

Семантические переходы в арабском языке в сфере лексики, обозначающей части тела

1, 2. *ḥalamat*- ‘tick’ ~ polysemy ~ ‘nipple’ and ‘nipple’ > polysemy > ‘earlobe’

Basic source: WAD I, p. 105-108.

– *ḥalam-at* ‘tick’ ~ polysemy ~ ‘nipple’ (Lane 632f.) – Classical Arabic.

Note the derivational productivity of the

In Lane, 632:

ḥalamat- ‘a small tick (Ḳ:) or a large tick (Ṣ, Mgh, Mṣb, Ḳ;) like عَجْ; (Ṣ;) the head [or nipple, when small,] of a woman’s breast (Mṣb:) or a tick in the last stage of its growth’.

BK, 482:

ḥalama ‘to remove ringworm (from the skin).’

ḥalima ‘to have ringworm, skin covered with ringworm (said of a camel)’

ḥalam- coll. ‘ringworm (which arises in the skin of the animal or in the leather)’

ḥalamat- 1. ‘Ringworm that originates in the skin of the beast or in the hide.’ 2. ‘Nipple of the udder.’ 3. ‘Place of the skin or hide eaten away by ringworm.’

– *ḥal(a)m-at* ‘nipple’ (in general, cf. Lisan) > polysemy > ‘earlobe’ WAD I 105-107

– Arabic dialects.

WAD I 105-107:

ḥalama: Also relatively widespread are names that have the external similarity to ‘nipple, teat’ as a reason, ka. *ḥalama* = ‘the head [or nipple, when small] of a woman’s breast’ (LANE). This is present in many dialects as ‘teat’ and is documented as ‘earlobe’.

Postulated by Behnstedt for:

– Hassānīya Arabic, West-Sahara;

– Egyptian Arabic (in regions: Cairo (*ḥalama*), Asyūṭ–Luxor (*ḥalamit il-widn*), B^sēri, il-Gurna-Esna (*ḥilima*), Sinai (*ḥalamat al-ʿiḍn*));

- Palestine (North Galilee, Jerusalem (*ḥilmet dān*));
- Syria: Syria only scattered examples from the west, but in north-eastern Syria more frequently in dialects of Anatolian origin;
- Anatolia (Çukurova);
- Jordan/Irbid: *ḥalame* alongside *šahma*;
- Saudi-Arabia/Mekka: *ḥalamat al-ʿidin*;
- Oman/Masqaṭ: *ḥalamat al-ʿidin*.

BH: – Egyptian

ḥalama 1. ‘nipple, teat’ || *ḥalamut widn* ‘earlobe’. *lamma tšūf ḥalamit widnak* ‘when I see your earlobe ≈ when hell freezes over’.

QAS, p. 295: – Sudanese

ḥalama ‘a place of sucking milk from a breast (MSA, Sud. dial.) and also حلمة الأذن (Sud. dial.)’.

Other languages:

Turkish: *kulak memesi* = ‘ear lobe’ <=*kulak* ‘ear’ + *meme* ‘breast.’

3. *šahmat-* ‘a piece of fat’ > ‘earlobe’

Basic source: WAD I, p. 105-108.

– *šahmat-* ‘a piece of fat’ > ‘earlobe’ – Classical Arabic

Lane 1513:

šahm- – ‘fat; the substance of fatness, شَحْمَةٌ is a more special term [i.e. a n. un.,] signifying a piece thereof

šahmatu l-uḍni – ‘the lobe, or lobule, of the ear, to which the قُرْط [i.e. ear-ring or ear-drop] is suspended’

BK 1199:

šahmat- ‘morceau de graisse’

šahmatu l-uḍni ‘lobe de l’oreille’

4. *ʿaks* ‘reverse’ > ‘elbow’

– *ʿaks* ‘reverse’ > ‘elbow’ – Iraqi Arabic.

Basic source: WAD p. 147-149

Lane (2120f.):

ʿakasa ‘to reverse; to make the last part of sth. to be first, and the first to be last’, etc.
ʿaks- ‘an inf. n. used as an epithet in which the quality of a subst. predominates; The reverse either *in respect of order* or *of sense*, i.e. the *converse* or the *contrary*, of a proposition.’

BK:

ʿaks- ‘1. *n. d’act de la I*. Inversion, intervertissement, renversement de l’ordre.’

DIA 318:

ʿikas (*i ʿakis*) – ‘1. to reflect; 2. to reverse; 3. to block, stop.’

ʿakis – ‘1. opposite, contrast, contrary, reverse. 2. bad luck. 3. photograph.’

ʿikis pl. *ʿkūs* – ‘1. elbow, elbow joint. || *ʿikis ġanam* lamb shank. 2. elbow (plumbing and elec.).’

5. *laqifa*- ‘to snap’ > derivation, pejorative > ‘mouth’

– *laqifa* ‘to snap’ > derivation, pejorative > *lVgf* ‘mouth’ – Central Western Yemen (from Ṣaʿda^h to Aden, map in Behnstedt-Goldbloom 2017, p. 374)

Basic sources: Behnstedt-Goldbloom 2017, p. 374f. and WAD I, p. 125-128.

DO, p. 544:

laqf ‘to collect, gather, assemble.’

BK, 1015f.:

laqifa ‘1. swallow something hastily (as does, e.g., the hungry), 2. temove in the blink of an eye a piece dropped or thrown by someone.’

laqf- ‘1. *nomen actionis* for the verb; 2. Agile, quick, dexterous in movement, skillful.’

Wehr, 874:

laqifa ‘to seize quickly, grab, snatch.’

NJD, 1120:

laqaf ‘to snap’

ligif ‘to lift, raise; to catch, pick up’

lagaf ‘to eat voraciously’

lagf ‘mouth’

Behnstedt-Goldbloom 2017, p. 375:

‘Forms like *laqf*, *ligf*, *lugf* etc. are characteristic of central western Yemen. They are related to cl. Ar. *laqafa* “to snap”, thus designate a “snapper”. Cf. Ger. *Schnabel* “beak”, jokingly used to refer to the mouth, and *schnappen* (DU VII). Also documented for Lebanon as *laqfe* in the phrase *mneš-šaqfe lel-laqfe* “de l’écuelle à la bouche” (DEN).’

6. *ḥalq*- ‘throat’ > ‘mouth’

– *ḥalq*- ‘throat’ > polysemy/replacement > ‘mouth’ – Iraq – Khuzestan – Gulf, Saudi-Arabia – Khorasan – Uzbekistan + Yemen (map in WAD I p. 125), etc .

Basic source: WAD I, p. 125-128; 129-133, SED № 107.

Lane, p. 629:

ḥalq – ‘the fauces¹: and hence, by a synecdoche, the throat, or gullet, i.e. œsophagus. Place of the epiglottis; and the place of slaughter in an animal or the fore part of the neck or the passage of the food and drink, into the œsophagus’.

BK, p. 481f.:

ḥalq – ‘gullet²; back of the throat, gorge³.’

ḥalqūm – ‘gorge.’

Dialect dictionaries:

DIA, p.115: – Iraq – replaced

ḥalig pl. *ḥlūg* ‘mouth (also of a bottle, etc.)’ with an example: *ʾida trīd kull in-nās yismaʿūn hal-iḥčāya ḥuṭṭha b-ḥalig ʿali* ‘If you want everyone to hear that story, let Ali know.’

Baghdadi Jewish: Bar-Moshe 2019, 163: *l-^{HE}(māṣṣēš)^{HE} ʾb-ḥalq-ak wu-qēʿad* ‘The pacifier in your mouth and you were sitting.’

WDA I, p. 129: the concept of ‘throat’ is expressed by *zardūme*.

Qafisheh, p. 154: Gulf – polysemy

¹ The narrow passage from the mouth to the pharynx, situated between the soft palate and the base of the tongue.

² The tube by which food and drink are carried from the pharynx to the stomach; the esophagus.

³ The throat; the gullet; the canal by which food passes to the stomach.

ḥalġ/ḥalg pl. *ḥlūġ* – ‘1. throat. 2. mouth.’ with an example: *ṣikk ḥalġak!* ‘Shut up!’
+ *ibid*, p. 54. *balʿūm* pl. *bilaʿīm* ‘throat, pharynx’ < Ar. *blʿ* ‘to swallow’

Behnstedt-Goldbloom 2017, p. 375. – in Southern Tihāma^h, around al-Maḥā, and Aden.

ḥalq ‘mouth (Yaḥtul, al-Maḥā, Jabal am-Nār), throat (al-Mansūriya^h)’

ḥalg pl. *ḥulūġ* ‘throat (Banī Ḍabyān), palate (Ṣanʿāʿ), neck (Ḥaraḍ, Majzir il-Jawf).’

7. *ḥalq*- ‘throat’ > polysemy > ‘voice’

ḥalq- ‘throat’ > polysemy > ‘voice’ – Moroccan Arabic.

Basic source: DAF, T., 198f.

DAF, T.3, 198f.:

ḥālq pl. *ḥlōq/ḥlōqa* – ‘1. [*anat.*] gullet; back of the throat, gorge. 2. with pl. *ḥlōq* voice, cry’ with examples:

smāʿt ḥālqo ‘I heard his voice.’

smāʿt wāḥd əl-ḥālq bʿīd ‘I heard a distant voice.’

səmʿēt ḥālqək kā-tədwi ‘She heard your voice (as you spoke).’

All the examples from Morocco, the last is from Rabat.

8. ‘front’ > derivation > ‘mouth’

Basic source: WDA I, p. 125-128.

‘to be in front, to precede’ > ‘mouth’ – Arabic dialects: Chad, Sudan, probably also Northern Morocco, Yemen(?)

Lane, p. 2985:

qadama ‘to come before, to precede, to head (trans.).’

qadam- ‘the human foot, from the ankle downwards.’

qadūm- [so in the present day, but pronounced *qaddūm*-] ‘a certain implement of the carpenter.’

DO, p. 316:

qadūm, qaddūm – ‘vulgar but ancient form... adze, carpenter’s tool, adze of the minutemen, adze which serves as a clasp and hammer.’

Real:

LATF, p. 49: – Chad.

gaddūm pl. *gadādīm* ‘mouth’.

QAS, p. 891: – Sudan.

gaddūm – ‘front part of the mouth’.

Hillelson 1925, p. 192: – Sudan

gaddūm – ‘mouth’ (together with *ḥašm* and *fam*)

Probable:

‘WAD I, p. 127: ‘*dqum* is typical of north-west Morocco (see map BEH-8, Tanger ASS 3). The form is also attested from Andalusian Arabic (COR-1). Selective evidence from Yemen for *dugm* (JG 50-b, in Nihm), more widely known as “muzzle” (JG 58, 64a), as “beak” (Jiblih) and “lips” (JG after Glaser). The latter possibly a misinterpretation. The shape may be metathetical to *qdm* “front part” and should therefore be matched with sud. *gaddūm*. Sudan *gaddūm* = *maqdam al-fam* in QAS, as “mouth” (HIL-1), Baggāra (FB), El Obeid (FB); Khartoum *gaḍḍūm* (FB); Chad *gaddūm* (POM); Nigeria *gaddūm(a)* (KAY 32a).’

DO, p. 453.:

Seems

dqm ‘punch someone.’

duqam- and *duqm* pl. *ʔadqām* – ‘mouth’, Voc, Alc. – Andalusian Arabic.

liʿāb ad-duqm – ‘wordplay’ Alc. – Andalusian Arabic.

BK, p. 718:

daqama ‘1. knock out someone’s front teeth by hitting them in the mouth.’

daqima ‘to lose front teeth.’

diqimm- ‘who has broken front teeth.’

etc.

NJD, p. 384. – Yemen.

duqm pl. *duqūm* ‘beak, lips.’

dugm pl. *dugūm* ‘mouth; muzzle.’

DAF, T.3., 310:

dqəm / dqom pl. *dqōm / dqōma / doqmīn* [rare] – ‘mouth; jaw; lower face.’
with an ex. *X doqmo māšr* ‘X is slanderous/rude’.
usw.

9. *ḥadaqat*- ‘pupil of the eye’ > ‘eyebrow’

Basic source: WAD p. 101.

WAD p. 101:

hadag, pl. *huduggēn*, in Chad next to *hāğib* in POM, is in HIL-1 *hadaga* = “eyeball”. However, this is not a mistake, as the sentence in POM 527 shows: *awīn wahadīn yizayyīnu huduggēnhum wa yimassuhuhum* (sic!) *be* “*krêyondebôte*” “some women shave their eyebrows and redraw them with a beauty pencil”. *ḥadaqa* is in KA “the black of the eye” (LANE)

Lane, p. 532:

ḥadaqat- and *ḥandūqat*- ‘the black of the eye i.e. the round part in the middle of the eye.’

ḥudaliqat- ‘a large black of the eye.’

BK, p. 393-395:

ḥadaqa ‘1. to surround; 2. to look at, to fix the eyes; 3. to open the eyes.’

ḥadaqat – ‘pupil of the eye.’

ḥadqala – ‘to turn the eyes/pupil of the eyes.’

ḥadqalat – ‘pupil of the eye.’

LATF, p. 54:

hadag dl. *hadagēn* ‘eyebrow’.

10. ‘fruit’ > ‘eyeball’

– *muqlat*- ‘fruit of the *Hyphaene thebaica*’ ~ ‘eyeball’ – Classical Arabic

– *ḥalālat*- ‘unripe date’ > ‘eyeball’ – Gulf Arabic

The basic source: Qafisheh, p. 199., Lane.

Lane, p. 3022:

muql- ‘The *Theban palm* and *its leaves*.’ (i.e. the *doum*-palm).

muqlat- ‘the ball, or globe, or bulb of the eye, i.e., the eyeball, which comprises the white and the black.’

And many derived words for the meaning ‘to look’, etc.

NJD, p. 1169:

muql ‘Myrrh species, fruit of the wild dwarf palm (dawn).’

muqla ‘eyeball.’

Lane, p. 790:

ḥalāl- ‘green dates’

BK:

ḥalāl- ‘espèce de dattes non mûres.’

Qafisheh, p. 199:

ḥalāl (coll.) ‘unripe dates.s. *ḥlālā*.’ with an example: *l-ḥalāl ṭāl ‘umrak huwa t-tamir gabil-ma yistawi ykūn šay ḥaḍar ‘ḥalāl, may you live long, are hard, firm dates before they ripen. They are somewhat green.’*

ḥlālāt l-‘ēn ‘1. the eye ball, 2. the pupil of the eye.’

Sources for ‘pupil of the eye’ and ‘eyeball’:

‘insān-: – Classic

Lane, p. 113:

‘insānu l-‘ayn- ‘the image that is seen [reflected] in the black of the eye... or the pupil, or apple (*nāḍir*) of the eye, or the black (*ḥadaqat*) of the eye.’

ḥabbat-: – Classic

DO, p. 241f.:

ḥabbatu l-‘ayni ‘1. eyeball; 2. pupil of the eye.’ Bc, M

Wehr, p. 152:

ḥabbatu l-‘ayni ‘eyeball, pupil (of the eye).’

BH, p. 188: – Egyptian

ḥabba ‘a seed, a grain.’

ḥabbit il-‘ēn ‘pupil of the eye.’

Other languages

‘a seed’ > ‘eyeball, pupil of the eye’:

Doke, p. 318: – Zulu

inhlamvu yeso ‘eyeball, pupil of the eye’ < *-hlamvu* ‘seed’ + *iso* ‘eye’.

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