazet			gad saddu
he deflowered	ətžawwaza	il- <sup>c</sup> arīs daxal	əl- <sup>c</sup> arīs	xazagha
her	nām ma⁴a	<sup>c</sup> alēha	fataḥa/naqab	faga ha
			a	
blood of	damm əl-bakāra	damm id-	damm əl-	ṣabāḥ, bikr,
defloration		duxla	'a <u>d</u> riyye	nāmūs
Pregnancy				
pregnancy	<i>ḥabal</i>	<i>ḥbāla</i>	<i>ḥaməl</i>	wiḥām
	ḥam³ l			
being	<i>ḥablāne</i>	<i>ḥāmil</i>	<i>ḥəbli</i>	gadīh
pregnant	<i>ḥāməl</i>	rural: <i>ḥibla</i>		wāḥimah
	mxabbye šī			
to become	<i>ḥəblet</i>	tiḥbal	təḥbal	waḥmat
pregnant	<i>ḥamlet</i>		kən-bala ət	
	xabbet		<u>dəbbēni</u>	
to make	ḥabbal ,	ḥabbalha	<i>ḥabbala</i>	waḥmat
pregnant	ḥammal	ḥiblat minna		minneh
	xabba 'anda šī	1 11 =11. \( \tau \) 1 11		
imaginary	ḥam³l wahmi	ḥibālit čidib	ḥaməl kāḍəb	
pregnancy		u.a.		
Birth birth	wlāde, xəlfe	<i>ğēbūba</i>	<i>ğēbūbi</i>	wilād, talg
OILUI	wiaue, xəne	geouoa	wəlāda	wiiau, įaig
to deliver a	žābet	ğābat ğāhil	ğābət	ǧāha ṭ-ṭalg/l-
baby, to give	walladet	wildat	kəğğīb	wilād/l-waǧaʿ
birth	wəldet	dabbat (ǧāhil)		waldat
•	xallafet	2 (8)		
labour pains	tal <sup>p)</sup>	tlūga	∂alam əţ-	'asarāt al-

	Damascus	Baghdad	Mosul	Sanaa
	'ālām/'awžā' əṭ-ṭaf', taqalluṣāt/tašannužā t ər-rəlf'm w əl- mahbal		ṭaləq ka-təṭləq	wilād las <sup>c</sup> āt al-wilād zaḥarāt al- wilād
Caesarean section	'ayşariyye wlāde 'ēşariyye	fataḥ baṭin qayṣariyya	qayşariyye 'amlūla qayşariyye	'amaliyyeh gayşariyyeh waldat bi- 'amaliyyeh gayşariyyeh fakku laha 'amaliyyeh wassa'u laha
to have a preterm birth	žābet/walladet 'ab'l wa"ta sabba'et, wəldet "sbē'iyye, 'āmet/wəldet 'ab'l 'awānha		ǧābət qabəl waqta	waldat gabal wagtha
to lose the baby	tarḥet rawwaḥet nazzalet ṣa''aṭet 'ažhaḍet	ţurḥat (ţuruḥ)	ţaġaḥət	aṣgaṭat ṣaggaṭat
foetus	žanīn	<i>ğāhil</i>		nīnī al-ǧāhil laḥmeh (at the beginning of the pregnancy)
abortion (willingly); to procure the abortion of a child	'əžhād taş'īṭ taṭrīḥ	ṭarruḥat nafīsha ṭarraḥūha	ṭaġġaḥət nafsa	nazzalat al- ǧāhil ṣaggaṭat al- ǧāhil
After giving birth				
woman in childbed	mən² fse	nifsa	nafasi	an-naffās al-wālideh
first-born child	(walad) bək <sup>°</sup> r bəti <sup>°</sup> t bək <sup>°</sup> t/ bəkriyye	bičir (m/f)	<i>bəkəġ</i> (m/f)	al-bikr (m/f) al-bakriyyeh (f)
midwife (traditional and modern)	dāye ʾāble ʾānūniyye	rural: ḥabbūba (also 'grandmother' ) urban: ǧidda modern: qābila ma'dūna	ğədda qābile ma¹₫ūne	al-muwallideh al-ğaddah ad-daktūreh gāblah

	Damascus	Baghdad	Mosul	Sanaa
Breast-feeding			1120001	
breasts	səd <sup>ə</sup> r	sadir	dēs	<i>bizz</i> pl. <i>abzāz</i>
	°bzāz	<i>dēs</i> pl. <i>dyūs</i>	sadər	F
nipple	<i>həlme</i>	hilma	ḥalami	bizz, summah,
**	,	•	•	<i>șadr</i>
breast-feeding	rḍāʿa, tarḍīʿ	tar <i>ðī</i> <sup>c</sup>	ġəǧāʿa	ta'ği, tarða'
/ period of	fatret lə-rḍāʿa		ka-tġaǧðəʻ	
breast-feeding				
wet-nurse	mər <sup>ə</sup> ḍ <sup>‹</sup> a/'əmm b- ərḍā <sup>‹</sup> a	mur <i>ģi <sup>c</sup>a</i>	muġðəʿa	murði ʿah raððā ʿah
foster	°axx/°əx°t b-ərḍā′a	²axu bi-r-	∂əxwe bə-l-	°ax/°uxt bi-r-
brother/sister		riǧāʿa	ġəǧāʿa	raǧāʿah
Barrenness				
barrenness	Gg <sup>2</sup> m		<sup>c</sup> uqum	
barren	mā bətžīb ³wlād	ʿāgir	ʿāqər	ʿāgir (f)
	mara 'āqer/zalame	mā yṣīr ʿidha		mā
	ʿāqer ḍə®f žənsi	<i>ğahhāl</i>		bat awwalš
				mā bi awwalš
				gaṭī <sup>c</sup> (m/f)
				šağrah mā
				tanbatš <sup>2</sup> arð būr
mananausa	<sup>'</sup> əyyās, wa'f	gaṭʿatha l-ʿāda	maqṭūʿa 1-	gaṭaʿatha l-
menopause	əyyas, wa 1 əddawra/əl-ḥēḍ/əṭ-	gai ama 1- ada	'ādi 'alayya	gaṇa ama 1-
	taməs		aur arayya	wasalat sinn
	sənn əl-ya"s			al-vās (mod.)
	Seim ei yu s			mā 'ād bitǧī-
				lahāš al-ʿādeh
				gadi <sup>c</sup> ağūz
				gg
Contraceptive	mawāne' ḥaml	man <sup>c</sup> il-ḥamil	mānə⁺	
birth control	habbet man' haml	habbāyet man⁴	hubūb man⁴	hubūb man <sup>←</sup>
pill	ḥbūb man ʿəl-ḥam l	il-hamil	əl-ḥaməl	al-ḥaml
condom	kabbūt, kabbūd		flāš leder	kindom
	wāqi zakari		_	<sup>c</sup> āzil
				wāgi
loop	lōlab	lawlab		lawlab
Illegitimate	ḥaməl mū šarʻi			waḥmat
pregnancy				zanwah
bastard	∂əb³n ḥarām	ibin ḥarām	bīğ	ibn ḥarām
	əb³n zəne	naġal	naġal	zanwah
	əb³n mū šar′i			lugṭah