

Where Does the Wadi Come from? : The Cognitive Space of the Sinaitic Bedouin

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Where Does the Wadi Come from?: The Cognitive Space of the Sinaitic Bedouin

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PURPOSE

The purpose of this paper¹⁾ is to provide linguistic data concerning spatial expressions used by the Arab Bedouin people, and then to investigate how the space in which they live is structured in their cognition. My discussion is based on data collected during my field research among the nomadic people in Southern Sinai²⁾.

Physical space, which consists of what we may call spatial material, should be functionally divided at various levels, such as, among other things, the level of human sense, the social level involving the relation among individuals or groups, and the level of livelihood pertaining to food, clothing and shelter. Focal spatial entities (or places) which have culturally important distinctive features in the natural environment tend to be expressed in simple, not compounded, linguistic forms. It is only after having been linguistically re-structured through a cultural filter that physical space is perceived as cognitive space in the human mind³⁾.

In the following, the cognitive space of the Jbāli tribe in Southern Sinai will be discussed. Prepositional and demonstrative expressions which are directly relevant to the spatial notions in the Jbāli Arabic dialect will be compared with their corresponding expressions in Cairene Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. Then, folk direction concerning the wadi, which is very important as the space of daily life, will be discussed.

HISTORY OF THE JBALI TRIBE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

As found in Biblical testimony, the Sinaitic Peninsula has been populated since comparatively ancient times. Geographically, it is located at the joint between the two large continents of Eurasia and Africa, and functioned as a landbridge through which people moved between Africa and Asia. Geologically, we can divide the Sinaitic Peninsula into two parts. Northern Sinai is largely composed of a barren tableland, while, in Southern Sinai, one finds a mountainous composition with desert on its outskirts⁴⁾.

After the advent of Islam, many Arabian tribes moved through Northern Sinai as through a corridor, but some of them moved southward into Southern Sinai, and



Photo. 1 A Bedouin's tent built in the wadi

settled there, with the result that, probably as is the case with the so-called peninsula in general, the geographical distribution of tribal settlements has grown rather complicated in comparison with other nomadic areas.

The Monastery of St. Catherine has a special status in the history of Southern Sinai. When the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (527–566 A.D.) built the Monastery, he settled by it some 200 families brought from the northern shore of Anatolia, the present Bosnia (the southwestern part of the former Yugoslavia), and Wallachia (the southern part of Rumania), and from Alexandria (Egypt), in order to serve and protect the monks of the Monastery. The people of the Jbāli tribe are the offspring of these families, who originally lived as serfs⁵⁾.

The word *jbāli*⁶⁾ or its classical Arabic counterpart *jibālī* is an adjective form derived from the noun *jibāl* "mountains" (singular form, *jabāl*), and originally means "people in the mountains." Formerly, they lived exclusively around the Monastery of St. Catherine, but at present, they are found at Wadi el-Feiran (the famous biblical Pharan) and the city of al-Ṭūr (the administrative city of the Province of Southern Sinai). The present Jbāli tribe consists of four tribal subgroups⁷⁾. It is estimated that the number of Jbāli people is around two thousand.

At the time of their settlement, they embraced Christianity, but, with increasing contact with surrounding Muslim people, they later converted to Islam.

As for their language, when they settled in Sinai, it seems that they were speaking some dialect of Greek or Latin. Now, they speak a variety of the so-called Bedouin Arabic with many isolated characteristics. Based on a little fragmentary

historical evidence and some of the linguistic peculiarities of their dialect, we can tentatively say that they learned to speak Arabic a short time after their settlement in Sinai, and that their first Arabic was a pidgin(-like) Arabic, which became a linguistically full-fledged mother-tongue as spoken at the present time through the process of creolization and de-creolization⁸⁾.

Generally in the process of pidginization and creolization, a given language system is found to be drastically re-structured, to the extent that its re-structured system conforms to some universal patterns. This is because, as some universalists explain, the historical residue which had been piled up between the surface linguistic forms and human cognitive behavior is removed. Whether this might be the case with Jbāli Arabic is unclear, but some of its linguistic traits, including the system of spatial expressions under discussion in this paper, conform to the process concerned.

Last, I would like to remark about the present general linguistic situation in Sinai. Following the Israeli occupation, the Sinaitic Peninsula is now a part of Egyptian territory. Historically, indeed, it has had much longer contact with the Syro-Palestine area than with Egypt, so, even now, the two areas, Sinai and Syro-Palestine, share common linguistic and cultural characteristics. But, with the increasing influence of Egyptian culture, their language or dialects tend to be affected, mainly due to the spread of education and TV sets, by the Cairene dialect, especially among the younger generation.

LEXICAL ITEMS FOR SPATIAL EXPRESSIONS

Prepositions

1) Before and behind

Jbāli Arabic prepositions for indicating the spatial relationship "before" and "behind" some focal object (= A) can mark two types of cognitive space, one being relatively close to A and the other being relatively separate from A. In the following table, prepositions for "before" are given in the order of Jbāli Arabic (= JA) form, Cairene Arabic (= CA) form, and Modern Standard Arabic (= MSA) form⁹⁾.

	JA	CA	MSA
close	fwujh ¹⁰⁾	'uddām	'amāma
distant	geddām		

The following sentences are Jbāli Arabic examples.

- (1) hū gāfed geddām-i
he sitting before-me

"he is sitting in front of me."

(2) hū gāfed fwujh-i

he sitting before-me

"he is sitting right in front of me."

Jbāli Arabic prepositions for "behind" are used in the same way as the prepositions for "before." The following table shows the relevant forms¹¹⁾.

	JA	CA	MSA
close	ḡahar ¹²⁾	wara	warā ¹⁴⁾
distant	gafa ¹³⁾		

(3) ana gafā-(h)

I behind-him

"I am behind him."

(4) ana ḡahar-o

I behind-him

"I am right behind him."

These prepositional usages in Jbāli Arabic show that, both in the frontal direction and in the back direction, the space is cognitively divided into two domains, but it is difficult to draw a physically clear-cut boundary between them, or to define them in purely physical terms. Native Jbāli speakers, based on their intuition, explain the different usage of the relevant prepositions by the expression "within the reach of his or her hands," but it is to be noted that this notional division of the two domains is relative, and that not only the physical distance from (or closeness to) a given object but also the psychological closeness (or "familiarity") plays an important role in their usage. This can be illustrated as in Figure 1.

2) Above and below

As in the case of the prepositions for indicating "before" and "behind," those for "above" are used to mark the two types of spatial domains in accordance with the closeness to the focal object.

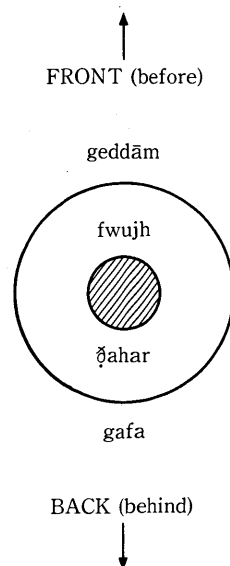


Figure 1

Jbāli Arabic prepositions
for before and behind

	JA	CA	MSA
close	fōg ¹⁵⁾	fo'	fawqa
distant	min ḥard ¹⁶⁾		

In contrast, Jbāli Arabic has only one preposition for “below,” which can be used to cover the whole spatial domain below the focal object, regardless of the parameter of closeness.

JA	CA	MSA
taḥat ¹⁷⁾	taḥt	taḥta

The spatial image formed by these prepositions can be illustrated as follows (Figure 2).

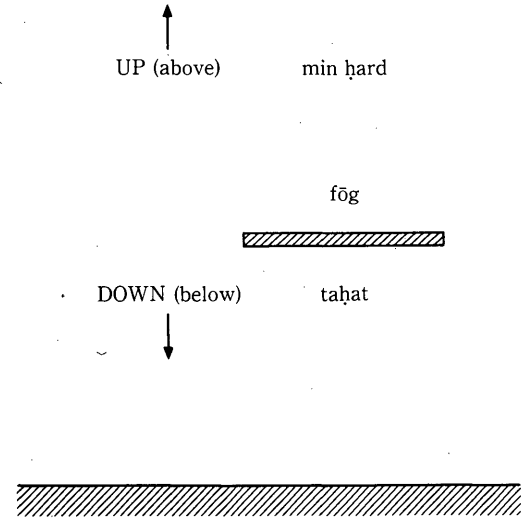


Figure 2 Jbāli Arabic prepositions for above and below

3) Beside

To express the relationship among objects which are found beside each other or one another, Jbāli Arabic speakers use the relevant prepositions in accordance with the pattern of arrangement, not with the parameter of closeness.

JA	CA	MSA
jamb~janab ¹⁸⁾	garnb	janba (bi-jānibi)
fṭōl ¹⁹⁾		

The following Figure 3 effectively shows the different usage of the two prepositions in the patterns of arrangement.



A jamb (~janab) B



A ftol B

Figure 3 Jbali Arabic prepositions for beside

The preposition *ftol* always connotes that the focal objects stand side by side surely in a line.

In addition to these prepositions, *jār* (~*jārat*) (XXII-5) is exclusively used when a neighboring relationship among human beings is concerned.

- (5) hū gāfed jār-i
 he sitting -me
 "he is sitting next to me."
 (6) hī gāfde jār-i
 she sitting -me
 "she is sitting next to me."

4) Inside and outside

The usual locative prepositions for "in, at" are *f(i)* (XXVII-5) and *find* (XXVII-5). The locative prepositions for expressing distinctively "inside" are as follows.

JA	CA	MSA
jūwa ²⁰⁾	gūwa	fī
baṭn ²¹⁾		

The semantic difference between the two prepositions, *jūwa* and *baṭn*, is obscure, but the latter seems to be originally a local dialect expression.

The prepositions for "outside" are as follows.

JA	CA	MSA
barra ²²⁾	barra	xārija

Demonstratives

The following demonstratives are used to indicate the spatial domain relatively close to the focal point or object.

JA	CA	MSA
heni ²³⁾	hena	hunā
nhāni ²⁴⁾		

The demonstratives used to refer to the spatial domain relatively distant from the focal point or object are given in the following table.

JA	CA	MSA
henōt (~hnāk) ²⁵⁾	henāk	hunāka

We can illustrate the spatial images referred to by each demonstrative diagrammatically as in Figure 4.

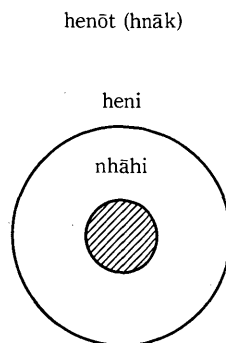


Figure 4
Jbāli Arabic demonstratives

This figure clearly shows that, unlike Cairene Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, both of which have an identical way of referring to the spatial domains by the demonstratives concerned, Jbāli Arabic has a three-way division of the space. In Jbāli Arabic demonstrative usage, the spatial domain relatively close to the focal point is divided further into two parts, one being the less close domain and the other being the much closer domain. It seems that this distinction made by way of *nhāni* between the two types of domains is cognitively very important to Jbāli Arabic speakers, who explain the different usage of the two demonstratives concerned, by the illustrative image of “the spatial domain within the reach of one’s hands.” This intuitive explanation is interestingly similar to the case of the above-mentioned prepositional usage.

It should be understood here that in the cognitive system concerning the usage of Jbāli Arabic demonstratives, the spatial domain which is much closer to the focal point (or the speakers) (or the spatial domain which is found “within the reach of his or her hands”) constitutes a very important cognitive sphere. This cognitive boundary is hard to delimit in the physical way, but a similar system for spatial reference can be discerned in the cognitive space formed around the wadi. In the next section, we will provide the lexicon concerning the wadi, and discuss how the wadi is divided as a unit of cognitive space by the Jbāli people.

FOLK-DIRECTIONAL EXPRESSIONS CONCERNING THE WADI

The wadi (*wādi* / pl. *wudyān* : XVII-40, XVII-45) is a dry river. In the Sinaitic Peninsula, the wadis commonly take the shape of a valley. When it rains in winter, its water sometimes floods and flows on the river bed (or wadi-bed, which is used as a road in the dry season). This flooding water is called *səl* (pl. *syūl*) (XVII-46)²⁶⁾. The *səl* as a water supply is indispensable to the people who live around the wadi,



Photo. 2 Entrance of the wadi

but it is very dangerous to them, especially when it runs in torrents. In many wadis, such as Wadi el-Feiran, people live in houses which are usually built in a relatively high place on the (rather steep) slope of the mountain facing the wadi. They can escape the dangerous *sēl* only in this way. Before discussing the system of folk direction concerning the wadi, we should gain some concrete idea about it. In the following list, the salient topographical features in the typical configuration of a wadi are given names in Jbāli Arabic.

Mountain: *jabal* (pl. *jbāle~jbāl*) (XVII-35) is a common word.

A rocky mountain is called *wafra* (XVII-35).

Parts of a mountain: the summit is *rās* (*əj-jabal*) or *gimme* (XVII-37).

nagb (XVII-37) refers to a plate-like part in or on the mountain where one can find a way for camels or cars.

safh (XVII-37) and *ḥarf* (*əj-jabal*) (XVII-37) refer to the foot of the mountain, and a steep mountainside respectively.

The rocky part or ground in the mountain or at the foot of the mountain is called *zirdebbē~zirḏebbe* (pl. *zarādebb*) (XVII-39).

Hill: *dabbe* (pl. *dabbāt*) (XVII-39) or *tall* (pl. *tlūl~tlāl*) (XVII-39).

Cave: *mayāra* (pl. *mayārāt*) (XVII-38) refers to a rather big or long cave, while a rather small or short cave is called *ṭabaga* (pl. *ṭabagāt*) (XVII-38).

Wadi: *wādi* (pl. *wudyān*) (XVII-40, XVII-45). As mentioned above, the word *wādi* usually means both "valley" and "dry river."

The lower entrance part of the wadi is called *awwal* (*wādī*) (XVII-40), which

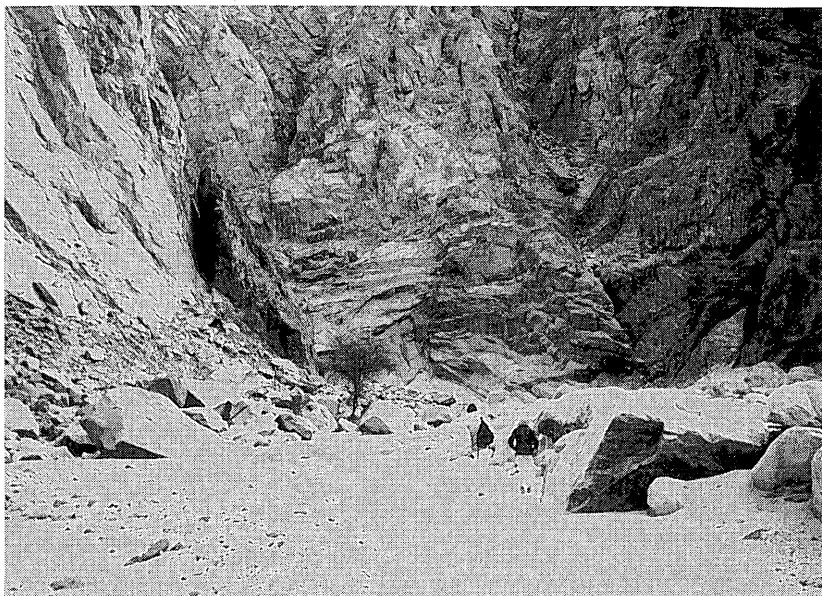


Photo. 3 Rocky mountain-side in the wadi

literally means “the first (part of a wadi).” *Awwal* (*wādī*) is located at the point from which the *sēl* flows away.

On the other side of the wadi, one finds a point called *āxar* (*wādī*) (XVII-40), which literally means “the other (part of a wadi).” The *sēl* flows from *āxar* (*wādī*) which is located at the upper entrance of the wadi.

The prepositional phrase *fōg il-wādī* (XVII-40), which literally means “on the wadi,” is, interestingly enough, used to express the locative relation referring to a place at the mountain-peak side of the wadi. In this case, the preposition *fōg* is taken to refer to a place not in the vertical direction but in the direction of *āxar* (*wādī*).

Some additional words peculiar to the wadi are also given: *dīse* (pl. *dīsāt*) (XVII-41) refers to a thicket of small trees found at the part of the wadi where water flows. A steep slope leading to the wadi bed is called *ḥdūde* (IX-24). The Bedouin people living in the Sinaitic deserts have a rich vocabulary for the topography and the phenomena concerning water resources in the wadi. This topic will be dealt with in another paper. We are now in a position to discuss the system of folk-direction concerning the wadi²⁷).

Verbal expressions:

As for verbs of movement and transportation, *rawwah* (Pf.) / *yrawwah* (Impf.) “to go” (IX-1) and *je* (~*ja*) (Pf.) / *yiji* (Impf.) “to come” (IX-2) are generally used. In addition, we have the verbs *gōtar* (Pf.) / *ygōtar* (Impf.) (IX-1) and *ṣaggad* (Pf.) / *yṣaggad* (Impf.) (IX-1), when referring to the action of moving away from some



Photo. 4 A water flow in the wadi

focal point. The verbs *yaḥfi* (Pf.) / *yayaḥfi* (Impf.) (IX-3) and *lagga* (*ḥala*) (Pf.) / *ylagga* (Impf.) (IX-3) refer to action in the opposite direction. Jbāli Arabic contains special verbs referring to movement to and from water places. These are *warad* (Pf.) / *yōrid* (Impf.) (IX-3) and *ṣaddar* (Pf.) (IX-3)

- (7) *warad bīr*
 a well
 “he went near to a well (and reached it).”
- (8) *ṣaddar bīr*
 a well
 “he went away from a well.”

In addition, we find in Jbāli Arabic some peculiar verbs relevant to the direction of the wadi. *sannad* (Pf.) / *ysanned* (Impf.) (XV-13) is used to express movement in the direction of *āḥar* (*wādī*) or wadi-top²⁸. On the contrary, when referring to the movement toward *awwal* (*wādī*) or wadi-bottom (or entrance), *sāḥ* (Pf.) / *ysiḥ* (Impf.) (XV-15) or *ṭabb* (Pf.) / *yṭobb* (Impf.) (XV-15) is used. The following Figure 5 might illustrate these verbs.

Prepositional expressions:

The preposition *min ḥard* (XXII-8) was introduced when we discussed the prepositions for English “above” and “below,” which are exclusively relevant to the vertical direction. These prepositions are, interestingly enough, used to refer to the

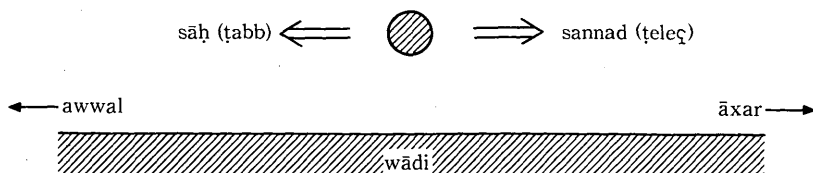


Figure 5 Jbāli Arabic verbs relevant to wadi-direction

relationship concerning the wadi-top (*āḫar*) and the wadi-bottom (*āwwal*). In such usage, the directional relationship between the two (or more) focal objects is cognitively mapped in a rather horizontal dimension²⁹.

- (9) *hū gāfed min ḥard-i*
 he sitting -me
 “he is sitting next to me (in the direction of the wadi-top).”

Besides *min ḥard*, Jbāli Arabic contains a similar preposition *aḥla* (XXII-8)³⁰, which refers also to the relationship in the direction of *āḫar* (*wādī*).

- (10) *hū gāfed aḥlā-y*
 he sitting -me
 “he is sitting next to me (in the direction of the wadi-top).”

The semantic difference between *min ḥard* and *aḥla* is of interest to us. As in the case with the different usage of the above-discussed prepositions *min ḥard* and *fōg*, the relative distance away from a focal point or object is relevant in the choice of these two prepositions. *min ḥard* is used when the two objects or points concerned are relatively separate from each other, while *aḥla* is used when they are relatively close to each other.

It is noteworthy that, unlike in the case of the wadi-top direction, we have only one preposition *asfal* (XXII-9)³¹ for the wadi-bottom (or entrance) direction.

- (11) *hū gāfed asfal-i*
 he sitting -me
 “he is sitting next to me (in the direction of the wadi-bottom).”

We can diagram the different usages of these prepositions as in Figure 6.

Expressions by demonstrative adverbs:

The following sentence, in which the particle *jāy* (XXV-28)³² is used adverbially, indicates the situation in which a cup is located on the speaker’s side in relation to the brazier.

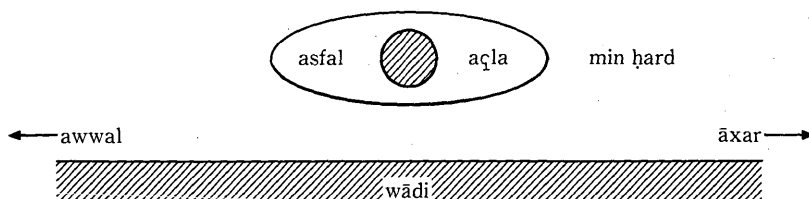
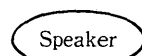
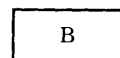


Figure 6 Jbāli Arabic prepositions relevant to wadi-direction

- (12) il-kubbāye min (e)l-mangad jāy
 the-cup from the-brazier
 "the cup is on my side of the brazier."

In this case, the speaker of the sentence is viewing the cup in relation to the brazier from his or her angle. If we symbolize the cup by the capital A, and the brazier by the capital B respectively, the locative structure under discussion can be diagrammed as illustrated below (Figure 7).



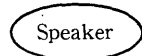
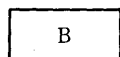
A min B jāy

Figure 7

Locative image in the usage of jāy

On the contrary, the following sentence, in which the adverbial particle *yādi* (XXV-29)³³ is used in place of *jāy*, refers to the opposite locative relationship between the cup (= A) and the brazier (= B). In this case, as shown below diagrammatically (Figure 8), the cup is located on the opposite side to the speaker in relation to the brazier.

- (13) il-kubbāye min (e)l-mangad yādi
 the-cup from the-brazier
 "the cup is on the opposite side from the brazier from me."



A min B yādi

Figure 8

Locative image in the usage of *yādi*

As shown in the above two figures, the locative relationship between the objects A and B, and the position of the speaker are relevant in the interpretation of their relative positions. One can, however, interpret a similar sentence without reference to the speaker's position as in the following example.

- (14) A gāfed min B jāy
 sitting from
 "A is sitting on the bottom-side of the wadi in relation to B."

In this case, the direction of the wadi (or, more strictly, the direction of water flowing in the wadi) is relevant to the interpretation of the locative relationship between A and B. As shown in Figure 9, A is located on the side of the wadi-bottom (*awwal*), or in the downstream direction of water flow, in relation to B.

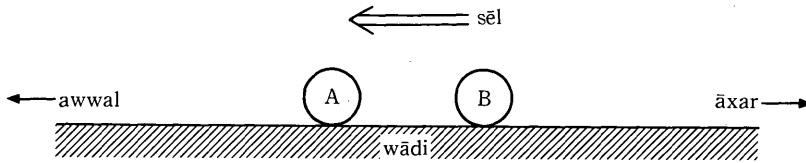


Figure 9 Wadi-relevant usage of *jāy*

The position of the speaker is not relevant, or is neutral, to the positional interpretation, to the extent that a sentence whose subject is the speaker cannot be interpreted without referring to the direction of the wadi.

(15) ana gāfed minn-ok jāy

I sitting from-you

"I am sitting on the down-side of the wadi in relation to you."

As in the case with *jāy*, the locative expression with *yādi* can be interpreted by referring to the wadi-direction. The following example, when interpreted as having reference to the wadi as the absolute locative direction, shows that A is located towards the wadi-top (*āxar*), or in the upstream direction of water flow, in relation to B.

(16) A gāfed min B yādi

sitting from

"A is sitting on the top-side of the wadi in relation to B."

This positional situation can be illustrated as in Figure 10.

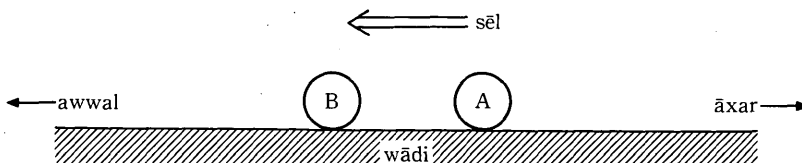


Figure 10 Wadi-relevant usage of *yādi*

In the following example, where the subject is the speaker, the only possible interpretation is made by referring to the wadi-direction.

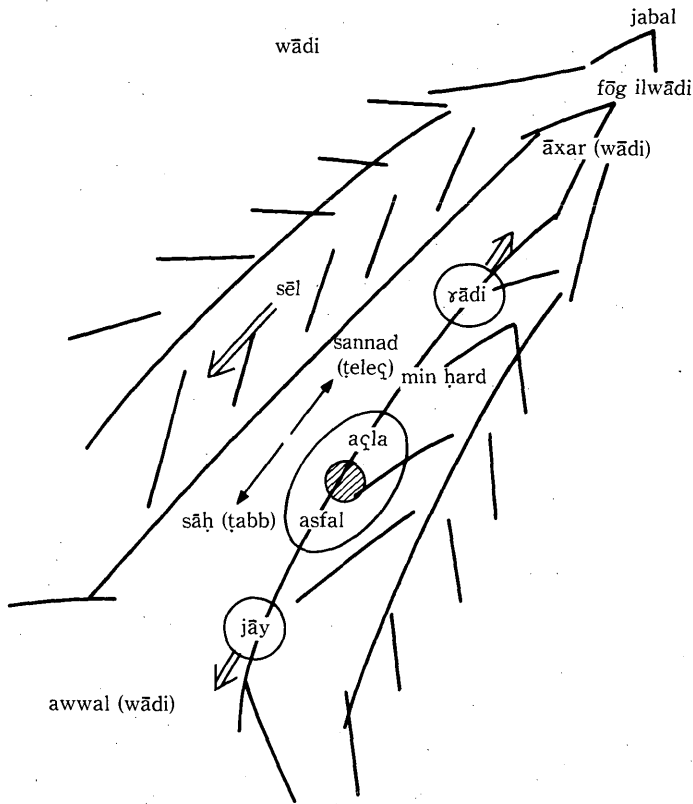


Figure 11 Jbāli Arabic folk-directional expressions in the wadi

(17) ana gāfed minn-ok yādi

I sitting from-you

"I am sitting on the up-side of the wadi in relation to you."

To sum up, we can diagrammatically show all of the above-discussed expressions concerning the wadi in Figure 11, with the configuration image of the wadi.

The relative direction from the wadi-top or *āxar (wādi)* to the wadi-bottom (or wadi-entrance) or *awwal (wādi)* is identical to the direction of water-flow or *sēl*-flow. The directional sense, which is sure to be common among the Bedouin people living in the wadi, has a very important implication, as expressed explicitly or implicitly by native people, to the social relationship involving the distribution and utilization of water and other natural resources. The very existence of the specific vocabulary relevant to wadi-direction, such as movement verbs, prepositions, and adverbial particles, simply means that, in daily conversation, Bedouin people living in the wadi are always conscious of their location in relation

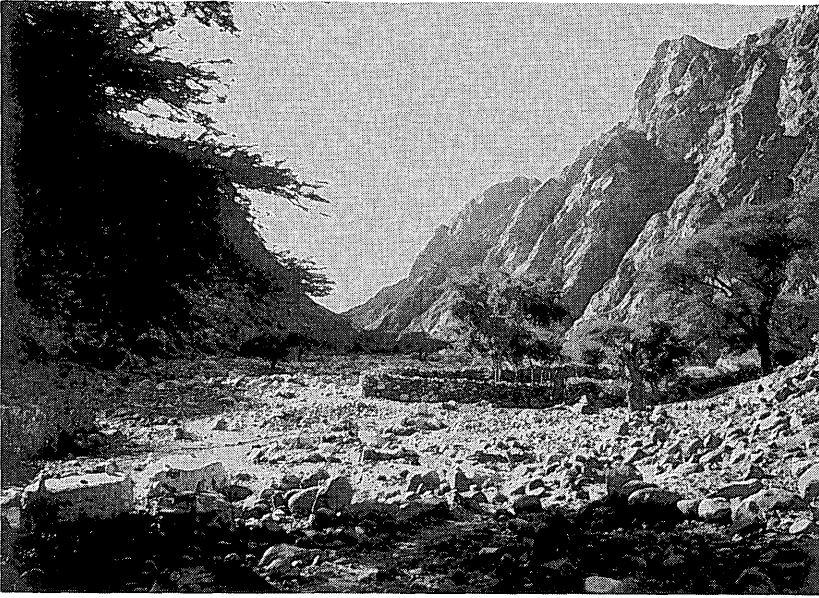


Photo. 5 A small farm in the middle of the wadi

to the wadi-direction. In other words, directional sense around the wadi constitutes a part of their cognitive system of space. It is natural that the people of the Jbāli tribe tend to show much interest in, or think highly of, the upper part of the wadi, mainly because, at the upper-most part of the wadi where they live, the Monastery of St. Catherine is located. For a similar reason or others, curiously enough, this situation seems to hold true of other tribes living in the wadi. In this connection, one will find it very significant that the space which extends in the wadi-top direction is likely to be cognitively divided into the two spatial domains, as found in the wadi-relevant usage of the prepositions *min ḥard* vs. *afla* ³⁴⁾.

SUMMARY WITH CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have discussed in this paper some of the spatial expressions used in Jbāli Arabic, comparing them with the corresponding forms used in Cairene Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. Some of these expressions are peculiar to Jbāli Arabic, and presumably to other neighboring dialects in Southern Sinai³⁵⁾. Among the very interesting peculiarities are the usages of prepositions and demonstratives, some of which show a tendency to discern the specific spatial domain which extends very close to the focal point or "within the reach of one's hands." This spatial division indicates a much deeper implication to the cognitive process of spatial interpretation by Jbāli Arabic speakers.

Another important discussion has dealt with spatial expressions concerning the wadi. One of the main findings there is that the sense of wadi-direction has a very

crucial role in the daily life of Bedouin people living in the wadi.

Generally speaking, the cognitive system of space tends to exercise much influence, in some metaphorical process or others, on other human images, at least in the interpretational level, such as the estimation of social relationships, involving individuals and groups, and the attitude toward the outside world or strangers. It is my next intention to discuss how deeply or widely the influence of the human cognitive process concerning this spatial interpretation extends to other cultural domains.

NOTES

- 1) An earlier version of this paper was presented at the third General Meeting of the Japan Association of Nilo-Ethiopian Studies (24 April, 1994). I am very grateful to Prof. K. Fukui (Kyoto Univ.) and Prof. Y. Tsuge (Kanazawa Univ.) for their valuable comments at that meeting.
- 2) These field studies were sponsored by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture (1990, 1991, 1995), the Japan Foundation (1994), and the Murata Science Foundation (1994). My sincere appreciation goes to them.
- 3) My notion of cognitive space is very similar to that of "place" discussed by Yi-Fu Tuan (Tuan 1977), but they are critically different from each other in that my notion is heavily dependent upon human cognitive competence, rather than human experience (Svorou 1993: 1-40).
- 4) For general information about Sinai, see Hobbs (1995) and Shuqayr (1916).
- 5) For general information about the Jbāli tribe, see Nandris (1990) and Nishio (1991, 1992).
- 6) The name of the tribe is sometimes written as *jabāli*, *jebeli*, or sometimes with *tā' marbū*, *ta* marker, as *j(i)bāliyye*.
- 7) These are *whēbāt*, *hēmāt* (<*salāyme* or (*a*)*wlād salīm* ?), (*a*)*wlād jundi*, *ḥamāyde*.
- 8) I have already expressed the same idea about the genesis of the Jbāli Arabic dialect (Nishio 1992: x-xi). My thesis is rather favorably criticized by two reviewers of my book (Kaye 1994: 471; Palva 1994: 278). I will discuss this issue extensively in my forthcoming book.
- 9) The system of Arabic transliteration adopted here is basically that recommended in *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik*, with slight modification by IPA.
- 10) This word literally or etymologically means "in (the) face (of)." *f-wujh* < **fi* (=in) + *wajh* (=face). *geddām* and *'uddām* are etymologically identical (< **quddām*). Both of the Jbāli prepositions are cited as item number (XXII-2) in my book on Jbāli Arabic vocabulary (Nishio 1992). Henceforth, a similar item number will be cited for any Jbāli Arabic word.
- 11) Jbāli Arabic contains two other prepositions for "behind." *wara* (XXII-3) is probably a loan expression from Cairene Arabic. *fogb* "from behind" (XXII-3) is used with the connotation of movement.
- 12) (XXII-3). This word literally or etymologically means "a person's back." The word which is etymologically derived from the word for "back" is very often used as the preposition for "behind" through the process of so-called grammaticalization (Heine *et al.* 1991: 65-69). The very existence of *ḍāhar*-type grammaticalized words in Jbāli Arabic has many implications for the discussion of the origin of Jbāli Arabic.

- 13) (XXII-3). This word literally or etymologically means "nape of the neck."
- 14) Modern Standard Arabic (and Classical Arabic) contains another preposition *xalfa* with little semantic or stylistic difference.
- 15) (XXII-8). *fōg* and *fo'* are etymologically identical (< **fawqa*).
- 16) (XXII-8). The original meaning of this word is obscure.
- 17) (XXII-9). *tahat* < **taht(a)*. The anaptyctic vowel (usually /a/) is inserted. This phonetic process is called the "gahawa"-syndrome, which is characteristic of Bedouin Arabic dialects (Rosenhouse 1984: 1-53).
- 18) (XXII-4). The two allomorphs, *jamb* and *janab*, are used conditionally in accordance with the forms of pronominal suffixes, but younger people tend to use the former form unconditionally (Nishio 1992: 155). *jamb*, *janab*, *gamb*, *janba* are all etymologically identical.
- 19) (XXII-4). This word literally or etymologically means "in (the) length (of)." *f-tōl* < **fi* (= in) + *ul* (= length).
- 20) (XXII-10). *jūwa* and *gūwa* are etymologically identical.
- 21) (XXII-10). *baṭn* literally or etymologically means "belly." This word is one of the characteristic features of the Sinaitic dialectal group.
- 22) (XXII-11). The prepositions, *jūwa* and *barra*, are derivationally (hence, possibly, cognitively) related with the words, *juwāniye* and *barrāniye*, which function as the classificatory key-words for expressing social relationship (including kinship). This topic will be discussed in another paper.
- 23) (XXV-28). *hena* is also used, probably influenced by Cairene Arabic.
- 24) (XXV-28). The etymology of this word is obscure (Fischer 1959: 115ff.; Palva 1994: 280). Presumably, *nhāni* < **nhā* (= deictic element) + *āni* (= "I" ? cf. Hebrew: *anī*). cf. *nhā wi-nhā* "here and there" (XXV-28).
- 25) (XXV-29). *hnāk* is also a loan expression from Cairene Arabic. *henōt* is also etymologically obscure (Fischer *ibid*).
- 26) *sēl* is also the name for a tree found in the wadi. Flooding water is also called *fyeḏān* (XXVII-46).
- 27) Of course, we find in Jbāli Arabic the usual directional expressions; *farg* "east" (XXII-29), *yarb* "west" (XXII-30), *jnūb* "south" (XXII-31), *jamāl* "north" (XXII-32). *geble* "direction to which one should turn in praying" (XXII-28).
- 28) *telef*, which usually means "to rise, climb", is also used to express the same meaning (XV-13).
- 29) This horizontal connotation of the preposition, *min ḥard*, is discerned in the usage of the preposition, *fōg*, as found in the prepositional phrase, *fōg il-wādi*. See the above discussion.
- 30) This preposition is etymologically an elative form of the adjective *fāli* "high."
- 31) This preposition is etymologically an elative form of the adjective *sāfil* "low."
- 32) This word is etymologically an active participle, which is formally derived from the verb, *je* "to come" (IX-2). cf. Classical Arabic *jā'a* "to come."
- 33) This word is etymologically an active participle of the verb *yadā* "to leave" (cited in the Classical Arabic form).
- 34) It seems very interesting that Bedouin people, especially children, find the space extending beyond the upper most part of the wadi very dangerous for them to walk into. This topic will be related with their cognition of fear in the landscape.
- 35) Some of the Jbāli Arabic features conform to the alleged North West Arabian dialect group (Palva 1991), but we also find very isolated features in Jbāli Arabic.

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