The Dialogued Proverbs in the Arabic Dialectal Paremias

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Abstract: This article aims to study the dialogued proverbs in the Arabic dialectal paremias, that is, the proverbs stated in the colloquial language of each Arab country, a subject that has never been studied before. To deal with this subject, it is necessary to specify beforehand that throughout its history, the Arabic language has been a diglossic language. This means that there are two levels of the language, one standard, the same in all countries and another, dialectal, which differs from country to country. This is also reflected in the paremiology in which there are two kinds of proverbs, one in classical Arabic and the other in dialectal Arabic with all its variety. This research is based on a sample composed of a significant number of dialectal proverbs from the different Arab dialects that allow us to sketch out the main characteristics of this category of proverbs.
Keywords: Paremiology. Proverb. Dialectology. Arabic.

Título: «Los proverbios dialogados en las paremias dialectales árabes».
Resumen: El presente artículo tiene por objeto estudiar los proverbios dialogados en las paremias dialectales árabes, es decir, los proverbios enunciados en la lengua coloquial de cada país árabe, tema que nunca antes se había estudiado. Para tratar este tema, es necesario precisar de antemano que a lo largo de su historia, la lengua árabe ha sido una lengua diglósica. Esto significa que hay dos niveles de la lengua, uno estándar, igual en todos los países y otro, dialectal que difiere de un país a otro. Esto también se refleja en la paremiología en la que hay dos tipos de proverbios, uno en el árabe clásico y otro en el árabe dialectal con toda su variedad. Esta investigación se basa en una muestra compuesta por un número importante de proverbios dialectales de los diferentes dialectos árabes que permite esbozar las principales características de esta categoría de proverbios.
Palabras claves: Paremiología. Proverbio. Dialectología. Árabe.

Titre : « Les proverbes dialogués dans les parémies dialectales árabes ».
Resumé : Cet article vise à étudier les proverbes dialogués dans les parémies dialectales arabes, c'est-à-dire les proverbes énoncés dans le dialecte de chaque pays arabe, un sujet qui n'a jamais été étudié auparavant. Pour traiter ce sujet, il est nécessaire de préciser au préalable que tout au long de son histoire, la langue arabe a été une langue diglossique. Ceci veut dire qu´il existe deux niveaux de langue, l'un standard, identique dans tous les pays, et un autre, dialectal, qui diffère d'un pays à l'autre. Cela se reflète également dans la parémiologie dans laquelle il existe deux sortes de proverbes, l'un en arabe classique et l'autre en arabe dialectal avec toute ses variétés. Cette recherche est basée sur un échantillon composé d'un nombre important de proverbes dialectaux des différents parlers arabes qui nous permettent d´établir une ébauche des principales caractéristiques de cette catégorie de proverbes.
Mots-clés : Parémiologie. Proverbe. Dialectologie. Arabe.

INTRODUCTION

We have chosen the subject of this article, which has not been dealt with before, in order to shed light on dialogued proverbs in the Arabic dialectal paremias [1], a category of paremias that exists in most Arabic dialects.

[1] The type of dialogued proverbs we are referring to here is that which Crida & Sevilla (2015: 71) denominate "dialoguismo". "The main characteristic of dialogue, which distinguishes it from other anonymous origin and preferably popular use, is its dialogued structure" (The tranlation is mine).

The Arab world has been experiencing a situation of diglossia[2] since ancient times, which affects all the linguistic and literary manifestations of these countries.The diglossia of the Arabic language has involved the use of two registers, one in classical Arabic[3] and one in dialectal Arabic, also known as neo-Arabic. The consequence of this, from the paremiological point of view, was that speakers of Arabic dialects had to create a type of new proverbs that was enunciated in the various dialects spoken in the Arab world, together with the corpus of proverbs in classical Arabic.

About the beginnings of Arab paremiology, it must be acknowledged that, in the Arab culture, importance has always been given to sapiential literature as the result of the experience accumulated by the elderly and expressed in proverbs (in Arabic: *amṯāl*) and wisdom (in Arabic: *ḥikam*). The proverbs that have reached us from pre-Islamic Arabia are enunciated in classical Arabic. But the emergence of the linguistic variety known as neo-Arabic meant over time a wide gap between clasical Arabic and neo-Arabic. These two linguistic types became increasingly different from each other in phonetics, morphosyntax and lexicon until they reached a level that prevented the common people from understanding classical Arabic and consequently the latter became a privelege for the elite (in Arabic *ḫāṣṣa*), while the common people, or *ʿāmma* used the dialect.

As with the Arabic language itself, the proverbs also belong to the two levels of the language: classical and dialect[4]. This meant a certain separation between classical Arabic paremiology and popular or dialectal paremiology, the latter being what we are dealing with in this paper.

1. THE ARABIC DIALECTAL PROVERBS OR POPULAR PROVERBS

Let us start by defining the popular proverb we are going to talk about here. There are several definitions of which we will quote the following. Amīn (1953: 61) defines it as follows: "The popular proverb is a type of literature characterized by brevity of expression, good choice of meaning, accuracy of comparison, quality of metonymy. There is no nation that lacks this category of proverb, and its advantage is that it comes from all classes of the people"[5].

In the words of ʿĀbidīn (1956: 85) "[…] A saying is not considered a popular proverb unless it comes from the masses of the people or is acceptable to them because they consider it a truth". However, one of the aspects rarely mentioned by Arab authors is the use of dialect which, in our opinion, should be an essential element in the definition of this kind of proverb. We propose the following working definition which takes into account the fact that the text has to be dialectal on the one hand, and, on the other we add some features observed in the different collections consulted. "The popular Arab proverbs are enunciated in colloquial Arabic, that is, in the dialect spoken in each country or region of the Arab world and that they reflect the way of thinking, beliefs, customs and idiosyncrasies of their creators who are the common people in the Arab world".

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[2] On the situation of diglossia in the Arab world, there are numerous works among which is the article by Ferguson (1959: 325), in which he claims: "[…] one particular kind of standardization where two varieties of a laguage exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play".

[3] Among the first and oldest books of Arab peremiologists that has reached us, we will list the following: (1) *Amṯāl al-ʿarab* of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī (d. 786); (2) *al-Amṯāl* of Abū Fayd Muʾarriğ al-Saddūsī (d. 810); (3) *Kitāb al-Amṯāl* of Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Harawī (d. 838); (4) *at-tamṯīl wa-l-muḥāḍara* of Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl aṯ-Ṯaʿālibī (d. 1038); (5) *Mağmaʿ al-amṯāl* of Al-Maydānī (d. 1124) which is the most voluminous collection of proverbs in Arabic paremiology, etc.

[4] This is why the paremiological situation in the Arab world can only be understood in the context of the aforementioned linguistic situation.

[5] The translation of the Arabic text is mine.

The Arabic dialectal proverbs were mentioned since the Middle Ages in some of the early Arab paremiological books indistinctly as *amṯāl al-ʿāmma*[6] [vernacular proverbs] and *amṯāl al-muwalladīn*, although the latter are actually the "proverbs of non-Arabs"[7]. We know that they appeared in a neo-Arabic-type language, i.e. on a dialectal level and are therefore popular proverbs.

For many centuries the Arabs devoted all their studies to classical Arabic, the language of the Koran, and to ancient Arab proverbs and they did not care about dialects and popular culture that includes popular proverbs and folklore in general. It was actually the Western dialectologists and folklorists who were the first to take an interest in these issues for various reasons[8]. In fact, it was at the beginning of the researches of European dialectologists that interest arose in popular proverbs of the Arab world. Much later, Arab researchers themselves took over and continued the task of collecting, studying and analysing popular proverbs in their respective countries. This meant that, throughout the 20th century, popular proverbs from all Arab countries have been collected and their study has increased in recent decades.

At the present time, the Arabic dialectal proverbs are called *amṯāl šaʿbiyya* [popular proverbs], or *amṯāl al-ʿāmma* [vernacular proverbs]. However, there is no specific denomination in Arabic for the dialogued proverbs which proves that they are not perceived as a special kind of proverb either in their structure or in their content.

We will focus now, as the title indicates, on the dialogued popular proverbs. For each of the chosen dialects, we have selected a book of proverbs and from it we have taken a sample of dialogued proverbs.

2. SOURCE OF THE RESEARCH DATA

In order to carry out this study, we have selected some books of dialectal proverbs from different Arab countries presented individually below from which we have taken out the texts that constitute the corpus. The different Arab countries whose dialectal proverbs have been selected together represent a significant sample that helps to raise awareness of the existence of this kind of paremias and to know what its main features are. Below we will list the books from which we have selected the sample of dialogued proverbs. Each proverb in this sample is written in Arabic letters, transcribed in Latin characters[9] and translated. In addition, explanations have been provided, especially with regard to specific aspects of Arab culture mentioned and whenever necessary.

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[6] aṯ-Ṯaʿālibī**,** in his above-mentioned book *at-tamṯīl wa-l-muḥāḍara*, places both classes under the same subheading: *unmūḏaž min amṯāl al-ʿāmma wa-al-muwalladīn* 'sample of popular and non-Arabic proverbs'. See al-Ḥulw (1981: 43-44).

[7] These are the non-Arab but Arabized and Islamized people who were part of the great Arab-Islamic empire. al-Maydānī in his book *Mažmaʿ al-amṯāl* dedicates 28 chapters to this kind of proverbs, one for each letter of the Arabic alphabet. See Zarzūr (ed.) (1987-1/2).

[8] The dialectologists and folklorists took great care of these popular proverbs, especially because they help to learn the coloquial Arabic of the different Arabic countries, etc.

[9] In this article, we use the following transcription system: Short vowel phonemes: /a/, /i/ and /u/; long vowel phonemes: /ā/, /ī/ y /ū/. Consonantal phonemes: /ʾ/ = ء, /b/ = ب, /t/ = ت , /ṯ/= ث, /ž/ = ج, /ḥ/ = ح, /ḫ/ = خ , /d/ = د , /ḏ/ = ذ , /r/ = ر , /z/ = ز , /s/ = س , /š/ = ش , /ṣ/ = ص , /ḍ/ = ض , /ṭ/ = ط , /ẓ/ = ظ , /ʿ/ = ع , /ġ/ = غ , /f/ = ف , /q/ = ق, /g/ = گ, /k/ = ك , /l/ = ل , /m/ = م , /n/ = ن , /h/ = ه , /w/ = و , /y/ = ي.

Regarding the transliteration of Arabic dialect texts, it should be noted that these texts are transmitted orally. It should be stressed that the writing of the Arabic dialects has not been codified so far and that each author reflects these oral texts in the best possible way, however, sometimes some nuances are missing, especially in the vowels. In our transcription, every effort has been made to respect the text written by the authors.

3. SAMPLE OF DIALOGUED PROVERBS

3.1. Saudi Arabia

The collection of proverbs with which we begin is from Saudi Arabia, a country whose territory historically was the cradle of the Arabic language and, consequently, the place where the ancient Arabian proverbs were born, some of which have reached us late, in the 8th century[10]. The book of dialectal proverbs from Saudi Arabia chosen for this comparative work is: *al-Amṯāl al-ʿāmmiyya fī Nažd*[11] [The popular proverbs in Nažd]. From this book, we have selected the following dialogued proverbs:

3.1.1. قَالْ بِنْتْ الْمَوذِّن مِنْ يَاخِذْهَا؟ قَالْ يَاخِذْهَا مْوَذِّنٍ مِثْلَه *qāl bint il-mawaḏḏin min yāḫiḏ-ha? qāl yāḫiḏ-ha mawaḏḏinin miṯlah*: "Someone asked: 'who will marry the muezzin's[12] daughter?' The other one answered: 'a muezzin like him will marry her'"[13].

3.1.2. قالْ صُفُّوا صَفَّيْنْ قالْ حِنَّا اثْنَيْنْ *qāl ṣuffu ṣaffayn qāl ḥinna ṯnayn*: "Someone said: 'form two rows!'. The other one replied: 'we are only two!'"[14]

3.1.3. قالْ: لا تَبِيعْ رِخيص، قالْ: لا تُوَصِّي حَرِيص *qāl lā tibīʿ raḫīṣ. lā twaṣṣi ḥarīṣ*: "Someone said: 'do not sell cheaply. The other one replied: 'do not make the recommendation to a greedy man'".

3.1.4. قالْ: مَا حْلاَكْ يَوْمْ قالْ: عَلَى نَاسٍ مِنْ نَاسٍ *qāl ma-ḥlāk yawm, qāl: ʿalà nāsin min nāsin*: "Someone said: 'what a wonderful day!'. The other one replied: 'for some people more than others!'"[15]

3.1.5. قالْ: مِنْ مَدَّاحَتْهَا؟ قالْ: أمَّهَا وْمَشَّاطَتْهَا *qāl min maddāḥat-ha qāl umma-ha u-mašš̄āṭat-ha*: "Someone asked, 'who is praising her?' The other one answered: 'her mother and her hairdresser'"[16].

3.1.6. قالْ: مِنَيْنْ هَالْعُوَيْدْ؟ قَالْ: مِنْ هَالشَّجَيْرَهْ *qāl minayn ha-liʿwayd? qāl: min ha-š-šažayra*: "Someone asked: 'who is this stick from?' The other one replied: 'from this little tree'"[17].

3.1.7. قالْ: وِشْ قِطَعْكْ يا رَاسْ؟ قالْ: لْسَانِي *qāl wiš qiṭʿ-ak yā rās qāl: lsāni*: "Someone asked: 'who cut you, head?'. It answered: 'my tongue"[18].

3.1.8. قالْ: وِشْ يْخَفَى؟ قالْ : اللِّي ما يِصِيرْ *qāl wiš yaḫfà qāl: allí lā iṣīr*: "Someone asked: 'what is something you can not see?'. The other one answered: 'what has not happened'".

3.1.9. وَيْن اذْنِكْ يا حِبْشِي؟ قالْ: مِن هنا *wayn iḏn-ak yā ḥibšī qāl min hnā*: "Where is your ear, o Ethiopian? He replied: 'here it is'"[19].

3.1.10. قالْ: يا كِثْر حَكْي الْبَدُوْ! قالْ: مِنْ تَرْديده *qāl yā kiṯr ḥaki al-baduw qāl min tardīdah*: "Someone said: 'How much the Bedouins talk!'. The other one replied: 'they repeat the same thing'"[20].

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[10] The oldest preserved book of Arabic proverbs is *Amṯāl al-ʿarab* (The Arab proverbs) of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī (d. 786). See above.

[11] The autor is Al-ʿAbūdī, M. b. Nāṣir. The book was published in 1979, in Riyadh (4 vols).

[12] *muezzin* is a man who calls Muslims to prayer from the minaret of a mosque.

[13] The same text exists in Jordan. See below 3.3.1.

[14] This proverb is used to refer to few people.

[15] In a battle, one of the victorious soldiers repeated: «what a wonderful day!». A wounded soldier from the defeated side answered: «For some more than for others».

[16] This proverb appears in a non-dialogued versión in al-Maydānī: *Man yamdaḥu al-ʿarūsa illā ahluhā*: "Who praises the bride but her family?". See Zarzūr (1987-2: 367).

[17] Its meaning is similar to the Spanish saying: *de tal palo, tal astilla* "like father, like son".

[18] This proverb warns of the danger of speaking without thinking through what is to be said.

[19] He put his left hand over his head to point to his right ear. This proverb alludes to those who choose the most complicated way of doing things.

[20] This proverb alludes to the cliché that Bedouins talk a lot, but their conversations all revolve around their animals and livestock issues in general.

3.2. Yemen

The book from which we have selected the proverbs is: *al-Lahža al-yamāniyya fī-n-nukat wa-l-amṯāl aṣ-ṣanʿāniyya*[21] 'The Yemeni dialect through the anecdotes and sayings of Sanaa'. The following proverbs are from this book:

3.2.1. عِيْرَنَا الحمار قال هو في الحمام، فنهق الحمار فقال هو ذا في الدار قال كذبتني وصدقت الحمار: *ʿīrna al-ḥimār qāl huwwa f-ilḥammām, nahaq il-ḥimār fa-qāl huw ḏa fi-d-dār qāl kaḏḏabtni u-ṣaddaqt il-ḥimār*: "Someone said, 'lend me the donkey'. The other one replied: 'it is over there where the baths'. In that moment, the donkey brayed. The first one said: 'the donkey is here at home'. The second one answered: 'you believe the donkey and consider me a liar!'"[22].

3.2.2. بِكَمْ الْحَدَبِه، قال هِي لك غَدًا يا وَلَدِي بغير ثمن *bi-kam al-ḥadba? qāl hiyya lak ġadan ya waladi biġayr ṯaman*: "Someone [a child] asked 'how much does the hump cost?'. The other one [an elderly man] replied: 'for you, my son, tomorrow it will be free!'"[23].

3.2.3. كُلْ يَا حِمَارْ وِحْمَد الله قال لا بدْ مِنْ صَوُتْ بِعْلَمْ بِهَ الله *kul ya ḥmār wa-ḥmad allāh qāl la bud min ṣawt bi-ʿlim bīh allāh*: "'Eat, donkey and thank God!'. It replied: 'I need to make a noise (braying) to let God know'"[24].

3.2.4. قال لحم الأسد حلال أم حرام، قال ما بِصِلَّكْ عِنْدِه *qāl laḥm al-asad ḥalāl qāl la yiṣṣlak ʿindah*: "Someone asked, 'is lion's meat licit or illicit?'. The other one replied: 'you will not get to it'"[25].

3.3. Jordan

The book from which we have selected the proverbs is: *al-Amṯāl aš-šaʿbiyya al-urduniyya*[26] 'the popular proverbs of Jordan'. The following proverbs are from this book:

3.3.1. قَالْ بِنْتْ لِمْوَذِّن مِنْ يُوخِذْهَا؟ قَالْ مْوَذِّنْ مِثْلْهَا *qāl bint l-miwḏḏin min yūḫiḏ-ha? qāl mwaḏḏin miṯilha*: "Someone asked: 'who will marry the muezzin's daughter?' The other one answered: 'a muezzin like him'"[27].

3.3.2. قَالْ مِينْ يِشْهَدْ للعَرُوس؟ قَالْ أمْهَا أوْ عَمِتْهَا أوْ عَشْرَة مِن حَارِتَها *qāl mīn yišhad li-l-ʿarūs? Qāl Umha aw ʿamitha aw ʿašara min ḥāritha*: "Someone asked: 'who speaks well of the bride?' The other one answered: 'his mother, his aunt or ten of his neighbors'"[28].

3.3.3. قَالْ: مالَكْ ابْتَرْقُص أوْ بِيْدَكْ مَرَسْ؟ قَالْ: إبنْ عَمْ خَالِةْ أبوي مِشْتري فَرَسْ *qāl: mālak b-tarquṣ u-b-aydak maras? qāl: ibn ʿam ḫālit abūy mištarī faras*: "Someone was told: 'why do you dance with a rope in your hand?' He replied: 'my father's aunt's cousin is going to buy a horse'"[29].

[21] The author is Ban ʿAli ʿInān, Z. The book was published in Cairo in 1980.

[22] This proverb is the summary of a story attributed to Žuḥā and which is known in all Arab countries. See below the Žuḥā´s biography.

[23] It is used to recriminate children who make fun of the elderly.

[24] This proverb is explained with the associated story which is summarized as follows: According to oral tradition, a bull and a donkey lived in the forest and were protected from the beasts, but the donkey wanted to bray. The bull warned it not to do so, to avoid being heard by the beasts, especially the lion. The donkey ignored what the bull said and brayed. The lion heard it and devoured them both.

[25] This proverb refers to meats whose consumption is forbidden by Islam. In the case of lion's meat, even if it were licit, who could have it within their reach?

[26] The author is Al-ʿAmad, H. The book was published in Amman in 1996.

[27] See above 3.1.1.

[28] This proverb appears with some slight modifications in several Arab countries, see below.

[29] This proverb is used to refer to the boastful person who wants to attribute a glorious act to himself.

3.3.4. قَالْ لُه: يَا سيدي عَلِمْني! قَالْ: الوَاحَدْ بِمُوتْ او هُو بِتْعَلَّم *qāl-lu yā sīdi ʿallimni! qāl il-wāḥid bimūt aw huwa bitʿallam*: "Someone said: 'teach me knowledge, sir!' The other one replied: 'everyone spends their life learning'".

3.3.5. قَالُوا لْجُحَا: لَيْشْ قَاعِدْ عَ بَابِ الطَابُون؟ قَالْ: رِزْقِي مِنْ هَوْن *qālu l-Žuḥā layš qāʿid ʿa bāb aṭ-ṭābūn? qāl rizq-i min hawn*: "Žuḥā[30] was asked: 'why are you sitting on the oven door? '. He replied: 'my livelihood comes from there'".

3.3.6. قَالُوْا للجمل: شو بتشتغل؟ قَالْ بغزل حرير *qālu li-l-žamal: šu btaštaġil? qāl: ba-ġzil ḥarīr*:
"The camel was asked: 'what do you do for a living?' It replied: 'I thread the silk'".

3.3.7. قَالُوْا لِلْكِلَاب: قُوْمِي احْرُثِي! قَالْ: ما جَرَتْ عَادِه *qālāw li-l-kilāb: qūmi aḥurṯi! qāl: lā žarat ʿādi*: "It was said to the dogs: 'you have to help on the farm!' They replied: 'it was not customary'".

3.4. Palestine

In the Palestinian territory, researchers have undertaken extensive work to collect everything related to traditional folklore (songs, stories, folk poetry, etc.) and, of course, the proverbs. The book from which we have selected the proverbs is: *al-Maṯal aš-šaʿbī al-filasṭīnī*[31] 'The Palestinian popular proverbs'. The following proverbs are from this book:

3.4.1. قال: مين أحب ولادَك؟ قال: الغايب حتى يرجع والمريض حتى يشفى والزغير حتى يكبر *qāl mīn aḥab awlādak? qāl: al-ġāyib ḥattā yirzaʿ w-il-marīḍ ḥattā yušfā w-iz-zġīr ḥattā yikbar*:
"Someone was asked: 'which of your children do you love the most?' He replied: 'the one who is on a journey until he returns, the one who is sick until he is cured, and the little one until he grows up'"[32].

3.4.2. قالوا: الجمل بِطِير؟ قالوا كل شي بِصير *qāllu al-žamal bi-ṭṭīr? qāllu kull ši bi-ṣīr*.
"People asked: 'can the camel fly? '. Others answered: 'anything can happen'".

3.4.3. قالوا: عِدْ غَنَماتَك يَجْحا قال: وَحَدِه نَايْمِه ووَحَدِه قايِمِه *qāllu ʿid ġanamātak ya-Žḥa qāl waḥda nāyma wa waḥda qāyma*: "Žuḥā was told: 'count your sheep!'. He replied: 'one is lying down and one is standing up'".

3.4.4. قالوا للصَيَّاد: عِدْ سَمَكَاتَك، قال: البَحَر أولى بالسؤال *qālu li-ṣṣayyād ʿid samakātak qāl al-baḥr awlā bi-ssuʾāl*: The fisherman was told: 'count your fishes!'. He replied: 'this question must be asked to the sea'".

3.4.5. قالوا ياحْمار أهْلَك بِنْدَهُوك، قال عليش بِنْدَهُوني: يا عَ حَطب يا عَ مَيّ *qālu ya-ḥmār ahlak bi-ndahūk qāl ʿlīš bi-ndahūnī yā ʿa ḥaṭab yā ʿa mayy*: They said to the donkey: 'your owners are calling you'. It answered: 'they call me either to bring firewood or to bring water'".

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[30] He is Žuḥā al-Kūfī and his name is Dužayn ibn Ṯābit. Abū ʿUṯmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr, al-Žāḥiẓ (781- 868) was the first Arab author who mentioned Žuḥā in his book *Kitab al-Biġāl*. Žuḥā was a real comic character, but he became a symbol and a typical model of humor in Arab heritage. Hence, thousands of anecdotes or funny tales have been told by him through the ages. His character has been used in paremiology since ancient times. Žuḥā is often associated in anecdotes with his donkey *'Žuḥā wa-ḥimāruhu*'. See his biography in the book of Muḥammad Ražab an-Nažžār entitled *Žuḥā al-ʿarabī*.

[31] The author is Kamāl Žabr, Muḥammad. The book was published in 2010, in Nablus: žāmiʿat an-Naǧāḥ.

[32] This proverb is quoted in aṯ-Ṯaʿālibī as follows: *qīla li-baʿḍihim ayyu awlādika aḥabbu ilayka? qāla aṣġaruhum ḥattā yakbura, wa-ġāʾibuhum ḥattā yaqdama wa-marīḍuhum ḥattā yabraʾa*: "Someone was asked: «which of your children do you love the most?». He replied: «The little one until he grows up, the one who is on a journey until he returns, and the one who is sick until he is cured»". See al-Ḥulw (1981: 460).

3.5. Iraq

For the present work, we have selected a sample from a book entitled *El refranero iraquí: Aspectos semánticos y socioculturales*[33]. The following proverbs are from this book:

3.5.1. گالوله للواوي: هالليله نام ويا الدجاج گال: أخاف ينگروني *gālāw-lah l-el-wāwī: ha-el-lela nām wa-yya ed-dižaž gāl: aḫāf yingurūni*: "They said to the jackal: 'sleep tonight with the chickens'. It replied: 'I am afraid they will bite me'"[34].

3.5.2. گالوله للزماله: جاك كر، گالت: كل من حمله على ظهره *gālāw-lah l-el-zumāla: žāk kurr, gālat: kul man ḥimlah ʿalā ẓahrāh*: "They said to the female donkey: 'you have had a foal'. It said: 'we each carry our own load'".

3.5.3. گالو للذيب: تسرح بالغنم گام ييجي؟ گال: ابجي على رجال الصدگ *gālāw li-ḏ-ḏīb: tasraḥ bi-l-ġanam gām yibči gālū-leh: lēš tibči? gāl: ibči ʿalā rižāl eṣ-ṣidg*: "They told the wolf: 'take care of the cattle!'. It started crying. They asked him: 'why are you crying?'. It said: 'I am crying for the truthful men'"[35].

3.5.4. گالو للبغل منو ابوك؟ گال الحصان خالي *gālāw le-l-baġl minu abūk? gāl el-ḥeṣān ḫālī*: "They said to the mule: 'Who is your father? '. It said, "The horse is my maternal uncle".

3.6. Syria

Syrian folk proverbs were the subject of a study by a Western researcher in the late 19th century. We preferred to take the sample from this book because of its antiquity and because it is an example of the compilations of proverbs made by European authors. The book is entitled: *Proverbes et dictons du peuple arabe*. *Matériaux pour servir à la connaissance des dialectes vulgaires*[36]. The following proverbs are from this book:

3.6.1. قالوا الى الحرامي اِحلفْ يَمِين قال قُرِب باب الفَرَج *ʾālu ila al-harāmī iḥlaf yamīn ʾāl ʾurib bāb al-faraž*: "They told the thief: 'Swear!'. He said: 'Enlargement is near!'"[37].

3.6.2. قالت لها يا حَماة ما كُنْتي كِنَّة قالت لها كُنْت وانْسِيْت *ʾālit laha yā ḥamāt lā kunti kinna, ʾālit kunt wi-nsīt*: [The daughter-in-law] said to her mother-in-law: 'have you not been a daughter-in-law [too]?'. She replied: 'I was, but I have forgotten it'".

3.6.3. قال مين يقرا ومين يسمع *qāl mīn yiqra u-mīn yasmaʿ*: "He said: 'who reads and who hears?'"[38].

3.6.4. قالوا الى البغل مين أبوك قال الحصان خالي *ʾālu ila al-baġl min abū-k ʾāl al-ḥiṣān ḫāl-i*:

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[33] The author is Mahdi Jasim, R. This PH. D. Tesis was published in 2006: Granada University.

[34] This proverb is used to refer to matters with a high probability of being fulfilled.

[35] He does not think that the offer is real.

[36] The author is Carlo Landberg. The book was published in Leiden in 1883.

[37] A thief is seized and the government throws him in jail, where he is tormented and beaten without wanting to confess. In the end they tell him, "Do you want to swear? He says to himself God opened the door to the release and he swears. This proverb is used to refer to one who justifies himself with a suspicion of meaningless oaths because of their frequent use.

[38] This proverb appears in Syria in its non-dialogued version, however, the dialogued version is found in the popular proverbs of Jordan: *yā abu l-Ḥuṣayn iqra l-žawāb qāl mīn yiqra u-mīn yasmaʿ*: "«Read the letter, jackal!». It answered: «who reads and who hears?»". To understand this dialogued proverb, one must know the following story that accompanies it: "The fox tricked the wolf that it had a letter that allowed him to enter the fold, so it tricked the wolf, and entered the fold with it. The fox took a little lamb and climbed it up the wall, and the wolf remained inside the fold killing multiple sheep and enjoying his action. After a while the owner of the fold arrived, grabbed the wolf who thought he was protected by the letter, the owner of the fold began to beat the wolf. The wolf shouted at the fox: «Read him the letter». The fox answered: «who can read and who can listen?». See Nāği (2014: 4).

"The mule was asked: 'who is your father?' It replied: 'The horse is my maternal uncle'"[39].

3.6.5. الجمل طلّ من الشُّبّاك قالوا له الناس أوعى تُوْقَع قال لهم لِسَّا الثُّقل لَوَرَا *al-žamal ṭall min aš-šubbāk ʾālūlu an-nās uwʿa tuwʾaʿ ʾāl l-hum lissa at-tuʾl la-warā*: "The camel held its head out of the window and they said to it: 'look out! You will fall!' It replied: 'the weight is still on the back'".

3.6.6. واحد ضربوه على بطنه قال آخ يا ضهري قالوا له نحنا عمّال نضربك على بطنك قال لهم يلّي ما اليه ضهر مقطوع الضهر *wāḥid ḍarbū-h ʿalā baṭn-u ʾāl ʾāḫ yā ḍahr-i ʾālū-lu lahu naḥna ʿammāl naḍirba-k ʿalā baṭna-k ʾāl l-hum yalli la ileh ḍahr maʾṭūʿ aḍ-ḍahr*: "They struck someone on the belly, and he said: 'alas, my back!'. The others said, 'we are striking you on the belly'. He replied : 'he who has no support has his back cut off'[40]".

3.7. Egypt

The collection of popular sayings that we have selected is entitled *al-Amṯāl al-ʿāmmiyya*[41] 'vernacular proverbs'. The following proverbs are from this book:

3.7.1. قَالْ جَابَتِكْ دَاهْيَهْ يَا مَرَهْ قَالِتْ عَلَى رَاسَكْ يَا رَاجِلْ *ʾāl žātik dāhya yā mara ʾālit ʿalā rāsak dā rāžil*: "Someone said: 'you have had a misfortune, wife!' She said: 'it has fallen on you, husband, too'".

3.7.2. قَالْ صَبَاح الْخَيرْ يَا عُورَهْ قَالِتْ دَا بَابْ شَرّ *ʾāl ṣabāḥ al-ḫayr yā ʿūrah ʾālit dā bāb šarr*:
"Someone said: 'good morning, one-eyed!' The other one replied: 'you have provoked me'".

3.7.3. قَالُوا الْجَمَلْ طِلَع النَّخْلَهْ قَالُوا آدِى الْجَمَلْ و آدِى النَّخْلَهْ *ʾālu al-žamal ṭilaʿ an-naḫla ʾālu ādi al-žamal wi ādi an-naḫla*: "Someone said: 'the camel climbed the palm tree'. The others answered: 'here is the camel and there is the palm tree'"[42].

3.7.4. قَالُوا لِلذِّيبْ حَ يْسَرَّحُوكْ فِى الْغَنَم قَام عَيَّطْ قَالُوا دَا شىء تِحبُّ قَال خَيفْ يُكُونْ الْخَبَرْ كِدْبْ *ʾālu li-ddīb ḥa isarraḥūk fi l-ġanam qām ʿayyaṭ ʾālu dā ši tiḥibbu ʾāl ḫāyif yukūn kidb*: "They said to the jackal: 'they are going to make you a shepherd'. It started crying. They said, 'This is something you like'. It said: 'I am afraid it is a lie'"[43].

3.7.5. قَالُوا لِلدّيك صَيَّح قَالْ كُلّ شيء فِي أَوَانُه مَلِيح *ʾālu li-ddīk ṣayyaḥ ʾal kull ši fī ʾawānu malīḥ* "They say to the cock: 'crow!'. It replied: 'everything is right in its time'".

3.7.6. قَالُوا لْعَنْتَرْ إِنْتَ تِضْرِبْ أَلْفْ قَالْ أَضْرَبْ أَلْفْ وِوَرَايَا أَلْفْ *ʾālu li-ʿantar inta tiḍrab alf ʾāl aḍrib alf wi wirāya alf*: "It was said to ʿAntar[44]: 'you fight and defeat a thousand men!'. He said: 'I defeat a thousand when I have a thousand fighters behind me'".

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[39] This dialogued proverb is one of the oldest, as it is found in the collection of Aṯ-Ṯaʿālibī (10th-11th century).This statement with a slight difference appears in Jordan as follows: *qālu li-l-baġl mīn abūk qal liḥṣān ḥali.* See al-ʿAmad (1996: 397). We also find it in Iraqi proverbs, see above 4.5.4.

[40] This proverb is said of someone who has no support. The word "back" in Arabic is in some cases used in the sense of support.

[41] The author is Taymūr Bāšā, Aḥmad. The book was publiched in Cairo in 1986 (4th edition).

[42] Who sees the camel and sees the palm tree realizes that it is not possible for a camel to climb a palm tree.

[43] See above 3.5.3.

[44] ʿAntar or ʿAntara ibn Šaddād ibn ʿAmr ibn Qirād was a member of ʿAbs tribe who lived in Arabia shortly before Islam (c 525-615). His name means "bravery in war" and he became famous for his courage. As one of the first known Arab poets, ʿAntara composed one of the seven 'suspended odes' or *muʿallaqāt*, which are the first poems of Arab literature to be preserved until they reach us. In the 10th century, his life became a chivalrous novel called *Sīrat ʿAntara* 'chronicle or cycle of *ʿAntara*' which was told in the evenings in the Arab world. See a brief biography of this poet and warrior of pre-Islamic Arabia in W. Meri, J. (ed.) *Medieval Islamic Civilisation. An Encyclopedia*, p. 47. See also more information about his poetry in Sobh (2002: 91).

3.7.7. قَالُوا لِلغُرَاب لِيهْ بِتِسْرَقْ الصَّابُون قالْ الأَذِيَّهْ طَبْعْ *ʾālu li-ġurāb lēh bi-tisraʾ aṣ-ṣābūn ʾāl al-aḏiyya ṭabʿ*: "It was said to the raven: 'why do you steal the soap?'. It replied: 'I am harmful by nature'"[45].
3.7.8. قَالوا يَا جُحَا إِمْتَى تْقُومْ الْقِيَامَهْ قَال لَمَّا أَمُوت أَنَا *ʾālu yā žuḥā imtā tqūm il-qiyāma ʾāl lammā amūt āna*: "Žuḥā was asked: 'when the day of reckoning will be?'. He answered: 'when I die'".
3.7.9. قَالُوا يَا جُحَا عِدّ مُوجْ الْبَحْرْ قال الْجَايَات أَكْثَرْ مِنْ الرَّايْحَات *ʾālu yā žuḥā ʿidd mūž il-baḥr ʾāl l-žāyāt aktar min a-rrāyḥāt*: "Žuḥā was told: 'count the waves of the sea'. He said: 'those that come are more numerous than those that go'".

3.8. Libya

For Libya[46], the collection of popular proverbs that we have chosen is entitled *al-mužtamaʿ al-lībī min ḫilāli amṯālihi aš-šaʿbiyya*[47]. The following proverbs have been selected from this book:

3.8.1. قالَّه منِين ها الفرع؟ قالَّه مِنْ ها الشجرة *qāl-lah mnīn ha-l-farʿ qāl-lah min ha-š-šažra*
"Someone asked: 'where that branch is from?' The other answered: 'from this tree'"[48].
3.8.2. اللي تَشْبَحَه راكب على خِشْبَة قولَه مبروك حصانك *illi tašbaḥ-ah rākib ʿalà ḫišbah qul-lah mabrūk ḥṣānik*: "If you see one on a stick, say him: 'congratulations on your horse'".
3.8.3. أنت شايب! قال الشايب فوق صهول الخيل ما هو شايب *anta šāyib! qāl aš-šāyib ʿalā ṣuhūl al-ḫayl mā hu šāyib* "Someone said: 'you are old!' The other one replied: 'the old man on horseback is not old'"[49].

3.9. Tunisia

For this country, the book selected is *al-Mawsūʿa al-žuliyya li-l-amṯāl aš-šaʿbiyya at-tūnisiyya*[50] 'the collection of most of the Tunisian popular proverbs'. The following proverbs have been selected from this book:

3.9.1. قَالُّو عَاشْ تِحِبْ يَا لَعْمَى؟ قَالُّو مِنَ القِفَا عِينِين *qāl-lu āš tḥibb ya l-aʿma qāl-lu min l-qifā ʿīnīn*: "The blind man was asked: 'what would you like?'. He replied: 'two eyes in the back of my head'".
3.9.2. قَالُّو فَاشْ تَاكُلْ؟ قَالُّونِبْلَغْ ونُقُلّكْ *qāl-lu fāš tākul? qāl-lu niblaʿ u-nqūl-lik*: "Someone asked: 'what are you eating?' He answered: 'let me eat a bite and after that I answer you'".
3.9.3. قَالُوا لِلْجَمَلْ أَمَا خِيرْ الصَّعْدَة و إِلاَّ الْحَدْرَة؟ قَالِلْهُمْ اللَّه لاَ يبَارِكْ فِيهُمْ الإِثْنِين *qālu li-l-žamal amā ḫīr aṣ-ṣaʿda wa illā al-ḥadra? qāl-lhum allāh lā ibārək fī-hum al-iṯnayn*: "The camel was asked: 'what is better to go up or down the hill?' It answered: 'neither is better'".
3.9.4. قَالِ لِلْقَبَرْ رَجَّعْلِي بَابَا قَلُّو أَنَا نِسْتَنَّي فِيكْ *qāl li-l-qabr raždža ʿ-li bābā qal-lu āna nistanna fīk*: "Someone said to the grave: 'give me back my father'. It replied: 'I am waiting for you'".

[45] This proverb has the same meaning as the phrase attributed to Cicero: *Consuetudo quasi altera natura* "custom is our second nature". See De Mauri (1978. 4).
[46] Libya is a country whose population was, until decades ago, made up of Bedouins, but it also has a coastal area with inhabitants more in contact with the sea and who traditionally had a popular imagination inspired by seafaring life and fishing activities. Their way of life differs substantially from that of the Bedouins. In this case, we can observe that Bedouin type proverbs do not include dialogued proverbs and those from the coastal area of the country include very few.
[47] The author is Muṣṭafà al-Miṣrātī, ʿAlī. The book was published in Tripoli in 1962.
[48] See above 3.1.6.
[49] The admiration that the Arabs have for the horse is legendary and very old. This proverb alludes to the fact that a rider, even if he is old, cannot consider him as such because riding a horse rejuvenates him.
[50] The author is Ban Ramaḍān, Yāsīn. The book was pubished inTunis in 2013.

3.9.5. قَالُو أَحْكِيلِي عَلَى سَيِّدْنَا يُوسِف، قَالُو طَاحْ فِي الْبِيرْ وطَلَّعُوهْ *qāl-lu ḥkī-li ʿalā sayyidna yūsif qāl-lu ṭāḥ fi-l-bīr u-ṭallʿū-h*: “Someone said: ‘tell me about the prophet Yūsuf’. The other one said: ‘he fell into the well and they brought him out’[51]”.

3.9.6. قَالُو وينِي وُذْنِكْ؟ قَالُو أَهَيَّ *qāl-lu wīnī wuḏnik qāl-lu ā haya*: “They asked him: ‘where is your ear?’. He answered: ‘here it is’[52]”.

3.9.7. قَالُو لِلْكَلْبْ شْبِيكْ تِلْهِثْ؟ قَالِلْهُمْ خَايِفْ مِنْ حَرْ قَايْلَةْ غُدْوَة *qālu li-l-kalb šbīk tilhiṯ qāl-lhum ḫāyəf min ḥar qāylət ġudwa*: “the dog was asked: ‘why are you panting?’. He replied, ‘I am afraid of the heat of tomorrow’”.

3.10. Algeria

The Algerian scholar Ben Cheneb published at the beginning of the 20th century the book intitled *Proverbes de l´Algérie et du Maghreb*[53]. It contains proverbs belonging to Algeria and compared to those of the Maghreb (Argelia, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia) and includes some Andalusians spread in the region. The following proverbs have been selected from this book:

3.10.1. قال للفرّان من اين دخلتك النار فال من فُمّي *qāl li-l-farrān min ayn daḫəlt-ak ən-āṛ qāl min fumm-i* “It was said in the oven: ‘where did the fire enter your interior?’. It replied: ‘by my (mouth) door’[54]”.

3.10.2. قالت النَّمْلة لبوجعران كيف كنت انا نطمّر كنت انت تزمّر *qālat ən-namla l-būžəʿran kīv kənt āna nṭammar kənt ənta tzammar*: “The ant said to the beetle: ‘when I was silaging, you were making dung balls’”[55].

3.10.3. قالوا للحمار وين قال لهم يا للحطب يا للعين *qālu li-lḥimār wīn qāl l-hum yā li-l-ḥaṭab yā lil-lʿayn* “The donkey was asked: ‘where are you going?’. It answered: ‘this will either be to bring firewood or to bring water’”[56].

3.10.4. قالوا له علاش داخل بالزور يا المسمار قال لهم شوفوا اشكون ورايَ *qālu lah ʿlāš dāḫəl bi-z-zūr yā əl-mismār qāl l-hum šūvu škūn urāya*: “They said to the nail. ‘why do you come in like this by force, o nail?’. It answered ‘see who is behind me’”.

3.10.5. قالوا له وقتاش توفَ الدنيا؟ جَاوَبهم النهار اللّ نموُوت أنا *qālu lah waqtāš tūfa əd-dinya žāwab-hum ən-nhār əlli nmūt āna*: “Someone was asked: ‘when will the world end?’. He answered: ‘the day I die’”[57].

3.11. Morocco

The collection of popular proverbs that we have chosen is entitled *Les proverbes marocains*[58]. From this book, I have selected the following proverbs:

3.11.1. أشْ عدوّك الفُولَه، قَالَتْ له: اللِّي هُوَ مَعِي في الْمْزْوْد *āš ʿaduwwək al-fūla qālət əlli huwwa maʿi fi-l-məzwəd*: “‘Who is your enemy, oh bean?’. It answered: ‘he who is with me in the pod’[59]”.

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[51] The very long story of the Prophet Joseph is told in the Qur'an XII, along the 111 verses that make up this sura. The proverb refers to people who only retain a few details of a very important matter.

[52] To point to his left ear, he ran his right hand over his head. See above 3.1.9.

[53] The book was published in Paris in 1905 and 1906 (2 vols.). It was republished in 2003 in Paris by Maisonneuve & Larose. For this article, we have consulted this reprint edition.

[54] The Maghrebi dialectal word *fumm* is polysemic, as it means both mouth and door.

[55] It is the same meaning as in La Fontaine's fable “La cigale et la fourmie”.

[56] See above 4.4.5.

[57] From the proverbs of other areas, it is known that it was Žuḥā who was asked this question. See above 4.7.8.

[58] The author is El Attar, Bouchta. The book was published in Casablanca, 1999.

[59] Some of these dialogues include questions to objects and answers from objects as in this proverb.

3.11.2. أَشْ خَصَّك العَرْيَان؟ قَالْ لَهُ الْخَوَاتْمْ أَمُولاَيْ *āš ḫaṣṣak al-ʿuryān qāl lu al-ḫawātim ā mūlay*: "'What do you want, you naked one?'. He answered: 'the rings, o my lord!'".
3.11.3. قَالْ لُه شْكُونْ يْشْهَد لَك يَالذِّيبْ؟ قَالْ لُه كَعْلْتِي *qāl-lu škūn yəšhad lak ya ddīb qāl kaʿlalt-i*: "The jackal was asked: 'who will testify on your behalf?'. It answered: 'my cock'".
3.11.4. قَالُو لِلْبْغَلْ شْكُونْ وْبَّاك؟ قَال: العَوْد خَالِي *qālu li-l-baġl škūn ubbak qal al-ʿawd ḫali*: "The mule was asked: 'who is your father?'. It answered: 'the horse is my maternal uncle'[60]".
3.11.5. قَالُو لِلْفَرَّانْ: مِنِّينْ دْخْلْتَكْ النَّارْ؟ قال: مِنْ فُمي *qālu li-l-farrān minīn daḫəlt-ak ən-nāṛ qāl min fumm-i* "It was said to the oven: 'where did the fire enter your interior?'. It replied: 'by my (mouth) door'[61]".
3.11.6. قَالْ لُه: اكْحَزْ، قَالْ لُه: ظْهَرْ الْحْمَارْ قْصِيرْ *qāl-lu kḥaz qāl-lu ḍhaṛ lə-ḥmār qṣīr*: "He said to him: 'give me a little more space!'. The other one answered: 'the donkey's spine is short'[62]".
3.11.7. قَالْ لُه الْجَمَلْ بِمِثْقَالْ، قَالْ لُه: مِثْقَالْ فَايْنْ هُوَ؟ *qāl-lu əl-žamal bi-mitqāl qāl-lu fayn huwwa*: "Someone said: 'the camel is only worth one golden dinar'. The other answered: 'where can I find one golden dinar?'".
3.11.8. قَالْ لُه أَشْ كَانْ بَابَاكْ؟ قَالْ لُه: نَفَارْ، قَالْ لُه: الْحَمْد للَّه رَمَضَان تَقَاضَى *qāl-lu āš kān bābak, qāl-lu naffār qāl-lu al-ḥamdu li-llāh ramaḍān tqāḍa*: "Someone asks: 'what is your father's job?'. The other one answers: 'he is a trumpet player[63]'. The first[64] says: 'Luckily for me, Ramadan is over'".

4.THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF DIALOGUED PROVERBS IN THE ARABIC DIALECTAL PAREMIAS

Having reviewed this sample of dialogued proverbs from different Arab countries, we can summarize the main characteristics of this variety of of proverbs as follows:

4.1. First of all, unlike the classical proverbs, which are stated on classical Arabic, the popular proverbs are obviously stated in the dialects and therefore reflect the idiosyncrasy of the group that created them. Each dialect has its own proverbs that reflect, in addition to linguistic features, the popular wisdom and folklore of the speakers of the dialect which are a mixture of population of Arab origin with different non-Arab but Arabized people who have lived together over the centuries. The cultural crossbreeding is one of the hallmarks of the popular Arab paremias.
4.2. The differences between the statements of the dialogued proverbs are in most cases the linguistic differences that exist between the colloquial varieties of the Arabic language, for example: From the Saudi Arabia dialecte: *qāl minayn ha-liʿwayd? qāl: min ha-š-šažayra*: "Someone asked: 'who is this stick from?'. The other one replied, 'from this little tree"'; From the Libyan dialecte: *qāl-lah mnīn ha-l-farʿ qāl-lah min ha-š-šažra* "Someone asked: 'where is that branch from?'. The other answered: 'from this tree'".
4.3. Some dialogued proverbs have a non-dialogued version, such as the Jordanian dialogued proverb: *yā abu l-ḥuṣayn iqra l-žawāb qāl mīn yiqra u-mīn yasmaʿ*: "Read the letter, jackal!". It answered: "Who reads and who hears?". This proverb has a non-dialogued version in Syrian dialect: *qāl mīn yiqra u-mīn yasmaʿ*: "He said: 'who reads and who hears?'".

[60] This statement with a slight difference appears in Jordan as follows: *qālu li-l-baġl mīn abūk qal liḥṣān ḫali*. See al-ʿAmad (1996: 397).
[61] We have the same text in Algerian proverbs, see above 4.10.1.
[62] The two characters are on a donkey, one asks the other to give him more space, but he can not because the donkey's back is short.
[63] The trumpet player used to play trumpet during the nights of Ramadan (the month of Muslim fasting) from the top of the minarets in order to wake people up early so they can have time to eat before the sun rises.
[64] According to Bouchta (1999: 240) "Mocking to anyone who brags about a job or position for which he or she is responsible, but which he or she may soon be deprived of".

4.4. There is a tendency to use animals as the protagonists of some dialogues, for instance, the camel that appears in almost all the proverbs of the different countries, the mule, the jackal, the wolf, etc.
4.5. These dialogued proverbs use humor and caricatured language for example: "They asked him: 'where is your ear?' He answered: 'here it is [He put his left hand over his head to point to his right ear]'.
4.6. There is a clear relationship between dialogued proverbs and folk tales and stories. In fact, some of these proverbs are the moral or the summary of a traditional story or tale in which a dialogue does occur, for example: *qāl mīn yiqra u-mīn yasmaʿ*: "He said: 'who reads and who hears?'". The dialogue in this case is in the associated story and the proverb is only understood in the context of the story[65].
4.7. In this dialogued proverbs, historical figures are cited, for example, the prophet Joseph (in Arabic: Yūsuf)[66], the pre-Islamic hero ʿAntara[67], the popular character Žuḥa, etc. The latter appears very frequently in the proverbs as a character who participates in the dialogues.

CONCLUSIONS

In view of all the examples belonging to the different dialects that have been analysed, it can be said that there is a diffusion that begins in the East and spreads to the western part of the Arab world, in other words, there is what we could call a "paremiological continuum" with regard to the popular dialogued proverbs in all the countries studied. There is a geographical continuity throughout the Arab space that is noticeable in the fact that some of the proverbs known in the eastern part of the Arab world, are very similar, if not identical, to some of those in the Maghreb. The so-called textual coincidences of proverbs are observed in all Arab countries, for example: In Moroccan proverbs, we have *qālu li-l-baġl škūn ubbak qal al-ʿawd ḫali*: "The mule was asked: 'Who is your father?'. It answered: 'The horse is my maternal uncle'". This same proverb is found in Syria *ʾālu ila al-baġl min abū-kʾāl al-ḥiṣān ḫāl-i* (same translation) and other countries. The difference between the statements is due to the linguistic differences between the dialects.

And finally, we must emphasize that the popular dialogued proverbs in the Arabic dialects constitute a paremiological variety that offers a perspective of the existing relationship between paremias, stories with morals, traditional stories starring animals, fables, etc.

The popular dialogued proverbs are, broadly speaking, part of the oral literature and traditions and constitute an important part of the paremiological heritage of the Arab countries.

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[65] See above 3.6.3.
[66] See above 3.9.5.
[67] See above 3.7.6.

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