

COMPARATIVE MALTESE AND ARABIC PROVERBS

By J. AQUILINA

THE oldest published collection of Maltese proverbs is M.A. Vassalli's book *Motti, Aforismi e Proverbi Maltesi* which the author published in 1828 with the financial assistance of his benefactor John Hookham Frere. The collection contains 864 proverbs translated into Italian. But there are hundreds of other proverbs and sayings in De Soldanis's larger work *Damma tal-Kliem Kartaginis mscerred fel fom tal Maltin u Ghaucin* (1750) which is a four volume manuscript work preserved at the Royal Malta Library. De Soldanis is also the author of an earlier unpublished book entitled *Apoftegmi e Proverbi Maltesi* given in alphabetical order but with the letters A and C missing. This collection was published by Dr. G. Curmi in *Malta Letteraria* No. 5 May 1928. Unlike Vassalli, De Soldanis translates the proverbs and sayings into Italian literally, but hardly ever explains the figurative meaning of their social context. Unfortunately, one sometimes has to reproduce some of the obscure proverbs given by De Soldanis and then attempt an explanation which, coming so late after the compilation of his work, is very often of a tentative nature. A few more recent collections like P.P. Castagna's *Malta bil-gzejjer tagħha* (3 vols. 1885), Fr. C. Fenech's *Il-Qawl Malti Jew Kliem Ix-Xiħ* (1955), Captain E.D. Busuttil's *Ġabra ta' Qwiel Maltin, u Qwiel Ingliżi li jaqblu magħhom* (1942) add very little to the original list of De Soldanis and Vassalli.

I have in the press what is going to be the largest dictionary of Maltese proverbs which are given under separate headings with their literal translation and sometimes also their field of figurative application. The proverbs are translated into English literally and as idiomatically as possible. But the translation of some of the proverbs is very disappointing because the essence of their wit, like the fragrance of a flower cut off from its stem, completely evaporates and one has the uneasy feeling that the proverb in translation reads more like a parody of the original than a

faithful reproduction. In separate sections and in smaller print, these proverbs are compared with as many proverbs in other languages as I could find. In some cases, I have given additional etymological notes on words of Romance or Semitic origin of philological interest. Of the whole collection of proverbs, comparatively very few are of Arabic origin, but the total list of correspondences in all the work is fairly impressive. Some of these proverbs are mixed in the sense that they may be Arabic and European at the same time, sometimes literally and sometimes approximately. Here arises the question as to the criteria that must be adopted to establish which is the original version. Comparatively only a small number of Maltese proverbs corresponds to Arabic ones because since 1090, when the Normans conquered Malta, the social context of our country moved in the direction of Sicily. Internal Arabic linguistic influence may have lasted for another 200 years after the Arab domination when Frederick II turned the Arabs out of the island to put an end to further conspiracies.

A proverb is the product of a form of communication which reproduces the social atmosphere of the times and the experiences of the people living in those times. Most proverbs, like old folk songs, contain a larger percentage of words of Semitic origin. A country's proverbs therefore can be described as the sum-total of the people's practical wisdom.

The longer post-Arabic period of European cultural and historical influences (1090-1967) accounts for the larger number of Maltese proverbs either of a general European origin in a very broad sense or of Romance origin in a narrower sense or completely local.

History helps us to understand what happened in the Maltese language. After the Arabs left the country, the Arab vocabulary which they left behind them began to serve social interests and ideas which reached our island from the European continent and especially through Sicily and later through Italy. The social impact of the European civilisation on the one-time Arabic-speaking island has been much profounder than the Arab domination.

The present Maltese linguistic heritage is a matter of single words, phrases and idioms which no longer form part of the Arabic civilisation

which began in Malta and Gozo in the 9th century. Many Maltese proverbs, though couched in a completely Arabic vocabulary, are the translation of Italian, and generally Sicilian proverbs, many of which can be compared with those collected by the famous Sicilian parameologist Giuseppe Pitrè (1841-1916). Very interesting are those Maltese proverbs which correspond to Arabic ones but have also their literal correspondences in one or more European languages. I give two such examples. One is the Maltese proverb: *Min ma jibkix ma jerdax*, 'The baby that (lit. he who) does not cry will not be suckled', advice to those who want something but do not bother to ask for it either because they are careless or because they are shy. Feghali in his book of proverbs *Proverbes et Dictons Syro-Libanais* (No.907) gives the corresponding Arabic Proverb: *kti:r en-naqq kti:r er-rā:ʕa* 'Plus un enfant pleure, plus il tette' [كثير النّقى كثير الرضاعة] This proverb does not occur in Sicilian and Italian from which we borrowed most of the Maltese non-Arabic proverbs, but it occurs in Spanish '*El que no allora no mama*' and also in Turkish 'They do not give the bread to the infant that does not cry' recorded by Rev. E.J. Davis, M.A. on page 25 of his book *Osmanli Proverbs and Quaint Sayings* and by Rev. H. Jensen in his *A Classical Collection of Tamil Proverbs* – No. 1947 (1897) 'A crying child will get milk'. Another interesting Maltese proverb is *Omm il-ġifa qatt ma tagħli imma lanqas tifraħ* 'The mother of the coward neither grieves nor rejoices' to which corresponds the Arabic proverb (said of a timid person who avoids all risks of all kind even those worthwhile) ?*umm al dzaba:ni la: tafraħu u la: taħzanu* [أمّ الجبان لا تفرح ولا تحزن] corresponding to the Latin proverb *Mater timidi neque laeta est neque tristis* (MEIDANI Vol. I p. 101 No. 300). *In vituperanda timiditate adhibetur*. Scharaf-Aldin *In meo codice proverbium non legitur*. The Arabic proverb in its turn, at least part of it, corresponds to Latin *Mater timidi flaere non solet*, a literal, corresponding Turkish proverb being 'The mother of a timid son never weeps'.

I am now going to give a few more examples of Maltese-Arabic proverbs with the respective headings under which they will appear in my book *A Comparative Dictionary of Maltese Proverbs*.

Strangely enough of the 85 proverbs under the section 'God and Religion' there is only the Maltese proverb given by M.A. Vassalli (No. 819) which has its literal Arabic correspondent. This is *it-tigiega hija u tixrob tizzihajr 'l Alla* - ?eddedga: dga btifrab wibtallig saub rabba [الدجاجة بتشرب وتطلع صوب ربها] '(Even) a hen after drinking raises its head upwards to its God' (FRAY No. 1601; FEGH No. 2904).

This is no more strange than the fact that, apart from the language which is certainly an Arabic heritage, there is no evidence of Arabic survivals in Malta. But in the proverbs dealing with *Craft and Evil* we find 4 Maltese proverbs which have Arabic approximate correspondences but none of which is exclusively Arabic. One of these four proverbs which seems of direct Arabic origin is: *lbza' mill-fqir li jsir sinjur, u mill-qabba li tigbor l-unur*, 'Beware of the poor man that becomes rich, and of the whore that becomes respectable'. - alla:h ul mdgɪ:r min el-faqi:r u l-mitkabbir wilgani: ul mit-dgabbir [الله المجير من الفقير المتكبر والغني المتجبر] 'God (guard us against) keep us from a proud, destitute man, and a pompous, rich man' (FRAY No. 346); but there are several other European proverbs of approximately the same meaning and similar wording such as It. 'Dio ti guardi da villan rifatto e da cittadin disfatto'; 'Il villan nobilitato non conosce il parentado'; Rum. 'Beware of a new boyar (= nobleman) and an old beggar' (CHAMPION); Eng. 'No pride like that of an enriched beggar'.

Under the heading entitled *Hypocrisy and False Appearances* I included *Stabba (In heba) wara sebgħu (subgħajh), imbagħad jidher kollu*, 'He hides behind his finger, then comes out into full view'. - byetxabba bexya:l esbɔu [بيتخبى بخيال اصبعو] 'D'une personne qui sait toujours se tirer d'affaire, qui a toujours une raison ou une excuse à donner' (FEGH No. 106 and FRAY No. 1061). I know of no other European correspondences. I recorded the very common Maltese proverb *L-ewwel tidrobn i (tferini) u mbagħad iddeuwini*, 'You first wound me, then you cure me' to which corresponds literally the Arabic proverb *byedgraħ webyerboṭ* [بيجرح ويبريط] 'Il blesse et panse' i.e. 'C'est une personne qui se brouille avec un ami et immédiatement se réconciliée avec lui, ou bien

devient tout de suite l'amie d'une autre personne, abandonnant la première amitié (FEGH No. 2284); 'Il blesse et cure' (RASS No. 789). There are similar proverbs in several other European languages.

The Maltese proverb *Il-giddieb (gideb) għomru qasir*, 'Liars (lies) are short-lived' corresponds to Ar. *ʕumr al kaḏḏa:b qasi:r* [عمر الكذاب قصير] 'The liar is short-lived' (BURCK No. 423). This proverb occurs in several European proverbs; but while Maltese and Arabic describe liars as short-lived, the European languages describe a lie as short-legged, though the English, not only say that 'A lie has no legs', but also that 'A lie never lives to be old'.

From now onwards to shorten the communication as much as possible, I give only Maltese proverbs which one can definitely consider as of exclusively Arabic origin because there are no literal, or approximate, correspondences in Sicilian and other European languages.

RETRIBUTION

Min jobżoqlok f'wiċċek tistħix tobżoqlu f'wiċċu 'Do not hesitate to spit in the face of him who spits in your face' – *illi byibzuq bkaffak ʔubzuq bdaqnu* [الّی بیبزیق بکفک ابزیق بدقنه] 'He who spits on your palm, spit on his beard' (FRAY No. 448).

Min jitħallat man-nuħħala, it-tigieg tferkxu (tgerfxu), 'He who gets himself mixed up with bran will be scratched by hens' – *dyetsxalla ʔ mʕan-noxxa:l yakluh l-kla:b* [ذیتخلط مع النخال یاكلوه اللاب] 'What is mixed with the bran will be eaten by the dogs' (Andjra WEST. No. 387).

TROUBLES

Min jidħol bejn il-basla u qoxriħa jibqa' b'riħiħa, 'He who gets in between the onion and its skin carries its smell' – *ya:da:xel bain el-qefre wettu:me ya:ʕa:mem ri:ħa maiʕma* [یا داخل بین القشرة والتومة یا شامم ريحة ميشومة] 'Celui qui s'introduit entre l'écorce et l'ail, sentira une odeur désagréable' (FEGH No. 294; BURCK No. 93; MEID Vol. II, No. 369, p. 519; FRAY No. 550).

Il-borma fuq tlieta toqgħod, 'The pot rests on three (a tripod)' – ?essi :
 ba ma btu:qaf ?illa ʕa tla:ti(t) [السّيبة ما بتوقف إلاّ ع
 ثلاثه] 'A tripod stands only on three legs' (FRAY No. 1938).

SOCIAL POSITION

Li jien kont amir, u int amir, kieku min isuq il-ħmir? 'Were I an Emir,
 and you an Emir, which one of us would drive the asses?' – ?enta
 mi:r wana mi:r fku:n isu:g el ħmi:r? [انت مير وانا مير
 ؟ شكون يسوق الحمير؟] 'Toi Emir et moi Emir (prince) lequel de nous
 conduira les ânes?' (As No. 23) given also by FRAY No. 704; FEGH No.
 1221 and MBCH No. 37.

MAN AND WOMAN

L-ghaġuza aħžen mix-xitan, 'The old woman is shrewder (or worse)
 than the devil' – ladgu:za ktsar men f-fita:n [العكّوزة اكثر
 من الشيطان] 'An old woman is worse than the devil' (WEST No. 20).

Kull andar għandu l-karfa tiegħu, 'Every threshing floor has its chaff' –
 s-sa:ba ma tskun bla ġerfa [الصّابة ما تكون بلا جّرفة]
 'The heap of threshed com is not without unthreshed ears' Andjra (WEST
 No. 248).

Qabel ma tara (or) tikri d-dar, għandek tistaqsi għall-ġar, 'Before you
 rent a house inquire about the neighbour'. – s?a:l ʕan edġ-dza:r
 qabl ed-da:r [اسأل عن الجار قبل الدار] 'Informe-toi du
 voisin avant (d'acheter) ta maison' (FEGH No. 1645). There are other
 Arabic variants.

CHILDREN AND PARENTS

Il-borma taqlibba għal fommha, il-bint (or it-tifla) tixbab l'ommha, 'Turn
 the pot upside down over its mouth, the daughter takes after her mother' –
 qləb el qdi:ra ʕala fmimatha te fbeh ?el bent ummimetha
 [قلب القديرة على فميتها تشبه البنت أميتها] 'En mettant
 la marmite sens dessus dessous, elle ne cesse pas d'être marmite; ainsi
 la fille ressemble à sa mère (As No. 253). There are other Arabic variants.

L-omm basla, il-missier tewma, it-tifla kif tkun tfub? 'If the mother is an onion, and the father a garlic, how can the daughter smell good?' – ?abu:h basal wa ?ummu tu:m we mnain baddaha tidgi ri:h̄t et̄ti:bti [أبوه بصل وأمه توم، ومنين بدها تجي ريحة] [الطيبية؟] 'His father is an onion; his mother is a garlic; (so) where does good fragrance come from?' (FRAY No. 58).

LOVE, SEX AND MARRIAGE

Għidli bin (bint) min int u ngħidlek x'int, 'Tell me whose son (daughter) you are and I'll tell you what you are' – s?a:l ?an ?el-?emm qabl an tlemm [اسأل عن الأم قبل ان تلم] 'Renseigne-toi sur la mère avant de prendre la fille' (FEGH No. 1384).

Fejn thobb il-qalb jimxu r-riglejn, 'Where the heart loves, there the legs walk' – ?el-?edzr ma betdebb eilla ma traħ ma beħebb [الاجر ما بتدب الأ مطرح ما بتحب] 'Le pied ne va que là où l'amour le guide' (FEGH No. 1279).

Apparently the Maltese have not inherited any of the feeling of jealousy with which the Arab male regards his woman. Of the 10 Maltese proverbs, referring to this lack of emotional balance there is not one which is of Arabic origin.

NEIGHBOURS

Bongornu, bonasira, la ħadtili u lanqas ħadtlek, 'Good morning, good evening; I have taken nothing from you and you have taken nothing from me'. – saba:h̄ ?el-xe:r ya dza:ri enti biħa:lak wa?ana biħa:li [صباح الخير يا جاري انت بحالك وانا بحالي] 'Bonjour, voisin! reste chez toi, je resterai chez moi' (LAND No. LII).

Hares tajjed 'il darek u la thallilx 'il garek, 'Guard your house carefully and don't tempt your neighbour to steal' – fudd ed-da:r uħe edzdza:r ʔandek ya ʔtek enna:r [شد الدار واطح الجار] 'Close the house and send away the neighbour, lest he give you fire' (WEST No. 1106); sakkir ba:bak ula tithim

dʒa: rak [سگر بابك ولا تتهم جارك] 'Lock your door rather than accuse your neighbour' (FRAY No. 1908; FEGH No. 1646; MBCH No. 965).

HABITS

Il-ghada li titrabba fiha, il-kefen biss ineħħiha, 'Only the shroud will take away the habits in which you have been brought up' – xasel t el-baden ma bigaiyera gair el-kafen [خصلة البدن ما بيغيرا غير الكفن] 'Nos habitudes ne nous quittent qu'au cercueil' (FEGH No. 544).

CHARACTER

Minn bassa jogħxa u min fiswa jmut, 'A fart makes him faint and break of wind kills him' – mn el-faswæ byegfa mn-eđđarta bimut [من الفسوة بيغشى من الضرطة بيموت] 'Une vesse le fait s'évanouir, un pet le fait mourir!' Cette expression triviale est passée en proverbe; elle est employée vulgairement pour désigner quelqu'un qui est sans énergie, faible de caractère, sans courage et sans force de caractère (FEGH No. 485).

SELF-INTEREST

Aħjar fwiedi minn uliedi, 'Better my liver than my children' Aħjar fwiedi minn uliedu, È meglio il fegato che i figli suoi. – fwa:di wa la ?awla:di [فواردي ولا اولادي] 'Mes entrailles plutôt que mes enfants'. Se dit de l'amour que la mère a pour ses enfants; elle préfère mourir à leur place' (MBCH No. 1336).

Merħba bib meta gie, meta ma giex Alla bennieb, 'When he came he was welcomed, and when he did not come, God cheered him' – marħba be lli dʒa u dʒa:b wu lli dʒa u ma dʒa:b maʒalih u dʒa:b, [مرحبا بالي جا وجاب والي جا وما جاب ما عليه جواب] 'Welcome to him who comes and brings (something), and he who comes and does not bring (anything) gets no answer' (WEST No. 1121).

GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE

Aḥjar ḥabib mal-kalb inkella ma' sidu, 'Better (be) the friend of a dog than of his master' – ?uʃmal maʕru:f maʕ kalb wela taʃmlu ma ?ibna:dam [*اعمل معروف مع كلب ولا تعمله مع ابن*] 'Do good to a dog rather than to a man' (FRAY No. 254).

Min jieḥu 'l ommna jsir għammna, 'He who marries our mother becomes our uncle (step-father)' – ?aiyamen ?exed ?emme bqellu ya ʕamme [*ايا من اخذ امي بقلو عمي*] 'Quiconque prendra ma mère, je l'appellerai oncle (= beau-père) (FEGH No. 932; RASS No. 873).

VANITY AND SELF-CONCEIT

Kulḥadd ferḥan (jifraḥ) bl-għarusa tiegħu, 'Every one feels pleased (happy) with his own bride' – kellemen biganni ʕa dzama:l ḥebba:btu (a laila) [*كلمن بيغني عا جمال حباتو*] (*عا لילה*) 'Chacun chante les beautés de sa belle (de sa Laila)'. Ce proverbe veut dire que chacun se laisse conduire par une passion ou un plaisir qui l'absorbe tout entier. Cf. 'A chaque fou sa marotte' (FEGH No. 1334).

GLUTTONY AND GREED

Min jibza' għall-ikel tal-qattusa jeklub il-grieden, 'He who grudges the cat's food will be eaten by rats' – allaḍi yatha:raf ʕala ʕaʕa el-qitt taʕkalu el-fa:r ḍa:ni:h [*الذي يتحارف على عشا القط تأكل الفار زانيه*] 'Celui qui veut faire des épargnes sur le souper de son chat, aura ses deux oreilles mangées par les rats' (MEIB p. 30).

Iz-zejjed bħan-nieqes (or ḥu n-nieqes), 'Too much is like (or, is the brother of) too little' – ?ez-za:yed xai en-nə:qes [*الزايد خي*] 'Le trop est le frère du moindre' (FEGH No. 271).

WORK, DILIGENCE AND IDLENESS

Dak li ma jḥobbx jaḥdem ma' l-Insara jkollu jaqa' jaḥdem ma' l-İlsiera, 'He who does not like to work with Christians will have to work with

slaves' - el-xadma mra n-nsa:ra wa la l-gla:s xsa:ra [الخدم
معة مع النصارى ولا الكلاس خسارة] 'To work with Christians is
better than to lose (time) by sitting idle' (WEST No. 587).

Aħdem għal ħabba u għodd mal-battal, 'Work even for a grain (one
twelfth of a penny), then count (your earnings) with the idle' - ʔiʃtigil
bdzedi:d (bba:ra ʔbmi riya, ʔbfils, ʔbqatʔa) wəxa:sib
al baʃʃa:l [اشتغل بجديد وحاسب البطال] 'Travaille pour
un liard et donne-toi de garde du désœuvré' (LAND No. XII).

SLOTH AND LAZINESS

Bi nħar jigr̄i (or jigr̄gerrew) fuq il-bjut u bil-lejl jaħraq (jaħraqu) iz-zjut,
'During the day he runs (or they run) about on the roofs; and during the
night he burns (they burn) the oil' - zei ʔula:d z-zfu:ts bel-li:l
iħarqu z-ziut u n-nħa:r iqabtu l-qnu:ts [زي اولار
الزفوت بالليل يحرقوا الزيوت والنهار يقبضوا القنوت] 'It is
the manner of scamps (lit. 'sons of pitch') to burn oil-lamps at night and
to seize comers at day, (to sleep in)' (WEST No. 642).

MONEY AND WEALTH

Il-baħar tqassmu jsir għadajjar, 'If you divide the sea, it will become
pools' - qassam el-baħr sawa:qi: taʃallab ma tala:qi:
[قسم البحر سواقي تطلب ما تلاقى] 'Divisez la mer en rigoles,
cherchez-les, il n'y a plus rien'. (MEIB p. 102).

Bla flus la tgħannaq u lanqas tħus, 'Without money one can neither
embrace nor kiss' - li ma ʔandu flu:s ma iderraʔ ma ibu:s
[الي ما عنده فلوس ما يذرع ما يبوس] 'He who has no money
can neither embrace nor kiss' (WEST No. 880); illi ma ʔandu flu:s
ma yaʔannaq ma yabu:s [الي ما عنده فلوس ما يعنق ما
يبوس] 'Celui qui n'a pas d'argent n'étreint ni embrasse' (MBCH No.
281).

POVERTY AND THRIFT

Kulħadd jidfen 'l ommu kif jista', 'Every one buries his mother as best

he can' - kill waḥed jedfen yimma:ḥ ki:f iḥebb [كل واحد
يدفن يمه كيف يحب] 'Everyone buries his mother as he likes
(WEST No. 1388).

Aḥjini llum u oqtolni għada, 'Help me (lit. give me life) today, kill me
tomorrow' - ?aḥyini el-yaum we uqtolni gadda [أحييني اليوم
واقتلني غدًا] 'Fais-moi vivre aujourd'hui et tu pourras me tuer demain'
(MBCH No. 21).

SQUANDERING, WASTE AND BANKRUPTCY

Min għandu l-bżar (zejje d) iroxxu fuq il-kromb, 'He who has got manure
(to spare) let him spread it on the turnips'. - *elli quwa zaḡafranu
yaḡamlu faḡla:l* [الّلي قوى زعفرانو يعملو فاغالال] 'Celui qui
dispose de beaucoup de safran, n'a qu'à en assaisonner même les escar-
gots' (As. No. 46); *ḥal ḡendu bha:r bireḡḡḡal-ḡerrayis*
[هالعندو بهار بيرش عالقرّيص] 'Qui a du poivre, en saupoudre
les orties'; 'Il faut être riche et prodigue pour jeter du poivre aux orties;
elli ḡendu bha:r bireḡḡḡal ḥebbaize [الّلي عندو بهار
بيرش عالخبّيزة] 'Qui a du poivre, en saupoudre la mauve' (FEGH No.
1120); *li andu zaḡfra:n yaḡamlu faḡla:l* [الّلي عنده الزعفران
يعمله في اغلال] 'He who has saffron (which is expensive) spices
snails with it' (WEST No. 857, MBCH No. 235).

TRADE AND BUSINESS

Rḥis u m'erḥsu dan il-laḥam: izda la meraq u la xaḥam, 'This meat is
so cheap it could not be cheaper, but it contains neither gravy nor fat' -
men estarxes el-laḥm ḡend el-maraq yendem [من استرخص
الّلحم عند المرق يندم] 'Qui choisit viande à bon marché, aura
mauvais bouillon' (FEGH No. 2442).

Il-fumar ḥobza islifbielu, għax jekk ma jaḡḥtibilekx, teḥodbielu, 'Lend
a loaf to a baker, because if he does not give it back to you, you can
take it back from him' - ?aḡḡi xubzak lil xaḥba:z ulau ?akal
nusḡa [أعط خبزك للخباز ولو أكل نصّه] 'Give your dough (lit.
bread) to a baker though he may eat half or it'. Let experts or profes-

sionals do things for you, however expensive they may be. In the long run, it is more advantageous. (FRAY No. 243; MBCH No. 151).

PRACTICAL WISDOM AND FORESIGHT

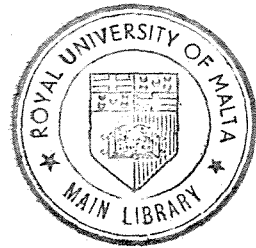
Iftaḥ biebek u ftaḥar jew aḡḡqu u nsatar, 'Open the door and show off or shut it and hide yourself' - *ʔiftaḥ ba:bak wiftixir yamma sakkir ba:bak winsitir* [*افتح بابك وافتخر يما سكر بابك وانستر*] 'Either open your door and live gloriously, or else shut it and live gloriously, or else shut it and hide yourself inside' (FRAY No. 266).

Saqsi l-imḡarrab mhux lit-tabib (or *lill-ḡḡharef*), 'Ask the man of experience and not the doctor' - *sa:l l-mdḡarrab la tsa: t-tabib* [*سل المجرب لا تسال الطبيب*] 'Ask the experienced one, don't ask the doctor (meaning that she knows what she is talking about' (WEST No. 14, MBCH No. 967).

ABBREVIATIONS

- AS Si Ahmed Abihi, *Proverbes Inédits* (n.d.).
- BURCK John Lewis Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs or the Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*. Second édit., London, MDCCCLXXV.
- CHAMPION Selwyn Gurney Champion, *Racial Proverbs*, (London, 1950).
- FEGH Monseigneur Michel Feghali, *Proverbes et Dictons Syro-Libanais*, Paris (1938).
- FRAY Anis Frayha, *Modern Lebanese Proverbs*, (1953).
- LAND Carlo Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictons de la Province de Syrie Section de Saydâ* (Leide/Paris, 1883).

- MBCH Mohammed Ben Cheneb, *Proverbes Arabes de l'Algérie et du Maghreb* (Paris, 1905).
- MEIB Anatole de Meibohm, *Proverbes Arabes* (Les éditions universitaires d'Egypte, Cairo, 1948).
- MEID *Meidani Proverbia*, edited by G.W. Freytag (Bonne, 1839).
- RASS Ahmed Rassim, *Chez le Marchand de Musc (Proverbes populaires arabes)* (Egypt (?), n.d.).
- WEST Edward Westermarck, *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco*, London, 1930.



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