

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

LESTER AND SALLY ENTIN FACULTY OF THE HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

THE ARABIC DIALECT OF Ġisir izZarga:

LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION AND A PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION, WITH

SAMPLE TEXTS

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE

"MASTER OF ARTS"

BY

YONATAN BELINKOV

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

PROF. NASIR BASAL

JULY 2014

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Abstract

The village of Ġisir izZarga is the last remaining Arab village on the Israeli coast line, located half way between Tel Aviv and Haifa. Its establishment is said to have taken place in the 19th century, when the clans of Šihāb and Naġġār arrived from Egypt and the clans of Ġurbān and ‘Ammāš came from the Jordanian Ghor. This work aims to describe the main linguistic features of the type of Arabic spoken in Ġisir izZarga and position it inside the greater group of Syro-Palestinian dialects. The primary data used for this work are recordings made in the village during fieldwork conducted in 2011-2012. Supplementary material was extracted from a CD containing television interviews conducted in the village some two or three decades ago.

The linguistic analysis shows that the Arabic dialect of Ġisir izZarga is a rural dialect with a significant Bedouin component. The rural character of the dialect is evident from the phonological (e.g. preservation of the interdental; *ġīm > ġ; inconsistent *k* > ċ), morphological (gender distinction in plural verbs and pronouns), morphophonological (preservation of the sequences *CVCaCV-* and *-aXC-*, where *X* is *ġ*, *x*, *‘*, *ħ* or *h*), and morphosyntactic features (*b-* prefix for the indicative; (*ma-*) ... *-š* for compound negation). Bedouin or Bedouinized elements are also found in different linguistic levels. Some examples include: the shift **q* > *g*; morphological forms such as *awwala* ("first", f.), *ani* ("I"), *-um* ending for 2/3 pl. m. verbs; and lexical items like *yōmin* (conjunction "when") and *yā yuṃṃa*

("my child"). Occasionally we see both sedentary and Bedouin features used interchangeably, e.g. Bedouin *bī* and sedentary *fī* for the existential marker.

A comparative analysis of the main features shows a high similarity between the Arabic of Ġisir izZarga and the Transjordanian dialects, especially those of North and Central Transjordan. This analysis suggests an originally rural dialect that has gone through a process of Bedouinization before the arrival of the people at the village in the 19th century. Such an explanation agrees with the reports of the origin of the clans of Ġurbān and ʿAmmāš as coming from the Jordanian Ghor, but fails to explain the reports of other clans (Šihāb and Nağğār) coming from Egypt. The possibility of separate dialects existing in the village according to the different clans is discussed, along with examples for distinguishing features. However, the findings show a complicated picture which indicates an ongoing leveling process in the village. The grouping of Ġisir izZarga in the dialect group of the Carmel Coast is also discussed and directions for future research are outlined.

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I have been fortunate to participate in three programs in Arabic dialectology organized by Princeton University. The first program was an intensive course on Arabic dialectology taught in Princeton University in 2009 by Prof. Otto Jastrow. This course provided an extensive introduction to the diversity of the Arabic dialects. In 2011 I was lucky to have received a generous grant from the Gardner Fund of Princeton University to participate in the Princeton Arabic dialects summer school which was taught by Prof. Otto Jastrow and Prof. Werner Arnold. The research techniques I have acquired there form the foundation of this work. The idea to study the dialect of Ġisir izZarga was suggested to me by Prof. Jastrow, who has written the first work on the dialect. The fieldwork that I have carried in 2011-2012 was partially funded by Princeton University and preliminary results have been reported in a workshop in Tallinn University in the summer of 2012. I am grateful to Prof. Michael Cook from Princeton University for promoting the study of Arabic dialects by organizing these training programs and for

providing me this invaluable opportunity. I am indebted to Prof. Jastrow and Prof. Arnold for their meticulous instruction and teaching, without which I could never have taken such an endeavor. Thanks are due also to the other participants of these programs who have become my good friends and colleagues.

I would also like to thank the Konard Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arabic Cooperation for supporting this work.

Perhaps the most important and challenging part in any dialectological research is finding the right informants. It was my pleasure to have met Sāmi ‘Ali who has taken on himself to be my guide, and friend, in Ğisir. Sāmi's care for the progress of the village is persuading and motivating, and I am fortunate to have found him. I am especially grateful to my informants for sharing their life experiences with me. They were all welcoming and patient in answering my questions. I hope I have been able to convey their stories and opinions in the best possible way.

Finally, to my parents, for being there whenever I need them, even from afar. And to my wife, Niva, who is like a burning rock in my sometimes shaky world – thank you for always believing in me.

Notes on Transcription

The following symbols are used in the transcription. The equivalent IPA symbols are given in square brackets and are followed by the corresponding Arabic characters, when they exist in Classical Arabic. The Arabic characters are meant to facilitate reading for readers not familiar with the traditional or IPA symbols; they are not phonetic definitions. The accurate definitions given to the different sounds mostly follow (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:5-9).

Consonants

ʾ	Glottal stop	[ʔ]	ء
<i>b</i>	Voiced bilabial stop	[b]	ب
<i>p</i>	Voiceless bilabial stop	[p]	
<i>t</i>	Voiceless dental stop	[t]	ت
<i>t̤</i>	Voiceless interdental fricative	[θ]	ث
<i>ǧ</i>	Voiced palato-alveolar affricate	[dʒ]	ج
<i>ʒ</i>	Voiced palato-alveolar fricative	[ʒ]	
<i>ħ</i>	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative	[ħ]	ح
<i>x</i>	Voiceless velar fricative	[x]	خ
<i>d</i>	Voiced dental stop	[d]	د
<i>d̤</i>	Voiced interdental fricative	[ð]	ذ
<i>r</i>	Alveolar trill	[r]	ر
<i>ɾ</i>	Emphatic alveolar trill	[ɾ]	ر
<i>z</i>	Voiced dental fricative	[z]	ز
<i>s</i>	Voiceless dental fricative	[s]	س
<i>ʃ</i>	Voiceless palato-alveolar fricative	[ʃ]	ش
<i>ʂ</i>	Voiceless emphatic dental fricative	[s̤]	ص
<i>č</i>	Voiceless dental affricate	[tʃ]	
<i>ɖ</i>	Voiced emphatic dental stop	[ɖ]	ض
<i>t̤</i>	Voiceless emphatic dental stop	[t̤]	ط
<i>d̤</i>	Voiced emphatic interdental fricative	[ð̤]	ظ
<i>ʒ̤</i>	Voiced emphatic dental fricative	[ʒ̤]	
ʿ	Voiced pharyngeal fricative	[ʕ]	ع
<i>g</i>	Voiced velar fricative	[ɣ]	غ
<i>f</i>	Voiceless labiodental fricative	[f]	ف

<i>q</i>	Voiceless uvular stop	[q]	ق
<i>g</i>	Voiced velar stop	[g]	
<i>ǧ</i>	Voiced dental affricate	[dz]	
<i>k</i>	Voiceless velar stop	[k]	ك
<i>č</i>	Voiceless palato-alveolar affricate	[tʃ]	
<i>l</i>	Voiced dental lateral	[l]	ل
<i>ḷ</i>	Voiced emphatic dental lateral	[ɫ]	
<i>m</i>	Voiced bilabial nasal	[m]	م
<i>ṁ</i>	Voiced emphatic bilabial nasal	[ɹ̥]	
<i>n</i>	Voiced dental nasal	[n]	ن
<i>h</i>	Voiceless glottal fricative	[h]	ه
<i>v</i>	Voiced labiodental fricative	[v]	

Semi-vowels

<i>w</i>	Bilabial semi-vowel	[w]	و
<i>y</i>	Palatal semi-vowel	[j]	ي

Vowels

<i>a</i>	Short low unrounded vowel	[a, ʌ]
<i>ā</i>	Long low unrounded vowel	[a:, ɑ:]
<i>e</i>	Short high-mid front unrounded vowel	[e]
<i>ē</i>	Long high-mid front unrounded vowel	[e:]
<i>i</i>	Short front high unrounded vowel	[i]
<i>ī</i>	Long front high unrounded vowel	[i:]
<i>o</i>	Short mid back rounded vowel	[o]
<i>ō</i>	Long high-mid or low-mid back rounded vowel	[o:, ɔ:]
<i>u</i>	Short near-high back rounded vowel	[ʊ]
<i>ū</i>	Long high back rounded vowel	[u:]

Comments

- A superscript denotes a helping vowel (*ibⁱn*, "boy"; see 3.1.5) or, more rarely, labialization (*umṁṁi^w*, "my mother"). Two superscripted "H" letters surround a Hebrew phrase.
- When unpredictable by dialect rules (see 3.1.6), stress is denoted by an acute accent above the stressed vowel. An underscore is used to connect two words that are pronounced as one unit (*minṛūḥ_ʿalē*, "we

go to him"). Three dots "... " indicate an uncompleted utterance, while three dots in square brackets "[...]" indicate an uninterpretable word or phrase. A question mark in brackets refers to an uncertain transcription. Capital letters are used in proper nouns (e.g. *Hēfa*, "Haifa").

- c. A glottal stop followed by a vowel in the beginning of a word has not been transcribed and is implicitly understood (*awwal*, "first", vs. *bi-l'awwal*, "firstly"). In the rare cases where $*q > ʔ$ (see Chapter 5), the glottal stop is written (*ʔāl*, "said").
- d. When a geminate consonant is followed by another consonant, the gemination is not pronounced, but is still written in a morphophonemic style. Thus *biddkum* ("you (pl. m.) want") is actually pronounced as *bidkum*; *mit'allmīn* ("educated (pl. m.)") is pronounced as *mit'almin*; *miḡḡawwzāt* ("married (pl. f.)") is pronounced as *miḡḡawzāt*.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The village of Ġisir izZarga is located on the Mediterranean coast, roughly half way between Tel Aviv and Haifa. According to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, the population numbered 12,709 Muslim inhabitants in 2010.¹ The socioeconomic status of the village is very low: it was ranked 2 out of 10 in 2006.

The literal meaning of the name of the village is "the bridge of the blue", referring to a bridge that was built on the "blue river", the Arabic name of Naḥal Tananim (the "Crocodile River"). The origin of the people is not clear and several theories exist regarding their arrival to the village. According to (Hareuveni 2010:208), the founders were the clans of Šihāb and Nağğār, who arrived from Egypt with the troops of Muḥammad ‘Alī in 1834, and the clans of Ġurbān and ‘Ammāš, who arrived from the Jordanian Ghor in the 19th century. According to my conversations with people in the village, some have come from Egypt while others came from the Jordanian Ghor (see also Jastrow 2009b); a person from the ‘Ammāš told me that his family ultimately comes from Tikrīt in Iraq. It seems that the first inhabitants settled in the Kabbara swamps, east of the present day Haifa-Tel Aviv highway. After the swamps were drained by the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association

¹ <http://www.cbs.gov.il> [accessed on March 15, 2012].

(PICA), the people were moved to the western side of the road (Hareuveni 2010:208).

Nowadays, the village suffers from a lack of lands: on the east it borders the highway while on the south an earthen embankment separates it from Caesarea; to the north stretch the river and Ma'agan Michael, and to the west a nature reserve and the Mediterranean Sea. Many of the people used to make their living out of fishing, an occupation which is still preserved by several families today. In fact, Ġisir izZarga is the only remaining fishermen village on the coast of Israel.

The primary goal of this research is to characterize the Arabic dialect of Ġisir izZarga and describe its main linguistic features. Chapter 3 provides a linguistic description focusing on phonology and morphology, as well as selected syntactic issues. Naturally, any characterization of the dialect must take into consideration the larger linguistic situation; chapter 2 reviews the different types of Palestinian dialects and their standard classifications. A second objective is to achieve a tentative classification of the dialect in the larger group of Palestinian and neighboring dialects. In chapter 4 such a classification is attempted, by comparing salient linguistic features to other relevant dialects. It is shown that the dialect is largely a rural dialect with a significant Bedouin component, a finding that offers some insight into the history of the village's inhabitants. Chapter 5 analyzes a recording of a metalinguistic discussion which shows some of the language attitudes that exist among the younger generation. Finally, the Appendix contains sample texts and translations.

1.1. Data

The majority of the data presented in this work was collected during fieldwork conducted in 2011-2012. I made recordings of several hours of interviews and conversations ranging between 30-200 minutes. The primary informants are three men (literate) and one woman (illiterate), aged 65 to 80, all born in the village and lived in it all their lives. Two men are from the families of Ğurbān and Šihāb – two of the largest clans in the village – and one is from the Rašwān, a smaller family. According to Maḥmūd Rašwān, his father came to Palestine from Egypt in the beginning of the 20th century and married a woman from the village. The fact that there are almost no Egyptian features in his speech can be explained by his father passing away when he was only a young child. Our conversation took place at his porch, occasionally with his grandson listening.

‘Ali and Ğamīla Ğurbān represent the Ğurbān clan; I spoke with each of them separately. According to what they told me, their parents used to live in Tantura and were transferred to Ğisir after 1948. Their father was the Mukhtar of the village and built the first house in the new location. Ultimately, the family has Bedouin origins: their father's father was a Bedouin from ‘Arab iṣṢbēḥ, formerly one of the larger Bedouin tribes in the Galilee (Hareuveni 2010:895). However, their father's mother was an Egyptian woman.

‘Ali Ğurbān himself used to work as a smith. The conversation with ‘Ali took place at his yard and concerned the history of the village, his

personal life and education in the village. His sister Āamila spoke to me first in the presence of her children, then alone, and focused mostly on stories of old times. Compared to the other speakers, her speech has a freer style, conserving more archaic features.

The conversation with Āād Šihāb took place at his store and concerned mostly the present life in the village and the changes from older times. His parents were both born in the village, before it moved to its present location, and his father was a fisherman. Compared to the other informants, Āād Šihāb had a somewhat more literary style.

Besides the four main informants, I have also recorded younger speakers, including a number of school boys and girls. References to their speech are indicated where they are deemed of importance. Even though the data are too scarce to draw an exhaustive cross-generational comparison, it seems that young speakers exhibit at least the same main linguistic features as older ones. As far as the speakers' perception is concerned, the dialect has its own unique, distinguishing features. Thus, some people are said to be changing their dialects when they go outside the village. In chapter 5, I exploit a recording of a metalinguistic discussion to explore such questions of language attitude, accommodation, and switching.

Finally, I was lucky to receive a CD with recordings of television interviews conducted in the village some two or three decades ago. One story told in these interviews is transcribed in the Appendix. The general impression is that, apart from a few archaic features, the speech forms in those interviews are largely preserved in my newer recordings.

Chapter 2

Palestinian Dialects

Palestinian Arabic dialects belong to the larger dialect group of Greater Syria or Levantine dialects, sometimes referred to as Syro-Lebanese (Versteegh 2001:153) or Syro-Palestinian (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:20) dialects. This group includes dialects spoken in Syria, Lebanon, Israel, the Palestinian territories, and parts of Jordan. This larger group of Syro-Palestinian dialects is usually divided into three smaller groups (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:21-22; Versteegh 2001:153):

- a. A Lebanese/Central Syrian group, including the Carmel Druze dialects.
- b. A North Syrian group.
- c. A Palestinian/Jordanian group, which consists of Palestinian city dialects, Central Palestinian village dialects, and South Palestinian/Jordanian dialects (including the dialects of the Ḥorān).

The three groups are distinguished from one another by several isoglosses, such as the forms of the 3rd/1st person singular of the imperfect verb: in the first group these forms are *yiktub/iktub*, whereas in the other two groups the corresponding forms are *yiktub/aktub*. Other isoglosses exist, although according to (Versteegh 2001:154), "[t]he distinctions between the three groups are not clear-cut". Thus, for example, Palestinian and South Lebanese dialects differ from the rest in their system of short vowels. In

Palestinian and most Lebanese dialects there are three short vowels: *a*, *i* and *u*. In most of the other dialects *i* and *u* have merged into *a*, except in unstressed final syllables, where they are realized as *e* and *o*.

2.1. General classification of Palestinian dialects

As in most of the Arabic speaking world, Palestinian Arabic dialects can be divided into sociolinguistic groups of sedentary and Bedouin dialects. The sedentary dialects are themselves divided into urban and rural dialects (Palva 2012). One must stress, though, that these labels refer to distinct dialect groups and do not reflect the contemporary social status of the speakers. In fact, most of the Bedouin population in the area is nowadays settled. In what follows, I survey the main characteristics of the different Palestinian dialect groups, based on the typology outlined by Jastrow (2009a), who distinguishes between urban, rural, and Bedouin dialects.¹ Urban and Bedouin dialects are fairly homogeneous across the region, while rural dialects exhibit more inner variation.

2.1.1 Urban dialects

Urban dialects are spoken in the cities of Haifa, Jerusalem, Akko, Jaffa, Lidd, and Ramle; Nazareth is an urban dialect with some village features.² The Palestinian urban dialects are similar to the urban dialects of other cities in

¹ Shahin (2012) mentions a fourth group, Gypsy Arabic. Yet the lack of information on this variety does not allow for a consideration of it in the present discussion. C.f. (Matras 2012).

² There are also a few villages with prominent urban features, such as Kufir Yasif, where the interdentalals have also shifted to dental stops (Behnstedt & Woidich 2005:63).

the Greater Syria area, such as Homs, Aleppo, and Damascus. The main features of the urban dialects are:

- a. The shift of the interdental fricatives to dental stops:
 - i. \underline{t} > t : $\underline{t}\bar{a}ni$ > $t\bar{a}ni$ ("second").
 - ii. \underline{d} > d : $\underline{d}ahab$ > $dahab$ ("gold").
 - iii. $\underline{ḏ}$ > $ḏ$: $\underline{ḏ}arab$ > $ḏarab$ ("he hit").
- b. The shift of old * q to a glottal stop ʔ: $q\bar{a}l$ > ʔ $\bar{a}l$ ("he said"), $qahwa$ > ʔ $ahwe$ ("coffee"). However, in Nazareth * q is shifted to k (see 2.1.3 below).
- c. Loss of gender distinction in plural verbs and pronouns:
 - i. Pronouns: $intu$ ("you", pl. f. + m.), $hunne\sim hinne$ ("they", pl. f. + m.)
 - ii. Verbs: $katabtu$ ("you wrote", pl. f. + m.), $tiktbu$ ("you write", pl. f. + m.), $katabu$ ("they wrote", pl. f. + m.), $yiktbu$ ("they write", pl. f. + m.).

2.1.2 Bedouin dialects

Palestinian Bedouin dialects comprise two distinct groups: the northern Israeli dialects and the southern Israeli dialects, spoken in the Negev. Following (Jastrow 2009a), we shall focus on the northern dialects.³ The main characteristics of the Palestinian Bedouin dialects of northern Israel are:

³ According to (Henkin 2012), the Bedouin Negev dialects belong to the North West Arabian group, whereas the northern Israeli Bedouin dialects are part of the North Arabian group. This latter group of North Arabian Bedouin dialects is divided in (Rosenhouse 2012) to three groups, one of which is Syro-Mesopotamian Bedouin dialects.

- a. Preservation of the interdentalals *t̤*, *d̤*, and *ḏ*: *əṭnēn* ("two", m.); *hāḏi* ("this", f.); *ḏarab* ("he hit").
- b. The shift of old **q* to a voiced velar stop *g*: *gāl* ("he said") or *ghawa* ("coffee"). The voiced articulation of **q* is considered one of the hallmarks of Bedouin dialects since Classical times (Versteegh 2001:143).
- c. The shift of **k* to an affricate *č*: *čān* ("he was") or *čabīr* ("big", m.). As in other Bedouin dialects (Versteegh 2001:149), this shift is conditioned by the proximity of front vowels. Thus we have *čān* ("he was"), but *ykūn* ("he is").
- d. Preservation of gender distinction in plural verbs and pronouns:
 - i. Pronouns: *intam* ("you", pl. m.) vs. *intan* ("you", pl. f.); *humma* ("they", m.) vs. *hinna* ("they", f.).
 - ii. Verbs: an example from the inflection of *f.t.h* ("to open"):

	masculine	feminine
2 pl. perfect	<i>fitaḥtam</i>	<i>fitaḥtan</i>
2 pl. imperfect	<i>tiftaḥum</i>	<i>tiftaḥan</i>
3 pl. perfect	<i>fithum</i>	<i>fithan</i>
3 pl. imperfect	<i>yiftaḥum</i>	<i>yiftaḥan</i>

2.1.3. Rural dialects

Unlike the urban and Bedouin dialects, the rural Palestinian dialects show a large degree of variation. These are their main characteristics:

- a. Preservation of the interdentalals: *ṭalaṭ tušhur* ("three months"), *yāxud* ("he takes", *ḏall* ("he remained").

- b. *q has several possible realizations:
- i. q: *qahwi* ("coffee"), *qāl* ("he said") – Galilee, mainly Druze.
 - ii. k: *kahwi* ("coffee"), *kāl* ("he said") – in the Triangle and in Fureidis. In some villages west of Nazareth, such as Ma^ḳlūl and Yāft in Nāṣri, the pronunciation of k is further retracted and is marked as *ḳ*. The same is true in Nazareth, itself mostly an urban dialect (see above).
 - iii. g: *gahwa* ("coffee"), *gāl* ("he said") – in some villages east of Nazareth. The same pronunciation is found in Ğisir izZarga, as discussed below.
- c. *k has two possible realizations:
- i. č: *čbīr* ("big"), *ḥača* ("he talked") – in the Triangle. As in the Bedouin dialects, this shift is triggered by the vicinity of front vowels. However, it is not complete and so we also have *akal*, probably by analogy to other conjugations in which there is a back vowel (e.g. *bōkil*, "he eats").
 - ii. k: *kbīr* ("big"), *ḥaka* ("he talked") – Galilee.
- d. Gender distinction is lost in the Galilee but preserved in the Triangle, in Fureidis, and in Ğisir izZarga. For example, in the Triangle:
- i. Pronouns: *humm(i)* ("they", m.) vs. *hinn(i)* ("they", f.); *intu* ("you", pl. m.) vs. *intin* ("you", pl. f.).
 - ii. Verbs:

	masculine	feminine
2 pl. perfect	<i>ḍarabtu</i>	<i>ḍarabtin</i>

2 pl. imperfect	<i>tuḍrubu</i>	<i>tuḍrubin</i>
3 pl. perfect	<i>ḍarabu</i>	<i>ḍarabin</i>
3 pl. imperfect	<i>yudrubu</i>	<i>yudrubin</i>

2.2. Palva's classification

Palva (1984) presents a classification for the dialects spoken in Palestine and Transjordan, based on eleven linguistic features. His classification agrees with other ones (see above) in the division into three main dialect groups: urban, rural, and Bedouin. However, its geographical scope is larger – it includes Transjordan as well as the Negev and Arabia Petraea.⁴ It also provides a more detailed classification of the rural and Bedouin dialects. Thus it is worthwhile to repeat here some of Palva's findings.

Out of the eleven linguistic criteria, four are also used in the classification in (Jastrow 2009a), as surveyed above. These are, according to Palva's numbering: (a) reflexes of older interdental; (b) reflex of *qāf*; (c) reflex of *kāf*; and (g) gender distinction in 2nd and 3rd pl. in pronouns and verbs. Of the remaining features one is phonological: (d) reflex of *ǧīm*; two are morphophonological: (e) reflex of the sequence *CVCaCV-*, and (f) reflex of the sequence *-aXC-* (when X is one of *ḡ*, *x*, *ʕ*, *ḥ* or *h*); one is morphosyntactic: (h) inflection of the verb in the imperfect indicative 3 pl. m.; two are lexical: (i) "here", and (j) "now"; and one is syntactic: (k) occurrence of the compound negation *mā ...š*. Taken together, these features distinguish not only among

⁴ Arabia Petraea refers to a historical province centered around Petra and including Sinai and parts of Jordan and the Arabian Peninsula.

urban, rural, and Bedouin dialects, but also define sub-groups of rural and Bedouin dialects.

All rural dialects share the preservation of the interdental (feature a) and the sequences *CVCaCV-* (e) and *-aXC-* (f), as well as the use of the prefix *b* with the imperfect for indicative non-past. The rest of the features divide the rural dialects into five sub-groups:

1. Galilean dialects: these are the only rural dialects in the area that were not influenced by Bedouin dialects in earlier times. Thus, they have no voicing of old **q* or affrication of old **k*, as is common in Bedouin dialects. Among the rural dialects, Galilean dialects are the only ones which exhibit the shift $\check{g} > \check{z}$ and show no gender distinction in 2nd and 3rd pl. verbs and pronouns (similarly to urban dialects); the form for "now", *issa*, is unique.
2. Central Palestinian dialects: these are conservative dialects (see 2.3 below), which maintain gender distinction in 2nd and 3rd pl. Contrary to Galilean dialects, they have an unconditioned affrication of **k*, though not in all forms, which Palva explains as a Bedouin influence that spread from Transjordan. In these dialects **q* has been fronted to a prevelar or postalatal \check{k} .⁵
3. South Palestinian dialects: this group is similar in many ways to the Central Palestinian dialects. Both groups feature an unconditioned affrication of **k* to \check{c} and share the use of *hān* ("here"). The forms used

⁵ Note that according to (Jastrow 2004, 2009a), in Central Palestine old **q* was fronted to a front velar *k*, and not a back velar \check{k} .

for "now" in both groups are derived from **hal-wuqayt*: *halkēt/hallokēt* in Central Palestine and *halgēt* in South Palestine. However, some South Palestinian dialects use the form *(h)alhīn*, probably by influence of Bedouin dialects such as spoken in the Negev. The Bedouin influence is also manifested in the voiced realization of **q* as *g*.

4. North and Central Transjordan: the dialects spoken in these areas display both rural and Bedouin features. According to Palva, the linguistic situation is the result of an historical process of Bedouinization. In the 16th century the kernel of the population was sedentary and settled in a few commercial centers. The sedentary dialect was heavily Bedouinized upon the arrival of Bedouins to the area and then spread to the surrounding villages. Thus dialects of this group exhibit the typically sedentary *b*-imperfect alongside the Bedouin voiced articulation of **q* as *g*. Furthermore, the Bedouin component in the dialects of North and Central Transjordan is most similar to the Bedouin Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearers, for example in the form *hassā^c* ("now"). A surprising feature is the form *hōn* ("here"), which is also used in urban and Galilean dialects, but not found in other rural or Bedouin dialects.
5. South Transjordan: the dialect spoken in this area are also of a mixed rural and Bedouin character (e.g. the lack of *-š* in verbal negation is typical to all Bedouin dialects in the area). The Bedouin component is most similar to the dialects of Arabia Petraea, for example in the non-affricated *g* and *k*, and in the forms *hān* ("here") and *hassā^c* ("now").

All of the Bedouin dialects in the area share the preservation of the interdental, voiced realizations of old **q, ġ* as the reflex of **ġim*, gender distinction in 2nd and 3rd pl., and no use of *-š* in verbal negation. They all display some version of the so-called *Gaháwa* syndrome (on which see de Jong 2012), namely, an insertion of *a* after *X* in the sequence *-aXC-* (when *X* is one of *ġ, x, ʕ, ħ* or *h*). There are, however, considerable differences among the Bedouin dialects, which result in the following four sub-groups:

1. The Negev: the dialects spoken by the Negev Bedouins have some sedentary features such as the *b*-imperfect, due to the close relations between them and the sedentary population in South Palestine. In all other Bedouin dialects the *b*-imperfect is not used. The Negev Bedouin dialects resemble the dialects of the Bedouins of Arabia Petraea in the lack of affrication of (**q >*) *g* and *k*. The sequence *CVCaCV-* is allowed in the Negev, but the location of the stress may change. Thus, for example, both *waládah* and *wáladah* ("his boy") are possible. Finally, the form for "now" is (*h*)*alhīn*, which is the predominant form in all Bedouin dialects in the area except for the dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearers (see below).
2. Arabia Petraea: these Bedouin dialects represent an old dialect type with similarities to the Hijazi dialects. Like the Negev Bedouin dialects, there is no affrication of (**q >*) *g* and *k*, and the sequence *CVCaCV-* is allowed next to *CCáCV-*. For "now" the form used is *halhīn* and to a lesser extent *hassāʕ*.

3. Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing tribes in Transjordan: the dialects spoken by these tribes belong to the larger group of sheep-rearing tribes in Syro-Mesopotamia. Thus, they have affricated \check{g} and \check{c} for ($*q >$) g and k , respectively, in the vicinity of front vowels. The reflex of $CVCaCV-$ is $CCáCV-$. These dialects do not use the b prefix in the imperfect and they preserve the long suffixes in 2 sg. f., and 2nd and 3rd pl. m. (e.g. *yigūlūn*, "they say"). Unlike other Bedouin dialects in the area, the form used for "now" is *hassāʿ* and not *halhīn*. Palva notes, following Rosenhouse, that the Galilean dialects of Bedouin origin are historically of the same type as the dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing tribes.

4. North Arabian Bedouins: the dialects spoken by these tribes belong to the larger group of camel-rearing tribes which includes the Šammar and ʿAnaze. Thus, they display affricated \acute{g} ($= dz$) and \acute{c} ($= ts$) for ($*q >$) g and k , respectively, in the vicinity of front vowels. As in the dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing tribes, the reflex of $CVCaCV-$ is $CCáCV-$, there is no b prefix in the imperfect and the long suffixes in 2 sg. f., and 2/3 pl. m. are preserved (e.g. *yigūlūn*, "they say"). The common form for "now" is *halhīn*, which is found in most of the Bedouin dialects in the area, next to *dilwān*.

2.3. The dialects of the Triangle

The Triangle (*al-Muṭallat*) is an area in Central Israel which stretches from Umm al-Faḥim in the north to Kufir Kāsim in the south to the West Bank in

the east. It contains about two dozen villages or towns and a couple of hundred thousand inhabitants all together. Some typological characteristics of the Arabic dialects spoken in the area of Central Palestine, which includes the Triangle, have been given in (Palva 1984). However, the most detailed description of the dialects of the Triangle is (Jastrow 2004), the main findings of which will be reviewed here.

2.3.1. Phonology

- a. Preservation of the interdentalals: like all rural Palestinian dialects, the dialects spoken in the Triangle have preserved the interdentalals *t̤*, *d̤*, and *ð̤*.
- b. Preservation of *-h* in pronominal suffixes: *-h* is preserved in the suffixes *-ha*, *-hum*, *-hin*. For example: *šāfha* ("he saw her"), *šāfhum* ("he say them (m.)"), *šāfhin* ("he saw them (f.)").
- c. The shift of **q* to *k*: old **q* has been fronted to a velar stop *k*. For example: *kāl* ("he said"), *kahwi* ("coffee"). Contrary to the situation described in (Palva 1984) for Central Palestine, according to (Jastrow 2004), this *k* is not a back *ḳ* and is thus written without a dot. Furthermore, it is completely unaspirated and is not palatalized near front vowels.
- d. The shift of **k* to an affricate *č*: this shift is not complete, and thus we find both *ḥača* ("he spoke") and *akal* ("he ate"). It may be that this shift is triggered by the vicinity of front vowels. In that case, the preservation of *k* in *akal* would be explained as conformity with the rest of the verb paradigm, e.g. *bōkil* ("he eats"), where a back *ō* blocks

the affrication of *k* to *č*. This shift becomes more frequent the farther south we proceed.

- e. The vowel system contains three short vowels (/i/, /u/, and /a/) and five long vowels (/ī/, /ū/, /ā/, /ō/, and /ē/), where /ō/ and /ē/ are the result of the monophthongization of *aw and *ay, respectively.

2.3.2. Morphophonology

- a. A long vowel in an open stressed syllable is shortened when it loses the stress: *šāfu* ("they saw") → *šafūha* ("they saw her").
- b. A long vowel in a closed syllable is not shortened, whether stressed (*šāfha*, "he saw her") or unstressed (*ma-šāfhāš*, "he did not see her").

2.3.3. Morphology

- a. Gender distinction is preserved in 2nd and 3rd p. pl. pronouns and verbs. For example (adapted from Jastrow 2004):

	Pronoun	Perfect	Imperfect
3 pl. m.	<i>humm(i)</i>	<i>ḏarabu</i>	<i>búḏrubu</i>
3 pl. f.	<i>hinn(i)</i>	<i>ḏárabin</i>	<i>buḏrúbin</i>
2 pl. m.	<i>intu</i>	<i>ḏarabtu</i>	<i>btúḏrubu</i>
2 pl. f.	<i>intin</i>	<i>ḏarabtin</i>	<i>btuḏrúbin</i>

- b. The weak hollow verb shows some interesting features. Here is a part of the inflection of *kāl* ("to say"):

	Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative
3 pl. m.	<i>kālu</i>	<i>ykūlu</i>	

3 pl. f.	<i>kulin / kalin</i>	<i>ykulin</i>	
2 pl. m.	<i>kultu</i>	<i>tkūlu</i>	<i>kūlu</i>
2 pl. f.	<i>kultin</i>	<i>tkulin</i>	<i>kulin</i>

In the 3 pl. f. perfect we found two possible forms, *kulin* and *kalin*. The first form is identical to the 2 pl. f. imperative, *kulin*, and both are derived from the Classical Arabic form **qulna* (i.e. both "they (f.) wrote" and "write! (f.)"). However, the alternative form *kalin* leads to a new distinction between the feminine past and the feminine imperative.

2.3.4. Syntax

Verbal negation: all verbal forms are negated by a prefix *ma-* and a suffix *-š* (after vowels) or *-iš* (after consonants). The prefix *ma-* is optional in the imperfect and the imperative but the suffix *-š/-iš* must always appear.⁶

2.4. The dialects of the Carmel Coast

The Arabic dialects of the Carmel Coast constitute a group of dialects that share several distinguishing characteristics. These dialects are or were spoken in the villages of Fureidis, Ġisir izZarga, and il-Mifġar. The first two villages are situated approximately midway between Haifa and Tel Aviv, close to Zikhron Ya'akov; the third was abandoned some 20 years ago when the power plant near Hadera had been built. Jastrow (2009b) notes other villages

⁶ See also (Palva 1984), according to which the prefix *ma-* is frequently dropped in rural Palestinian dialects.

that existed in the area, such as Kufir Lām, Şarafand, and Țantūra, but unfortunately no data exist regarding their dialects. The following survey of the main features of the dialects is based on the description in (Jastrow 2009b), which also includes a comparison between this group and the dialects of the Triangle.

1. Preservation of the interdental: as in the dialects of the Triangle, the interdentals *ṭ*, *ḍ*, and *ð̣* are preserved, as in *talāṭi* ("three"), *axaḏu* ("they took"), and *ḏarabu* ("they beat").
2. *q: old *q is shifted either to *k* (in Fureidis and il-Mifğar), as in the dialects of the Triangle, or to *g* (in Ğisir izZarga). For example, "he said" can be either *kāl* (Fureidis/il-Mifğar) or *gāl* (Ğisir izZarga).
3. *k: as in the Triangle, old *k is sometimes shifted to an affricate *č*. However, this shift is not complete and its exact conditions are not clear. A possible explanation is that a back environment blocks the shift, though, much like in the Triangle, this explanation does not always hold. Thus, the *k* in *akal* ("he ate") is never affricated, but for *ḥaka* ("he spoke") we find also *ḥača*. Furthermore, there is variation among the three Carmel Coast dialects with regard to the affrication of *k* > *č*, with il-Mifğar displaying the least amount of affrication. Thus, whereas in Fureidis and Ğisir izZarga the common form is *ḥača*, in il-Mifğar we have *ḥaka*. The same tendency is observed in the pronominal suffixes, where il-Mifğar shows no affrication, unlike Fureidis and Ğisir izZarga. According to Jastrow, it may be that the

affrication in il-Mifġar is only by influence of Bāka, where his informants have been living since they left the village.

4. Preservation of *-h* in the pronominal suffixes: as in the Triangle, *-h* is preserved in the pronominal suffixes *-ha*, *-hum*, and *-hin*. For example: *šāfha* ("he saw her"), *šāfhum* ("he saw them (m.)"), and *šāfhin* ("he saw them (f.)).
5. Shortening of long vowels is governed by the following rules, as in the Triangle:
 - a. A long vowel in an open stressed syllable is shortened when it loses the stress: *šāfu* ("they saw") → *šafūha* ("they saw her") → *ma-šafuhāš* ("they did not see her").
 - b. But when the syllable is closed syllable, the long vowel is not shortened, whether it is stressed (*šāfha*, "he saw her") or unstressed (*ma-šāfhāš*, "he did not see her").
6. Preservation of gender distinction: as in the Triangle, the feminine plurals are preserved as separate morphemes in verbs and pronouns.
 - a. Personal pronouns: the 3rd p. pl. is *hummi/hummu/humma* for the masculine but *hinni/hinna* for the feminine.⁷ The 2nd p. pl. is *intu/intum* for the masculine but *intin* for the feminine.

⁷ The different forms occur in different villages or in different families inside Ġisir izZarga. For example, *hummi* is found in Fureidis and il-Mifġar whereas *hummu* is used by members of the Ġurbān clan in Ġisir izZarga and *humma* by members of the Naġġār. Similarly, *hinni* is used in Fureidis, il-Mifġar, and by the Ġurbān, while *hinna* is used by the Naġġār. For further discussion, see 3.2.1.

- b. Verbs: gender distinction is kept in 3rd p. pl. perfect and imperfect, and in 2nd p. pl. perfect, imperfect, and imperative.

Consider the following table.⁸

	perfect	imperfect	imperative
3 pl. m.	<i>ḍarabum / ḍarabu</i>	<i>yudrubum / yudrubu</i>	
3 pl. f.	<i>ḍarabin</i>	<i>yudrubin</i>	
2 pl. m.	<i>ḍarabtum / ḍarabtu</i>	<i>tudrubum / tudrubu</i>	<i>udrubum / udrubu</i>
2 pl. f.	<i>ḍarabtin</i>	<i>tudrubin</i>	<i>udrubin</i>

Note the suffix *-m* that is used for the plural masculine. This suffix is used in Ğisir izZarga by the Ğurbān, but not by the Nağğār or in Fureidis and in il-Mifğar. This is discussed below in 3.2.5.1.

7. Inflection of the hollow verb (middle-weak verbs): the inflection of the hollow verb in the Carmel Coast dialects exhibits some unique forms which distinguish them from other dialects in the area, such as the Triangle dialects. Consider, for example, the following (partial) paradigm of the weak verb *kāl* ("to say").

	perfect	imperfect	imperative
3 pl. m.	<i>kālu</i>	<i>ykūlu</i>	
3 pl. f.	<i>kālin</i>	<i>ykūlin</i>	
2 pl. m.	<i>kultu</i>	<i>tkūlu</i>	<i>kūlu</i>
2 pl. f.	<i>kultin</i>	<i>tkūlin</i>	<i>kūlin</i>

⁸ Some of the forms appeared in (Jastrow 2009b) with the *-b* prefix or with an *i* prefix vowel. In the sake of the current presentation I have omitted the prefix and used a *u* prefix vowel; both changes occur in reality according to the Jastrow's data.

The above exact forms occur in Fureidis and il-Mifğar. In Ğisir izZarga the *k* is replaced by *g* (both coming from old **q*) and in the dialect of the Ğurbān a suffix *-m* is added to the masculine forms.

The interesting part in this inflection is the feminine forms. From Classical Arabic **qulna* (both 3 pl. f. perfect and 2 pl. f. imperative) we arrive at a new distinction between *kālin* (3 pl. f. perfect) and *kūlin* (2 pl. f. imperative). Such a distinction also exists in the Triangle, but in the case of the Carmel Coast dialects, the long-vowelled base of the masculine forms (*kālu* and *kūlu*) was adopted also in the feminine forms, resulting in a uniform base across the paradigm. The same long base is found also in the imperfect, where *ykūlin* (3 pl. f.) and *tkūlin* (2 pl. f.) are remodeled after *ykūlu* (3 pl. m.) and *tkūlu* (2 pl. m.).

Chapter 3

Linguistic Description

This chapter reviews the main linguistic features of the dialect of Ġisir izZarga. It concentrates on the important phonological and morphological features that serve to characterize and distinguish the dialect. I shall also describe some syntactic phenomena such as agreement, auxiliaries and negation, followed by brief comments about the lexicon. The description is accompanied by many examples; differences between speakers are noted next to the given examples when deemed of importance.

3.1. Phonology

3.1.1. Consonants

3.1.1.1 Old **ġim*

The reflex of old **ġim* is *ġ*, as is normal in the villages throughout Palestine. However, Ġād Šihāb occasionally pronounced it as *ž*, for example: *ažat* ("she came"). This exception could be attributed to contact with the Galilee,¹ but is more likely an influence of the old city dialect of Haifa (Geva-Kleinberger 2004:39).

¹ Most villages in Palestine have *ġ* while in the Galilee we have *ž*; see 2.2 above.

3.1.1.2. Interdentals

The interdental fricatives – *t̤*, *d̤*, and *ḏ̤* – have been preserved. For example:

- *t̤*: *it̤nēn* ("two"), *talāt̤a* ("three"), *kt̤īr* ("many, much"), *tt̤abbīt* ("you (sg. m.) stabilize, fasten").
- *d̤*: *hād̤i* ("this" sg. f.), *yōxuḏ̤* ("he takes"), *ḡada* ("food"), *yid̤baḥ* ("he butchers"), *yit̤dakk̤ar* ("he remembers").
- *ḏ̤*: *arād̤i* ("lands"), *marad̤* ("disease"), *ḏ̤allēt* ("I remained"), *abyad̤* ("white"), *yḥad̤ḏ̤ru* ("they prepare"), *ḏ̤ēf* ("guest").²

3.1.1.3. *q

Old *q is usually shifted to voiced g. For example: *gab̤l* ("before"), *gāl* ("he said"), *yigra* ("he reads"), *gal̤īl* ("little, few"), *fugara* ("poor" pl. m.), *manṭiga* ("area"). However, *q is frequently pronounced as unvoiced k in the word *wak̤t* ("time"), probably through assimilation to the following unvoiced consonant t.³ It is occasionally pronounced as ḡ in words derived from the Old Arabic root q-d-r, e.g. *niḡdar* ("we can").⁴

3.1.1.4. *k

Old *k is often shifted to an affricate č. For example: *hēč* ("like this"), *čēf* ("how?"), *niḥčī* ("we speak"), *samač* ("fish"), *čanūn* ("stove"), *čalb* ("dog"). However, in other cases it is preserved: *hināk* ("there"), *kullu* ("everything,

² One speaker (from the Šihāb) occasionally shifts *ḏ̤* to a dental stop *ḏ̤*, for example *awḏ̤ā* "situations".

³ A similar phenomenon is reported in (Nevo 2006:31).

⁴ C.f. (Nevo 2006:31, and fn. 21).

all"). It might be that the affrication is blocked by the vicinity of back vowels. Therefore we have *nōkil* ("we eat") and by analogy the whole paradigm of *akal* ("to eat").⁵

However, it should be noted that variation occurs even within the speech of the same speaker. Thus, one speaker (Maḥmūd Rašwān) said in one sentence: *sa'alū ya Ḥasan, čēf kān imbēriḥ?* ("they asked him, 'Ḥasan, how was it yesterday?"), and in the next sentence: *lamman riḡ'u 'ala ššug'l, sa'alū ya Ḥasan, kif kān iššug'l... ilḡada imbēriḥ w kam?* ("when they returned to work, they asked him, 'Ḥasan, how was the work... the food yesterday and how much?"). Another speaker, Ğamīla Ğurbān, usually used the form *kunna* ("we were") but occasionally the form *čunna*, without any apparent difference in usage. The least frequent use of *č* is by 'Ali Ğurbān.

The tendency to shift *k* to *č* is reflected in the 2nd person pronominal suffixes (see 3.2.1.2 below). Jastrow (2009b) compares this tendency in Ğisir izZarga and in the nearby villages of ilMiḡar, Fureidis, and Imm ilFaḥim. His findings for Ğisir are as follows.

šāfu ("they say") + pronominal suffixes			
2 sg. m.	2 sg. f.	2 pl. m.	2 pl. f.
šafūk	šafūč	šafūkum	šafūkin

The 2 sg. f. -č suffix was used in an old recording made several decades ago (see in the Appendix). Interestingly, some deviation from these findings is noted in the speech of two teenagers, a boy and a girl, from the

⁵ This explanation is suggested in (Jastrow 2009b).

‘Ammāš. Both used the form *šafūči* (notice the final vowel *i*) for the 2 sg. f., while the girl also used *šafūki*. For the 2 pl. f. the boy used both *šafūčin* and *šafūkin*, while the girl only used *šafūčin*. Interestingly, the use of the affricated form *šafūčin* brought about surprise from other residents of the village who were present. In response, the boy said he sometimes says *šafūčin* and some other times *šafūkin*, and explained that his father says *šafūčin*.

3.1.1.5. Other consonants

- a. *p* and *v* are only used in Hebrew words and are not independent phonemes in the dialect, e.g. ^H*rakēvet*^H ("train"), ^H*maxōn sport*^H ("gym"). The same is true of *ts* (ć), as in ^H*tsair*^H ("young"), which may also be substituted with the Arabic *ṣ*. Thus we have both ^H*miktsō‘a*^H and ^H*mikṣō‘a*^H ("profession").
- b. *z* is used as a substitution for *ḏ* in words derived from the literary root *ḏ-b-t* (e.g. *zabbat*, "to put in order"; *bi-zzab‘t*, "exactly").
- c. *l* and *m* are limited to a few words such as *yalla* ("let's go") and *mayye* ("water"), and may appear due to spread of emphatization (*yṣalli*, "he prays"), as also *b* (*yutbux*, "he cooks").
- d. *r* and *ṛ* are allophones and do not stand in phonemic opposition. The emphatic *ṛ* is preferred in certain words, especially derived from *ṛāḥ* ("to go").

3.1.1.6. -h in pronominal suffixes

-h is preserved in the pronominal suffixes *-ha*, *-hum*, *-hin* (see 3.2.1.2 below).

For example: *šāfha* ("he say her"), *šāfhum* ("he saw them (m.)"), *šāfhin* ("he saw them (f.)"), *axaḏha* ("he took her"), *minhum* ("from them" m.), *kullhin* ("all of them" f.).

3.1.2. Vowels

There are five long vowels and three short vowels.

Long vowels		Short vowels	
<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>		
<i>ā</i>		<i>a</i>	

3.1.2.1. Long vowels and diphthongs

- a. Long *ā* has allophones ranging from back [ɑ:] to front [a:] or even high-mid front *ē* (Imāla), depending on the phonetic environment. These have been invariably written as *ā* except for cases of strong Imāla such as *imbēriḥ* ("yesterday").
- b. *ē* and *ō* are usually the result of monophthongization of the old diphthongs *ay* and *aw*, for example: *ēn* (< **ayn*, "water spring"), *ḏēf* (< **ḏayf*, "guest"); *yōm* (< **yawm*, "day"), *ḡōzi* (< **ḡawzi* < **zawḡi*, "my husband"). They are also found in the imperfect form of C₁ = ʔ weak verbs where they replace the old *-aʔ* sequence (see 3.2.5.9a): *yōxuḏ* ("he takes"), *yōkil* ("he eats"). We also have some dialectal forms

- with long \bar{e} and \bar{o} such as *lēhum* ("to them", see 3.2.6.6) and *haḡōl* ("these", see 3.2.2). Finally, they appear in foreign loan words: *šēkel* ("Shekel", Israeli currency), *bandōra* ("tomato"), *daktōr* ("doctor").
- c. The diphthongs *aw* and *ay* appear inside the geminate sequences *aww* and *ayy*, e.g. *awwal* ("first"), *ysawwi* ("he does"); *ṡayye* ("water"), *šwayye* ("a little bit"), *zayy* ("like"). In a few words we have *ayy* > *iyy* (*ayyām* > *iyyām*, "days"; 'ayyān > 'iyyān , "ill"). The diphthongs are preserved in form I passive participle forms such as *mawḡud* ("found, exists") and in the common conjunctions *aw* ("or") and *law* ("if"), as well as in literary loans: *dawriyye* ("patrol"), *awḡā'* ("conditions"); *ṡaydali* ("pharmacist"). Finally, note a single occurrence of *sandawč* ("sandwich"), a foreign loan.
- d. A long vowel in an open stressed syllable is shortened when it loses the stress, as noted in (Jastrow 2009b). For example: *šāfu* ("they saw") → *šafūha* ("they saw her") → *ma-šafuhāš* ("they didn't see her"); *šaggāl* ("working" sg.) → *šaggālāt* ("working" pl.). When \bar{e} and \bar{o} are shortened, they become *a* and *u*, respectively: *w ḡēr w ḡarātu* ("and other things"), *zēt izzētūn > *zēt izzatūn* ("olive oil"); *yōmēn > *yumēn* ("two days").
- e. A long vowel in a closed syllable is not shortened. This rule holds whether the long vowel is stressed ('āyše , "living" sg. f.) or unstressed ('āyšīn , "living" pl. m.).
- f. Long vowels are shortened when followed by a geminate consonant: *yḡūl* + *li* → *yḡulli* ("he says to me"). But long \bar{a} is preserved in the active participle of the geminate verb: *ḡāṡṡīn* ("putting", pl. m.).

3.1.2.2. Short vowels

- a. Short *a* has allophones ranging from front [a] to back [ɑ], depending on the phonetic environment. These have been invariably transcribed as *a*. For the feminine ending, see below.
- b. As in other Palestinian dialects (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:169), there is a clear distinction in the pronunciation of short *i* and *u*, as in *bint* ("daughter") vs. *uxt* ("sister"). Minimal pairs are hard to find, but in the verb we have *tuḏrubi* vs. *tuḏrubu* ("you hit", sg. f. vs. pl. m.). There is some variation between *i* and *u* as exemplified by *tīl̄t̄*~*tul̄t̄* ("third"), *yiḡud*~*yuḡud* ("to sit", see 3.2.5.2).
- c. Short *i* and *u* usually fall in open unstressed syllables: *snīn* (< **sinīn*, "years"), *shūle* (< **suhūla*, "easiness").
- d. Short *a* may exhibit the same behavior (*kbīr*, "big") but is often preserved, especially near back or emphatic consonants (*ḥalīb*, "milk"; *ṭarīg*, "road").⁶
- e. The feminine ending is short *a* or *e*, depending on the phonetic environment. After Back and emphatic consonants it is *a*, for example: *mliḥa* ("good"), *sab̄a* ("seven"), *xārṭa* ("map"). Otherwise it is *e*: *mawḡūde* ("found, exists"), *xamse* ("five"), *ṣaʿbe* ("difficult"), *šabake* ("net"), *madrase* ("school").⁷ However, occasionally we have *a* even

⁶ Diachronically, the short *a* must have first shifted to *i* because of the following *ī* and was then dropped (< **kibīr* < **kabīr*). This process tends to be blocked by back or emphatic consonants (c.f. Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:170).

⁷ Sometimes the feminine ending sounds as high as *i*, e.g. *šaggīli* ("workers"), but in most cases it is written as *e* for consistency.

after front, non-emphatic consonants: *waḥda~waḥde* ("one"), *talāta* ("three"). After *r* it is usually *a* (*fatra*, "time, period"; *xudra*, "vegetables") although I have also noted *šātre* ("clever") and *kbīre* ("big").

- f. When the feminine ending appears in annexation or with a pronominal suffix, it is usually pronounced as *i*. Thus we have *ḡām'a* but *ḡām'it* *Ḥēfa* ("Haifa University"); *birčit ittimsāḥ* ("the crocodile pond"); *tarbāye* but *tarbayithum* ("their upbringing"); *fatra* but *fatritna* ("our time"). It may also be dropped altogether: *sint il'išrīn* ("the twenties"); *ēlt dār Abu Šhāb* ("the family of the house of Abu Šhāb"), next to *ēlithum* ("their family").
- g. In addition to its role as the feminine ending, short *e* is also used in Hebrew words (^H*rakēvet^H*, "train"; ^H*mexašēv^H*, "computer"); short *o* also appears in Hebrew words (^H*šomēr^H*, "guard"; ^H*maxōn sport^H*, "gym"), but otherwise has no phonemic status in the dialect.
- h. The semi-vowels *y* and *w* are sometimes vocalized and pronounced as short *i* and *u*. For example, *y* in 3rd person imperfect verbs before CV: *ygūl~igūl* ("he says"), and *w* in its role as the conjunction "and". Both of these cases are transcribed throughout the text as *y* and *w* for clarity.

3.1.3. Pausal forms

Devoicing of final consonants in pause occurs in the speech of some speakers. Most frequently it occurred in the speech of Ḡamīla Ḡurbān, for example: *ṭarīg* > *ṭarīk#* ("road"); *marāḍ* > *marat#* ("sickness"), both devoicing and de-

emphatization; *ǧāǧ* > *ǧāč#* ("chickens"); but also in the speech of Maḥmūd Rašwān: *dagāg* > *dagāk#*. This phenomenon has been noted in several Bedouin dialects (Henkin 2012; Arnold 2012; Nevo 2006:32, fn. 24 and the references therein). But it occurs also in sedentary dialects, e.g. in Anatolia (Jastrow 2012) and Cairo (Woidich 2012).

3.1.4. Assimilation

ʿ is sometimes assimilated to *h* across word boundaries, resulting in the sequence *hḥ*: *maʿ* + *ha* > *maḥḥa* ("with her"); *tabaʿ* + *hum* > *tabaḥḥum* ("their"). The *l* of the definite article is assimilated to following apical consonants, as is the common rule. It is also occasionally assimilated to a following *ǧ*,⁸ so we have *iǧǧabal*~*ilǧabal* ("the mountain").⁹

3.1.5. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are resolved by the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel. This vowel is usually *i*, as in: *ǧibʿt* ("I brought"), *ibʿn* ("boy, son"), *isʿm* ("name"), *arʿd* ("land"). In the vicinity of the pharyngeal consonants *ḥ* and ʿ it is usually *a*, for example: *baḥʿr* ("sea"), *nabʿc* ("spring, source"). But not always so: *yiʿrfu* ("they know"), *waḥʿc* ("situation"), *šaʿb* ("difficult"). Notably, near *h* the helping vowel is the common *i*: *nahʿr* ("river"). The word *šugʿl* ("work") is usually pronounced with a *u* helping vowel. Interestingly, there is variation

⁸ This seems similar to the situation in Hebron (Seeger 1996:56). Assimilation of the definite article to *ǧ* is common in the dialects (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:80).

⁹ For cases of assimilation in the verb see 3.2.5.5 below.

in the use of helping vowels. Thus, the same speaker (Maḥmūd Rašwān) used both *arḏ* and *arⁱḏ*, without apparent contextual differences.

A helping vowel is also inserted between word boundaries: *ḥalībⁱ rxīs* ("cheap milk"), *nrūḥⁱ nḡīb* ("we go and bring"); or in the beginning of an utterance: *nḡīb w nuṭḃux* ("we bring and cook"). The following example (by Maḥmūd Rašwān) illustrates the different possibilities of using helping vowels: *ḡayyaru lⁱs^m ba^{ca}dⁱ kṭīr snīn* ("they changed the name after many years").

3.1.6. Stress

Stress falls on $\bar{V}C$ or VCC closest to the end of the word, if such a sequence exists; otherwise, it falls on the first syllable, or maximally on the antepenultimate.¹⁰ Usually, anaptyctic vowels do not influence the location of the stress: *yīḡdārⁱš* ("he cannot"), *bašaḡḡī^{ca}š* ("I do not encourage"), *yī^{ca}rfum* ("they know"); the underlying forms being **yīḡdarš*, **bašaḡḡī^{ca}š*, **yī^{ca}rifum*. However, in a few cases the helping vowel has become a full vowel and is stressed:¹¹ *yīḥīlbu* ("they milk"; Ğamīla Ğurbān), *wadī^{ca}na* ("our situation"; Ğād Šihāb); the underlying forms being **yīḥīlibu*, **wad^{ca}+na*. In the case of *andihum* ("by them"), the helping vowel is stressed and lengthened,¹² although *indhūm* is also used, even by the same speaker (Ğamīla Ğurbān).

¹⁰ This is the common rule in Syro-Palestinian dialects (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:175; Shahin 2012).

¹¹ For similar cases in Iksāl, see (Nevo 2006:42).

¹² For similar forms in North Israeli Bedouin dialects, see (Rosenhouse 1984:15).

The following are some exceptions to the general stress rule: *ni‘mīlu* ("we make it"; Ğamīla Ğurbān); *xalāgu* ("he created it"; Ğād Šihāb); *bakrāhu* ("I hate it"; girl, Ğurbān); *itwaḥḥādat* ("[the families] were united"; Ğād Šihāb). The first three examples may be explained by considering the underlying 3 sg. m. suffix *-hu*: *ni‘mil + hu*, *xalag + hu*, *bakrah + hu*. Historically, there was a sequence of VCC that took the stress. An alternative explanation could be that stress is assigned in these cases similarly to the rules of Cairo Arabic: if a sequence of VCC or $\bar{V}C$ is followed by more than one vowel, the stress falls on the vowel after this sequence, as in *madrāsa* (Woidich 2012). This explains *ni‘mīlu*, *bakrāhu*, and *itwaḥḥādat*, but not *xalāgu*.

3.2. Morphology

3.2.1. Personal pronouns

3.2.1.1 Independent personal pronouns

3 sg. m.	<i>hū</i>	3 pl. m.	<i>hummu, humma</i>
3 sg. f.	<i>hī, hiyya</i>	3 pl. f.	<i>hinni, hinna</i>
2 sg. m.	<i>inta</i>	2 pl. m.	<i>intum</i>
2 sg. f.	<i>inti</i>	2 pl. f.	<i>intin</i>
1 sg.	<i>ani, ana</i>	1 pl.	<i>iḥna</i>

Jastrow (2009b) identifies two distinct paradigms which are used by the Ğurbān and Nağğār clans. The differences are in 3 pl. m. (Ğurbān: *hummu*, Nağğār: *humma*); 3 pl. f. (Ğurbān: *hinni*, Nağğār: *hinna*), and 1 sg. (Ğurbān: *ani*, Nağğār: *ana*). To this we may add the following remarks, which present a more complicated picture.

- a. 3 pl. m. – the form *hummu*, which is common in the Ğurbān, was also used by Maḥmūd Rašwān. The Nağğār form of *humma*, however, was also used by a boy from the ‘Ammāš and a girl from the Ğurbān.¹³ Ğād Šihāb used both *hummu* and *humma*.
- b. 3 pl. f. – the form *hinna*, which is common in the Nağğār, was also used by a boy from the ‘Ammāš. A girl from the same family used both *hinna* and *hinni*.

¹³ While this speaker's mother is from Bāka, she didn't use the common Triangle form *hummi*. However, the form she used, *humma*, is also not typical of the Ğurbān according to Jastrow (2009b).

- c. 1 sg. – the forms for "I" are of particular interest. According to (Jastrow 2009b), in the Ğurbān it is expressed by *ani* whereas in the Nağğār it is *ana*. Indeed, *ani* was used by Ğamīla Ğurbān, but ‘Ali Ğurbān and Ğād Šihāb used only *ana*. Some speakers use both forms interchangeably; so did Maḥmūd Rašwān, a boy from the ‘Ammāš and a girl from the Ğurbān
- d. 3 sg. f. – the short form *hī* is given by (Jastrow 2009b). The longer form *hiyya* was used by Ğamīla Ğurbān and Ğād Šihāb. According to (Jastrow 2009b), it is found in the Triangle and in Fureidis.
- e. 1 pl. – while the common form is clearly *iḥna*, I have also one occurrence of *niḥna* in the speech of a boy from the ‘Ammāš.

3.2.1.2. Suffixed personal pronouns

3 sg. m.	-u, - \bar{V} , -	3 pl. m.	- <i>hum</i>
3 sg. f.	- <i>ha</i>	3 pl. f.	- <i>hin</i>
2 sg. m.	- <i>ak</i> , - <i>k</i>	2 pl. m.	- <i>kum</i>
2 sg. f.	- <i>ič</i> , - <i>č</i> , - <i>či</i> , - <i>ki</i>	2 pl. f.	- <i>kin</i> , - <i>čin</i>
1 sg.	- <i>i</i> , - $\bar{V}y$, - $\bar{V}ya$, - $\bar{V}ni$, - <i>ni</i>	1 pl.	- <i>na</i>

The pronominal suffixes attach to verbs (as direct objects), nouns (as possessives), prepositions and other categories. The different allomorphs are mostly conditioned on the preceding vowel or consonant, as explained below.

- a. The 3 sg. m. is *-u* after a consonant (*dāru*, "his house"). After a short vowel it causes a lengthening of the vowel (*xaḍu*, "they took" → *xaḍū*, "they took him"; *antī*, "I give" → *antī*, "I give him"). After a long vowel it is empty (*‘alē*, "on him").
- b. The 2 sg. m. is *-ak* after a consonant (*dārak*, "your house") and *-k* after a vowel (*bīk*, "in/with you"; *‘alēk*, "on you").
- c. The 2 sg. f. is *-ič* after a consonant (*dārič*, "your house"). After a vowel I have noted *-č* (*abūč*, "your father"), *-či* and *-ki* (*šafūči~šafūki*, "they saw you"). For the 2 pl. f. I have both *-čin* and *-kin* (*šafūkin~šafūčin*, "they saw you"; *dārkin*, "your house"). The unaffricated form *-kin* seems to be more common; see also the discussion in 3.1.1.4 above.
- d. When suffixed to a noun or preposition, the 1 sg. is *-i* after a consonant (*dāri*, "my house") and *y* or *ya* after a vowel with a lengthening of the vowel (*abūy~abūya*, "my father"; *bīya*, "in/with me"). When suffixed to verbs and certain pseudo-verbs (see 3.3.3.4 below), it is *-ni* after a consonant (*ba^adni*, "I still"); when following a vowel it is lengthened (*xalli*, "let" → *xallīni*, "let me").

3.2.2. Demonstratives

Near deixis: *hāḍa/hāḍa* ("this", m.), *hāḍi* ("this", f.), *haḍōl* ("these").

Far deixis: *haḍāk/haḍāk* ("that", m.), *haḍič/haḍīke* ("that", f.).

- a. The sg. m. near demonstrative usually appears in its long form (*hāḏa/hāḏa*), rarely in the short form *hāḏ*.¹⁴ In the plural, *haḏōla* occurs once (‘Ali Ğurbān), next to the more common *haḏōl*. In the far deixis the usual forms are short, while *haḏike* has also been noted (‘Ali Ğurbān).
- b. Masculine demonstratives commonly appear with an emphatic *ḏ*, but not infrequently with *ḏ*, both in the near (*hāḏa/hāḏa*) and far deixis (*haḏāk/haḏāk*). Such alternation exists even with the same speaker.
- c. Feminine forms, on the other hand, are never emphatic (e.g. *hāḏi*). The far feminine demonstrative exhibits two variants, affricated (*haḏiĉ*) and non-affricated (*haḏike*). The presence/absence of affrication seems to be consistent dependent upon the speaker. Ğamīla Ğurbān, Maḥmūd Rašwān and Ğād Šihāb always used affricated forms for "this (f.)", while ‘Ali Ğurbān only used the non-affricated form.
- d. In the plural, the form *haḏōl(a)* has been attested for both genders. For example: *haḏōla kullhum ‘ummāl* ("these, all of them (m.) are laborers"), *nsīthin haḏōl* ("I forgot them (f.), these ones"). There have been no occurrences in the corpus of the plural far demonstrative.
- e. The irregular plural demonstrative *haḏḏumun* has been recorded by Maḥmūd Rašwān, although it is not clear whether it refers to the near or far deixis: *min haḏḏumun xawāli, axwān ummi ya‘ni, tḏn* ("from

¹⁴ According to (Nevo 2006:45), the form *hāḏ* is used in Iksāl only in pause, contrary to the following example (Maḥmūd Rašwān): *bass eš hāḏ ‘andīna* ("but what is this by us?").

these/those, my uncles, my mother's brothers, two"); *min haḏḏumn ilḡamā'a* ("from these/those guys").¹⁵

- f. It should be noted that some demonstratives are occasionally pronounced with a stop *d*, e.g. *hāda* (Ġād Šihāb), *hādi* (Ġamīla Ġurbān, 'Ali Ġurbān, Ġād Šihāb), *hadīč* (Ġamīla Ġurbān, Ġād Šihāb), *hadik* ('Ali Ġurbān).
- g. *hāy* is a neutral form used for all genders and persons: *hāy ib'n w hāy bint* ("this is a son and this is a daughter"); *hāy ilḡayā* ("this life"); *hāy iṣṣēd hāda* ("this hunting"); *ilmaṭraḡ hāy* ("this place"); *innās hāy* ("these people"); *hāy il'iyyām* ("these days").
- h. I have noted one occurrence of *hal*: *ballašna bi-hal-balad* ("we started in this village").¹⁶

3.2.3. Gender distinction

A notable characteristic of Ġisir Arabic, as in other village dialects (see 2.1 and 2.2 above), is the preservation of gender distinction in the plural forms of pronouns and verbs. For the independent personal pronouns, see 3.2.1.1 above. For the suffixed personal pronouns, see 3.1.1.4 and 3.2.1.2 above. As an example of feminine plural verbs, consider the following: *w ibanāt*

¹⁵ In the second occurrence the final vowel *u* is omitted because of the vowel in the following word: *haḏḏumn ilḡamā'a* ("these/those guys").

¹⁶ It seems that *hal* has less of a deictic value, since the utterance may also be translated simply as "we started in the village". C.f. (Vicente 2012b).

it'allamin w kibrin iġġawwazin ("and the daughters studied, grew up, and got married").

3.2.4. Noun

3.2.4.1. Nominal patterns

An initial *mi-* is occasionally found in the pattern *mif^cala/e*, where the Old Arabic form has an initial *ma-*. For example: *mi^arfe* (< **ma^rrifa*, "knowledge"), *midrase* (< **madrasa*, "school"). More frequent, however, is the pattern *maf^cala/e*, whether it corresponds to the Old Arabic form (*madrase*; *ma^rrife*; *marḥale*, "stage") or not (*manṭiġa* < **minṭaqa*, "area"; *maškale/muškile* < **muškila*, "problem"). In the case of *mif^cal* / *maf^cal*, however, only instances with an initial *ma-* were noted: *maḥġar* ("stone quarry"), *maṭraḥ* ("location"), *maktab* ("office", likely a literary loan).¹⁷

3.2.4.2. Numerals

The forms for the number "one" are *wāḥad* (m.) and *waḥde~waḥda* (f.); one instance of *waḥade* (f.) has been noted (Ġād Šihāb). For "two" we have the expected forms with an interdental *ṭ*: (*i*)*tnēn* (m.) and *tintēn* (f.), next to forms with a dental stop *t*: (*i*)*tnēn* (m.) and *tintēn* (f.).

As is common in Arabic dialects, the numbers 3-10 are split into a short and a long series. Contrary to Old Arabic, where this split reflects gender distinction, in the dialects the short series is used in the construct

¹⁷ For a similar situation see (Nevo 2006:46). However, contrary to his findings, no instances of *mif^cal* were noted, only of *maf^cal*.

state, while otherwise the long series is used.¹⁸ Thus we have: *xams wlād* ("five boys") vs. *wlād, xamse* ("boys, five"); *sitt wlād* ("six boys") or *sitt 'snīn* ("six years") vs. *sitta w sab'īn sine* ("seventy six years"). Some variation exists in the pronunciation of the number "three". In the construct state the following forms were attested: *talat̄ tabagāt* ("three floors", Maḥmūd Rašwān); *tlāt̄ 'nwā'* ("three types"), *tlāt-arba' 'snīn* ("three-four years", Ğamīla Ğurbān). Note also the use of the long form with a noun of measurement, as in *'ašara šēkel* ("ten Shekels").¹⁹ As usual, when counting thousands, the word *alāf* is preceded by *t*, as in *'ašartalāf* ("ten thousand").²⁰

Two series of numerals are also found in the numbers 11-19. The long one, ending with *-ar*, is used when directly followed by the counted noun; otherwise the short form is used. Thus we have *šaff 'hda'aš* ("grade 11"), but *sab'aṭašar sane* ("17 years"). In the latter form we see that the second of two original *'* has dropped (contrast Old Arabic *sab'ata 'ašara*). As in other Arabic dialects,²¹ this *'* usually leads to emphatization of the *t* (originally the feminine ending): *xamaṣṭa'šar walad* ("15 children"), *tamaṣṭa'šar sane* ("18 years"). In the number 13, this results in the shift of the second *t̄* to *ṭ* (*talatṭa'šar*), and sometimes also the first (*ṭalatṭa'š*).

¹⁸ C.f. (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:90).

¹⁹ C.f. (Taine-Cheikh 2012), who cites the following example from Cairene: *'ašara g(e)rām* ("10 grams").

²⁰ Diachronically, this *t* is the feminine ending in the construct state, but synchronically it should be analyzed as part of the counted noun. See (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:91) for details.

²¹ C.f. (Taine-Cheikh 2012; Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:92).

In the ordinal numbers the common *fāʿil* pattern is used for the masculine form of 2-10, e.g. *tāni*, *tālit*, *rābiʿ*, etc.; for feminine we have *fāʿla/e*, e.g. *tānye*. For the first ordinal, *awwal* is usually used for the masculine, occasionally *awwan* or *awwalāni*. The form *awwala*, which is clearly derived from the masculine form with the feminine ending *-a*, was attested once in the speech of Ğamīla Ğurbān.²²

Some observed fractions are the following: *nuṣṣ* ("half"), *tīlʿt~tulʿt* ("third"), *rubⁱc* ("quarter"), *xumus* ("fifth").

3.2.5. Verb

Gender distinction is preserved throughout the verbal system (see 3.2.3).

3.2.5.1. *-um* ending

A notable feature of the verbal system is the use of the suffix *-um* in the 2nd and 3rd pl. m. verbs. For an overview of its use in other dialects, see 4.2 below. Here its distribution in Ğisir is discussed.

According to (Jastrow 2009b), the *-um* suffix is used by the Ğurbān but not by the Nağğār. Consider the following table (based on Jastrow's findings).

	perfect	imperfect	imperative
	Ğurbān / Nağğār	Ğurbān / Nağğār	Ğurbān / Nağğār
3 pl. m.	<i>ḍarabum</i> / <i>ḍarabu</i>	<i>yudrubum</i> / <i>yudrubu</i>	
3 pl. f.	<i>ḍarabin</i>	<i>yudrubin</i>	
2 pl. m.	<i>ḍarabtum</i> / <i>ḍarabtu</i>	<i>tuḍrubum</i> / <i>tuḍrubu</i>	<i>uḍrubum</i> / <i>uḍrubu</i>
2 pl. f.	<i>ḍarabtin</i>	<i>tuḍrubin</i>	<i>uḍrubin</i>

²² *awwala* is typical of Bedouin dialects, c.f. (Rosenhouse 1984:26; Rosenhouse 2012). For Iksāl see (Nevo 2006:49).

The present study confirms the use of the *-um* suffix by members of the Ğurbān, especially by Ğamīla Ğurbān. For example: *fataḥum iṭṭarig lēna w lēhum* ("they opened the road for us and for them"); *yṣayydum issamač* ("they catch fish"); *xudum*²³ *gaddēš biddkum ṣayye, xudum iṣrabum* ("take as much water as you like, take and drink"). It also often appears in the speech of a Ğād Šihāb: *lamman kānat il^Hbxirōt^H kānum yižum*²⁴ *hōna* ("when the elections took place they used to come here"); *humma yi^{ci}rfum šū nitxarraḥ?* ("do they know what we are talking about?"); *rāḥum sawwum^Hxomā^H* ("they went and made a wall"). I have also noted it in the speech of a boy from the ‘Ammāš (e.g. *ykibbum zēt*, "they pour oil"), although a girl from the ‘Ammāš did not use it; both recordings were, however, quite short (a few minutes long). Maḥmūd Rašwān also never used it. I've also recorded only forms without *-um* in another short recording of a speaker from the Nağğār.

It should be noted that this phenomenon is inconsistent and forms with and without the *-um* suffix are used by the same speakers. For example: *ṭil^{ci}um, ṭil^{ci}u* ("they left"); *rāḥum, rāḥu* ("they went"); *yōklum, yōklu* ("they eat"); *yiṣtiğlum, yiṣtiğlu* ("they work"). In addition, when a pronominal suffix is added the *-m* is always dropped. Thus we have *yōklum* ("they eat") but *yōklū* ("they eat it"); *yğūlum* ("they say") but *yğulūha* ("they say it"). This ending is also dropped when the verb is negated by the negational suffix *-š*: *sawwum* ("they made"), *sawwūš*²⁵ ("they didn't make"); *yi^{ci}rfum* ("they know"), *ma-*

²³ Here *d > d*, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).

²⁴ For the use of *ž* instead of *ğ* by this speaker, see 3.1.1.1 above.

²⁵ On the negation without the prefix *mā* see 3.3.5.1 below.

yiʿrifūš ("they don't know"); *yħibbum mašākil* ("they like troubles"), *ma-yħibbūš*
baʿd ("they don't like each other").

3.2.5.2. Form I

The paradigm of the strong verb is as follows.

	Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative
3 sg. m.	<i>ḍarab</i>	<i>yudrub</i>	
3 sg. f.	<i>ḍarbat</i>	<i>tuḍrub</i>	
3 pl. m.	<i>ḍarabu(m)</i>	<i>yudrubu(m)</i>	
3 pl. f.	<i>ḍarabin</i>	<i>yudrubin</i>	
2 sg. m.	<i>ḍarabʿt</i>	<i>tuḍrub</i>	<i>uḍrub</i>
2 sg. f.	<i>ḍarabti</i>	<i>tuḍrubi</i>	<i>uḍrubi</i>
2 pl. m.	<i>ḍarabtu(m)</i>	<i>tuḍrubu(m)</i>	<i>uḍrubu(m)</i> ²⁶
2 pl. f.	<i>ḍarabtin</i>	<i>tuḍrubin</i>	<i>uḍrubin</i>
1 sg.	<i>ḍarabʿt</i>	<i>aḍrub</i>	
1 pl.	<i>ḍarabna</i>	<i>nuḍrub</i>	

The results confirm the findings in (Jastrow 2009b), with the change of prefix vowel to *u*. Some additional comments:

- a. The stem vowel in the imperfect can be *a*, *i*, or *u*. For example: *yiṭlaʿ* ("to leave"), *yiʿrif* ("to know"), *yigʿud~yugʿud* ("to sit"). As illustrated in the last example, when the stem vowel is *u* the prefix vowel can be *i* or

²⁶ Occasionally we have *uḍrubu* (< **uḍrbu* < *uḍrubu*).

u, but there is a clear tendency for *u*, e.g. *yutḥux* ("to cook"), *yuktub* ("to write"), *yugbuḍ* ("to grab, to collect"), *yudrub* ("to hit"). In one instance the *u* prefix was noted even when the stem vowel is not *u*, namely, *nuxbiz* ("we bake"), by Ğamīla Ğurbān. Some variation between speakers occurs, for example, in the root ʿ-*m-l*: two speakers of the Ğurbān used *yiʿmilu* ("they work"), while Maḥmūd Rašwān used *yiʿmalu*, with a stem vowel *a*.

- b. As in Old Arabic, stem vowel *a* is used mainly with verbs whose perfect form is *fiʿil* (Old Arabic **faʿila* or **faʿula*) and in the vicinity of the pharyngeal consonants *ḥ* and ʿ. For example: *yitlaʿ* ("to exit"), *yikbar* ("to grow, rise"), *yikrah* ("to hate"), *yismaʿ* ("to hear"), *yimlaḥ* ("to become salty"), *yimnaʿ* ("to prevent"), *yizraʿ* ("to plant").
- c. In the perfect of *fiʿil*-type verbs we have, for example: *rikib* ("he rode"); *zihig* (3 sg. m.), *zihigat* (3 sg. f.), *zihigum* (3 pl. m.), *zihigin* (3 pl. f.) ("to become tired or bored of something"); *kibrin* ("they (f.) grew up"); *ṭilʿu(m)* ("they got out"); *riḡʿu* ("they got back"). Some variation exists in the preservation of the vowels, thus we have both *čibirna* ("we grew up"), with the first vowel preserved, and *zʿilna* ("we were angry"), *lhigna* ("we acquired"), *xligna* ("we were born"), with the first vowel omitted. Also contrast *smiʿt* ("I heard") with *miʿt* ("I made").

3.2.5.3. Forms II and III

The prefix vowel (Old Arabic *u*) in the imperfect is deleted in most persons: *nṭaʿim* ("we feed"), *tḡayyir* ("you change", "she changes"). In the 1 sg. the

prefix is always *a*: *afakkir* ("I think"), *a'allim* ("I teach"), *ašaġġi'* ("I encourage"), *aṣalli* ("I pray"). In the 3rd person the prefix *y* is vocalized (which is written as a convention here without a vowel): *yfakkir* ("he thinks"), *y'āšru* ("they associate closely with"), *yžāwrūna* ("they are our neighbors").²⁷

In the few examples that occurred in the corpus, the 3 sg. f. was *fa'alat*, with the *a* vowel preserved, e.g. *haḏḏarat* ("she prepared, made"), *xarrafat* ("she told stories"), *wazza'at* ("she distributed"). This pattern is contrasted with form I *fa'lat*, e.g. *ḏarbat* ("she hit"), *saknat* ("she dwelt"), *fathat* ("she opened").

In general, form III is not very productive. The only examples that appear in the corpus, in addition to those cited above: *sā'di* ("help! (sg. f.)"), *thāsīb* ("she settles an account"), *yḏāfi'* ("he protects"); *t'āmil* ("you treat, deal with").²⁸

3.2.5.4. Form IV

Form IV is rarely used, with almost all examples being from the verb *yī'ti~yinṭi* ("to give"): *yī'tu* ("they give"), *bi'tūna* ("they give us"), *ma-yī'tūš* ("they don't give"), *yinṭūna* ("they give us"), *ninṭiha* ("we give it"). The forms with *n* were used solely by Ğamīla Ğurbān. Except for this verb, a single occurrence of *niṭ'im* ("we feed") was noted, next to form II *nṭa'im*.

²⁷ The use of *ž* instead of *ġ* is peculiar to Ğād Šihāb; see 3.1.1.1 above.

²⁸ The form *t'āmil* might also be derived from form VI, Old Arabic *ta'āmal ma'a*, with deletion of the affix *t* (< **tit'āmil*), given that it appears with the preposition *ma'*.

3.2.5.5. Forms V and VI

Examples of form V include: *t'allam* ("he studied"), *tğayyar* ("he changed"), *niğgallab* ("we cope, manage"), *tfarrağ!* ("behold, look! (m.)"), *nitxarraḥ* ("we converse, talk"), *yithammam* ("he has a bath"). Cases of assimilation include: *ma-niddaxxal'š* ("we don't interfere"), *iğğamma'at* ("[the village] gathered"), *biddi ağğawwaz* ("I want to get married"), *iğğawwaz* ("he got married"), *iğğawwazin* ("they (f.) got married").

Form VI is uncommon, with the following few examples noted: *nitkātāl* ("we fight one another"), *yiddāyagum* ("they (m.) are angry with one another"; with assimilation $t > d$), *bat'āṭa* ("I engage in").

As in form II (see 3.2.5.3 above), the feminine form preserves the vowel *a*, as in *tğayyarat* ("she/it changed").

3.2.5.6. Forms VII and VIII

Form VII is not very common. Examples include: *inbana* ("it was built"), *inwalad* ("he was born"), *inkatal* ("he was killed"), *ninṭalik* ("we will go away, leave"),²⁹ *tinbaṣiṭ* ("you will have fun"). The stress in all these cases is on the penultimate syllable.

In form VIII, the prefix *ʔi* can be preserved as in *ištara* ("he bought"), or omitted as in *štağalt* ("I worked"), *ntašrat* ("she/it spread out"). The latter example shows deletion of *a* following the infix *t* in the 3 sg. f., similarly to form I (see 3.2.5.2 above). In the imperfect there is some variation with respect to this *a*. It is sometimes preserved, as in *niṣṭanit* ("we listen"), *yištağil*

²⁹ **q* > *k* here is probably a literary influence.

("he works"), *tištaġil/ništaġil* ("you/we work"), *baħtarim* ("I respect"), *tixtalif* ("it differs"). It can also be replaced by *i*, for example: *yištiġil* ("he works"), *yištiġlu/tištiġil* ("they/you work"), *baħtirmu* ("I respect him"). Finally, the *a* may be deleted altogether: *yištġil* ("he works"), *ništġil/aštġil/tištġil* ("we/I/you work"). There is no apparent rule or tribal affiliation governing this variation.

3.2.5.7. Form X

Only a few examples of this form are attested: *tista‘milu* ("you (pl.) use"), *yistāžir* ("he rents"), *innās istaslamat* ("the people gave up"). The prefix *ʔi* can be omitted: *staslamat*.

3.2.5.8. Participles

Active participles are frequently used in the dialect. The form I paradigm is *fā‘il*, *fā‘la/e*, *fā‘līn*, *fā‘lāt*. Examples include: *‘āyiš*, *‘āyše*, *‘āyšin* ("to live, be alive"), *šāyif* ("to see"), *māšye* ("to walk"), *ḍāy‘a* ("to get lost"), *ṛāyha* ("to go"), *ḍākīr* ("to remember"). In the other forms we have the prefix *m(i)-*,³⁰ for example: sg. m. *mfakkir* ("thinking"), *mxallīš* ("finishing"), *mḥaḍḍīr* ("making"), *mitwaffir* ("found, existing"), *miġġawwiz* ("married"), *mit‘awwid* ("accustomed"), *mit‘ammil* ("hoping"); sg. f. *miġġawwze* ("married"), *mindahre* ("declining, deteriorating"); pl. m. *mġasslīn* ("washing"), *mnattfīn* ("cleaning"³¹), *mgarrirīn* ("having decided"), *mit‘allmīn* ("educated"). Feminine plural forms exist but

³⁰ The single occurrence of *mustakfīyyīn* must be considered as literary in its *mu-* prefix, although the conjugation is not in accordance with the Old Arabic form **mustakfīn*.

³¹ Here we have *ḍ > t*, where normally *ḍ* is preserved (see 3.1.1.2 above).

are not very common: *snānha miš rākbāt mliḥ.. mšalbakāt iḥna bingūl* ‘*anhin* (“her teeth are not well placed.. what we call crooked”); *lamma iḥna nkūn gā‘dāt* (“when we (f.) are sitting”); *miḡḡawzāt* (“married”).

Passive participles are rare in the forms above II, with the few examples of form II being *mṭawwagīn* (“surrounded”), *msaḡḡal* (“registered”).

3.2.5.9. Weak verb

a. C₁ = ’

The two verbs corresponding to Old Arabic *akala* and *axaḏa* (“to eat” and “to take”, respectively) have two distinct paradigms in the perfect. Some speakers (e.g. a girl from the ‘Ammāš) follow the Old Arabic forms, e.g. *akal*, *aklat*, *akalu*; *axaḏ*, *axaḏat*~*axḏat*, *axaḏu*. Others (e.g. Ğamīla Ğurbān, a boy from the ‘Ammāš) drop the first syllable and treat these verbs as if they were C₃=y roots: *kala*, *kalat*, *kalu*; *xaḏa*, *xaḏat*, *xaḏu*.³² Occasionally a speaker may use both forms interchangeably (Maḥmūd Rašwān). In the imperfect the glottal stop becomes a long *ō*:³³ *yōkil*, *tōkil*, *nōkil*, *yōklu*~*yōklum*; *yōxuḏ*, *tōxuḏ*, *nōxuḏ*, *yōxḏu*~*yōxḏum*. Notice that in the first case (“to eat”) the second vowel is *i*

³² This phenomenon is common in North Israel and other Bedouin dialects (Rosenhouse 1984:34, 88); see 4.2 below.

³³ According to (Rosenhouse 1984:35), forms with *ō* are considered more sedentary than forms with *ā*.

while in the second case ("to take") it is *u*.³⁴ Imperative base forms are *kul* and *xud*. Observed participles are *māxid*, *māxdīn*.³⁵

b. C₁ = *w*

Noted examples in the perfect: *wlid't* ("I was born"), *wildum* ("they (m.) were born"); imperfect: *yigaf* ("he stands"); imperative: *igaf* ("stand!"); participle: *wāgfīn* ("standing", pl. m.).³⁶ In form VIII I have noted *ittafagu* ("they (m.) agreed"), *mittafīg* ("agreeing", sg. m.).³⁷

c. C₂ = *w/y*

The semivowel *w/y* becomes a long vowel in the imperfect: *ygūl* ("to say"), *yǧīb* ("to bring"), *ynām* ("to sleep"). The corresponding perfect forms have *ā* for the 3rd person: *gāl*, *ǧāb*. As in Old Arabic, in the 1st and 2nd persons we have a short vowel, either *u* or *i*: *gul^(u)t*, *ǧib⁽ⁱ⁾t*. In the imperative we have *gūl* and *ǧīb*. Perfect and imperative forms for *ynām* were not attested in the corpus, though we could expect *nām* – *nimt* – *nām!*. A few instances of the conjugation of *ṣār* – *yṣīr* ("to become", "to start") in the 1st and 2nd person exhibit vocalization as in C₂ = *w* verbs: *ṣur⁽ⁱ⁾t* (1 sg. and 2 sg. m.) and *ṣurna* (1

³⁴ A similar pattern is found for Iksāl in (Nevo 2006:52).

³⁵ I have not noted forms with Imāla (*mēkil*, *mēxid*) as is common in the area (see, for example, Shahin 2012; Nevo 2006:52 and the references therein), but this could just as well be a limitation of the corpus.

³⁶ The imperfect and imperative forms are similar to those reported for Iksāl with another root (*yiga^ʕ*, *ʕiga^ʕ*), but the imperfect is different than Iksāl's *yōgaf* (Nevo 2006:52).

³⁷ Contrast with *mittīfi(ʕ)* in Haifa (Geva-Kleinberger 2004:118).

pl.).³⁸ In the active participle the distinction between *w* and *y* disappears, so we have both *‘āyīš* (‘-y-š, "living") and *šāyīf* (š-w-f, "seeing"). Other than that the active participle behaves as in the strong verb, e.g. *‘āyīš*, *‘āyše*, *‘āyšīn* ("living"); *rāyīh*, *rāyha* ("going").

Consider the following forms of the verb *gāl* ("to say"):

	perfect	imperfect	imperative
3 pl. m.	<i>gālu(m)</i>	<i>ygūlu(m)</i>	
3 pl. f.	<i>gālin</i>	<i>ygūlin</i>	
2 pl. m.	<i>gultu(m)</i>	<i>tgūlu(m)</i>	<i>gūlu(m)</i>
2 pl. f.	<i>gultin</i>	<i>tgūlin</i>	<i>gūlin</i>

As noted in (Jastrow 2009b), although gender distinction is preserved, the feminine forms have changed considerably from the Old Arabic forms. From CA **qulna* (both 3 pl. f. perfect and 2 pl. f. imperative) we arrive at *gālin* (3 pl. f. perfect) and *gūlin* (2 pl. f. imperative). By adopting the same long-vowelled base as the masculine forms (*gālu(m)* and *gūlu(m)*), the feminine forms achieve a uniform base across the paradigm.

As in Old Arabic, verbs with $C_2=w/y$ forms II, III, V and VI are conjugated like the strong verbs. Examples of form II: *yšayyih* ("he screams"), *ykayyfu* ("they have fun"), *tğayyir* ("you change"), *nrawwiḥ* ("we go home"), *ydawwir* ("he looks for"), *mṭawwagīn* ("encircled", "surrounded"); form III: *yžāwrūna* ("they are our neighbors"); form V: *tğayyar* ("it changed"), *iğğawwaz* ("he got married"), *tiğğawwaz* ("she will get married"), *miğğawwiz/miğğawwze/miğğawwāt* ("married", sg. m. / sg. f. / pl. f.; with

³⁸ Used by ‘Ali Ğurbān and Maḥmūd Rašwān. C.f. (Nevo 2006:52), according to which these forms are "dialectal" and "phonetically motivated".

assimilation $t > \tilde{g}$); form VI: *yidḏāyagum* ("they (m.) are angry with one another"; with assimilation $t > \tilde{d}$). For form VIII we have *xtirtak* ("I elected you"), with the old *a* (**ixtartuka*) shifted to *i*, and the participle *mirtāḥ* ("satisfied").

d. $C_3 = y$.³⁹

There are two paradigms, corresponding to Old Arabic **fa'ala* and **fa'ila/fa'ula*. For the former we have *ḥača – ḥačēt – yiḥči* ("to talk"). Consider the 2nd and 3rd person plural forms of *ḥača*:⁴⁰

	perfect	imperfect	imperative
3 pl. m.	<i>ḥaču</i>	<i>yiḥču</i>	
3 pl. f.	<i>ḥačīn</i>	<i>yiḥčīn</i>	
2 pl. m.	<i>ḥačētu</i>	<i>tīḥču</i>	<i>iḥču</i>
2 pl. f.	<i>ḥačētīn</i>	<i>tīḥčīn</i>	<i>iḥčīn</i>

The feminine forms are identical to the masculine forms, except for the different suffix (*-u* for masculine and *-in* for feminine). It is notable that the forms for 3rd person pl. f. perfect/imperfect (*ḥačīn/yiḥčīn*) and 2nd person pl. f. imperfect/imperative (*tīḥčīn/iḥčīn*) appear without a final long \bar{e} , which is what we find, for example, in the Triangle (see 4.2 below).

As for **fa'ila/fa'ula* type verbs, I have noted *nsīt* ("I forgot"), *nasināha* ("we forgot it"); *bagat, bagēna, tibga, yibgu* ("to remain"); all produced by the same speaker (Ĝamīla Ĝurbān). As expected, the imperfect appears with final

³⁹ $C_3 = w$ verbs are treated as $C_3 = y$ verbs due to assimilation. C.f. (Rosenhouse 1984:90).

⁴⁰ In this case the speaker who produced the paradigm, a boy from the 'Ammāš, did not use the *-m* ending, although in other cases he did.

a, tībga.⁴¹ In the perfect there is some inconsistency between forms with and without initial *a* (*nsīt* vs. *nasināha, bagat, bagēna*). The latter seem to behave as if they were originally **fa'ala* type (c.f. *ḥačat, ḥačēna*), differently, for example, from what we find in the Triangle (Jastrow 2004): *diryat, drīna*.⁴²

When the verb should end with the semi-vowel, it appears as a short vowel, but its long nature is discovered when pronominal suffixes are added or when the verb is negated with the negational suffix *š*. This is true for all measures. For example: *nrabbi – nrabbīhum* ("we raise" – "we raise them"); *asawwi – asawwī* ("I make" – "I make it"); *tsawwi – tsawwīlna* ("she makes" – "she makes for us"); *tihči – ma-tihčīš* ("you talk" – "you don't talk"); *ašalli – ašalliš* ("I pray" – "I don't pray"). And old diphthong *ay* is monophthongized into long *ē*, as in *sawwēt* ("I made"), *banēna* ("we built"), *waddētu* ("I sent him"). If, as a result of a shift of stress, the long vowel is shortened, the old *a* reappears: *rabbēna + hum > rabbanāhum* ("we raised them").

$C_3=y$ verbs are common in forms I and II, as the above examples show. Some examples of the other forms include, in form IV: *yi'tū* ("they give it"), *bi'tūna* ("they give us"), *bi'tūš, ma-yi'tūš* ("they don't give"); form V: *twaffa* ("he passed away"), *nitgadda* ("we eat lunch"), *yit'ašša* ("he eats dinner"), *trabbēt* ("I grew up"), *titsalla* ("you have a good time"); form VI: *bat'āta* ("I am occupied with"); form VIII: *ištara/ištarēt* ("he/I bought"), *iltagēt* ("I met"), *bniltigi* ("we meet").

⁴¹ C.f. (Jastrow 2004), *yidra*.

⁴² The form *nasināha* can be interpreted as a **fa'ala* type verb, with the long *ē* shifted to short *i* with the addition of the pronominal object (< **nasēna + ha*), or as **fa'ila* type, with the initial *a* preserved (< **nasīna + ha*).

In form I active participle of 1st person sg. m. the semivowel is dropped, as in *rāḏi* ("satisfied").⁴³ In other persons the semivowel is preserved: *rāḏyīn* (pl.); *māšye* ("walking", sg. f.). The only example from other forms is in form X, *mustakfiyyīn*, with the literary *mu-* prefix.⁴⁴

e. *aǧa* ("to come")

This doubly weak verb appears with the initial *a* in the 3rd person perfect forms, otherwise without it: *aǧa*, *aǧat*, *aǧu*, *aǧīn*, *ǧīt*, *ǧīti*, *ǧītu*, *ǧītin*, *ǧīt*, *ǧīna*. On one occasion I heard *iǧu*, though the same speaker (a boy from the ‘Ammāš) usually used *aǧu*.⁴⁵ Interestingly, in an old recording a man from the village used *ǧā*, without the initial *a*. Some imperfect forms are: *yīǧi*,⁴⁶ *tiǧi*, *yīǧu*, *tiǧīn*, *aǧī*, *niǧi*; *yīži*, *tiži*, *yīžum*.⁴⁷ In the participle we have *ǧāy* (sg. m.) and *ǧayīn* (pl. m.). The imperative is *ta‘āl* (sg. m.) or the short form *ta‘a* (used by a girl from the Ğurbān).

f. C2 = C3

As in the strong verb, the stem vowel in the imperfect geminate verb can be *a*, *i*, or *u*. For example: *yḏall* ("he remains"); *ymidd* ("he extends"), *nḥiss* ("we

⁴³ Here *ḏ* > *d*, where normally *ḏ* is preserved (see 3.1.1.2 above).

⁴⁴ Contract with the Old Arabic form **mustakfīn*, and see above 3.2.5.8, fn. 29.

⁴⁵ According to (Geva-Kleinberger 2004:121), in Haifa the Christians and Muslims use *ʾaža*, while the Jews use *ʾiža*. Note that the initial vowel is usually absent in Bedouin dialects (Rosenhouse 1984:35, 88), and see also 4.2 below.

⁴⁶ On one occasion this was contracted to *yīǧ* (by Maḥmūd Rašwān): *biddu yīǧ* ‘*indhum ḏēf* ("a guest is supposed to come to them").

⁴⁷ Forms with *ž* were uttered by Ğād Šihāb, see 3.1.1.1 above.

feel"); *yħutt* ("he puts"), *yxuddum* ("they shake").⁴⁸ Sometimes there is variation in the stem vowel choice, even in the speech of the same speaker. For example, Ğamīla Ğurbān used both *yħibbum*, *ma-yħibbūš* ("they like", "they don't like") and *yħubbūna* ("they like us"); *baliffu* ("I role it up") and *yluffū* ("they roll it up"). ‘Ali Ğurbān used both *yħibb* ("he likes") and *yħubbu* ("they like"). In the 1st and 2nd persons of the perfect we have a long vowel, in analogy to C₃=y verbs. Examples include: *ħattēt* ("I/you put"), *ħabbēt* ("I/you liked"), *ḍallēt* ("I/you remained"), *nattēna* ("we jumped"). The only observable participles are *ħattīn* ("putting", pl. m.) in form I and *mgarrirīn* ("deciding", pl. m.) in form II.

g. Quadriliteral verbs

I have noted several conjugated forms of the weak quadriliteral verb *farġa/warġa* ("to show"; base form itself not observed), all with a pronominal suffix or an indirect object with the preposition *l-*: *afarġik* ("I will show you"), *warġetak* ("I showed you"), *ywarġilu* ("he will show him"). Forms with initial *f-* and *w-* seem to be used interchangeably by the same speakers.⁴⁹

h. C₂=w, C₃=y

⁴⁸ Old Arabic **xaḍḍ*, with de-emphatization.

⁴⁹ According to (Geva-Kleinberger 2004:122), in Haifa the Jews use *warġa* while the Christians and Muslims use *farġa*.

I have noted one occurrence of *yitsawa* ("it is being made"), formed in the pattern *itfa'al*, which is used in some other dialects such as in Cairo (Woidich 2012).

3.2.6. Prepositions

3.2.6.1. *bi*, *fī* ("in", "at")

b/bi and *fī* are both used before nouns and pronominal suffixes, though *b/bi* is much more common. Examples for *fī*: *fī lbalad* ("in the village"); *fīha* ("in it"). *b-* is used before CV/CV̄: *b-ḥayāti* ("in my life"), *b-ḥālu* ("to himself"), *b-ṣaff ṭna'aš* ("in grade 12"); *bi* appears before CCV/CCV̄: *bi-ṣṣēf* ("in the summer"), *bi-lbalad* ("in the village").⁵⁰ However, with pronominal suffixes we usually have a long base *bī*: *bī~bīya*, *bik*, *bīha*, *bihin*, *bihum*.

Both *bī* and *fī* are used as the existential marker ("there is"), with negated forms *(ma-)bišš* and *(ma-)fišš*.⁵¹ Examples include: *bī naba' ʿala ḡamb ilḡabal* ("there is a spring near the mountain"); *fī azmit sakan hōna* ("there is a housing crisis here"); *bišš maṭraḥ bi-Sra'il ma-štagaltiš bīha* ("there is no place in Israel that I haven't worked at"); *ma-fišš farḡ bēn bin't w walad* ("there is no difference between a girl and a boy"). Certain speakers tend to prefer *bī* to *fī* or vice versa. Ğamīla Ğurbān used exclusively *bī*, while Ğād Šihāb used only

⁵⁰ I noted one example of *bi* before three consecutive consonants, with no helping vowel: *bi-ḥdāde* ("in smithing").

⁵¹ *bišš* usually appears without *ma-*. I only noted one occurrence of *ma-bišš*, by ʿAli Ğurbān.

fī. ‘Ali Ğurbān and Maḥmūd Rašwān used both forms. It should be noted that *bī* forms were recorded by young as well as old speakers.

3.2.6.2. ‘*ind*, ‘*and* ("at", "by")

The initial vowel varies between *i* and *a* even with the same speaker. When the attached pronominal suffix starts with a vowel, there is no change in the base form (‘*indi*~‘*andi*, ‘*indu*, ‘*andak*). When the suffix starts with a consonant, there may either be no change to the base form (‘*indna*~‘*andna*, ‘*indhā*, ‘*indhūm*) or the consonant cluster may be resolved by insertion of a long vowel *ī* (‘*andīna*, ‘*andīhūm*); in this case an initial *a* seems to be the norm.⁵²

‘*ind*/‘*and* + pronominal suffix can denote possession, for example: ‘*indi ṭumbīl* ("I have a car"); ‘*indi wlād wlād arba‘a w ‘išrīn* ("I have 24 grandchildren").

3.2.6.3. ‘*ala* ("on")

Some observed forms with pronominal suffixes: ‘*alayyi*, ‘*alēna*, ‘*alēk*, ‘*alē*, ‘*alēha*. When preceding a noun, ‘*ala* may be shortened to ‘*a-*, so we have both ‘*ala šaṭṭ ilbaḥ^{ar}* and ‘*a-šaṭṭ ilbaḥ^{ar}* ("on the beach").⁵³

⁵² Another alternative to resolving the consonant cluster is assimilation *d > n*, which was only rarely noted, e.g. ‘*inna*~‘*anna*.

⁵³ I have also noted two cases of ‘*al*, which seems to be a shortened form rather than ‘*a* + definite article *l-*. Thus: ‘*al-ilžabal* ("on the mountain"), ‘*al-mustawa lbalad* ("on the level of the village").

3.2.6.4. *min* ("from")

Before suffixes starting with a vowel we have geminate *n*: *minni*, *minnak*, *minnu*. When the suffix begins with a consonant, we either have non-geminate forms (e.g. *minhum*) or, more rarely, an insertion of a long vowel, as in *minnēna* ("from us") or *minniha* ("from her"). The forms *minni* ("from me") and *minnik* ("from you (m.)"; both by a girl from the Ğurbān) seem to be a back-formation based on long-vowelled forms (like *minnēna* and *minniha*).

3.2.6.5. *ma*^ʕ, *ma*^{ʕa} ("with")

These two base forms have two different declensions, e.g. *ma*^{ʕna} / *ma*^{ʕāna}, *ma*^{ʕu} / *ma*^{ʕā}. Forms with base *ma*^ʕ seem to be much more frequent with pronominal suffixes than those with base *ma*^{ʕa}.⁵⁴ Occasionally we have the assimilation of *ʕ* > *ħħ* (*maħħa*, *maħħum*; see 3.1.4 above).

3.2.6.6. *li*, *la* ("to", "until")

When pronominal suffixes are attached the base is usually lengthened, as in *lēna*, *lēha*, *lēhum* ("to us", "to her", "to them"), but with other persons we have short forms such as *li*, *lak*, *lu* ("to me", "to you", "to him"). I have also noted forms with a prothetic vowel: *ilkum*, *ilhum* ("to you", "to them"), mainly with Ğād Šihāb and Maħmūd Rašwān.⁵⁵ These forms seem to be used more frequently non-enclitically in order to denote possession, e.g. *ilhum niswān*

⁵⁴ Contrast this with (Rosenhouse 1984:111), where the long paradigm is said to be more frequent in NI Bedouin dialects.

⁵⁵ According to (Rosenhouse 1984:109-110) these forms are sedentary and not in use in NI Bedouin dialects.

("they have women"), *ma-kanⁱš ilu mašāri* ("he had no money"), although we have also cases such as *kull balad lu lahḡe* ("every village has its own dialect"). In pre-nominal position *la* seems to be preferred to *li*. It may convey the notion of a destination in place or time: *la-Zixron* ("to Zikhron"), *la-nnah^r* ("to the river"), *la-hēna* ("to here"); *la-sint il'arba'īn* ("until the year [19]40"), *la-lyōm* ("to this day"). In a single instance, *la-* functions as a direct object marker: *axaḡha la-ummi* ("he married my mother").⁵⁶

3.2.6.8. Other prepositions

The following are some less frequent interesting prepositions. *ta-* (< Old Arabic *ḡatta*) is used to express a destination, as in *min ilbaḡ^r ta-hēna* ("from the sea to here"). *wara* ("behind") is used in the expression *ma-hū kullu wara ilfik^r*, *wara itta'lim* ("it all depends on thinking, on education"). *wiyyā-* appears once (Maḡmūd Rašwān) with the same meaning as *ma^c* ("with"): *wiyyāhum* ("with them"). I have also two instances of *iyyā* in the expressions *ana w iyyāk* ("me and you"; Ğād Šihāb) and *ana w iyyā* ("me and him"; Ğamīla Ğurbān).

3.2.7. Interrogative particles

⁵⁶ According to Brustad (2000:353-358), this construction is used in Syrian Arabic to mark highly individuated objects and recall them into the active discourse, an explanation which fits our case: the speaker's mother is highly individuated and has been mentioned previously in the conversation. Etymologically, this construction is attributed to a substrate influence of Aramaic (not-specified and Procházka 2013).

mīn ("who"); *šū*, *ēš* ("what");⁵⁷ *wēn* ("where"); *wēnta* ("when"; single occurrence);⁵⁸ *čēf*, *kēf*, *kīf* ("how");⁵⁹ *gaddēš* ("how much");⁶⁰ *lēš* ("why").

3.2.8. Adverbs

3.2.8.1. Adverbs of place

hēn(a), *hōn(a)*, *hān* ("here");⁶¹ *hināk*, *hunāk(a)* ("there"; the latter only by Maḥmūd Rašwān); *barra* ("outside").

3.2.8.2. Adverbs of time

hassa ("now");⁶² *imbēriḥ* ("yesterday");⁶³ *ilyōm* ("today", "nowadays"); *baʿd* + pronominal suffix ("still"); *marra* ("once").⁶⁴ The following all carry the meaning of "then", "back then", "in those days": *yōmha*, *bi-lʿiyyām hāy*, *b-haḏāk ilwakʿt*, *b-waktha*, (*min*) *awwal*, (*min*) *awwan*.

⁵⁷ *šū* is used more frequently than *ēš*; a single occurrence of *ē* has been uttered by ʿAli Ğurbān: *yḥibb ygullak ē?* ("What did he want to tell you?"). For the sentence-final position of the interrogative, see 4.2 below.

⁵⁸ According to (Nevo 2006:55), *wēnta* is common in the Galilee under Lebanese influence.

⁵⁹ *kēf* was recorded only by ʿAli Ğurbān, *čēf* by Maḥmūd Rašwān and Ğamīla Ğurbān; *kīf* is the less frequent form.

⁶⁰ I have noted one instance of *kam*, presumably "how many", though the context does not preclude an interpretation as "how much".

⁶¹ *hān* occurs only once by Maḥmūd Rašwān and according to (Rosenhouse 1984:112) is typical of Central Palestinian dialects; *hōn* is presumably more sedentary, *hēn* more Bedouin. But according to (Palva 1984), *hōn* is found in North and Central Transjordan (see 2.2 above).

⁶² I've also noted a single occurrence of *issa* by Maḥmūd Rašwān, which must be a loan, perhaps from the Galilee (Nevo 2006:55).

⁶³ For the *Imāla* here, see 3.1.2.1 above.

⁶⁴ Frequent also in phrases such as *wala marra* ("never", "not once"), *marrāt* ("sometimes"), *marra waḥda* ("at once"); all uttered by Ğamīla Ğurbān. But *marra waḥade* in the speech of Ğād Šihāb just means "once".

3.2.8.3. Adverbs of measure and manner

Measure: *kt̄ir* ("much", "many");⁶⁵ *la-l'āxir* ("very much", "extremely"); *šwayy(e)* ("little"); *bass* ("only"). Manner: *hēč(a)*, *hēk(a)* ("so", "thus"); found also in phrases such as *w hēk* ("and so on"); *w iši w hēk*, *w hēč w hēč* ("and so on and so forth").⁶⁶

3.2.9. Conjunctions

3.2.9.1. Coordinating conjunctions

w-, *fa-* ("and"; the second is the literary form); *mā... wala...*, *lā... wala...* ("neither... nor..."); *amma*, *bass* ("but");⁶⁷ *willa*, *aw* ("or"; the last form literary).

3.2.9.2. Subordinating conjunctions

lamma, *lamman* ("when");⁶⁸ *ta-* ("until"); *iza*, *in*, *law* ("if");⁶⁹ *gaddēš* ("as much as");⁷⁰ *minšān*, *‘ašān*, *ta-* ("in order to", "so that"); *bass* ("as soon as"); *innu*, *inn-* + pronominal suffix, e.g. *inni*, *innak*, *innhum* ("that", "that I/you/they"); *‘ašān*, *laʔinnu*, *liʔinnu*, *liʔannu* (the latter more literary), *liʔann-* + pronominal suffix, e.g. *liʔanni*, *liʔannha* ("because", e.g. "because I", "because she"); *zayy mā* ("as").

⁶⁵ I noted a single occurrence of each of *kaṭīr* and *kt̄ir*, the former being a literary form, the latter an urban form.

⁶⁶ Similarly I have also *w ġēr w ġarātu* ("and so on and so forth").

⁶⁷ According to (Rosenhouse 1984:114), *bas* is a sedentary form.

⁶⁸ A single occurrence of *min* with the meaning of "when" was uttered by ʿAli Ğurbān: *min xligna* ("when we were born"). There were also single occurrence of *yōmin* by Ğamīla Ğurbān (c.f. Rosenhouse 1984:44) and *yamman* by ʿAli Ğurbān.

⁶⁹ *iza* appears to be used for real conditionals while *law* is used for irreal ones; *in* only appeared twice, with an irreal function.

⁷⁰ This conjunction appeared without *mā*: *gaddēš biddkum* ("as much as you want").

3.2.10. Negation particles

The main particles of negation are: *mā* ... -š for verbal negation, *miš* for nominal/predicate negation, and *lā* for categorical negation. For a treatment of their syntactic functions, see 3.3.5 below. This section explains the morphophonological characteristics of *mā* ... š.

mā is shortened to *ma* when negating a verb with the suffix -š, due to the loss of stress, e.g. *ma-yiḥcūš ma'na* ("they don't speak to us"). If the verb ends with a consonant, a vowel is usually inserted before the suffix -š, e.g. *bass ilwāḥad ma-yib'idiš 'an ašlu* ("but one doesn't go far beyond his origin"); *ma-ḥaṣalš lēhum iššaraf innhum yžāwrūna* ("they didn't have the honor to be our neighbors"); *bukra ma-ništiḡlš* ("we don't work tomorrow"); *ana ya'ni mat'allamtš barra ma-ruḥtš at'allam* ("I didn't study outside [of the village], I didn't go to study"). This happens even after a closed long syllable: *ma-kānš maraḡ 'indu bilmarra ya'ni* ("he didn't have any sickness"); *ma-fātš ilmadrase* ("he didn't go to school"). I noted the following two exceptions to this rule: *ma-tiḡdarš tiḥči ma'u bi-lbidāya* ("she can't speak with him at start", by a girl from the Ġurbān) and *ma-ruḥtši 'a-lmadrase* ("I didn't go to school", by Maḥmūd Rašwān).⁷¹

⁷¹ A negation with *ma*-... + *ši* is found for example in Egyptian and Moroccan dialects (Brustad 2000:282).

Plural forms ending in *-um* (m.) or *-in* (f.) are geminated when negated with the suffix *-š*. For example: *biddhummiš* ("they (m.) don't want"), *biddhinniš* ("they (f.) don't want"); *ma-yigdarinniš* ("they (f.) can't").⁷²

⁷² Similar forms are found, for example, in Salt (Herin 2013) and in the villages around Jaffa (Arnold 2004).

3.3. Syntax

3.3.1. Agreement

The basic agreement patterns common in other dialects apply. For example, singular nouns take singular adjectives, verbs, and demonstrative and possessive pronouns: *xubⁱz ‘arabi* ("Arab bread"), *ḥāle mliḥa* ("good situation"), *yikbar ilbaḥ^{ar}* ("the sea rises"), *ma-kānⁱš ilmaraḍ ḥāḍa* ("this illness did not exist"); inanimate plural nouns usually have sg. f. agreement in adjectives, verbs and resumptive pronouns: *makulāt ‘mliḥa* ("good food"), *kānat arāḍi zira‘iyye* ("there were arable lands"), *ilgiṣaṣ illi kunna ninṭiḥa li-lulād nasināha* ("the stories that we used to tell our children – we forgot them"). In contrast, the following example shows pl. f. agreement with the inanimate plural noun *snān* ("teeth"): *snānha miš rākbāt mliḥ.. ya‘ni mšalbakāt iḥna bingūl ‘ānhin* ("her teeth are not well placed.. what we call crooked").

Nouns denoting group of humans may have either sg. f. or pl. (f. or m.) agreement. As Rosenhouse (1984:115) notes, "if a noun is considered as a group, the concord will be that of f. sg.; if it is considered as consisting of individuals, the concord will be of pl. (m. or f., as required)". Thus, it is the speaker's perception that dictates the agreement, rather than formal considerations. A similar view is expressed in Brustad's study of agreement patterns of plural nouns in several Arabic dialects (Brustad 2000: chapter 2). Brustad attributes the choice of plural or singular agreement to the level of individuation of the noun as perceived by the speaker: "If a noun is highly individuated, animate, specific, textually prominent, or quantified, the

speaker tends to choose plural agreement; conversely, if the noun is collective, non-specific... and less prominent, the agreement will tend to be feminine singular" (Brustad 2000:59). Consider the following example (Ġamīla Ġurbān):

yaʿni il^hmišpaxā^h kullha tibga tḥubb baʿḏha. yōxdum min baʿḏhum, yōklum min baʿḏhum

"The all family likes each other. They marry each other, eat from each other."

In the first sentence the (Hebrew) noun *mišpaxa* ("family") takes sg. f. verbs and pronouns, indicating that the speaker perceives this group as one unit. In the second sentence, the speaker uses plural verbs and pronouns, thus individuating the family members. In another example, the same speaker tells about her sons and daughters, using plural agreement: *tʿallamu_wlādi. w tʿallamu ilḥamdu lillā w šāru mlāḥ. w lbanāt itʿallamin w kibrin iġġawwazin* ("My sons studied. They studied, thank God, and became good. And the daughters studied, grew up, and got married"). However, when she mentions non-specific, collective groups of people, she uses sg. f. agreement: *ktīr tġayyarat innās* ("people changed greatly").

Most of the references to non-specific, collective groups of humans in the corpus are in sg. f. (e.g. *innās lāzim itṣalli b-ḥurritha* , "people should pray freely"), whereas specific references are usually in plural (e.g. *axūti kullhum ṣayyadīn*, "my brothers are all fishermen"). This distinction can also explain why an inanimate noun such as *snān* ("teeth") takes plural agreement (see above): the speaker (Maḥmūd Rašwān) refers to his wife's teeth, specifying and individuating them. When many details are given about a noun, it becomes specified, individuated, and tends to take plural agreement (c.f.

Brustad 2000:58). In the following example, the first references to *ilbalad* ("the village") are in sg. f., *tištġil* ("it works"), but after more details are provided, the final reference is in plural, *yištġlu* ("they work"), referring to the people of the village:

w ilbalad kullha tiṭlaḥ barra btištġil. tištġil bi-lmustašfayāt, Tel Ha-šomer, b... Kfar Saba b-Mayir, Ixilov, Hēfa yištġlu.

"The all village goes out and works, works in hospitals, Tel Ha-Shomer, in Kfar Saba in Me'ir, Ikhilov, in Haifa, they work."

There are, however, some cases that show mixed agreement or are not easily explained, for example: *fišš ya'ni ktīr nās bitwaddi wlādhum ḥala tta'lim* ("there are not many people that send their children to study"); while the verb *bitwaddi* is in singular, the pronominal suffix in *wlādhum* is in plural. Another interesting example shows pl. f. noun taking a pl. m. adjective: *w kullhum mit'allmīn. w lbanāt kamān mit'allmīn* ("They are all educated and the girls are also educated"). The second occurrence of *mit'allmīn* is possibly affected by the first.

3.3.2. Genitive constructions

The dialect uses the genitive exponent *tabaḥ* (f. *tabḥat*, pl. *tab(a)ḥīn*) next to the construct state. Not very common, it is used with increasing frequencies by Ġamīla Ġurbān (once), ḥAli Ġurbān (4 times), Maḥmūd Rašwān (6) and Ġād Šihāb (8). As Brustad (2000:70-87) shows, the use of genitive exponents in the dialects is motivated by both formal and pragmatic factors. Such formal motivations include words that tend to occur with a genitive exponent

because they have a foreign origin (e.g. *il^Hmiktsō^{ʿa^H} taba^{ʿu}*, "his profession"; *il^Hbe^{ʿayā^H} taba^{ʿi}*, "my problem"⁷³) or end in a (underlying) long vowel, e.g. *ilmašāri tab^{ʿatna}*, "our money".⁷⁴

Pragmatically, the genitive exponent allows the speaker to focus on the possessor, individuate it, and give the entire possessive phrase textual prominence (Brustad 2000:76). In the following example, the speaker (Ġād Šihāb) refers to himself and his interlocutor, which are prominent, and uses the genitive exponent when emphasizing **their** demand:

ilyōm ana w iyyāk nitxarraġ hēna, humma yi^{ʿarfum} šū nitxarraġ. humma yi^{ʿarfum} šū iṭṭalabiyye taba^{ʿna}? ma-yi^{ʿrifūš}.

"Today you and I are talking here; do they know what we are talking about? Do they know what our demand is? They don't know"

Sometimes, however, it is difficult to explain the variation between the genitive exponent and the construct state. In the following example, the speaker (Ġād Šihāb) first uses the genitive exponent, and then switches to the construct state or the use of a possessive pronoun.

ana biddiš agūl il^Hbe^{ʿayā^H} taba^{ʿi} ilmuškile taba^{ʿti}. ana law biddi agūl ilmuškile taba^{ʿti} biddhum ygūlum hāḍa zzalame dāyir ʿala mašālḥu... ana baġūl ʿa-muškilt innās kullha, muškilti? ^Hani iftōr otā^H.... amma hōna fi mašākil ġēru. mašākil balad kullha

"I don't mean to say that it is my problem. If I say that it is my problem, they would say: 'this man cares about his own interests'... I talk about the problem of all the

⁷³ Note a lack of agreement between the feminine Hebrew *be^{ʿayā^H}* and the masculine *taba^{ʿi}*.

⁷⁴ Other cases mentioned by Brustad are annexation of multiple nouns or a noun that appears with an adjective, but such examples do not occur in my data.

people. My problem? I will solve it... But here there are other problems, problems of the all village."

Another function of the genitive exponent mentioned by Brustad (2000:82) is to classify a person as the sort of person who likes something. In this case the genitive exponent has an indefinite possessor (‘Ali Ğurbān): *miš tab‘in mašākil tab‘in ya‘ni ^Hbe‘ayōt^H w šaġlāt* ("[the people of our village] are not the sort of people that like troubles and [bad] matters").

Finally, another form of genitive exponent was noted, *šiti* ("mine"). When asked what unique words are used in the village, a boy from the ‘Ammāš gave the following example: *lamma ana aġul il‘iši la‘ili, bi nās ygūlum šiti* ("when I say 'the thing is mine' [*il‘iši la‘ili*], some people say 'mine' [*šiti*"]). Other speakers agreed that this word is rarely used.⁷⁵

3.3.3. Auxiliaries

3.3.3.1. *kān*

In addition to its "complete" meaning (corresponding to Classical Arabic *kāna altāmma*, e.g. *kān maḡyē ‘ala ‘ēn ilbaḡ‘r*, "there was water in the spring of the sea") and its function as a copula (e.g. *kānat ilḡayā ya‘ni mliḡa*, "life was good"), *kān* is used to frame in time an action that is denoted by another verb (c.f. Rosenhouse 1984:120). The various functions that are attested in the data are fairly known from other dialects (see Brustad 2000:150 for a summary):

⁷⁵ For the use of *šit* and similar variants in other dialects, see 4.2 below.

kān + active participle: usually denotes a state or situation in the past (Brustad 2000:150; Rosenhouse 1984:121), e.g. *min awwal kānu ‘āyšin ya‘ni ‘ēše mliḥa* ("in the past they used to live a good life"). Sometimes this construction describes an action in the past, not necessarily continuous: *ma‘nātu kān abūya māxiḍ ummi gabl ‘išrīn, bi-l‘išrīn* ("this means that my father married my mother before [19]20, in [19]20"); *ya‘ni kān māsik ilšug‘l* ("he held the job"); *kānu mgarrirīn b-ḥaḍāk ilwak‘t... innu ysawwu waṭan qawmi li-lyahūd* ("it was being decided at that time... to establish a national state for the Jews").

kān + imperfect: continuous of habitual action in the past. E.g.: *kānat innās ‘iḥubb ba‘ḍha* ("people used to like each other"); *il‘ak‘l illi kānu yōklū awwal ḡēr ‘an ilyōm* ("the food that [people] used to eat in the past is different from nowadays"). Sometimes the imperfect verb may be preceded by *b-*, without an apparent change in meaning: *ya‘ni kān ilwāḥad minhum maṭalan birabbi ḡāḡ* ("one of them, for example, used to raise chickens"); *kunt ya‘ni barbaḥ maṣāri mniḥa. kunt arbaḥ maṣāri mniḥa mniḥa* ("I used to make good money. I used to make very good money"); *kān btiḡi ‘ala Ḥēfa, bi-lBika minšān tōxuḍ šahritha* ("She would go the Haifa, to PICA [the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association], in order to get her monthly salary").⁷⁶

kān + perfect: opens the apodosis of conditional sentences, e.g. *law kint ana mḥaḍḍir ḥālī, kān warḡetak ilxārta illi ‘indi min wēnta kāyin bāni ilbēt taba‘na* ("if I had prepared, I would have shown you the map I have from the time he

⁷⁶ Notice the lack of gender agreement in the last example between *kān* (m.) and *btiḡi* (f.).

had built our home"). This sentence shows two other constructions with *kān*: (a) *kān* + participle can start the protasis after *law*; and (b) *kāyin* + participle is used to express an action in the remote past.⁷⁷

Other uses: *kān* may precede a pseudo-verb to denote a past tense; see 3.3.3.4 below for examples. It may also precede the existential marker in cases where this is syntactically required, for example following the conjunction *lamma*: *lamma ykūn bī arā musbaka* ("when there are prejudices"). Finally, in the following example, *(y)kūn* + imperfect is used to denote an habitual action: *(y)kūn yiḥči ‘a-ttefōn, ma‘a waḥde* ("he talks on the telephone with a girl").

3.3.3.2. Other temporal verbs

Temporal verbs are auxiliary verbs that "mark onset, duration, cessation, or continuity of an action or state" (Brustad 2000:214). A change of state is usually expressed by *ṣār*, as the following examples show: *ṣurt ya‘ni aštḡil bass lihdāde hāy* ("I started working only in this smithcraft"); *ilwāḥad yṣīr ydāfi‘ ‘an baladu ya‘ni* ("one starts defending one's village"); *ṣārat innās šwayy wāḥad yiṭṭalla‘ ‘a-ttāni* ("people started a little bit to look at each other"). In a single occurrence, *ballaš* seems to have the same meaning: *ya‘ni min xligna w*

⁷⁷ According to Mitchell & al-Hassan (1994:78), *kāyin* + participle can be used in Jordanian Arabic to express an action that took place in the past, whether it was interrupted or continued until the moment of another action.

ballašna nrūḥ 'a-lmadrāse... ("After we were born and started going to school...").⁷⁸

baga is used to convey the meaning of continuation of a state or action. For example (all examples are from *Ĝamīla Ĝurbān*): *w yibgu yuṭ'lbū minnēna xub'z* 'arabi ("they [the neighboring Jews] keep asking from us Arab bread"), *ya'ni il^hmišpaxā^h kullha tibga ṭhubb ba'ḏha* ("the all family loves [lit. keeps loving] each other"); *yibgu yih'lbū ḥalīb, nrūḥ iṅḡib min 'indhūm ḥalīb* ("they keep milking milk; we go and get milk from them").

3.3.3.3. Narrative contour verbs

Certain verbs of motion can be used to "mark the twists and turns of narrative events" (Brustad 2000:192). These verbs combine to the following verb asyndetically, such that the motion expressed by the motion verb and the action denoted by the main verb are "conveyed together as a whole" (Brustad 2000:193).

Two such verbs occur in my data: *rāḥ* ("to go"; often emphaticized, *rāḥ*) and *aḡa* ("to come"). Brustad (2000:193) mentions that the verb "to go" is often followed by a perfect (in her terms, "perfective") verb. Consider the following example: *ruḥna gulna la-lulād lāzim yit'allamūm* ("we **went and told** the children that they should study"). In my data, however, *rāḥ* is more frequently followed by an imperfect verb: *kunna nrūḥ iṅḡib ilṃayye* 'a-rūsna,

⁷⁸ Brustad (2000:221-223) distinguishes between verbs like *šār*, that emphasize a change of state, and verbs like *ballaš*, that focus on the onset of an action. However, there are not enough examples in the data to examine such a distinction.

min ilbaḥ^r, la-hēna ("we used to **go and bring** water on our heads, from the sea, to here"); *ilbalad kān galil illi yrūḥ ywaddi lulād li-tta^lim* ("there were few in the village that would **go and send** their children to study"); *ṣārat innās iṭrūḥ tsawwi* *ur^s bi-l... b-sāḥt ilmadrise* ("the people started **going and having** a wedding in the school yard"); *ba^cdēn ruḥ^t aštḡil barra fi-l^Hmikṣō^ca^{H79} tabaⁱ* ("afterwards I **went to work** outside in my profession").⁸⁰

The verb *aḡa* ("to come") has a similar function to *rāḥ*. The difference between the two depends "on where the speaker locates himself or herself with respect to the actions involved" (Brustad 2000:194). Consider the following examples: *ḡit iṣtarēt hāy il'arḍ hōn* ("I **came and bought** this land here"); *illahḡe hāy la-bin^t aḥla min yiḡi šābb yiḡi ygullak: 'alli w 'ultillu* ("this dialect is prettier with a girl than with a boy that would **come and say** to you 'alli [He told me] and 'ultillu' [I told him]").⁸¹ In one occasion the verb *aḡa* is used with an atelic meaning of "set out to go" (c.f. Brustad 2000:186): *w lamman aḡa yrawwiḥ, xallik 'indha ya Ḥasan, xallik* ("and when he set out to go home, [they told him:] 'stay with her, Ḥasan, stay'").

Finally, it should be noted that both *aḡa* and *rāḥ* are often used in the normal meaning with no following verb. In addition, I noted one occurrence the participle *rāyiḥ* as a future marker (uttered by Ġād Šihāb): *miš rāyiḥ yṣīr wala iši* ("nothing is going to happen").

⁷⁹ Here the Arabic *ṣ* substitutes the Hebrew *ts*.

⁸⁰ Note that in the last example the verb *aštḡil* ("I work") could be interpreted as modally embedded by the preceding *ruḥ^t* ("I went"), conveying the meaning of "I went *in order* to work".

⁸¹ See chapter 5 for a more extensive consideration of the last example.

3.3.3.4. Pseudo-verbs

Pseudo-verbs are expressions whose syntactic behavior is similar to verbs, while morphologically they are usually prepositional or nominal phrases. Semantically, they often convey an existential or modal meaning. Importantly, pseudo-verbs are usually negated like verbs (Brustad 2000:151-154).

***bidd* + pronominal suffix:** denotes the meaning of "to want" or "to need". This construction can take a nominal object, for example: *biddu maṣāri* ("he wants money"); *li'innu ilbalad 'andīna biddha madrase 'ālye* ("because our village needs a high school [i.e. university/college]"). But more frequently it is followed by a verb in the imperfect. Examples include: *biddi a'allimhum* ("I want to educate them"); *li'annu biddu yṛūḥ ynām* ("because he wants to go and go to sleep"); *mīn biddu yigbal bīya?* ("who would want to accept me?"); *biddhum yḍallu hēč* ("they want to stay like this"). Negation is formed by suffixing -š, e.g. *biddhummiš yit'allamu* ("they don't want to study"); *ana biddiš agūl il^Hbe'ayā^H taba'ī* ("I don't want to say that the problem is mine"). I have not noted negation with a preceding *ma-* (and see 3.3.5.1 below).

***lāzim* + imperfect:** used to express obligation ("should", "must"). As the following examples show, *lāzim* is not inflected for number or gender: *ma-kān'iš yfakkir innu lwalad lāzim yit'allam, ilbin't lāzim tit'allam* ("he didn't think that the boy should study or that the girl should study"); *zayy mā sawwu bi-ḍḍaffe kānu lāzim ysawwu židār hōna* ("like they did in the [West] Bank, they should have made a wall here"); *innās lāzim itṣalli b-ḥurrītha* ("people should pray freely").

Many pseudo-verbs are formed by a preposition and a pronominal suffix; these have mostly been treated in 3.6 above. In short: *fī* and *bī* (see 3.6.3) are used for denoting existence ("there is"), while their negated forms – (*ma-*)*fīšš* and *bīšš* – show their verbal character; *‘ind/‘and* (3.6.2) and *li/il* (3.6.7) take a pronominal suffix in order to express possession. One should also note *ba‘d*, which together with a pronominal suffix means "still, yet": *ṣaḥḥ innha ‘āyša ^Hkan^H, bi-Ġisir, bass ba‘dha miš fāhme lluġa* ("it's true that she lives here, in Ġisir, but she still doesn't understand the language"); *ba‘dni ma-štagalt’š* ("I wasn't working yet"). The last example shows the verbal nature of this pseudo-verb, in that it takes a pronominal suffix as a direct object, *-ni*, similarly to verbs.⁸²

3.3.4. Mood: the *b*-imperfect

A comprehensive consideration of modality is beyond the scope of this study. In this section I focus on the possible use of the prefix *b-* with the imperfect.

As in other dialects in the area (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:175), the *b*-imperfect can be used for the indicative mood (e.g. durative, habitual, or progressive). For example: *šū bigūlu ‘andīna, ittaġribe akbar burhān* ("what do we say? Experience is the best proof"); *amma ana barbuṭ’š issiyāse la-lḥayā, ilmawġūde bi-lbalad* ("but I don't connect politics with the life in the village"); *illi yrūḥ yṣalli bakrahūš, baḥtirmu* ("He who goes to pray – I don't hate him, I respect him"); *baḥki li-likbār* ("I'm talking about the elderly").

⁸² Brustad (2000:155) notes that *ba‘d* is "less verbal" than other pseudo-verbs because it cannot be negated. I too have not noted negated examples of *ba‘d*.

In the 1st p. pl. the *b-* prefix can be assimilated to *m-* because of the following *n* (all examples from Ğamīla Ğurbān): *yōmha bi-l'iyām*⁸³ *iššēf, rṛūh* 'a-kubbaniyyāt 'ind ilyahūd, *miṅṅīb laḥ^am miṅṅīb ḡāč*⁸⁴ ("back then in the summer days, we would go to the shops of the Jews, we would bring meat, we would bring chicken"); *ḡōzi, marrāt ma-yi'rifnāš. minṛūh_ 'alē* 'a-Pardes *Ḥanna, miṅgullu...* ("my husband, sometimes he doesn't recognize us. We go to him to Pardes Hana, we tell him...").

However, the use of the *b-*imperfect for the indicative is not very common in the speech of most of the recorded speakers (except for Ğād Šihāb). In fact the indicative is often expressed without the *b-* prefix and speakers also happen to combine both forms, as the following examples show: *bi-l'iyām hāy binaššfūha. la-l'iyām hāy ynaššfūha* ("In those days they would dry it [the Mulukhiya]. In those days they would dry it"); *w kunt ya'ni barbaḥ mašāri mniḥa. kunt arbaḥ mašāri mniḥa mniḥa* ("and I used to make good money. I used to make very good money"). In the following example, the speaker tells how people used to grow chickens in their homes. Notice the use of *biḍbaḥ* ("he slaughters") and then *yōkil* ("he eats"): *ya'ni kān ilwāḥad minhum maṭalan birabbi ḡāḡ, 'indu bi-lbēt. biddu ḡāḡe, biḍbaḥ, w yōkil* ("one of them, for example, used to grow chickens at his home. When he wants a chicken, he slaughters and eats").

The above examples show that the use of the *b-*imperfect for the indicative mood is not very stable. Indeed, there are many occurrences in the

⁸³ Note that this construction is doubly determined, by both annexation and a definite article.

⁸⁴ *ḡāč* is a pausal form (see 3.1.3).

corpus of imperfect verbs without *b-* that carry the indicative sense. Some examples: *kunna nrūḥ ḥngīb ilḥmayye ʿa-rūsna* ("we used to go and bring water on our heads"); *ni^arfš, ma-nigrāš* ("we don't know, we don't read"); *ḥnrūḥ w niḡi ʿindhūm yiḡu ʿindna* ("we go and come to them and they come to us"); *kēf ḥngūl iḥna?* ("how do we say?"); *ilwāḥad yuḥbux iḥḥabxe ʿala nnār, yōkil hū w wlādu yitʿašša* ("one cooks the meal on the fire, eats with his children, has dinner"); *ilyōm ana w iyyāk nitxarraḥ hēna* ("today you and I are talking here").

I have also noted a few instances of the *b*-imperfect that do not appear to carry an indicative mood. Rather, in these cases the *b*-imperfect seems to have a future or modal future mood, in the terminology of (Brustad 2000:250).⁸⁵ In the following example the word *bafarḡik* ("I will show you") appears in the apodosis of a conditional sentence: *amma in šārat ḥhizdamnūt^H tānye, w haddēt⁸⁶ inta hōn, bafarḡik iyyāha* ("but if there is another chance, and you come back here, I will show it to you"). In the next example, the speaker describes how he thought that he would want to educate his children in case he gets married, because this "will be better" (*bikūn aḥsan*): *ana fakkar^t gult bukra ana batḡawwaz, ilulād bidḍi aʿallimhum. bikūn aḥsan, fī taʿlīm...* ("I thought, I said [to myself]: tomorrow I may get married, I want to educate the children. It will be better, there's education..."). The next speaker made the following promise after telling that his father died when he was little: *w*

⁸⁵ Brustad discusses the meanings of the prefix *b-* in Syrian Arabic, and provides examples for a future or modal future meaning, some of which are quite similar to the ones in my data.

⁸⁶ According to the context the word *haddēt* should mean "to return, come back", but its etymology is not clear.

*bagullak bi-ʿēš? bakullak bi-ʿēš. lāḥik.*⁸⁷ ("and shall I tell you what [did he die] of? I'll tell you what [he died] of. Later"). Finally, note also the following example, where a non-*b*-imperfect might have been expected: *w kamān miš min ḥaggi ana bas'al su'alāt hāy* ("and it's not my right to ask such questions").

3.3.5. Negation

The basic particles of negation are *mā ... -š*, *miš*, and *lā*. In describing their functions, I will follow Brustad's categorization into three strategies of negation: verbal, predicate, and categorical (Brustad 2000:281-283).

3.3.5.1. Verbal negation

Verbs are most commonly (about 75% of the examples in my data) negated with *mā ... -š* (the *mā* is then shortened to *ma*; see 3.2.10 above). Here are some examples: *ma-yḥibbūš ba'ḏ* ("they don't like each other"); *ana ma-šuftūš* ("I didn't see him"); *ma-kān'š ilu ya'ni, mašāri aw iši* ("he didn't have money or something [of the sort]"); *ma-ḥabbēthāš* ("I didn't like it").

Occasionally, the *ma-* is omitted: *y'izzūš 'alēna lḥayye* ("they don't withhold water from us"). This seems to happen more often when the verb comes in the *b*-imperfect, especially in the speech of Ġād Šihāb: *bi-ṭūš mažāl li-lḥayā* ("they don't give space to live"); *amma ana barbuṭ'š issiyāse, la-lḥayā, ilmawḡūde bi-lbalad* ("but I don't connect politics with the life in the village");

⁸⁷ Notice the shift $q > k$ (usually $q > g$) in *bakullak* and in *lāḥik*; the latter may be a pausal form (see 1.7 above).

amma ana bakrah'iš illi yṛūḥ yṣalli ("but I don't hate those who go and pray");
ana baḥčiš 'ala nafsi ("I don't talk about myself").

Finally, there are a few examples of verbal negation with *mā* but without *-š*: *mā ištara* ("he didn't buy"); *iḥna mā niḡdar ngūl innu humma ḡḡirān illi sabbabūlna lmašākil hāy* ("we can't say that these are the neighbors that brought these troubles upon us"); *ana xtirtak minšān tsawwi iši la-lbalad, mā xtirtak minšān 'tnām, w tinbaṣiṭ* ("I elected you so that you do something for the village, I didn't elect you so that you sleep and have fun").

As noted above (3.3.3.4), pseudo-verbs are negated as verbs due to their verbal nature. Thus, *bidd* + pronominal suffix is negated by suffixing *-š*, for example: *biddhummiš yit'allamu* ("they don't want to study"); *min illi biddhāš tigbal bik?* ("who wouldn't want to have you [as a husband]?"); *fawḡa iḥna, biddnāš iyyāha* ("anarchy – we don't want it"). I have not noted examples of *bidd* negated with *mā*.

As for the existential markers *fī* and *bī*, they can be negated with or without *mā*, but in any case we find the suffix *-š*; see the examples in 3.2.6.1 above. Note that some differences in tendencies emerge among the speakers. While ḡamīla ḡurbān never uses *mā* in this construction, and 'Ali ḡurbān and Maḥmūd Rašwān do so only rarely, with ḡād Šihāb it seems to be the preferred form.

Apart from the regular usage of the existential markers, I noted one interesting usage of *bišš* ("there isn't") with the perfect verb *kān*, produced by ḡamīla ḡurbān: *bišš kān 'andīna maraḡ kaṭīr, awwal* ("we didn't have a lot of sickness in the old days"). This utterance could perhaps be explained with an

underlying sentence like *bišš* ‘*andīna maraḍ kaṭīr*’ (“we don't have a lot of sickness”), in which *kān* was interposed in order to shift the tense to the past.

Another function of verbal negation is the prohibitive. Brustad (2000:294-295) discusses patterns of the prohibitive in the dialects and notes the optional use of *lā* or *mā*. I have only one occurrence of the prohibitive, which uses *ma-... + š*, similarly to Cairene: *ma-tgūl'š la'* (“don't say 'no'”).

3.3.5.2. Predicate negation

The particle *miš* is most commonly used to negate non-verbal predicated sentence constituents such as nouns, adjectives or prepositional phrases. Here are some examples: *ummi miš šalabiyye, samra šwayye* (“my mother is not good-looking, [she's] a bit dark-skinned”); *iṭṭarīg tabaḥḥa miš min hēna* (“its road is not from here”); *ažat ilkahraḇa w lwaḍⁱc miš 'mlīḥ* (“electricity arrived and the situation is [still] not good”); *ana miš mit'ammil inni ašūf il'iši hāḍa* (“I don't hope to see this thing”). As Brustad notes (2000:301), the subject of the negated predicate may be elided: *lā, miš 'adawīni* (“no, [they are] not my enemies”); *miš ḥilwa, šaḥḥ?* (“it's not good/pretty, right?”).

Brustad (2000:302-306) identifies another, marked function of predicate negation, in which particles such as *miš* can negate verbs. In these cases, “[t]he syntactic and semantic scope of the negation must be the entire predicate, and not just the verbal argument”. In other words, *miš* can negate an entire proposition, even a verbal noun. Consider the following example (by Maḥmūd Rašwān), and note how the translation expresses negation of the entire proposition (“it's not that...”): *abūy aḡa la-hēna. miš aḡa šammit hawa.*

aġa minšān yištġil... ("my father came here. **It's not that** he came to stroll about. He came to work..."). In the following utterance, a girl from the Ġurbān explains how the negative image of the village affects the establishment of new relationships: *iši ^Hkašē^H, yaⁿⁱ innak miš tiḥči ma^ʿ insān inta ʿārif ma^ʿu w mutṭalla^ʿ ʿalēk...* ("[it's] a difficult thing, meaning that **it's not the case that** you speak with a person whom you know and who knows you"). Sometimes the negation of the entire proposition is constructed analytically by introducing the proposition with the particle *innu*: *miš innu nitkātāl w nṛūḥ nuḍrub ba^ʿḍ* ("it's not that we fight and go hit each other").

3.3.5.3. Categorical negation

Categorical negation is a kind of "absolute, unqualified negation" (Brustad 2000:306). Brustad identifies three levels of such negation: the verb phrase, a single sentence constituent, and in listing. The verbal kind of categorical negation exists in dialects that use *ma*-... + *š* to negate verbs. These dialects omit the suffix *-š* to express categorical negation. While it is quite productive in Moroccan, its use in Egyptian is limited to some fixed expressions such as *ʿumr... ma* ("never") or *wallāhi* ("by God!") (Brustad 2000:307). The following example from my data (by Ġād Šihāb) confirms this pattern: *ana ʿumri ma-ʿmil't ʿāṭil ma^ʿ insān* ("I never did anything wrong to anyone").

Single constituents may be categorically negated with the particle *wala* (Brustad 2000:309). Consider the following examples in my data: *miš nāgiš bīk wala iši* ("you don't lack anything"); *wala b-ḥayāt[i] smi^ʿtak lahġe waḥde waḥde waḥde* ("I never heard you [speak] just one dialect"); *wala marra z^ʿilna*

min Bēt Ḥanāna wala maṛṛa zʿilna min il^Hkabūš^H wala maṛṛa zʿilna min Kisāryi
 ("we were never angry with Beit Hanania, we were never angry with the
 Kibbutz [Ma'agan Michael], we were never angry with Caesarea"). The
 meaning of "no one" is can be expressed with *wala wāḥad*, next to *ma-ḥada*
 (or *mā ḥada*) and *ma-wāḥad*. I have also noted one occurrence of *lā min*
wāḥad ("not one", "more than one").

Lists are usually negated with *lā... wala...* For example, the following
 speaker stresses that there was no change in the village, no matter which
 political party was ruling: *lā b-zaman ilMaʿarax wala b-zaman ilLikud... yaʿni*
sawwūš wala iši, lā bi-Likud wala bi-lMaʿarax ("Neither in the time of the
 Ma'arach nor in the time of the Likud... they didn't do anything, neither in
 [the time of] the Ma'arach nor in [the time of] the Likud"). The next speaker
 tells how his father passed away naturally, having no kind of sickness: *w yaʿni*
māt yaʿni hēk min aḷla, amma bidūn maraḍ yaʿni, ma-kānⁱš maraḍ ʿindu bilmarra
yaʿni. lā sukkar. lā ^Hlaxaš dam^H wala iši wala wala wala wala wala ("he died like
 so, from God, but without being sick. He wasn't sick at all. Neither diabetes,
 nor blood pressure, nor anything at all").

3.5. Lexicon

The form of address *yā yuṃma* ("my child"), used by Ğamīla Ğurbān, is a
 typical Bedouin form (Rosenhouse 1984:52). The lexical items *xūša* ("knife")
 and *xašūga* ("spoon") were elicited as unique to the village, although they are
 reportedly rarely used nowadays (see 4.4 below).

Chapter 4

Preliminary Classification

Having surveyed the different groups of Palestinian dialects in chapter 2, and described the main linguistic features of Ġisir Arabic in chapter 3, this chapter attempts to situate the dialect of Ġisir izZarga in its linguistic environment. In what follows, I survey some of the important linguistic features and compare them with other dialects in the area.

4.1. Phonology

Perhaps the most salient feature of the Arabic spoken in Ġisir is the pronunciation of old **q* as *g* (3.1.1.3 above). As noted above (2.1), the voiced articulation of old **q* is a notable Bedouin feature. It has several possible voiced realizations in different Bedouin dialects (*g*, *ğ*, *ġ*). However, the shift **q* > *g* is found not only in Bedouin Palestinian dialects, but also in rural ones. This is evident from several dialect maps of Northern Israel: an unpublished map by Behnstedt (2004), a map published in (Behnstedt & Woidich 2005:63), and another map appearing in (Talmon 2002:73). All three maps agree on the pronunciation of *g* in the villages of ‘ēn Māhel and Iksāl.¹ Behnstedt's and Behnstedt & Woidich's maps give Kufir Kanna as *q*,

¹ For Iksāl, see also (Nevo 2006:31).

while Talmon's map gives *g*. Talmon also denies the existence of *g* in Dabburiyye and argues for its existence in the villages of the Zu'biyya group in Yizre'el (e.g. Tamra and Ṭayybe). The latter villages are said to have *g* in Behnstedt & Woidich's map, but *ḵ* in Behnstedt's map. What should be clear from this rather complicated picture is that **q > g* is not limited to Bedouin dialects; it is found in rural dialects which are distinguished from Bedouin ones by other features (c.f. Talmon 2002:71).

How can we explain the existence of *g* in sedentary, rural dialects? According to Palva's classification (see 2.2 above), the rural dialects in South Palestine, and in Transjordan and the Jordan valley exhibit the shift **q > g*. Following Cantineau, Palva explains this feature as the result of a recent (i.e. several centuries old) sedentarization process of an originally Bedouin population who settled in the area after the 16th century. The same kind of process may have taken place with the inhabitants of Ğisir izZarga. Considering the reports of the arrival of Ğisir inhabitants to the area in the 19th century (see Chapter 1 above), it is possible that a process of sedentarization took place before their arrival to the current location. That is, some families may have settled elsewhere several centuries back, before moving to the village.

An important phonological feature is the preservation of the interdental fricatives – *ṭ*, *ḏ*, and *ḏ̣*. This triad has been preserved in the majority of rural and Bedouin dialects in Palestine as well as Transjordan (see

2.1 and 2.2 above).² The same is true for the pronunciation of old *ǧīm as an affricate, ǧ, whereas in the urban dialects it is commonly pronounced as a fricative, ǰ. Note that according to Palva's classification (2.2), ǰ is also the common form in the Galilee. But the rest of the rural Palestinian dialects, and all Bedouin dialects, have ǧ. As has been noted above (3.1.1.1), ǰ occurs frequently (but not exclusively) in the speech of one of my informants, from the Šihāb clan. This could be explained by influence of the old city dialect of Haifa (Geva-Kleinberger 2004:39).

The reflexes of *k* / *č* present a complex picture. The examples in 3.1.1.4 show that both variants occur in the dialect, even by the same speaker and in the same environment (e.g. *čunna~kunna*). Jastrow (2009b) suggests that the shift of *k* > *č* is blocked by back vowels, but examples like *čunna* are still hard to explain. Palva (1984) notes that affrication is conditioned by the contiguity of front vowels in the Bedouin dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-raisers, whereas it "normally is an unconditioned *č* in most rural dialects of Central and South Palestine". Furthermore, in Central and North Transjordan *č* tends to be treated as an independent phoneme.³ Palva explains the reflex of *č* in the rural dialects in Transjordan as an influence by the former Bedouin population in the area, which also spread to Central and South Palestine. The situation in Ġisir – which shows an

² The map in Behnstedt & Woidich's (2005:63) shows a few villages in the Galilee in which the interdental has been shifted to dental stops such as Kufir Yasif and a couple of other villages north of Akko. C.f. (Palva 1984).

³ Palva gives the following minimal pairs *abūč* / *abūk*, "your (sg. m./f.) father" and *čān* / *kān*, "was/if". The first distinction is morphological and also appears in Ġisir (see 3.1.1.4 and 3.2.1.1); the second pair was recorded in an old recording (see Text E in the Appendix).

inconsistent shift of $k > \check{c}$ – is thus similar to Central Palestine (as noted by Jastrow 2009b), but also to South Palestine and North and Central Transjordan.

Quite a few pausal forms have been noted in the corpus, especially in the speech of Ġamīla Ġurbān (3.1.3). The type of pausal forms that were observed is devoicing of voiced consonants. According to (Rosenhouse 2012), "[m]any Bedouin dialects are noted for end-of-utterance pause forms". Pausal forms in Bedouin dialects have been noted for example in (Henkin 2012), (Arnold 2012), and (Nevo 2006:32, fn. 24 and the references therein). But pausal forms are found also in non-Bedouin dialects (e.g. in Damascus, Hoberman 2012), and word-final devoicing also occurs in non-Bedouin dialects, e.g. in Anatolia (Jastrow 2012) or Cairo (Woidich 2012).

Palva (1984) mentions two important features that distinguish between Bedouin and sedentary dialects: the reflexes of $CVCaCV$ - and $-aXC$ - (when X is one of \dot{g} , x , ʕ , h or h). In practically all of the Bedouin dialects of Palestine and Transjordan, these are realized as $CC\acute{c}CV$ and $-aXaC$ - (this is the so-called *Gaháwa* syndrome). In contrast, *all* sedentary (both rural and urban) dialects keep the original sequences of $CVCaCV$ - and $-aXC$ - (see 2.2 above). In this respect, Ġisir izZarga clearly belongs to the sedentary type.⁴

⁴ It's difficult to accept an isolated case of *xawāli* ("my [maternal] uncles") as an instance of the *Gaháwa* syndrome.

4.2. Morphology

Demonstrative pronouns show an interesting phenomenon (see 3.2.2 above): the masculine forms frequently appear with an emphatic *ḏ* (e.g. *hāḏa*; "this" (m.), *haḏāk*, "that (m.)") whereas the feminine forms are always non-emphatic due to the neighboring high vowel *i* (*hāḏi*, "this (f.)"; *haḏič*, "that (f.)") According to Rosenhouse (1984:20), "[a]lmost all Bedouin dialects have in common the feature of emphasisation of the *ḏ* consonant [...] when this consonant is not near a front-high vowel, namely the *i*, which is the f. ending of the word". However, in my data the emphatic pronunciation is not consistent and non-emphatic masculine forms are also found (see 3.2.2 for examples). This resembles the situation in Iksāl (Nevo 2006:45).

The genitive exponent is used rather infrequently (3.3.2). According to Eksell (2013), genitive exponents are most commonly used in urban dialects, followed by rural ones, and least of all in Bedouin dialects; see also Rosenhouse (2012). The predominant form in the village, *tabaʕ*, is common in Greater Syria (Eksell 2013). Interestingly, a young speaker commented that some people in the village say *šiti* ("mine"; see 3.3.2), a claim that other speakers confirmed. The form *šit-* is found in Syria (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:86), for example in Damascus, although there it's mostly replaced by *tabaʕ* (Eksell Harning 1980:50). Etymologically related forms are *šāt-* (Haifa Jews; Geva-Kleinberger 2004:85) and *šēt-*, which is used in the urban dialect of Jerusalem (next to *tabaʕ*; Levin 1995:210) and, rarely, in the village dialect of Bīr Zēt (Blau 1960:49). It is also used by Cleveland's Group IV,

which includes the urban Palestinian dialects (Cleveland 1963), and by elders in Hebron (Seeger 1996:68). Still, it is hard to make any conclusion from the possible use of *šit-* in the dialect.

The preservation of gender distinction in plural verbs and pronouns is another important contrastive feature. It is found in all Bedouin dialects in the area and in most of the rural dialects, except for the Galilee ones. In the Galilee and in the urban dialects, the distinction is lost (see 2.1 and 2.2 above). Notice should also be made of the form *awwala* ("first (f.)"), which was used once by Ğamīla Ğurbān. This form is peculiar to Bedouin dialects (Rosenhouse 1984:26; Rosenhouse 2012), and is also found in Iksāl (Nevo 2006:49). Another typically Bedouin form is the 1 sg. independent personal pronoun, *ani* ("I"), which is used by speakers from different clans in the village (see 3.2.1.1 above). This and similar forms with a front-high vowel (e.g. *āni*) are identified as Bedouin forms (Vicente 2012a), for example in Antiochia (Arnold 2012). *ani* is also found in certain groups of dialects in Sinai (de Jong 2013), both Bedouin (groups II and II in de Jong's classification) and non-Bedouin (group V). It is also reported in the speech of the Samaritans in Holon (Arnold 2004:40).

The verbal system exhibits several useful features for comparison with other dialects. The ending *-um* for 2 and 3 pl. m. perfect and imperfect verbs is used by several speakers, albeit inconsistently (3.2.5.1). Based on my findings and on Jastrow's (2009b), the following distribution emerges:⁵

⁵ A plus sign indicates that *-um* was observed in the dialect, not necessarily that it's obligatory, since many speakers mix forms with and without it.

	Ġurbān	Šihāb	‘Ammāš	Rašwān	Nağğār
<i>-um</i> ending	+	+	+	-	-

The suffix *-um* in 2/3 pl. m. verbs is found in several other dialects. It is known in Cairo, where it is associated with a low social status (Woidich 2012), and in a number of Bedouin dialects (Rosenhouse 2012; Rosenhouse 1984:27), such as the Bedouin dialects in Antiochia (Arnold 2012) and some dialects in Sinai (de Jong 2013) and in North Israel (Rosenhouse 1984:91-92). Similarly to Rosenhouse's findings for North Israel Bedouin dialects, when a pronominal suffix attaches to the verb the *-m* drops (see the examples in 3.2.5.1). However, according to Rosenhouse (1984:133-134), the only North Israel Bedouin dialect that has *-um* in both perfect and imperfect verbs is that of the Sa‘āida (some have *-um* in the perfect but *-am* in the imperfect). Notably, Palva doesn't mention any dialect with an *-um* ending in his classification (see 2.2 above). In sum, the *-um* ending likely points to a Bedouin origin, especially in the case of the Ġurbān and ‘Ammāš. These clans are said to have come from the Jordanian Ghor (see Chapter 1), which is characterized by heavily Bedouinized rural dialects (see 2.2 above). In contrast, the Nağğār clan, which is said to have come from Egypt, does not exhibit it. This interpretation, however, does not explain the use of *-um* in the case of the Šihāb, which is also said to have come from Egypt.

The weak verbs with $C_1 = \text{ʔ}$, corresponding to Old Arabic **akala* ("to eat") and **axaḏa* ("to take"), are worth considering as they often show

variation between different dialects. As noted in 3.2.5.9a, there are two distinct paradigms: one that follows the Old Arabic form (e.g. *akal*, *axaḏ*) and one that models these verbs as $C_3=y$ (*kala*, *xaḏa*). The first system was used by a girl from the ʿAmmāš, while a boy from the ʿAmmāš and Ğamīla Ğurbān used the second system. Some speakers (Maḥmūd Rašwān) mix the two. $C_3=y$ -like forms in the perfect (*kala*, *xaḏa*) are known in many Bedouin dialects, including North Israel ones (Rosenhouse 1984:34, 88). In contrast, imperfect forms that behave like $C_3=y$ (*yōkil*, *yōxuḏ*) – which is the norm in Ğisir – are considered to be sedentary rather than Bedouin, at least in the Eastern dialects (Rosenhouse 1984:35). In fact, these forms are found in the villages of Palestine (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:59). Thus some Ğisir speakers show a mix between Bedouin (perfect *kala*, *xaḏa*) and sedentary (imperfect *yōkil*, *yōxuḏ*) features. Note that alternation between *i/u* (*yōkil/yōxuḏ*) is similar to the situation in Iksāl (Nevo 2006:52), although there the perfect forms are of the Old Arabic type (*akal*, *axaḏ*).

Verbs with $C_2=w/y$ have a unique conjugation (3.2.5.9c). The feminine plural forms for 3rd person perfect and 2nd person imperative have undergone a considerable change from the Old Arabic **qulna* into *gālin* (3 pl. f. perfect) and *gūlin* (2 pl. f. imperative). By adopting the same long-vowelled base as the masculine forms (*gālu(m)* and *gūlu(m)*), the feminine forms achieve a uniform base across the paradigm. Jastrow (2009b) identifies this as a common feature to the dialects of the Carmel Coast – which include Fureidis, Ğisir izZarga, and il-Mifġar (see 2.4 above) – in contrast to the neighboring dialects of the Triangle.

Another point of divergence between Ğisir and the Triangle is found in the conjugation of verbs with $C_3=y$ such as *ħaĉa* ("to talk").⁶ In Ğisir, the feminine plural forms for 3rd person perfect/imperfect (*ħaĉin/yiħĉin*) and 2nd person imperfect/imperative (*tihĉin/iħĉin*) end with the suffix *-in*. According to (Shahin 2012), this is common in Palestinian Arabic, although it is not clear which type of dialect is described there; it is also the case in Salt (Herin 2013). Contrast this with the following Triangle forms for *rama* ("to throw"), which end with a long *ē* (Jastrow 2004): *ramēn/yirmēn* (3 pl. f. perfect/imperfect), *tirmēn/irmēn* (2 pl. f. imperfect/imperative).

The verb *aġa* ("to come") appears with an initial *a* in the 3rd person perfect forms in all of my recordings, whereas in an old recording of a man from the village we have monosyllabic *ġa* ("he came"). Such monosyllabic forms are common in many Bedouin dialects, including in North Israel (Rosenhouse 1984:35, 88).⁷ On the other hand, in many sedentary dialects we find an initial *i* or *a*, at least in the east.⁸ Thus, while there are exceptions to this pattern,⁹ the situation in Ğisir is more of a sedentary nature in this respect; the old recording with Bedouin *ġa* might testify to a diachronic change that took or is taking place.

⁶ Most of my data involve verbs like *ħaĉa* that correspond to Old Arabic **fa'ala*. I have only encountered a few examples for verbs with $C_3=y$ corresponding to Old Arabic **fa'ila/fa'ula* (see 3.2.5.9d).

⁷ In Sinai most dialects have monosyllabic forms, while two groups that have an initial *i* are said to be of a more sedentary character (de Jong 2013).

⁸ See the examples in (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:178); for Jerusalem see (Levin 1995). In the west even sedentary dialects have monosyllabic forms such as *ža*, for example in urban Moroccan (Caubet 2014) and Algiers Arabic (Boucherit 2014).

⁹ Cairene is known for *ġih/ga* (Woidich 2012) and in Omani Arabic, both sedentary (*ga*) and Bedouin (*ya*) are monosyllabic (Holes 2013).

Certain prepositions exhibit features that are useful for comparison with other dialects. *bī* and *fī* are both used to denote existence ("there is"), in addition to their regular locative meaning (see 3.2.6.1). Some speakers prefer *bī* (Ġamīla Ġurbān, a boy from the ʿAmmāš and two girls from the Ġurbān¹⁰), while others prefer *fī* (Ġād Šihāb) or mix between the two forms (ʿAli Ġurbān and Maḥmūd Rašwān). The form *fī* is the common one in sedentary Syro-Palestinian dialects, while *bī* is found in many Bedouin eastern dialects (Rosenhouse 1984:40). The mixed use of both forms is characteristic of some sedentary rural dialects in the area that have Bedouin traits such as Iksāl (Nevo 2006:54), Karak (Palva 2008:60) or Saḷḷ (Palva 2004:232).

Another interesting feature is the insertion of *ī* to resolve consonant clusters in forms such as ʿ*andīna*, ʿ*andīhum* ("by us", "by them (m.)"; 3.2.6.2) or *minnēna* ("from us"; 3.2.6.4). By analogy we have also ʿ*annīk* ("of you (m.)"), *minnīk* ("from you (m.)"), and *minnī* ("from me"). Such forms are more common with Ġurbāni speakers, but in any case the long *ī* is not obligatory, so we have also ʿ*indna*~ʿ*andna*, ʿ*indha*, ʿ*indhūm*; *minhum*. According to Rosenhouse (1984:40-42), forms with a long *ī* are found in some Bedouin dialects, while others have forms without it, as have also sedentary dialects.

To denote "to" we have both forms with and without a prothetic vowel: *lī*, *lak*, *lu* ("to me", "to you", "to him") and *ilkum*, *ilhum* ("to you", "to them"). The latter forms are mainly used by Ġād Šihāb and Maḥmūd Rašwān, and they are said to be typically sedentary (Rosenhouse 1984:40, 109).

¹⁰ Another girl from the Ġurbān used only *fī*, but this may be due to her mother being from the Triangle.

Interrogative pronouns used in the dialect are mainly of the sedentary type (for examples see 3.2.7). Long-vowelled *mīn* ("who?") is typically sedentary, compared to forms derived from short-vowelled *min* in Bedouin dialects (Rosenhouse 1984:43; Palva 2008:61). *šū* and *ēš* ("what") are sedentary Palestinian forms (Palva 2008:59-60), although some Bedouin dialects in the area also use them: for example they are used in North Israel next to other, more Bedouin forms (Rosenhouse 1984:113). I noted one occurrence of *ē* by ʿAli Ğurbān: *yħibb ygullak ē?* ("What did he want to tell you?"); the sentence-final position reminds of the typical Cairene *in situ* position.¹¹ *lēš* ("why") is considered sedentary by Palva (2008:60), although it is also used by Bedouin dialects in the area (e.g. in North Israel; Rosenhouse 1984:113). For "when" I have only one occurrence of *wēnta*, which is common in the Galilee due to Lebanese influence (Nevo 2006:55) and is recognized as a rural form in the north of Israel.¹² For "how" we have forms derived from **kayfa*, as is common in the Syro-Palestinian area (Behnstedt & Woidich 2005:19). The same forms – *čēf*, *kēf*, and *kīf* – are used also in Iksāl (Nevo 2006:55).

Adverbs are an important distinguishing feature among dialects. As noted above (2.2), Palva uses the adverbs "here" and "now" in his classification. The most frequent forms for "here" in my data (3.2.8.1) are

¹¹ Versteegh (2004:246), following (de Jong 2000), notes a similar pattern in a number of Sinai Bedouin dialects: (ʿēš in sentence-initial position, ʿēh in sentence final), and attributes it to Cairene influence.

¹² See (Geva-Kleinberger 2004:84) and the references therein.

hēn(a) and *hōn(a)*.¹³ The former was preferred by Ğamīla Ğurbān, the latter by Ğād Šihāb; other speakers used both forms equally. According to Palva's classification (2.2), *hēn* is used in rural dialects in Central Palestine, while *hōn* is found in urban dialects across the area and in rural dialects of the Galilee and of North and Central Transjordan. According to Rosenhouse (1984:112), *hēn(a)* is used in North Israel Bedouin dialects, alongside *hōn* as a sedentary influence.

The predominant form for "now" is *hassa*.¹⁴ According to Palva's classification (2.2 above), the similar *hassāʿ* is found in Transjordanian rural dialects, as well as the Bedouins of Arabia Petraea and the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearers. Palva (2008:62) adds that *hassaʿ* is also used in the northern part of Central Palestine, and says that it "might be labeled as a rural item, which stands somewhere between sedentary and Bedouin dialects". Rosenhouse (1984:112) gives *hassə* and *hassaʿ* for North Israel Bedouin dialects. Most similar is Iksāl's *hassa/hissa* (Nevo 2006:55).

Another popular adverb is *hēč(a)* or *hēk(a)* ("so", "thus"), which according to Palva (2008:63) is a sedentary feature in contrast to Bedouin *hič*. However, *hēč* is also found in North Israel Bedouin dialects (Rosenhouse 1984:112).

¹³ *hān* was used once by Maḥmūd Rašwān. According to Palva's classification (2.2 above) it is found in rural dialects in Central and South Palestine, and in South Transjordan, and in the Bedouins of Arabia Petraea, the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearers, and the North Arabian Bedouins; Rosenhouse (1984:112) also gives it for Bedouin dialects from the southern part of the Galilee.

¹⁴ I have also noted one occurrence of *issa* by Maḥmūd Rašwān, which is characteristic of the Galilee (see 2.2 above as well as Nevo 2006:55).

For the temporal conjunction "when" (3.2.9.2) we have mostly *lamma* (less common *lamman*), which is a sedentary Palestinian form according to Palva (2008:59). I have also noted a single occurrence of *yōmin* by Ğamīla Ğurbān, which is a Bedouin form (Rosenhouse 1984:44) and is also found in Iksāl (Nevo 2006:55).

4.3. Syntax

An important distinguishing feature is the use of the prefix *b-* with the imperfect to express the indicative mood (see 3.3.4). According to Palva (1984), it is a typical sedentary feature in the Syro-Palestinian area. Furthermore, in the rural dialects of Transjordan the *b-*imperfect is "one of the most prominent evidential criteria of the basically sedentary type of their grammatical structure", which survived despite the Bedouinization of these dialects.

Verbs are commonly negated with the compound negation *mā ... -š* (see 3.3.5.1 above), which is common in Palestine (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:179). Whereas the Bedouin dialects in the area do not use the suffix *-š*, in the urban Palestinian dialects it is optional, while in rural ones the suffix *-š* appears but the prefix *mā-* is frequently omitted (Palva 1984; Palva 2004). In my data there are plenty of examples of omission of *mā-* before the imperfect, similarly to the situation in the Triangle (see 2.3.4 above). On the other hand, omission of the suffix *-š* is rare and occurs mainly in the speech of Ğād Šihāb. While the use of compound negations is typical to

Palestine, it is also found in Central Transjordan, in the dialect of Salt; Palva (2004) considers it an old sedentary feature rather than a recent borrowing from Palestinian dialects. Thus the compound negation in Ġisir could either be a borrowing from contemporary neighboring dialects or an old feature of the dialect.

The pseudo-verb *bidd-* is negated with *-š* but without the prefix *mā-* (see 3.3.5.1); such forms are found in Salt as well as in the Galilee (Palva 2004). The existential markers *bī* and *fī* are negated as *(ma-)bišš* and *(ma-)fišš* (see 3.2.6.1). The suffix *-š* is obligatory while the prefix *mā-* is common with *fišš* but rare with *bišš*. The form *ma-fišš* may be considered a Koine feature (Palva 2004:232), while the form *bišš* is a mix of Bedouin-type *bī* with the *-š* negating suffix which is more common to rural dialects. It may also be considered as an old rural feature of the dialect, similarly to Palva's analysis for Salti *ma biš* (Palva 2004:232). Interestingly, *bišš* has also been recorded in the nearby city of Bāqa lĠarbiyya (Majadly 2012), and *ma bišš* is noted for ʿēn Ḥōḍ in the Galilee.¹⁵

4.4. Lexicon

The words *xūša* ("knife") and *xašūga* ("spoon"), though elicited and not heard in spontaneous speech (see 3.5 above), are mentioned as disappearing traditional terms in Salt (Herin 2013). Rosenhouse (2012) gives *xōša* ("knife") as a typical Bedouin lexeme, and according to (Behnstedt & Woidich

¹⁵ According to the database of the word atlas of Arabic dialects (Behnstedt & Woidich 2011), which was kindly provided to me by the authors.

2011:124, 128) similar forms are typical for the areas of Sinai, Palestine, Jordan, West Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. Among the specific locations mentioned are Nablus, Gaza, Ramallah, Jerusalem (Palestine), ʿAḡārma and Karak (Jordan). Forms such as *xašūga* ("spoon") are dominant according to (Behnstedt & Woidich 2011:131, 133) all over the Arabian Peninsula and are found also in parts of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan (Irbid), and Iraq.

4.5. Conclusion

The above survey shows the predominant rural character of Ġisir Arabic, as well as some notable Bedouin features. This combination is found in other dialects in the area, which are characterized as Bedouinized rural dialects. It is useful to consider Palva's criteria for classification (2.2 above) and examine how Ġisir fits in the picture.

(a) Interdentals	(b) *q	(c) *k	(d) *ḡ	(e) CVCaCV-	(f) -aXC- (X is ḡ, x, ʿ, ḥ or h)
<u>t</u> , <u>d</u> , <u>ḏ</u>	g	k/č	ḡ	CVCaCV-	-aXC-
(g) Gender distinction	(h) Imperfect 3 pl. m.	(i) "here"	(j) "now"	(k) Negation of the imperfect	
distinction	<i>bigūlu(m)</i>	<i>hēn(a)</i> <i>hōn(a)</i>	<i>hassa</i>	<i>(ma-) ... -š</i>	

Features (a) and (b) point to the non-urban nature of the dialect, while features (e) and (f) eliminate most of the Bedouin dialects. Thus we are left with the five groups of rural dialects (see 2.2 above): Galilee, Central

Palestine, South Palestine, North and Central Transjordan, and South Transjordan. Features (d) and (g) distinguish Ğisir from the Galilee as described by Palva, and features (b) and (j) rule out Central Palestine. This is also attested by the abovementioned differences between Ğisir and the Triangle. We are left with South Palestine, South Transjordan, and North and Central Transjordan. All three are quite similar to Ğisir Arabic. However, the South Palestine group lacks the Ğisir form for "now" (*hassa*) while the other two have a similar form (*hassā*). On the other hand, in contrast to the situation in Ğisir, South Transjordan has no affrication of *k* (feature c) and no compound negation (feature k). Thus the most similar group is that of North and Central Transjordan.

The similarity of Ğisir Arabic to North and Central Transjordan agrees with the reported origin of at least some of the inhabitants as coming from the Jordanian Ghor. It also suggests an explanation for the significant Bedouin component in the dialect: it must have been influenced by neighboring Bedouin dialects in Transjordan before the arrival of the people to Palestine. This also explains the points of similarity to Karak and Salt, and may suggest a similar historical process for Iksāl. According to (Nevo 2006:26, f.n. 2), while some of the clans in Iksāl came from Hebron and Samaria, the largest one is believed to have originated in iṭ-Ṭāʿif, then settled in Karak, before dispersing to different places.

The Bedouin component in the dialect sets it apart from other rural Palestinian dialects, such as those of the Triangle. Other points of distinction between Ğisir and the Triangle include the conjugation of weak verbs (both

verbs with $C_2=w/y$ and verbs with $C_3=y$). As mentioned in section 2.4, Jastrow identifies the unique conjugation of $C_2=w/y$ verbs as a defining feature for a group of the dialects of the Carmel Coast: Fureidis, Ġisir izZarga, and il-Mifġar. Significantly, the founders of Fureidis are said to be Bedouins from the Jordanian Ghor (Hareuveni 2010:802).¹⁶ While more details on the dialects of Fureidis and il-Mifġar are needed in order to confirm the uniqueness of the Carmel Coast dialects,¹⁷ it is clear that there are some important differences between these dialects. For example, while all three dialects exhibit $*k > \check{c}$ (to different degrees), they differ with regards to the realization of $*q$: Ġisir has $*q > g$, while Fureidis and il-Mifġar have $*q > k$. Interestingly, the Ġisir combination of $*q > g$ and $*k > \check{c}$ is reported to have existed in the Carmel area more than a century ago, specifically in the dialect of Umm az-Zeinat, a village 20 km south of Haifa that was abandoned during the 1948 war (Geva-Kleinberger 2008). It is thus possible that this was the norm in this group of dialects, before some have lost $*q > g$ in favor of $*q > k$, due to influence from neighboring dialect groups.

¹⁶ The people of il-Mifġar (also pronounced il-Mafġar) are also said to have been Bedouins. See <http://www.matzpen.org/1978-04-10> [accessed December 2013].

¹⁷ For a recorded interview with a member of the Mafġar, see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hks-z6LBM4M> [accessed December 2013].

Chapter 5

Language Attitude and Ideology

This chapter analyzes a metalinguistic discussion between three young girls (henceforth: H, S, R) about language use in Ġisir izZarga in comparison to other dialects. The discussion took place in a public venue – an ice-cream shop – with occasional comments by the older brother of one of the girls (henceforth: A). All speakers are from the Ġurbān clan and their parents are natives of the village, except for speaker S whose mother is from the Triangle. The discussion concentrated on two phonological features: the pronunciation of Old Arabic *q and *k. In Ġisir izZarga, the first of these is commonly shifted to voiced g (see 3.1.1.3 above), while the second is often, but not always, shifted to an affricate č (3.1.1.4).

As examples for pronunciations of *k, the speakers employ *iħči/iħki* ("speak!", "say!"). Asked which dialect they prefer, speaker R said that she prefers her own dialect (*ana baħibb lah^oġti*, "I like my dialect"), which uses *iħči*, rather than the use of *iħki*, adding that it's difficult to say *iħki*. Speaker H agreed that "one is accustomed to [his or her own dialect]" (*ilwāħad mit^cawwid ^calēha*), which makes it easier, but argued that *iħki* is the correct form.

A stronger statement is made by the speakers regarding the pronunciation of *q. For example, according to speaker R the thing she hates

the most is the pronunciation of *q with a glottal stop, as in *ba'ara* ("cow"; Old Arabic **baqara*). Speaker H agreed that a dialect that uses 'āl ("said"; Old Arabic **qāl*) is not pretty (*lahğat il'āl ... miš ħilwa, šahħ?*) and said she does not like this dialect (*ma-ħabbēthāš*). Interestingly, the girls expressed a gender-based preference: it is better that a girl speaks with *q > ' than a guy. For example (speaker R): *illahğe hāy la-bin't aħla min yiğī šābb yiğī ygullak: 'alli w 'ultillu* ("this dialect is nicer for a girl than a guy coming and telling you: 'alli [he told me] and 'ultillu [I told him]"). At this point in the conversation there was some confusion between the two features, as speaker H said that a guy should talk with č (*lāzim iššābb yiħči bi-ččāf*), which reflects the shift of *k > č rather than *q > g. This indicates that both these shifts – which are the norm in the village – are perceived by the girls as better suited for men than for women.

The interaction between the three girls and speaker A portrays some of the attitudes towards the village dialect and other dialects. In particular, A's younger sister, speaker R, criticized his habit of changing his dialect when leaving the village:

inta wēn mā trūħ tğayyir lah^ağtak. wussit Kfar Kasim tiħči zayyhum, wussit Hēfa inta tiħči zayyhum. il..zalame yiṭla', yḏal-lu 'a-lah^ağtu, bass inta kull mā tiṭla' tğayyir lah^ağtak.

"Wherever you go, you change your dialect. In the middle of Kufir Kāsım you speak like they speak, in the middle of Haifa you speak like they speak. When one goes out, one keeps his own dialect. But whenever you go out [of the village], you change your dialect."

She further stressed that A sometimes speaks an urban dialect (*madani*), but other times speaks a *gurāni* dialect. This remark is especially interesting as it contrasts the word *gurāni* (literally: of the Jordanian Ghor) with the word *madani* ("urban"), which means that *gurāni* is used to denote a "rural" dialect. In so doing, Speaker R identified with the *gurāni* speech, which testifies to the origin of the Ğurbān from the Jordanian Ghor.

Speaker A, on his part, explained that he is using "Educated Arabic" (*luġa wuṣṭa*).¹ While speaking, he switched² between dialectal Arabic and Educated Arabic: *ana baḥki luġa wuṣṭa, ana baḥki luġa w ataḥaddaṭ luġa ʿarabiyye wuṣṭa*. Note the first use of *baḥki* – dialectal, though not the Ğisir form which would be *baḥči* – and the subsequent use of literary *ataḥaddaṭ* without the final mood marker *u*, as common in Educated Arabic (Ryding 2013). The girls, on their part, laughed both at the use of non-Ğisir *baḥki* and at the literary *ataḥaddaṭ*.

During the conversation, the speakers explained that the need to change the dialect when speaking with people from other places stems from a negative image of the village and the desire to assimilate in the rest of the society. Speaker R stressed the fact that people from Ğisir are recognized by their usage of *q > g*, which is unique in the area, even though it is also found in several villages in the north of Israel (c.f. the discussion in 4.1).

¹ On the various terms – both Arabic and English – used to refer to this kind of language, see (Ryding 2013).

² As the change of language variety here carries a social meaning, the term "switching" is more appropriate than "mixing", although the two are often used interchangeably or with other connotations (Mejdell 2013; Bassiouney 2009:30).

The above passages reveal some of the attitudes among the younger generation towards the Ġisir dialect, other dialects, and the more literary varieties. Naturally, a more methodological study in language attitudes is needed in order to draw clear conclusions. However, this sort of metalinguistic discussion can serve to delineate some of the topics that may be of interest and shed some light on questions relating to the perception of the Arabic dialects nowadays. For more information on methodology in language attitude studies, see (Walters 2013).

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The Arabic dialect of Ġisir izZarga is a rural dialect with a significant Bedouin component. Its rural character is evident from the phonological (e.g. preservation of the interdental; *ǧīm > ġ; inconsistent *k* > ċ), morphological (gender distinction in plural verbs and pronouns), morphophonological (preservation of the sequences *CVCaCV-* and *-aXC-*, where *X* is *ǧ*, *x*, *ʕ*, *ħ* or *h*), and morphosyntactic features (*b-* prefix for the indicative; (*ma-*) ... *-š* for compound negation). Bedouin, or rather Bedouinized elements are found, for example, in the phonology (**q* > *g*) and in some morphological forms: *awwala* ("first", f.), *ani* ("I"), *-um* ending for 2/3 pl. m. verbs. There are also several Bedouin lexical items such as *yōmin* (conjunction "when") and *yā yumma* ("my child"). Occasionally, we see a mix of sedentary and Bedouin forms in the same paradigm: perfect forms *kala* ("to eat") and *xaḍa* ("to take") are typically Bedouin, while their imperfect counterparts *yōkil* and *yōxuḍ* are typically sedentary. Similarly, we see both Bedouin *bī* and sedentary *fī* for the existential marker.

A comparative analysis of the main features shows a high similarity between the Arabic of Ġisir izZarga and the North and Central Transjordanian dialects (such as Salt), although many points of resemblance to Karak (South Transjordan) were also found, as also attested by the

similarity to Iksāl, some of whose inhabitants came from Karak. Similarly to those dialects, the basic rural character of the dialect, along with the many Bedouin traits, suggests an originally rural dialect that has gone through a process of Bedouinization. This process must have taken place before the arrival of the people at the village in the 19th century.

The above explanation agrees with the reports of the origin of the clans of Ğurbān and ‘Ammāš as coming from the Jordanian Ghor. Other clans (Šihāb and Nağğār) are reported to have come from Egypt, which raises the question of whether they speak a different dialect. Indeed, Jastrow (2009b) identifies two different dialects for the Ğurbān and the Nağğār. The points of divergence are some personal pronouns (*ani/ana*, *hummu/humma*, *hinni/hinna* for Ğurbān/Nağğār, respectively) and the existence of the *-um* ending for plural masculine verbs. However, my data show a more complicated picture. For example, my Ğurbāni speakers use both forms with and without the *-um* suffix (see 3.2.5.1 above) and they are inconsistent with respect to the personal pronouns (see 3.2.1.1 above).

Furthermore, based on the historical reports we would expect a distinction between the dialect of Ğurbān and ‘Ammāš, on the one hand, and that of Šihāb and Nağğār, on the other hand. The data from my Šihābi informant partly agrees with the Nağğār situation in the use of *ana* for 1 sg personal pronoun. However, I have both Ğurbāni *hummu* and Nağğāri *humma*, and have noted multiple occurrences of the *-um* ending. In addition, an informant from the Rašwān used forms typical to both Ğurbān and Nağğār, as have also several young speakers from the ‘Ammāš. The mixed

usage among my ʿAmmāš speakers may be attributed to their young age. This might suggest a leveling process in the village that could also apply to some of the older speakers.

The above complex description indicates that more data, particularly from old ʿAmmāš and Nağğār speakers, are needed in order to determine to what extent we may speak of different dialects inside Ğisir izZarga. Another question that deserves more research is the grouping of Ğisir izZarga with the dialects of Fureidis and il-Mifğar in the dialects of the Carmel Coast (see 2.4 and 4.5 above). While there are obviously morphological features that distinguish these dialects from other groups (especially the Triangle dialects), there are also considerable differences between them, especially in the phonology. Hopefully, the present work provides enough comparative material that will facilitate addressing such questions, once more data regarding the dialects of Fureidis and il-Mifğar become available. It thus lays the ground for more research regarding the language and history of villages such as Ğisir izZarga.

Appendix

Sample Texts

A. *ilyōm ġēr* ‘an awwal / Ġamīla Ġurbān

1. *min awwal kānu* ‘āyšīn ya‘ni ‘ēše mliħa. *min awwan*¹ kān kull ši rxīs. *bišš išī ġala* ya‘ni. *kunna nrabbi lulād*,² *ma nħiss*³ čēf ‘nrabbihum. *ħalīb ‘rxīs*, *kull ši rxīs*, *il’ak’l rxīs*, *kunna*, *w rabbanāhum* ‘a-dēna.³

2. *šū kunna ni‘mil biħum bi-lħimmām?* *bagat lana* ‘ēn ‘ala šaṭṭ ilbaħ^{ar}, ‘ēn ‘a-šaṭṭ ilbaħ^{ar}, *biħa maṣye ħilwa*. *kunna nrūħ* ‘nġīb ilmaṣye ‘a-rūsna, *min ilbaħ^{ar}*, *la-hēna*.

3. *lamma*⁴ *yikbar ilbaħ^{ar}* *w timlaħ* il‘ēn, *bī nab*^{ac} ‘ala ġamb ilġabal, ‘a-ġamb ilġabal *wēn*^H *ħarakēvet*^H. *nrūħ* ‘nġīb *min hināk* *la-hēna* *maṣye*, *minšān nisgi lulād* *w niṭ’amīhum*,⁵ *niġli šāy(?)* *ni‘mil ak’l*. *w bī nah’r māliħ*, *nġīb minnu minšān nuštuf idḍār* *w nimsaħ*. *w kunna* ‘āyšīn ‘lulād *kunna nħammimhum* *bi-l’usbū* ‘marra *w* ‘āšu. *šāru mliħīn*.

4. *ma kunnāš* ‘nħiss *innu wāħad* ‘iyyān.⁶ *ya‘ni mariḍ*. *bišš kān* ‘andīna⁷ *maradḍ kaṭīr*, *awwal*.⁸ *ya‘ni* *kull sintē*... *kull tlat*⁹ *arba* ‘snīn *ta-ymūt wāħad*. *ma-kunnāš* ‘nħiss *innu wāħad* *haḍāk* ‘iyyān, *haḍāk* ‘iyyān, *haḍāk*... *zayy ilyōm*. *ilyōm kullu yā yumma*,¹⁰ *kullu mašākil* *w kullu* ‘iyyān, *ilkull ti‘bān* *bi-hāy ilħayā*.

5. *w kānat ilħayā* ya‘ni *mliħa*. *kunna iħna* *w ġġirān*¹¹ ‘mlāħ. *min ilkabbūs* *la-Bēt Ĥanāna* *la-Kisāryi*, *mlāħ*. ‘nrūħ ‘a-ba^{ca}ḍ niġi ‘a-ba^{ca}ḍ.

6. *w kunna ništġil* ‘indhūm. *w yintūna* *min illi* ‘andihūm *ya‘ni* *min xudra*¹², *yintūna*. ā, *minšān lulād*. *w kunna mlāħ*, *w rabbanāhum* ya‘ni *b-ħāle mliħa*, *bass ilħāle l’awwala*¹³ *šū* [...] *agullak mliħa?* *kānat innās* ‘tħubb *ba’ḍha*. *ya‘ni* *il^Hmišpaxā^H* *kullha tibga tħubb* *ba’ḍha*. *yōxḍum* *min ba’ḍhum*, *yōklum* *min ba’ḍhum*.¹⁴ *ilyōm la’*. *ilyōm kull wāħad* *yis’allak yā nifsi*, *ya‘ni* *kull wāħad* *yibġa(?)* *ħālu* ya‘ni. *yidḍāyagum*¹⁵ *min ba’ḍ* *ilyōm* *ma-yħibbūš* *ba’ḍ*. *yħibbum mašākil*. *w ilyōm ġēr ġēr* ‘an awwal.

¹ *min awwan*, *min awwal*, used exchangeably for "in the past".

² *l + wlād* > *lulād*, "the children".

³ **a + idēn + na* > ‘a-dēna, "with our own hands".

⁴ *lamma* – the *l* is palatalized towards *yamma*.

⁵ Here in form I, *niṭ’am*, "we feed", although later we have form II *nṭa’im* with the same meaning. Notice the insertion of a long *ī* (c.f. 3.3.6.2).

⁶ Here *ayy* > *iyy* (see 3.1.2.1).

⁷ For such long forms see 3.3.6.2.

⁸ For this negation see 3.4.5.1.

⁹ Here *t* > *t*, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).

¹⁰ See 3.5 for this Bedouin form.

¹¹ Here the definite article is assimilated to a following *ġ* (see 3.1.4).

¹² Here *ḍ* > *d*, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).

¹³ See 3.3.4.2 for this Bedouin form.

¹⁴ For the *-um* ending, see 3.3.5.1; for *C₁ = ’* verbs, see 3.3.5.9a.

¹⁵ <*yitḍāyagum*.

7. *ilḥalīb hāḍa*¹⁶ *lḥalīb, kān bagar ilḡamūs, li-‘ēltēn kānum, gānīn*¹⁷ *‘ēltēn, bagar ilḡamūs. yībgu yihūlbu*¹⁸ *lḥalīb, nṛūḥ*¹⁹ *‘nḡīb min ‘indhum ḥalīb. čunna nṛūḥ*¹⁹ *‘nḡīb min ‘andihum ilḥalīb.*¹⁹ *nḡīb illaban. yxuddum*²⁰ *bi-ttanak ilḥāmiḍ, yi‘milu ḥāmiḍ. w nṭa‘im ilulād.*
8. *rabbēna lulād ya‘ni tarbāye mliḥa w ṭil‘um tarbayithum mliḥa. ā. w illi t‘allam, ṭṣawwir awwan iši hāḍa limḥāmi bni waddētu ‘ala Itānya.*²¹ *hāḍa t‘allam ḡām‘it Hēfa. wāḥad*²² *t‘allam ḡām‘it Tal Abīb. bat‘allamu.*²² *ibni wāḥad [...] yit‘allam*²³ *‘mexašē.*²³ *karhabḡi.*²³ *w wāḥad*²⁴ *‘mexašē,*²⁴ *wāḥad*²⁴ *‘mḥāmi, wāḥad*²⁴ *m‘allim madrase. bass itnēn ṭil‘u ‘andiya biddhummiš*²⁴ *biddhummiš yit‘allamu. biddhum yḍallu hēč, za‘imīn b-ḥālhum.*
9. *w ḍallēna iḥna w ḡḡirān mlāḥ. wala marra z‘ilna min Bēt Ḥanāna wala marra z‘ilna min il^Hkabūš^H wala marra z‘ilna min Kisāryi, nṛūḥ*²⁵ *‘nfūt ‘a-dūr ‘indhum. w šūfna nlaggīt xudra b-hāy il^Hyyām, ‘nlaggīt xudra w niṭla,*²⁵ *ma-yiḥčūš ma‘na. kunna mlāḥ mlāḥ mlāḥ ḡaddan ma‘ bēn ba‘ḍna.*²⁵
10. *w ṭarīḡ baladna hāy ilbalad, iṭṭarīḡ tabaḥḥa miš min hēna. la? kānat ṭarīḡha bi-ḡisir iṭṭawaḥīn ygulūlu. ygūl hināk bi birčit ittimsāḥ. w bi ygulūlha iddibdabiyya.*
11. *niṭla‘ min hēna, nṛūḥ*²⁶ *‘ala*²⁶ *Hēfa, ‘a-zZammarīn, ‘al-Fradīs, hadič*²⁷ *hass(a) lamman aḡat il... Bēt Ḥanāna, saknat hēna, fataḥat iṭṭarīk*²⁸ *fataḥum iṭṭarīḡ lēna w lēhum. šār šāri‘ rasmi lēna w lēhum.*
12. *bagēna zayy hēča. w nlaggīt ilxubbēze, nuṭṭux w nōkil.*
13. *ilbaḥ^r, xwāni kullhum baḥriyye ‘a-lbaḥ^r. yṣayydum issamač, nṛūḥ*²⁹ *‘nḡīb samač. nišwi, niḡli, nōkil. [...] ‘āyše nās ya‘ni b-xēr w mliḥa. w ṭhubb ba‘ḍha. w ma-kānīš maraḍ, ma-kānīš maraḍ, dār Isra‘īn kullha ntašrat biha marat.*²⁹
14. *ya‘ni ib’n sittīn sine yšīr*³⁰ *‘naxē^H, ib’n sab‘īn sine yšīr*³⁰ *‘naxē^H. bi ‘indu [...] ḥāle nafsīyye, ma-yitḍakkarīš ibnu wala yitḍakkar bintu.*

¹⁶ Here the demonstrative is not emphaticized, while later it appears as *hāḍa* (see 3.2.2).

¹⁷ This appears to be a plural active participle of *gana*, "to keep (domesticated animals)", c.f. (Badawi & Hinds 1986: root *q-n-y*).

¹⁸ For this stress pattern, see 3.1.6.

¹⁹ The final *b* is a bit glottalized, possibly as a pausal form or just a slip of the tongue.

²⁰ De-emphaticized from CA *x-d-ḍ* (to shake).

²¹ Notice *l > n*.

²² This form is ungrammatical, but should mean "they studied".

²³ Metathesis from *kahrabḡi* ("electrician").

²⁴ Notice the geminated *m* (see 3.2.10).

²⁵ The emphatic *ḍ* here is quite weak. As for the form *ma‘ bēn ba‘ḍna*, it is likely a contamination of *ma‘ ba‘ḍna* and *bēn ba‘ḍna*.

²⁶ The *r* in *rāḥ* has an emphatic allophone.

²⁷ Here *ḍ > d*, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).

²⁸ *ṭarīḡ > ṭarīk#*, "road", in pause (see 3.1.3).

²⁹ *maraḍ > marat#*, "illness", in pause (see 3.1.3).

15. [...] *ḡōzi, marrāt ma-yiʿrifnāš. minṛūḥ_ʿalē ʿa-Pardes Ḥanna, mingullu mīn hāḍa ibnak, ygūl hēč, hāy bintak, ygūl hēč. agullu mīn ani? ygūl inti uḡḡi.³⁰ ani martu w ygulli inti uḡḡi. kaʿinnu ḍāyʿa zzākira ʿindu, iza ma-ragzʿš,³¹ maʿāna.*
16. *kullu hāḍa min il ilwakʿt hāḍa illi xašš yaʿni bi-lʿiyyām hāy hī tḡayyarat ilʿālam kullha tḡayyarat marra waḥda. tḡayyar, yā yuḡḡa, ktīr³² tḡayyarat innās.*

³⁰ *uḡḡi*, "my mother", pronounced with some labialization, *uḡḡiʷ*, which is a Bedouin form (see Rosenhouse 1984:10).

³¹ < *rakzʿš*, with *k* voiced because of *z*, and here in form I instead of form II.

³² Here *t* > *t*, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).

A. Nowadays it's different than before / Ğamīla Ğurbān

1. In the past [people] used to have a good life. In the past everything was cheap. Nothing was expensive. We would bring up our children without feeling what it takes to bring them up. Cheap milk, cheap everything, cheap food. And we brought them up with our own hands.
2. How did we use to give them a bath? We had a water spring on the sea shore which had clean water in it. We used to go and bring water on our heads, from the sea to here.
3. When the sea would rise and the spring would become salty – there's a water source near the mountain, near the mountain where the train is. We used to go and bring water from there to here in order to give our children water, feed them, boil tea, and prepare food. There's also a salty river, we [used to] bring [water] from it in order to wash and clean the house. And we used to live [well] – we used to bathe the children once a week and they lived [well]. They became good.
4. We didn't use to feel that someone is ill or sick. We didn't have a lot of sickness in the past. Every two... every three or four years would die someone. We didn't use to feel that that one is ill or that one is ill or that one... Like nowadays. Nowadays, my child, everyone has problems, everyone is ill, everyone gets sick in this life.
5. Life used to be good. We had good relations with our neighbours. With the Kibbutz [Ma'agan Michael], Beit Hanania, and Caesarea – good. We would come and go to one another.
6. We would work for them, and they would give us from what they had, such as vegetables, they would give us. For the children. We were well, and we brought them up well. But in the past, what [...] do I tell you was well? People used to like each other. The whole family used to like each other. They would marry each other, they would eat from each other. Nowadays – no! Nowadays everyone says "I wish", everyone wants(?) their own. They become annoyed with one another, they don't like each other. They like trouble. Nowadays it's very different than before.
7. The milk, this milk – there were buffalos, two families were keeping buffalos. They would milk milk, we would go and bring milk from them.³³ We used to go and bring milk from them [the neighboring Jews], bring yogurt. They would shake the sour [milk] in a can, they would make sour [milk]. And we would let the children eat.

³³ Domesticated buffalos were common in the area from the early Islamic period until the first half of the twentieth century, when the swamps they lived in were dried. They are famous for the taste of their milk. On the history of buffalos in the area see (Amar & Serri 2005).

8. We brought up the children well and they turned out well brought up. Ah. Some studied... Imagine, this lawyer, my son, I sent him to Italy. This one studied at Haifa University. One of them studied at Tel Aviv University. They studied. One of my sons studies comput[ers]... electrician. One [studies] computers, one is a lawyer, one is a school teacher. I had only two who didn't want, didn't want to study. They want to stay like this, responsible for themselves.

9. We and the neighbors remained on good terms. We were never angry with Beit Hanania, we were never angry with the Kibbutz [Ma'agan Michael], we were never angry with Caesarea. We [used to] go and enter their houses. And look, we [used to] collect vegetables in those days, we [used to] collect vegetables and leave. They wouldn't reproach us. We were very good to one another.

10. The road of our village, this village, its road was not passing through here. No. Its road was in the bridge of the mills, as it is called. Over there there is what they call the crocodile pond. And some call it idDibdabiyya.

11. We used to go from here, go to Haifa, to Zammarin [Zikhron Ya'akov], to Fureidis, and so on. Now, when Beit Hanania came and settled here, they opened the road. They opened the road for us and for them. It became an official way for us and for them.

12. We remained like this. We would collect mallow, cook, and eat.

13. The sea, my brothers are all seamen at the sea. They catch fish, we go and bring fish. We grill, we roast, and we eat. [...] The people used to live well and on good terms, and like each other. There was no illness, there was no illness. In all of Israel illness is spread all over.

14. A 60 year old becomes a cripple, a 70 year old becomes a cripple. One has a mental situation, does not remember his son or his daughter.

15. [...] My husband, sometimes he wouldn't recognize us. We would go to him to Pardes Hana and ask him: "who is this, your son?" He would say so and so. "This is your daughter", he would say so and so. I ask him: "who am I?" He says: "you're my mother". I'm his wife and he tells me: "you're my mother". It's like his memory is gone, when he does not concentrate, with us.

16. All this is since the time that entered... I mean, these days the people changed, all the people changed at once. It changed, my child, the people changed a lot.

B. *mīn illi biddhāš tigbal bīk?* / Maḥmūd Rašwān

1. *abūy miš min mawalid hōn.*³⁴ *ummi min mawalid hōn.*
2. *min maš'ir. min maš'ir. ummi min hān, min ilbalad hēna, w hēna xawāli*³⁵ *w ah^alha. min sint il. tamanmiyye*³⁶ *w... garīb il'alf w tis'amiyye, gab'l alf w tis'amiyye. ilha axwān w xawāt w 'ēlithum.*
3. *abūy aḡa la-hēna. miš aḡa šammit hawa.*³⁷ *aḡa minšān yištḡil w kān yit'allam gult(?) lak(?) eš(?) kān yit'allam, ^Hhandasa^ṛi mašehu kazē^H [...] maš'ir. hasa ^Hkanir^ṛē lo^H, ma-kān^{iš} ilu ya'ni, mašāri aw iši ma-^ṛrifš hū mā kān lu. ^Hlo histadēr^H, aḡa šuḡⁱl, aḡu nās, min hunāk, w gālu biddhum yigu*³⁸ *la-huna,*³⁹ *Filasṭīn, yištiḡlu.*
4. *šū biddhum yištiḡlu? biddhum.. yḡirru ilmustanka'āt la-nnah^r. min taht il'arḡ*⁴⁰. *bi-l'ibrāni ba^ṛif is'mha w kamān bi-l'arabi aḡūl. ybiššu lmustanka'āt bi-nnah^r.*
5. *hasa abūy kān šway ya'ni yigra w yuktub w kull šī ya'ni bi-blādu, amma miš 'mxa'lliṣ il'āxir. ba'du bi-lhāḡ. w šābb w biddu mašāri w biddu biddu biddu.*
6. *gālu biddna šaḡḡili*⁴¹ *yīḡu hōna yi'malu. kānu mgarrirīn b-hadāk ilwak^t, iši gab'l mit sane, innu ysawwu waṭan qawmi li-lyahūd. 'ārif 'alēyi(?) šū ana aḡūl? tifham hāy illuḡa inta? waṭan qawmi li-lyahūd.*
7. *hasa čēf biddhum biddhum yḡadḡrūlhum ilmaṭraḡ ya'ni? biddhum yḡadḡrūlhum ilmaṭraḡ ya'ni. minšān tiḡi, ba'dēn ^tšīr tizra' w yšīr 'andak šaḡariyye w bandōra w xyār w ...*
8. *aḡa ma'a lḡamā'a, ma'a l'inglīz ya'ni, b-hadāk ilwak^t. ḡaṭṭ bi-lmaṭraḡ hāy, ḡaṭṭūhum. yḡadḡru bi-l'arḡ, bi-l'arḡ illi hōna. w lmaṭraḡ bafarḡik iyyāh. hū hōna mawḡūde, w hunāka*⁴²... *hāḡa lḡaki illi bagullak 'alē kān yimkin b-sint il'isrīn. 'ala mūḡab ittagḡir.*⁴³ *la'innu axūy ib'n ittālāta w 'isrīn, ib'n(?) mawalid ṭalāta w 'isrīn. ma'nātu kān abūya māxiḡ*⁴⁴ *ummi gab'l 'isrīn, bi-l'isrīn.*

³⁴ Later we have also *hān* and the more typical *hēna*. See 3.3.8.1.

³⁵ Notice the first vowel *a* in *xawāli*, which seems to follow the pattern of the *Gahāwa* syndrome, although it is an isolated case (see 4.1).

³⁶ Here *t* > *t*, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).

³⁷ For this type of predicate negation, see 3.4.5.2.

³⁸ Notice the use of Egyptian *ḡ* > *g*, probably because quoting people from Egypt.

³⁹ Literary form.

⁴⁰ The final *ḡ* is slightly devoiced towards *t*, possibly as a pausal form (see 3.1.3).

⁴¹ Here the feminine ending is strongly raised towards *i* (see 3.1.2.2).

⁴² Literary form.

⁴³ Notice the literary expression.

⁴⁴ For *C₁ = ' verbs*, see 3.3.5.9a.

9. axūy likbīr, ihna... ġābat ummi... čēf axadha abūy? aġa hēna yištaġil, min hađđum⁴⁵ ilġamā'a illi yištiġlu wiyyāhum, muhandisīn w ġēr w ġarātu. ba'rif il'asāmi la-lyōm ba'adna nđākir⁴⁶ il'asāmi. [...] ana 'irifthum ba'dēn, iltagēt 'alēhum ba'd rubbama⁴⁷ hū tlatīn w arba'in sine iltagēt 'ala lġamā'a, illi kānu yi'rfu abūya.
10. abūy 'ād... kān hōn. šār yōxuđ 'ummāl min hōn, xadū,⁴⁸ yi'rif yiħki 'arabi, yi'rif yuktub, yi'rif... šaġli šaġli w kullu biddu yištaġil, ma-fišš mašāri. šāru yištaġlu hōna.
11. min hađđumun⁴⁹ xawāli, axwān ummi ya'ni, tnēn. 'Ali w Isma'il is'mhum. hēna bi-bēthum la-hēna la-fōq.⁵⁰ 'Ali w Isma'in,⁵¹ xawāli.
12. ilmuhim, aġa yōm sab't, zayy hēk. šār(?) dāxil sab't. is'm abūy Ḥasan. galūlu, Ḥasan, inta tištaġil hōna w nātir w... ya'ni kān māsik il... šuġ^ul. ^Hšomēr^H uxra, naṭūr. yištaġil mas'ul w naṭūr, kull iššaġlāt. hū la-ħālu min hunāk.
13. ta'al 'andina⁵² điyāfe. mi'ł mā inta gāyil. ahlan w sahlān, ahlan w sahlān, ahlan w sahlān.
14. šū bididi... galūlu ta'al 'andina bukra bi-ssab't 'aṭāla. bukra ma-ništiġlīš. hū kān mašġul fi yōm il'aħad b-waktha.
15. ba'du miš dōlit Isra'il. [laughs] il'inglīz ya'ni. kān bass yōm il'aħad. ya'ni yōm issab't, yudxul 'alēhum il'aħad. ta'al, yōm il'aħad 'andina ziyāra.
16. hummu xawāli šayāde. ya'ni yi'rfu yšidu samak. šabake. w yiṭla'u bi-lbaħ'r, bi-nnah'r w bi-lbaħ'r. šaġle... ya'ni 'āyšin 'ala hēč.
17. gāl lēhum baġi. aġi [...] kān lu bhīm, ħmār ya'ni. rikib. w aġa yōm il'aħad. amma humm bi-llēl 'irfu innu biddu yiġ[i] 'indhūm đēf, rāħu 'a-lbaħ'r, masaku samak, innašib.
18. masaku samak, uxthum 'andūhum, illi hī ummi. ti'rif tištiġil hāda ššuġ^ul. ilhum niswān amma... bi 'indhūm kamān ux't, šābbe, w šātre, miš... ya'ni, ti'rif iššuġ^ul. hī miš šalabiyje, amma šātre. xallīni agullak li'annu ana lħigtha ya'ni hāy.
19. sawwūlum ġada, kānu [...] ilzalame maħħum.⁵³ w lamman aġa yrawwiħ, xallik 'indha ya Ḥasan, xallik. gāl xalaš, niġi marra tānye. galūlu ya Ḥasan, w mā rāyak inta tiħči(?) bihum, ^Hhem rotsīm la'avōd^H. biddhum yištiġlu. biddhum ykūnu ma' ilmas'ul, ^Hbsēder^H. galūlu ya Ḥasan, mā rāyak tiġġawwaz w đallak hēna w dašrak min maš'r w ġēr

⁴⁵ Irregular demonstrative, later also appears as *hađđumun*; see 3.3.2.

⁴⁶ Here in form III, "to remember", usually in form II.

⁴⁷ Literary form.

⁴⁸ C₁ = ' perfect verbs are modeled as C₃ = y by some speakers; see 3.3.5.9a.

⁴⁹ Irregular plural demonstrative (see 3.3.2).

⁵⁰ Here q is preserved, normally q > g (see 3.1.1.3).

⁵¹ Notice the alternation between l and n in *Isma'il* and *Isma'in*.

⁵² For such long forms see 3.3.6.2.

⁵³ ' is assimilated to h, resulting in ħħ (see 3.1.4).

mašʿr. inta hēna tōxuḍ šuḡ^ul w tʿiš, inta šāṭir inta. tiʿrif ʿittabbit umūrak. w hēna lwaḍ^ʿc biḡūz agwa min la-ḡād.

20. ḡāl lēhum mīn saʿitt ilḡaḍḍ⁵⁴, illi biddu yiḡbal biya. ^Hhu baxūr tsaīr, lo...^H hēč ḡālat ummi, ana ma-šuftūš. ma-šuftūš ana, lā. ana, hū twaffa gab^l... w ana ibⁿ sintēn.⁵⁵ ana ibⁿ sintēn. w bagullak bi-ʿēš? bakullak⁵⁶ bi-ʿēš. lāḡik.⁵⁷

21. ṭayyib, mliḡ. mīn biddu yiḡbal biya? ḡalūlu šū bik ^Hxasēr^H? mā ^Hxas..^H miš nāḡiṣ bik wala iši. ʿaḡ^l bi, bani adam, šābb w ^Htsaīr^H, w yiʿrif yigra w yuktub w waḍife w mašāri w... mīn lēš biddhāš tiḡbal bik? mīn illi biddhāš tiḡbal bik?

22. ḡāl ana ʿārif? ḡalūlu lā, hāy ʿandīna ux^t. illi hī ummi. ummi miš šalabiyye, samra šwayye. biha dagāk,⁵⁸ tabʿat badawiyyāt w hēk. hī miš badawiyye bass biha umūr(?) zayy... tazwiḡ bingūl iḡna bi-lʿarabiyya w lkalām.

23. snānha miš rākbāt mliḡ. yaʿni mšalbakāt iḡna bingūl ʿanhīn. wāḡid rākib ʿa-ṭṭāni. amma ^Hxaxamā, bli lilmōd bli šum davār^H. tiʿrfš tigrā wala tuktub, amma muxxha šaḡḡāl. w lʿidēn šaḡḡālāt w lḡarake, ā. ḡaḍḍarat ilḡada la-lḡēf wa tḡaddu ilmawḡudīn. bi-lmawḡūd, ʿngūl. bi-lmawḡūd.

24. hassa, saʿalū ya ḡasan, čēf kān imbēriḡ⁵⁹? lamman riḡʿu ʿala ššuḡ^ul, saʿalū ya ḡasan, kiḡ kān iššuḡ^ul ilḡada imbēriḡ w kam? ḡāl sallim diyātha tiʿrif tsawwīlna ak^l w btihči w hēč w hēč. ḡalūlu mabrūk ʿalēk, iza inta biddak iyyāh. biddhum ymaššu lʿbḍāʿa. bḡēt tiḡāra hāy. ḡāl lēhum hallum⁶⁰ biddiyyāh, iza intu biddkum. ḡālu tuskun hēna bi-lbalad, maʿna. xalaš. aḡa abūya ḡāl ā. ittafagu.

⁵⁴ > saʿidit + ilḡaḍḍ.

⁵⁵ Notice this circumstantial clause, which follows the main clause.

⁵⁶ Here $q > k$, normally $q > g$ (3.1.1.3), as in the previous occurrence in the same sentence.

⁵⁷ Here again $q > k$, which may also be a pausal devoicing (see 3.1.3).

⁵⁸ For this pausal form, see 3.1.3.

⁵⁹ Notice the Imāla here, probably as a Koine form.

⁶⁰ From Old Arabic *halumma*, "come here", "bring here".

B. Who wouldn't want to have you? / Maḥmūd Rašwān

1. My father wasn't born here, my mother was born here.
2. From Egypt, from Egypt. My mother is from here, from the village here [Ĝisir izZarga], and my [maternal] uncles and her family are here. Since [1]800... around 1900, before 1900.
She has brothers and sisters and their family.
3. My father came here. It's not that he came to stroll about. He came to work and he used to study – I(?) told(?) you(?) what(?) – a technician or something of that sort [...] Egypt. Now, apparently he didn't have money or anything, I don't know what he had. He wasn't getting along. He came for a job, people came from there [Egypt] and said that they want to come here, to Palestine, to work.
4. What kind of work did they want? They wanted to pull the swamps into the river, from underground. I know how it's called in Hebrew and I'd also say in Arabic. They [wanted to] drain the swamps through the river.
5. Now, my father could read and write a little bit, and so on, in his country [Egypt], but he wasn't completely finished [with his education]. He was still in this [in education stage], a young man, and wanted money and wanted this and that.
6. They [people in Palestine] said: we want workers who would come here to work. At that time, about a hundred years ago, it was decided to establish a national state for the Jews. Do you understand what I'm saying? Do you understand this phrase? A national state for the Jews.
7. Now, how are they going to prepare the place? They're going to prepare the place, so that one would come, and then start planting and having trees, tomatoes, and cucumbers.
8. He came with the guys, that is, the British, at that time. He put in the place... They put them... to prepare the land here. I'll show you the place, it is found here, and there... The story I'm telling you was perhaps in the [19]20s, approximately, because my brother was born in [19]23. This means that my father married my mother before [19]20, in [19]20.
9. My big brother. We... my mother had... how did my father marry her? He came here to work, from those guys who work with them, technicians and others. I know the names to this day, I still remember the names. I got to know them later on, I met them after perhaps thirty-forty years, I met the guys who knew my father.
10. My father was here. They started taking workers from here. They took him, he knew Arabic, he knew how to write, he knew... Many workers and everyone wants to work, there's no money. They started working here.

11. Two of those uncles of mine, my mother's brothers. Their names are 'Ali and Isma'īl. Here in their house, here above. 'Ali and Isma'īl, my uncles.

12. Anyway, Saturday came, like so.⁶¹ Saturday was about to start. My father's name was Ḥasan. They told him: "you'll work here, as a guard". He heldt the job, also as a guard. He was in charge and worked as a guard, everything. He alone, from there.

13. Come and see our hospitality, as they say.⁶² Welcome, welcome, welcome.

14. What did I want [to say]. They told him: "come to us tomorrow, on Saturday, a holiday, we don't work tomorrow". He was in charge on Sunday at that time.

15. The state of Israel didn't exist yet. [laughs] British. It was just Sunday. I mean Saturday, he would come to them on Sunday. [They said:] "Come visit us on Sunday".

16. My uncles are fishermen, they know how to catch fish, in a net. They go out to the sea, to the river and to the sea. They live off of it.

17. He told them: "I'll come" [...] He had an animal, a donkey. He road [the donkey], and came on Sunday. But they knew at night that a guest is supposed to come to them, so they went to the sea, caught fish – that was the fate.

18. They caught fish, their sister – who is my mother – was with them. She knew how to handle this job. They had wives, but they also had a sister, a young woman and clever. She knew the job. She wasn't pretty but she was clever. Let me tell you, because I got it.

19. They made lunch for them, the guy was [...] with them. And when he set out to go home, [they told him:] "stay with her, Ḥasan, stay". He said: "that's enough, I'll come another time". They told him: "Ḥasan, what do you think about talking(?) to them?" They want to work. They want to work, they want to be all right with the man in charge. They told him: "Ḥasan, what do you think about getting married and staying here and forgetting about Egypt and all that? You'll get a job here and make a living. You're clever, you know how to get along, and things here might be better than there".

20. He told them: "who is the lucky one, who would want to have me?" He's a young guy, not... That's what my mother said, I haven't seen him. I haven't seen him, no. He died before... when I was two years old. I was two years old. Shall I tell you how [he died]? I'll tell you how, later on.

21. [He said:] "Well, all right. Who would want to have me?" They told him: "what do you lack? You don't lack anything? Intelligent, a decent person, a young man,

⁶¹ The interview took place on the evening before Saturday, like the events described in the story.

⁶² At this point food and drinks are served to the table.

who knows how to read and write, has a job and money – who wouldn't want to have you? Who wouldn't want to have you?"

22. He said: "I don't know". They told him: "No, here we have a sister", who is my mother. My mother isn't pretty, she's a little dark-skinned. She has small tattoos, of Bedouin women. She's not pretty because she has things(?) like make-up, as we say in Arabic.

23. Her teeth are not well placed, what we call crooked, one on top of the other. But she's smart, without studying or anything. She doesn't know how to read or write, but her brain works, and her hands work and are active. She made lunch for the guest and those present had lunch. With whoever is present, we say, whoever is present.

24. Now, they asked him: "Ḥasan, how was it yesterday?" When they went back to work, they asked him: "Ḥasan, how was work, lunch, yesterday and how much?" He said: "Bless her hands, she knows how to make food for us and talk and this and that". They told him: "congratulations, if you want her". They want to transfer the merchandise. It's a trade. He told them: "Come, I want her, if you like". They said: "you'll live here in the village, with us, it's settled". Then my father said yes. They agreed.

C. *awdā'* ilbalad / Ġād Šihāb

1. *ana ismi Ġād Tawfik iŠhāb. min mawalid ilbalad. ana wlid't bi-lsab'a w arb'in. ya'ni. w 'āyis hōna⁶³ bi-lbalad.*
2. *ana miġġawwiz,⁶⁴ 'andi tis'a wlād, banāti miġġawwzāt. arba' wlā... banāt. w 'indi arba' wlā... xams wlād ya'ni. gi'sm minhum miġġawwiz, itnēn ba'dhum. w 'āyšin, zayy mā 'āyše kull ilbalad ya'ni.*
3. *awdā'⁶⁵ ilbalad hēna sayy'a. wdā' ilbalad miš 'mnīha. ilbalad mindahre 'and iššāri', fišš biha^Hta'asukā^H. fišš biha mašālih šuġ^u, kullhum 'ummāl w kullhum 'ala lbarake.*
4. *il'iyāl ṭab'an fi hōna arba'a xamse 'iyāl. 'elt dār Abu Šhāb, 'Ammāš, Ġurbān. fi Naġġār, fi ṭawāṭha.*
5. *amma iżmālan⁶⁶ ilkull mittafiq ya'ni bi-hal... iħna 'āšitna ḥayātna ḥayā badawiyye. ḥayā, ḥayā mindahre 'an il'ālam. ya'ni lā iħna... lā garibe 'alēna madīne wala iši, ma'a innu liXdēra hī, hī garibe 'alēna ktūr, amma ilḥayā taba'na ḥayā ša'be židdan. ša'be židdan.*
6. *lā... fišš fišš takaddum⁶⁷ bi-lbalad, ma-fišš da'm min ilḥukūma, ma-fišš... iššawāri' miš 'ala mustawa žirānna, Bēt Ḥanāna maṭalan. fūt 'ala Bēt Ḥanāna, hōna kilometer w fūt hōna...*
7. *šūf. 'arīf eš hāy? ka'innu illi yidhar innu hādi issiyāse ḥukumiyya. w iħna ma-niddaxxal'š⁶⁸ bi-ssiyāse. wāḥad biddu ymaḍḍi bāgi 'umru, w ygūl ilḥamdu lillā w hāda hū.*
8. *arāḍi ma-fišš bi-lbalad. fi azmit sakan hōna. azmit sakan kbire.*
9. *ilyōm illi yiġġawwaz biddu ydawwir 'ala dār minšān yistāžir⁶⁹ w yuskun biha. w šuġ^u illi ygatṭi l'ažarāt ma-fišš. ya'ni iza biddu yidfa' alf w xam'smiyye alfēn šekel la-^Hsxirūt^H w hū yōxuḍ⁷⁰ arba'a talāf šekel, yiġdar⁷¹ y'is b-'alfēn šekel? ma-yigdar'š. innu ša'ib ya'ni.*
10. *awdā'na ma'a lġirān hiyya mlīha. iħna mā niġdar⁷² ngūl innu humma ġġirān⁷³ illi sabbabūlna lmašākil hāy, ilmašākil iktišadiyye.⁷⁴*

⁶³ This is this speaker's preferred form for "here" although later we have also *hēna*. See 3.3.8.1 and 4.2.

⁶⁴ <mitġawwiz.

⁶⁵ This speaker occasionally has *ḍ* > *d* (also below *yidhar*, *rāḍi*), but in other cases the interdental is preserved (e.g. *arāḍi*).

⁶⁶ This speaker often has *ž* for old **ġim*; see 3.1.1.1.

⁶⁷ Here *q* > *k*, probably as a substitution in a literary word; normally *q* > *g* (3.1.1.3).

⁶⁸ <*nitdaxxal'š*.

⁶⁹ <*yista'žir*.

⁷⁰ For *C*₁ = ' verbs, see 3.3.5.9a.

⁷¹ Occasionally we have *q* > *ġ* in words derived from the Old Arabic root *q-d-r* (see 3.1.1.3).

⁷² For verbal negation without the suffix -š, see the discussion in 3.4.5.1.

⁷³ Here the definite article is assimilated to a following *ġ* (see 3.1.4).

11. w kamān miš min ḥaggi ana bas'al⁷⁵ su'alāt hāy li'annu ana lā bat'āta bi-ssiyāse wala hāda.⁷⁶ 'āyiš hōna. hāy min ḡibit 'ašara šekel, min ḡibit 'išrīn w min ḡibit xamsīn. 'āyiš w rādi lḥamdu lillā.

12. hāy il'awdā' ya'ni hāy il'awdā' illi mawḡūde hēna bi-lbalad ma-fišš... iši mlīh ma-fišš. lā fi gahwa hōna, lā fi... fi gahwāt wāḥde tintēn, amma miš 'ala mustawa innak iṭrūh tuḡud fiha w ddayyi⁷⁷ waktak. fišš ^Hma'adōn^H 'indna, nādi illi ṭrūh matalan ṭrūh titsalla aw ^Hmaxōn sport^H aw... ma-fišš ilḥayā ḥayā 'ala ṣṣifr hōna.

[...]

13. šūf, il'ām illi fāt kān aḥsan w illi gablu aḥsan w illi gablu aḥsan w min arb'in xamsīn sine⁷⁸ kān aḥsan.

14. min arb'in sane xamsīn sane 'rifna innu ma-fišš kahraba. xalaš, banēna ḥālna innu ma-fišš kahraba. ilwāḥad yuṭḡux iṭṭaḡxe 'ala nnār, yōkil⁷⁹ hū w wlādu yit'ašša. ṡayye ma-kānīš, kān ṡayye 'ala 'ēn ilbaḥ^r. kunna nṛūh⁸⁰ iṅḡib ṡayye bi-dlā aw aw aw... minšān ilwāḥad yithammam [...] yišrab.

15. amma lyōm ažat ilṡayye w lwaḡi' miš i'mlīh. ažat ilkahraba w lwaḡi' miš i'mlīh.

16. [...] bi'tūna 'ašān [...] i'n'ammir. ya'ni wāḥad biddu y'ammir bēt la-wlādku,⁸¹ ma-fišš, hōna l^Hva'adā^H, il^Hva'adā^H zayy mā ygulūha bi-l'ibrāni ^Hratsḥanūt^H. ^Hratsḥanūt^H la-l'āxir.

17. biddak tiṭtaḡ šubbāk, biddak il^Hva'adā^H, biddak ^Hišūr^H. minšān tsawwi ^Hmatsavim^{H82} biddak sab'a talāf, minšān tsawwi xārta biddak 'ašar talāf. w ma-yi'tūš il^Hišurim^H bi-shūle, ^Hhetēr bniyā^H. ma-yi'tūš bi-shūle.

18. iḥna waḡi'na⁸³ hōna min ilnāḥya hādi, mṡawwagīn la-l'āxir. la-l'āxir, ya'ni ^Hsugrim^{H84} la-hōna la-l'āxir.

19. ma-fišš min illi ymidd idu, ywaḡḡihna 'ala ṡṡariḡ illi trayyihna. ma'a kull il'awdā' iṣṣa'be, uxra ^Hmakšim 'alēnu^H, il'awdā' tab'at il^Hva'adā^H.

⁷⁴ Here $q > k$, probably as a substitution in a literary word; normally $q > g$ (3.1.1.3).

⁷⁵ For this construction, see 3.4.4, towards the end.

⁷⁶ Here $d > d$, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).

⁷⁷ $> tḡayyi' > tḡayyi'$.

⁷⁸ We have both *sane* and *sine* ("year").

⁷⁹ For $C_1 = \text{'}$ verbs, see 3.3.5.9a.

⁸⁰ The *r* in *rāḥ* has an emphatic allophone.

⁸¹ Should be *wlādu*, "his kids".

⁸² This Hebrew word literally means "situations", "states". Here it probably refers to a site plan (Hebrew ^Hmapā matsavim^H; notice the phonetic similarity) which is prepared by a surveyor before setting construction plans.

⁸³ Notice that the helping vowel has become a full vowel, as it is stressed (see 3.1.6).

⁸⁴ This is malformed variant of the Hebrew word ^Hsgurim^H, "closed in".

20. bi-ṭūš bi-ṭūš maḏāl li-lḥayā. innās staslamat yaʿni. innās istaslamat la-lwaḏiḥ hāḏa, w
ʿāyšin bi-lwaḏiḥ hāḏa ma-fišš išī mliḥ hōna.

C. The conditions of the village / Ğād Šihāb

1. My name is Ğād Tawfīk iŠhāb, born in the village. I was born in [19]47 and I live here in the village.
2. I'm married with nine children, four daughters and five sons. Some of them are married, two are still not. They live the same way the all village lives.
3. The condition of the village here is bad, the condition of the village is not good. The village is in decline on the street , there's no employment, there are no offices to work. They're all workers and they all depend on chance.
4. As for the families, there are of course 4-5 families: the family of the house of Abu Šhāb, 'Ammāš, Ğurbān, there's Naġġār, and there's Ṭawāṭha.
5. But generally speaking, everybody agrees that... our life is the life of Bedouins, a life in decline in the world. We don't have any close city or anything, although Hadera is very close to us, but our life is very difficult. Very difficult.
6. There's no progress in the village, there's no support from the government, there's no... The streets are not up to the standard of our neighbors', for example Beit Hanania. Visit Beit Hanania, one kilometer from here, and visit here.
7. Look. You know what it is? It seems as if this is a policy of the government. And we don't interfere with politics. One to spend the rest of his life, say 'thank God' and that's it.
8. There are no lands in the village. There's a housing crisis here, a big housing crisis.
9. Nowadays whoever gets married wants to look for an apartment to rent and live in, but there's no job to cover the rent. If one has to pay 1500-2000 Shekel for rent and makes 4000 Shekel, can they live off of 2000 Shekel? They can't. It's difficult.
10. Our relations with the neighbors are good. We can't say that it's the neighbors who brought these problems upon us. These problems are economic.
11. And it's not my right to ask such questions since I don't engage in politics and so on. I live here, off of 10 Shekel, off of 20, off of 50. I live and I'm satisfied, thank God.
12. These are the conditions that are found here in the village – there's nothing good. There's no café here, there's no... There are one or two cafes, but not good enough such that you'll go sit and spend your time there. We have no club where you can go and have a good time for example or a gym. There's nothing, life is worth nothing here.
[...]
13. Look, last year was better and before that it was better and before it that was better, and 40-50 years ago it was better.

14. 40-50 years ago we knew there was not electricity. That's it, we prepared ourselves such that there was no electricity. People would cook food on fire, eat with their children and have dinner. There was no water; there was water in the spring by the sea. We used to go and bring water in buckets to have a bath [...] and drink.
15. Nowadays, water came and things are not good, electricity came and things are not good.
16. They give us [...] to build. If one wants to build a house for his children, there is none. The committee here is, as they say in Hebrew, murderous. Completely murderous.⁸⁵
17. If you want open a window, you need the committee, you need a permit. In order to make a site plan you need 7000 [Shekel], in order to make a map you need 10000 [Shekel]. And they don't give permits easily, a building permit. They don't give [the permits] easily.
18. Our condition here, in this respect, is that we are completely surrounded, completely closed in here.
19. There is no one to give us a hand and show us a way that will give us relief. On top of all the bad conditions, they give us more trouble with the conditions with the committee.
20. They don't give an opportunity to live. The people succumbed. The people succumbed to this situation and they live in this situation, there's nothing good here.

⁸⁵ That is, the committee is extremely harsh and strict.

D. itta^lim / ^lAli Ğurbān

1. w lḥamdu lillā rabb il^lalamīn yaⁿⁱ iḥna yaⁿⁱ min⁸⁶ xliga w ballašna⁸⁷ nṛūḥ⁸⁸ ^la-lmadrase w hēk w hāy ^lt^lallamna bass la-šaff t^lāmin bass. ma-kān^š hōn bi-lbalad yaⁿⁱ ta^lim. bass la-šaff t^lāmin. bass.

2. ana t^lallam^t bass la-šaff t^lāmin, miš ak^ltar yaⁿⁱ. ba^ldēn ruḥ^t ašt^lgil barra fi-l^lmikšō^a⁸⁹ taba^li, liḥdāde yaⁿⁱ liḥdāde. hassa t^lallam^t abu sane hēka bi-lḥdāde. b-Ort. šāyif? w tkaddamna⁹⁰ šwayye bi-liḥdāde w šurna⁹¹ ... masakna ššana^l yaⁿⁱ šurna... šurt yaⁿⁱ ašt^lgil bass liḥdāde hāy. ilḥām, mawasir. [...] nra^lkkib ašyā kt^lir yaⁿⁱ, ša^lglāt zayy hēk. šāyif?

3. w lḥamdu lillā rabb il^lalamīn iḥna yaⁿⁱ šufna lḥayā kēf kānat hēna bi-lbalad. kān galil, itta^lim kān šwayye galil. bi-lfatra hadik kān galil itta^lim. yaⁿⁱ ma-kān^š nās ^lt^lallamu barra bi-ḡām^lāt ma^lalan. šāyif? w hōna w hōn, ma-kanūš.

4. hassa iḥna fatritna hādi gulna yaⁿⁱ kunt afakkir ana bi-mustagbal ilḥayā. agūlu ana yaⁿⁱ ma-t^lallam^tš barra ma-ruḥ^tš at^lallam w hēš.⁹² ana fakkar^t gult bukra ana ba^lḡḡawwaz,⁹³ ilulād bid^li a^lallimhum, bikūn aḥsan, fi ta^lim fi... fakkar^t hēk ana yaⁿⁱ mustagbal yaⁿⁱ il^lalam.

5. ilḥamdu lillā šurna ništaḡil, ništaḡil bi-liḥdāde hādi⁹⁴ w kull iši w lḥamdu lillā w za^lbatna ḥāl^lna w dirna bāl^lna ^lala ḥāl^lna. kull iši.

6. w rabbēt ilulād ilḥamdu lillā w ^lallamthum. w kullhum mit^lallmīn. w lbanāt kamān mit^lallmīn.⁹⁵ kullayyathum. ilḥamdu lillā.

7. bi ^lindi walad daktōr, b-^lalmānya. [...] ā, w bi ^lindi mudir madrase. likbir mudir madrase, hōna. w fi ^lindi muḥāmi. muḥāmi. [...]

8. w lḥamdu lillā yaⁿⁱ ruḥ^lna gulna la-lulād lāzim yit^lallamum. minšān mustagbal ḥayāthum ykūn aḥsan. šāyif? itta^lim.

9. w ballašna bi-ha-lbalad. kān galil bi-lbalad hēna, yaⁿⁱ fišš yaⁿⁱ kt^lir⁹⁶ nās bitwaddi wlādhum ^lala tta^lim.⁹⁷ la^linnu min nāhyit eš? min nāhyit ilmādde yaⁿⁱ mašāri fišš. yaⁿⁱ

⁸⁶ Note the use of *min* as a subordinating conjunction (see 3.3.9.2).

⁸⁷ For the use of *ballašna* as a temporal verb see 3.4.3.2.

⁸⁸ This speaker has a relatively consistent emphatic *r* in *rāḥ*.

⁸⁹ Here *š* substitutes the Hebrew *ts* (3.1.1.5).

⁹⁰ Here *q > k*, normally *q > g* (3.1.1.3).

⁹¹ For forms such as *šurna*, see 3.3.5.9b.

⁹² This could be derived from the common *hēč*, although this speaker rarely uses *č*. *hēš* could also mean "what", for example in Omani Arabic (Holes 2013).

⁹³ > *batḡawwaz*.

⁹⁴ Here *d > d*, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).

⁹⁵ Notice the pl. m. adjective for pl. f. noun.

⁹⁶ Here *t > t*, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).

mā yigdar ilwāḥad ywaddi ibnu yit'allam, bi-ḡḡām'a.⁹⁸ aw barra aw hōn aw hōn 'ašān yidfa' mašāri. inta 'ārif kēf hādi. biddak dax'l illi lwāḥad ydir ḥālu.

10. *fa-ana ya'ni štaḡalt 'b-ḥayāti kull ilwak't bi-liḥdāde w iši w kunt ya'ni barbaḥ mašāri mniḥa. kunt arbaḥ mašāri mniḥa mniḥa.⁹⁹ štaḡalt 'b-Ḥēfa. bišš maṭraḥ bi-Sra'il ma-štaḡalt's biḥa. min Batey Zikuk la-Xevrat Xašmal la-l... kullu kullu bi-Sra'il ilmaṭāriḥ hāy, hāy kullu štaḡalt bi.*

11. *ilḥamdu lillā, ḡabbatna ḥālna w ḥayātna w iši w hēk, w lḥamdu lillā rabb il'alamīn. ḡabbatna.*

12. *hassa lbalad 'indna ya'ni 'al-mustawa lbalad, ilbalad kān galil illi yrūḥ ywaddi lulād li-tta'lim. šāyif? kānu hammu lwāḥad ilwalad yxalliš šaff tāmīn. ma-kān's lā tanawiyye, ma-kān's ya'ni šaff tāsi', 'āšir, 'ḥda'aš, ma-kān's.*

13. *xallaš šaff tāmīn, yalla, rūḥ 'a-ššuḡ'l. kān il'abu šū ysawwi? yḥibb ygullak ē?¹⁰⁰ ibni rāḥ yḡib li mašāri, ana hāy xalaš. yḡib mašāri ibni. ma-kān's yfakkir innu lwalad lāzim yit'allam. ilbin't lāzim tit'allam. ma-fišš far'g bēn bin't w walad, kull wāḥad. lāzim yit'allam, ma-fišš. kanūš yfakkru.*

14. *hassa šār nās bišūfu ya'ni maṭalan ygūlu ya'ni, ygūlu maṭalan 'Ali maṭalan 'allam wlād, 'allam banātu. šarat innās šwayy wāḥad yittalla' 'a-ttāni, šār šwayye takaddum.*

15. *ilḥamdu lillā ilyōm mumtāz. ilyōm fī ya'ni 'andīna¹⁰¹ fī madāris tanawiyye, illi yit'allam fiḥa hōna bi-lbalad hāda. bass xallaš šaff 'ṭna'aš ba'dēn yrūḥ 'a-ḡām'a barra ba'dēn ilḥamdu lillā ^Hbesēder^H ya'ni, mitwaffir kull ši, hōna šār. šāyif kēf?*

16. *hassa lbalad 'indna xāššatan ya'ni, aḡlab iza ttalla' 'ala mustawa lbalad ya'ni kull ilbalad ya'ni aḡlabhum haḡōla kullhum 'ummāl. ya'ni miš mit'allmīn madāris w hāy. likbār, baḥki li-likbār. mi'l ya'ni ahalīna ya'ni. ahalīna ma-kanūš, t'allamūš bi-lfatra haḡike.*

⁹⁷ For the agreement pattern in this sentence, see 3.4.1, towards the end.

⁹⁸ Here the definite article is assimilated to a following ḡ (see 3.1.4).

⁹⁹ Notice the inconsistent use of the *b*-imperfect: *kunt barbaḥ... kunt arbaḥ*. For further discussion, see 3.4.4.

¹⁰⁰ Notice the somewhat Egyptian construction, with the interrogative in the end of the sentence; see 3.3.7.

¹⁰¹ For such long forms see 3.3.6.2.

D. Education / 'Ali Ğurbān

1. Thank God, after we were born and started going to school and all that, we studied only till 8th grade. There was not education here in the village, only till 8th grade.
2. I studied only till 8th grade, not more. Then I went to work outside in my profession, smithcraft. I studied about a year of smithcraft, in Ort, you see? We made some progress with smithcraft and became skillful. I started working only in smithcraft. Soldering, pipes, [...] assembling many things, this sort of things, you see?
3. And thank God, we saw how life was here in the village. There was somewhat little education. At that time there was little education. People didn't use to study outside in universities, for example. You see? And here and there, they didn't use to.
4. At that time I was thinking of future life. I said, I didn't study outside, I didn't get to study and so on. I thought and said to myself: Tomorrow I may marry, I want to educate the children, it will be better when there's education. This is how I thought, the future of the world.
5. Thank God, we started working in this smithcraft and all that, and thank God, we got along and took care of ourselves. Everything.
6. I brought up the children and educated them. They are all educated and the girls are also educated. All of them. Thank God.
7. I have a son who is a doctor in Germany. [...] I have a school principal. The eldest is a school principal, here. I have a lawyer [...]
8. Thank God, we went and told the children that they should study, so that their future life will be better. You see? Education.
9. We were the first in this village. There were few here in the village, there weren't many people who would give their children education. For what reason? For material reasons, there is no money. One can't send their son to study in the university, or outside, or here and there, because they pay money. You know how it is, you need an income so one can get along.
10. I worked throughout my life all the time in smithcraft and used to make good money. I used to make very good money. I worked in Haifa. There's no place in Israel where I haven't worked. From Oil Refineries to the Electric Corporation to... All those places in Israel, I worked in all of that.
11. Thank God, we got along and all that, thank God. We did fine.
12. As for the village, in terms of the village, there were few in the village that went and gave their children education. You see? One was concerned that the child would finish 8th grade. There was no high school, no 9th, 10th, or 11th grade, there wasn't.

13. As soon as they finished 8th grade, [their father would say:] "go on, go work". What would the father say? What would the father like to tell you? "My son went to get me money, I'm done, let my son get money". He didn't think that the son should study, that the daughter should study. There's no difference between a daughter and a son, everyone should study, there's no [difference]. They didn't use to think like that.

14. Now, people started seeing and saying, for example, that 'Ali educated his sons, educated his daughters. People started looking at each other, there became some progress.

15. Thank God, nowadays it's excellent. Nowadays we have high schools where they study here in the village. As soon as they finish 12th grade they go to the university outside and then, thank God, it's all right, now there's everything here. You see?

16. Now as for our village specifically, when you look in terms of the village, all of the village or most of them are workers. They're not educated in schools and all that. The elders, I'm talking about the elders. For example our parents, our parents hadn't studied at that time.

E. *bint ilmalake w lkanā*¹⁰²

1. *ana smi^qt min abūy w ġiddi hāđi lkanā,¹⁰³ banāha wāḥad mislim w wāḥad masīhi. w lmasīhi biddu bint ilmalake šār, w lmislim biddu bint ilmalake šār.*
2. *gāl lēhum mīn illi yġīb lēna ṡayy min ʿēn Šabbarīn hōn nišrab ṡayy ḥilwa zayy issukkar, ana malak, rāyih anṡi lbint w mā barġa^q fi kūli.¹⁰⁴*
3. *wāḥad ġāb ġamā^qtu w wāḥad ġāb axwānu, šāru yibnu. wāḥad ġā¹⁰⁵ min hōn w wāḥad ġā min hōn. tanhum¹⁰⁶ ġābulhum ilṡayy la-ḥadd Gisārya.*
4. *fikri innu kān ilmislam ġāy bi-ṡayy bi-lʿawwal. gālātlu¹⁰⁷ ana māna¹⁰⁸ biddu yyāk, biddu ibⁿ malak Aṡālyā. gāl lēha abūč malak w ḥača hāđa lḥači w čannu¹⁰⁹ yirġa^q, ana ba^qmāllu maḥkama bēn kull il^lmlūk.*
5. *ʿala đimmt irrāwi innha kānat biddha tingaḥ¹¹⁰ aw ddubb¹¹¹ ḥālha fi lbaḥ^r. laḥadd iḥnāk iḥna waṡalna w fihimna, bass ḥāy ilxurrafiyye la-hōn mā nigdar nirġa^q la-wara.*

¹⁰² This story was transcribed from a DVD containing recordings made with people in Ġisir izZarga several decades ago. The speaker – in his 40s or 50s – was riding a horse and speaking in front of an old aqueduct as he was telling the story.

¹⁰³ Here $q > k$, normally $q > g$ (3.1.1.3).

¹⁰⁴ Note we have here $*q > k$, where before we had $*q > g$ in the same root (*gāl*).

¹⁰⁵ Notice the monosyllabic form, where usually we have *aġa*; see 3.3.5.9e.

¹⁰⁶ Pseudo-verb used to express the "immediate succession of one action or state to another" (Badawi & Hinds 1986: root *t-n-n*).

¹⁰⁷ $<gālat + lu$. When the two are pronounced together, the stress falls on the short final *a* in the verb. The same happens later in *ba^qmāllu < ba^qmal + lu*.

¹⁰⁸ Note this negation of the pronoun *ana*. I have not noted such negative pronouns in other recordings. Brustad (2000:296) discusses this as a negative copula and gives forms such as *māni* for 1 sg. in Syrian Arabic. *māna~māni* is found in Salṡ (Herin 2013), and *mana* is used in the Gulf (Holes 1990:244) and in Kinderib (Jastrow 2012).

¹⁰⁹ See (Palva 2008) for this construction in Karak; the affricated variant is explained as a loan from other dialects, because the normal realization of $*k$ in Karak is non-affricated. Note in this text the opposition of *čān* ("if"; here: *čannu*, "if he") vs. *kān* ("was"), which is found in Central and North Transjordan (see 4.1 above).

¹¹⁰ Probably from *tinkaḥ*, with $k > g$ because of the preceding voiced *n*.

¹¹¹ *dabb / ydibb* appears here with the meaning of "to throw", which is also found in Hebron (Seeger 1996:36, 102), villages around Ramallah (Seeger 2009:78), and according to the database of the Word Atlas of Arabic Dialects (Behnstedt & Woidich 2011), in the Galilee (Bāqa lĠarbiyya) and in Christian Baghdadi.

E. The princess and the aqueduct

1. I heard from my father and grandfather that this aqueduct was built by a Muslim and a Christian. The Christian wanted [to marry] the princess and the Muslim wanted [to marry] the princess.
2. He [the king] told them: "whoever brings us water from 'ēn Ṣabbarīn¹¹² to here so that we drink water as sweet as sugar – I'm a king, I'll give him my daughter and will not go back on my word".
3. One brought his guys and the other one brought his brothers. They started building. One came from this way and the other came from that way. Then they brought them the water until Caesarea.
4. I think the Muslim was the first to bring the water. She told him: "I don't want you, I want the prince of Italy". He told her: "Your father is a king and he said what he said. If he goes back [on his word], I'll take him to court in front of all the kings".
5. It's up to the storyteller if she was going to marry or throw herself in the sea. Thus far we have arrived and understood. We only have this fairy tale here and cannot go back.

¹¹² This is one of the sources of the aqueduct leading to Caesarea (Hareuveni 2010:766).

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דברי תודה

ברצוני להודות לפרופ' נאסר בסל על הנחייתו בכתיבת עבודה זו. במהלך לימודי זכיתי להשתתף בסמינר של פרופ' בסל על הלהג הערבי של הגליל ולרכוש מיומנויות חשובות בדיאלקטולוגיה. סבלנותו ותמיכתו המתמשכת של פרופ' בסל אפשרו לי להשלים את הפרויקט הזה זמן רב לאחר התכנון המקורי. כמו כן, ברצוני להודות למורי בחוג ללימודי הערבית והאסלאם באוניברסיטת תל אביב על הסיוע וההכוונה המקצועית שהעניקו לי לאורך השנים.

במהלך לימודי התואר השני נפלה בחלקי הזכות להשתתף בשלוש תוכניות בדיאלקטולוגיה ערבית שאורגנו על ידי אוניברסיטת פרינסטון. התוכנית הראשונה הייתה קורס מזורז על להגים ערביים שהתקיים בשנת 2009 באוניברסיטת פרינסטון בהנחיית פרופ' אוטו יסטרן. קורס זה היווה עבורי מבוא מקיף לגיוון של הלהגים הערביים. בשנת 2011 זכיתי לקבל מענק נדיב מקרן גרדנר באוניברסיטת פרינסטון על מנת להשתתף בקורס קיץ על להגים ערביים בהנחיית פרופ' אוטו יסטרן ופרופ' ורנר ארנולד. מיומנויות המחקר שרכשתי בקורס זה מהוות את התשתית לעבודה זו. הרעיון לחקור את הלהג של ג'סר א-זרקא הוצע לי על ידי פרופ' יסטרן, אשר כתב את העבודה הראשונה העוסקת בלהג. מחקר השדה שביצעתי בשנים 2011-2012 מומן בחלקו על ידי אוניברסיטת פרינסטון ותוצאות ראשוניות הוצגו בסדנה שהתקיימה באוניברסיטת טאלין בקיץ 2012. אני אסיר תודה לפרופ' מייקל קוק מאוניברסיטת פרינסטון על תרומתו לקידום חקר הלהגים הערביים באמצעות ארגון תוכניות אלה ועל כך שהעניק לי את ההזדמנות היקרה הזאת. אני מודה מקרב לב לפרופ' יסטרן ולפרופ' ארנולד על ההנחיה הקפדנית שהעניקו לי בתוכניות אלו, בלעדיה לא הייתי יכול לקחת על עצמי אתגר שכזה. רב תודות גם למשתתפים האחרים בתוכניות אלו אשר הפכו לקולגות ואף לחברים טובים.

כמו כן, ברצוני להודות לתכנית קונרד אדנאואר לשיתוף פעולה יהודי-ערבי על תמיכתם בעבודה

זו.

אחד האתגרים החשובים ביותר בכל מחקר דיאלקטולוגי הוא איתור האינפורמנטים המתאימים. איש הקשר הראשון שמצאתי בג'סר היה סאמי עלי, אשר לקח על עצמו להיות לי למדריך ולחבר בכפר. דאגתו הכנה של סאמי לקידום הכפר היא מקור למוטיבציה ואני שמח על כך שהכרתי אותו. אני במיוחד

אסיר תודה לאינפורמנטים שחלקו איתי מנסיון חייהם. כולם היו מסבירי פנים וענו על שאלותי בסבלנות.

אני מקווה שהצלחתי להעביר את סיפוריהם ודעותיהם באופן הטוב ביותר.

לבסוף, אלפי תודות להוריי על כך שהם זמינים בשבילי כל אימת שאני זקוק לכך, אפילו

ממרחקים. לאשתי ניבה, אשר ניצבת כמו סלע בוער בעולמי המעורער לפרקים – תודה על כך שאת תמיד

מאמינה בי.

תקציר

ג'סר א-זרקא הוא הכפר הערבי האחרון שנותר לאורך חוף הים בישראל. הוא ממוקם במחצית הדרך בין תל אביב לחיפה. על פי הידוע, הכפר הוקם במאה ה-19, כאשר משפחות שהאב ונג'אר הגיעו לאזור ממצרים ומשפחות ג'רבאן ועמאש הגיעו מעמק הירדן. מטרתה של עבודה זו היא לתאר את המאפיינים הלשוניים העיקריים של הערבית הדבורה בג'סר א-זרקא ולמקמה בתוך קבוצת הלהגים הסוריים-פלסטיניים. עיקר הנתונים ששימשו לעבודה זו נלקחו מהקלטות שנאספו בכפר בשנים 2011-2012. חומר נוסף חולץ מתוך תקליטור המכיל ראיונות טלוויזיה שנערכו בכפר לפני מספר עשורים.

תוצאות הניתוח הלשוני מראות שהלהג הערבי של ג'סר א-זרקא הוא להג כפרי עם מרכיב בדווי משמעותי. האופי הכפרי של הלהג משתקף בתופעות פונולוגיות (כגון השתמרות העיצורים הבין-שיניים; מעתק $g > \check{g}im$; מעתק לא עקבי של $k > \check{c}$), מורפולוגיות (הבחנה בין המינים בפועל ובכינויי הגוף ברבים), מורפו-פונולוגיות (השתמרות הרצפים $CVCaCV$ ו- aXC), כאשר X הוא אחד מהעיצורים g, \check{g}, x, h או h) ומורפו-תחביריות (שלילה מורכבת על ידי \check{s} ... $(ma-)$; קידומת b - לציון המודוס האינדיקטיבי). אלמנטים בדוויים מצויים גם כן במישורים לשוניים שונים, לדוגמא: המעתק $q > g$; נטיות מורפולוגיות כמו *awwala* ("ראשונה"), *ani* ("אני") והסיומת *-um* לפועל ברבים זכר גוף שני ושלישי; וערכים לקסיקליים כגון *yōmin* ("כאשר") ו-*yā yumma* ("ילדי", כמילת פנייה). לעיתים יש שימוש בתופעות של בדוויים ומיושבים בו-זמנית: למשל, הצורה הבדווית *bī* משמשת לצד הצורה המיושבת *fī* לציון הקיום "יש".

ניתוח משווה של התופעות העיקריות מצביע על דמיון רב בין הערבית של ג'סר א-זרקא לבין להגי עבר הירדן, במיוחד אלה של צפון עבר הירדן ומרכזו. ניתוח זה מעיד על להג כפרי במקורו שספג השפעות בדוויות לפני הגעתם של התושבים לאזור במאה ה-19. הסבר זה עולה בקנה אחד עם הדיווחים על מוצאן של משפחות ג'רבאן ועמאש מעמק הירדן, אך אינו מסביר את הדיווחים על הגעתן של משפחות אחרות (שהאב ונג'אר) ממצרים. בהקשר זה נידונה האפשרות של קיום להגים נפרדים בכפר על פי השיוך למשפחות שונות. ברם, הממצאים חושפים תמונה מורכבת שמצביעה על תהליך של יישור להגים שמתרחש בכפר. כמו כן, נידון שיוך הלהג של ג'סר א-זרקא בקבוצת להגי חוף הכרמל ולבסוף משורטטים כיוונים למחקר עתידי.

אוניברסיטת תל אביב

הפקולטה למדעי הרוח ע"ש לסטר וסאלי אנטין

החוג ללימודי הערבית והאסלאם

הלהג הערבי של ג'סר א-זרקא:

תיאור לשוני וסיווג ראשוני, בלויית דוגמאות טקסטים

חיבור זה הוגש כעבודת גמר לקראת התואר

"מוסמך אוניברסיטה" – M.A. באוניברסיטת תל אביב

על ידי

יונתן בלינקוב

העבודה הוכנה בהדרכת

פרופ' נאסר בסל

תמוז תשע"ד

יולי 2014