THE ARABIC DIALECT OF Ğisir 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 Naǧḡār arrived from Egypt and the clans of Ġurbān and ʿAmmāš 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 interdentals; Š ğūm > Š ğ; inconsistent k > č), morphological (gender distinction in plural verbs and pronouns), morphophonological (preservation of the sequences CVČaCV- and -aXC-, where X is Š ğ, x, ʿ, h 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 Š ţ > Š ğ; 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 yuṃma.
("my child"). Occasionally we see both sedentary and Bedouin features used interchangeably, e.g. Bedouin bi and sedentary fi 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 Naǧḡār) 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.
I would like to thank Prof. Nasir Basal for supervising the writing of this thesis. I was lucky to have participated in Prof. Basal's seminar on the dialect of the Galilee, which has been a valuable part of my dialectological training. His patience and continuing support allowed me the necessary time to complete this project long after I had originally planned to. I would also like to thank all my teachers in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Tel Aviv University for their professional guidance and assistance.

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 ʿAli who has taken on himself to be my guide, and friend, in Ġisir. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Arabic Character</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʾ</td>
<td>Glottal stop</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>ء</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ِ</td>
<td>Voiced bilabial stop</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>ب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ٍ</td>
<td>Voiceless bilabial stop</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>ب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>َ</td>
<td>Voiceless dental stop</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>ت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُ</td>
<td>Voiceless interdental fricative</td>
<td>[θ]</td>
<td>ث</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ٓ</td>
<td>Voiced palato-alveolar affricate</td>
<td>[ʤ]</td>
<td>ج</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُُ</td>
<td>Voiced palato-alveolar fricative</td>
<td>[ʒ]</td>
<td>ج</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ِّ</td>
<td>Voiceless pharyngeal fricative</td>
<td>[ħ]</td>
<td>ح</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ِّ</td>
<td>Voiceless velar fricative</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>خ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ِ</td>
<td>Voiced dental stop</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>د</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ِّ</td>
<td>Voiced interdental fricative</td>
<td>[ð]</td>
<td>ذ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ِ</td>
<td>Alveolar trill</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>ر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ِّ</td>
<td>Emphatic alveolar trill</td>
<td>[r̴]</td>
<td>ر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Voiced dental fricative</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>ز</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Voiceless dental fricative</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[ʃ]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[s̴]</td>
<td>ص</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ِّ</td>
<td>Voiceless dental affricate</td>
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<td>ض</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Voiced emphatic dental stop</td>
<td>[d̴]</td>
<td>ض</td>
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<td>Pronunciation</td>
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</tr>
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<td>k</td>
<td>Voiceless velar stop</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Voiceless emphatic dental lateral</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>Voiced bilabial nasal</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṃ</td>
<td>Voiced emphatic bilabial nasal</td>
<td>[ṃ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>Voiced dental nasal</td>
<td>[n] ن</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>Voiceless glottal fricative</td>
<td>[h] م</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>Voiced labiodental fricative</td>
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**Semi-vowels**

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</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>Bilabial semi-vowel</td>
<td>[w] و</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>Palatal semi-vowel</td>
<td>[j] ي</td>
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**Vowels**

<table>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>Long low unrounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Short high-mid front unrounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>Long high-mid front unrounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Short front high unrounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī</td>
<td>Long front high unrounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>Short mid back rounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō</td>
<td>Long high-mid or low-mid back rounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>Short near-high back rounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>Long high back rounded vowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments**

a. A superscript denotes a helping vowel (ibn, "boy"; see 3.1.5) or, more rarely, labialization (ummi, "my mother"). Two superscripted "H" letters surround a Hebrew phrase.

b. 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 (minruh 'alē, "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. Ḥēfa, "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-lʾawwal, "firstly"). In the rare cases where *q > ’ (see Chapter 5), the glottal stop is written (ʾāl, "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 bidkum ("you (pl. m.) want") is actually pronounced as bidkum; mitʿallmīn ("educated (pl. m.)") is pronounced as mitʿalmīn; miǧǧawwzāt ("married (pl. f.)") is pronounced as miǧǧawzāt.
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 Taninim (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 Nağğär, who arrived from Egypt with the troops of Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1834, and the clans of Ġurbān and ʿAmmāš, 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 ʿAmmāš told me that his family ultimately comes from Tikrit 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

(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 Ġurbān 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.

ʿAli and Ǧamīla Ġurbān represent the Ġurbān 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 Ġisir after 1948. Their father was the Mukhtār 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 ʿArab iṣṢbēḥ, formerly one of the larger Bedouin tribes in the Galilee (Hareuveni 2010:895). However, their father's mother was an Egyptian woman.

ʿAli Ġurbān himself used to work as a smith. The conversation with ʿAli took place at his yard and concerned the history of the village, his
personal life and education in the village. His sister Ėmīla 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 Ėd Śihāb 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, Ėd Śihāb 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

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\(^1\) 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 interdentals 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. \( \mathfrak{t} > t: \mathfrak{tāni} > \mathfrak{tāni} \) ("second").
   ii. \( \mathfrak{ḍ} > d: \mathfrak{ḍarab} > \mathfrak{ḍarab} \) ("he hit").
   iii. \( \mathfrak{ḏ} > d: \mathfrak{ḏahab} > \mathfrak{ḏahab} \) ("gold").

b. The shift of old *q to a glottal stop \( \mathfrak{ʾ} \): \( \mathfrak{qāl} > \mathfrak{ʾāl} \) ("he said"), \( \mathfrak{qahwa} > \mathfrak{ʾahwe} \) ("coffee"). However, in Nazareth *q is shifted to \( \mathfrak{k} \) (see 2.1.3 below).

c. Loss of gender distinction in plural verbs and pronouns:
   i. Pronouns: \( \mathfrak{intu} \) ("you", pl. f.+m.), \( \mathfrak{hunne} \sim \mathfrak{hinne} \) ("they", pl. f.+m.)
   ii. Verbs: \( \mathfrak{katabtu} \) ("you wrote", pl. f.+m.), \( \mathfrak{tiktu} \) ("you write", pl. f.+m.), \( \mathfrak{katabu} \) ("they wrote", pl. f.+m.), \( \mathfrak{yiktubu} \) ("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. The main characteristics of the Palestinian Bedouin dialects of northern Israel are:

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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 interdentals š, ḏ, and ẓ: əṯnēn ("two", m.); hāḏi ("this", f.); ẓarab ("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 čābīr ("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.ḥ ("to open"):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. perfect</td>
<td>fitaḥtam</td>
<td>fitaḥtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. imperfect</td>
<td>tiftahum</td>
<td>tiftahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. perfect</td>
<td>fitḥum</td>
<td>fitḥan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. imperfect</td>
<td>yiftahum</td>
<td>yiftahan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 interdentals: talat 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’lūl and Yāft inNāṣri, 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 Ġisir izzZarga, as discussed below.

c. *k has two possible realizations:

i. č: čbir ("big"), ḥaċa ("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: kbir ("big"), ḥaka ("he talked") – Galilee.

d. Gender distinction is lost in the Galilee but preserved in the Triangle, in Fureidis, and in Ġisir izzZarga. For example, in the Triangle:

i. Pronouns: humm(i) ("they", m.) vs. hin(n)i ("they", f.); intu ("you", pl. m.) vs. intin ("you", pl. f.).

ii. Verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. perfect</td>
<td>qarabtu</td>
<td>qarabtin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 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. 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 interdentals; (b) reflex of qāf; (c) reflex of kāf; and (g) gender distinction in 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. in pronouns and verbs. Of the remaining features one is phonological: (d) reflex of ġīm; two are morphophonological: (e) reflex of the sequence CVCaCV-, and (f) reflex of the sequence -aXC- (when X is one of ġ, x, ʿ, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tuḍrubu</th>
<th>tuḍrubin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. imperfect</td>
<td>tuḍrubu</td>
<td>tuḍrubin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. perfect</td>
<td>ḍarabu</td>
<td>ḍarabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. imperfect</td>
<td>yuḍrubu</td>
<td>yuḍrubin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^4\) 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 interdentals (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 $^aq$ or affrication of old $^ak$, as is common in Bedouin dialects. Among the rural dialects, Galilean dialects are the only ones which exhibit the shift $\breve{g} > \breve{z}$ and show no gender distinction in 2$^{nd}$ and 3$^{rd}$ 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 2$^{nd}$ and 3$^{rd}$ pl. Contrary to Galilean dialects, they have an unconditioned affrication of $^ak$, though not in all forms, which Palva explains as a Bedouin influence that spread from Transjordan. In these dialects $^aq$ has been fronted to a prevelar or postpalatal $k$.\footnote{Note that according to (Jastrow 2004, 2009a), in Central Palestine old $^aq$ was fronted to a front velar $k$, and not a back velar $k$.}

3. South Palestinian dialects: this group is similar in many ways to the Central Palestinian dialects. Both groups feature an unconditioned affrication of $^ak$ to $\check{c}$ and share the use of $h\check{a}n$ ("here"). The forms used

\footnote{Note that according to (Jastrow 2004, 2009a), in Central Palestine old $^aq$ was fronted to a front velar $k$, and not a back velar $k$.}
for "now" in both groups are derived from *hal-wuqayt: halkēt/halloḳēt in Central Palestine and halgēt in South Palestine. However, some South Palestinian dialects use the form (h)alḥīn, 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 hassāʾ ("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 hassāʾ ("now").
All of the Bedouin dialects in the area share the preservation of the interdentals, voiced realizations of old *q, ġ as the reflex of *gin, 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, ʿ, ḥ 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)alḥín, 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 CCəCV-. For "now" the form used is halḥin and to a lesser extent hassāʾ.
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 ǧ and č for (=q >) g and k, respectively, in the vicinity of front vowels. The reflex of CVCaCV- is CCâCV-. 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. yigûlûn, "they say"). Unlike other Bedouin dialects in the area, the form used for "now" is hassâ‘ and not halḥîn. 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 ‘Anaze. Thus, they display affricated ǧ (=dz) and č (=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 CCâCV-, 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. yigûlûn, "they say"). The common form for "now" is halḥîn, which is found in most of the Bedouin dialects in the area, next to ḏîlwân.

2.3. The dialects of the Triangle

The Triangle (al-Muṯallat) 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 interdentals: like all rural Palestinian dialects, the dialects spoken in the Triangle have preserved the interdentals ṭ, ḏ, and ḍ.

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-šāfhaš, "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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. m.</td>
<td>humm(i)</td>
<td>ḏārabu</td>
<td>būḏrubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. f.</td>
<td>hinn(i)</td>
<td>ḏārabin</td>
<td>būḏrūbin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. m.</td>
<td>intu</td>
<td>ḏarabtu</td>
<td>btūḏrubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. f.</td>
<td>intin</td>
<td>ḏarabin</td>
<td>btuḏrūbin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. m.</td>
<td>kālu</td>
<td>ykūlu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 pl. f.</td>
<td>2 pl. m.</td>
<td>2 pl. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kulin / kalin</td>
<td>tkulu</td>
<td>kulin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ykulin</td>
<td>kulu</td>
<td>kulin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-Mifgar. 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, Ṣarafand, and Ṭanṭūra, 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 interdentals: as in the dialects of the Triangle, the interdentals \( \mathfrak{t}, \mathfrak{d}, \) and \( \mathfrak{d} \) are preserved, as in \( \mathfrak{talāți} \) ("three"), \( \mathfrak{axaḏu} \) ("they took"), and \( \mathfrak{ḏarabu} \) ("they beat").

2. \( *q \): old \( *q \) is shifted either to \( k \) (in Fureidis and il-Mifḡar), as in the dialects of the Triangle, or to \( g \) (in Ğisir izZarga). For example, "he said" can be either \( kāl \) (Fureidis/il-Mifḡar) 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 \( ḡaka \) ("he spoke") we find also \( ḡača \). Furthermore, there is variation among the three Carmel Coast dialects with regard to the affrication of \( k > č \), with il-Mifḡar displaying the least amount of affrication. Thus, whereas in Fureidis and Ğisir izZarga the common form is \( ḡača \), in il-Mifḡar we have \( ḡaka \). The same tendency is observed in the pronominal suffixes, where il-Mifḡar shows no affrication, unlike Fureidis and Ğisir izZarga. According to Jastrow, it may be that the
affrication in il-Mifgar is only by influence of Bäka, 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") \(\rightarrow\) šafūha ("they saw her") \(\rightarrow\)
      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-Mifgar whereas hummu is used by members of the Ġurbān clan in Ġisir izZarga and humma by members of the Nağār. Similarly, hinni is used in Fureidis, il-Mifgar, and by the Ġurbān, while hinna is used by the Nağār. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. m.</td>
<td>ḏ̣arabum / ḏ̣arabu</td>
<td>yuḏ̣rubum / yuḏ̣rubu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. f.</td>
<td>ḏ̣arabin</td>
<td>yuḏ̣rubin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. m.</td>
<td>ḏ̣arabtu / ḏ̣arabtu</td>
<td>tuḏ̣rubu / tuḏ̣rubu</td>
<td>uḏ̣rubum / uḏ̣rubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. f.</td>
<td>ḏ̣arabtu</td>
<td>tuḏ̣rubin</td>
<td>uḏ̣rubin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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").

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. m.</td>
<td>kālu</td>
<td>ykūlu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. f.</td>
<td>kālin</td>
<td>ykūlin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. m.</td>
<td>kultu</td>
<td>tkūlu</td>
<td>külu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. f.</td>
<td>kultin</td>
<td>tkūlin</td>
<td>külin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-Mifgar. In Ġisir izZarga the \( k \) is replaced by \( g \) (both coming from old \( *q \)) and in the dialect of the Ġurbān 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 as 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 *ǧīm

The reflex of old *ǧīm is ġ, as is normal in the villages throughout Palestine. However, Ġād Šihāb occasionally pronounced it as ū, for example: aţat ("she came"). This exception could be attributed to contact with the Galilee, 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 ū; see 2.2 above.
3.1.1.2. Interdentals

The interdental fricatives – ṭ, ḍ, and ḍ̣ – have been preserved. For example:

- ṭ: iṯnēn ("two"), ṭalāṭa ("three"), ḫīr ("many, much"), ṭṭabbit ("you (sg. m.) stabilize, fasten").
- ḍ: hāḍi ("this" sg. f.), yōṣud ("he takes"), ḡaḍa ("food"), yiḏbaḥ ("he butchers"), yitḏakkar ("he remembers").
- ḍ̣: arāḍi ("lands"), maraḍ ("disease"), ḍallēt ("I remained"), abyāḍ ("white"), yḥaḍğru ("they prepare"), ḍēf ("guest").

3.1.1.3. *q

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

3.1.1.4. *k

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

2 One speaker (from the Šīhāb) occasionally shifts ḍ̣ to a dental stop ḍ, for example awḍā¢ "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: saʾalū ya Ḥasan, čēf kān imbēriḥ? ("they asked him, 'Ḥasan, how was it yesterday?'"), and in the next sentence: lamman riǧʿu ʿala ššuģul, saʾalū ya Ḥasan, kīf kān iššuģul... ilğaḍa 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 ʿAli 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 ilMifḡar, Fureidis, and Imm ilFaḥim. His findings for Ğisir are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>šafū (&quot;they say&quot;) + pronominal suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šafūk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).
ʿAmmāš. 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. ḫrakēvet ("train"), ḫmaxōn sport ("gym"). The same is true of ts (č), as in ḫtsaīr ("young"), which may also be substituted with the Arabic ṣ. Thus we have both ḫmiktsōʿa and ḫmikṣōʿa ("profession").

b. ṣ is used as a substitution for ḍ in words derived from the literary root ḍ-b-t (e.g. ḍabbat, "to put in order"; bi-ẓẓabt, "exactly").

c. ḥ and ṡ are limited to a few words such as yalla ("let's go") and mayye ("water"), and may appear due to spread of emphatization (yṣallī, "he prays"), as also ḥ (yuṭḥux, "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.")", axadha ("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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long vowels</th>
<th>Short vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2.1. Long vowels and diphthongs

a. Long ā has allophones ranging from back [a:] 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: ʾēn (< *ʿayn, "water spring"), ʿēf (< *ʿayf, "guest"); yōm (< *yawm, "day"), gōzi (< *gawzi < *zawgli, "my husband"). They are also found in the imperfect form of C1 = ʾ weak verbs where they replace the old -a3 sequence (see 3.2.5.9a): yōxud ("he takes"), yōkil ("he eats"). We also have some dialectal forms
with long ē and ō such as lēhum ("to them", see 3.2.6.6) and hadōl ("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"); maʃye ("water"), šwayye ("a little bit"), zayy ("like"). In a few words we have ayy > iyy (ayyām > iyyām, "days"; ʿayyān > ʿiyyān, "ill"). The diphthongs are preserved in form I passive participle forms such as maʃqud ("found, exists") and in the common conjunctions aw ("or") and law ("if"), as well as in literary loans: daʃriyye ("patrol"), awdā ("conditions"); ʃaydali ("pharmacist"). Finally, note a single occurrence of sandawc ("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") → maʃafuhāš ("they didn't see her"); šaʃgal ("working" sg.) → šaʃgalāt ("working" pl.). When ē and ō are shortened, they become a and u, respectively: w ārūt w ʃaratu ("and other things"), ʃet izṣetūn > ʃet izṣätūn ("olive oil"); ʿyōmēn > ʃumēn ("two days").

e. A long vowel in a closed syllable is not shortened. This rule holds whether the long vowel is stressed (ʿaʃše, "living" sg. f.) or unstressed (ʿaʃʃin, "living" pl. m.).

f. Long vowels are shortened when followed by a geminate consonant: ygūl + li → ygulli ("he says to me"). But long ā is preserved in the active participle of the geminate verb: hāṭṭin ("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 \textit{bint} ("daughter") vs. \textit{uxt} ("sister"). Minimal pairs are hard to find, but in the verb we have \textit{tuḍrub} vs. \textit{tuḍrubu} ("you hit", sg. f. vs. pl. m.). There is some variation between \( i \) and \( u \) as exemplified by \textit{ṭilṭ} and \textit{ṭulṭ} ("third"), \textit{yiq’ud}–\textit{yug’ud} ("to sit", see 3.2.5.2).

c. Short \( i \) and \( u \) usually fall in open unstressed syllables: \textit{snīn} (\( < *sinīn \), "years"), \textit{shūle} (\( < *suhūla \), "easiness").

d. Short \( a \) may exhibit the same behavior (\textit{kbīr}, "big") but is often preserved, especially near back or emphatic consonants (\textit{ḥalīb}, "milk"; \textit{ṭarīg}, "road").

e. The feminine ending is short \( a \) or \( e \), depending on the phonetic environment. After Back and emphatic consonants it is \( a \), for example: \textit{mlīha} ("good"), \textit{sab’a} ("seven"), \textit{xārṭa} ("map"). Otherwise it is \( e \): \textit{mawḡūde} ("found, exists"), \textit{xamse} ("five"), \textit{ṣa’be} ("difficult"), \textit{šabake} ("net"), \textit{madrase} ("school"). However, occasionally we have \( a \) even

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

\footnote{Sometimes the feminine ending sounds as high as \( i \), e.g. \textit{šaǧgîli} ("workers"), but in most cases it is written as \( e \) for consistency.}
after front, non-emphatic consonants: \textit{waḥda}~\textit{waḥde} ("one"), \textit{talāta} ("three"). After \texttt{r} it is usually \texttt{a} (\textit{fatra}, "time, period"; \textit{xudra}, "vegetables") although I have also noted \textit{šâtre} ("clever") and \textit{kbire} ("big").

\textbf{f.} When the feminine ending appears in annexation or with a pronominal suffix, it is usually pronounced as \texttt{i}. Thus we have \textit{ḡām`a} but \textit{ḡām`it Ḥēfa} ("Haifa University"); \textit{birčit ittimsāh} ("the crocodile pond"); \textit{tarbaye} but \textit{tarbayithum} ("their upbringing"); \textit{fatra} but \textit{fatritna} ("our time"). It may also be dropped altogether: \textit{sint il`išrin} ("the twenties"); \textit{ʿēlt dār Abu Šhāb} ("the family of the house of Abu Šhāb"), next to \textit{ʿēlithum} ("their family").

\textbf{g.} In addition to its role as the feminine ending, short \texttt{e} is also used in Hebrew words (\textit{Hrakēvet}, "train"; \textit{Hmexašēv}, "computer"); short \texttt{o} also appears in Hebrew words (\textit{Hsomēr}, "guard"; \textit{Hmaxōn sport}, "gym"), but otherwise has no phonemic status in the dialect.

\textbf{h.} The semi-vowels \texttt{y} and \texttt{w} are sometimes vocalized and pronounced as short \texttt{i} and \texttt{u}. For example, \texttt{y} in 3\textsuperscript{rd} person imperfect verbs before CV: \textit{ygūl}~\textit{igūl} ("he says"), and \texttt{w} in its role as the conjunction "and". Both of these cases are transcribed throughout the text as \texttt{y} and \texttt{w} for clarity.

\textbf{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 Ġamila Ġurbān, for example: \textit{ṭarig} > \textit{ṭarik#} ("road"); \textit{marad} > \textit{marat#} ("sickness"), both devoicing and de-
emphatization; ġāǧ > ġāč# ("chickens"); but also in the speech of Maḥmūd Rašwān: dagāǧ > 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

' is sometimes assimilated to h across word boundaries, resulting in the sequence ḥḥ: ma' + ha > māḥa ("with her"); taba' + hum > tabaḥhum ("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 ġ, so we have ġġabal—Iġabal ("the mountain").

3.1.5. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are resolved by the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel. This vowel is usually i, as in: ġib't ("I brought"), ib'n ("boy, son"), is'm ("name"), arḏ ("land"). In the vicinity of the pharyngeal consonants ḥ and ' it is usually a, for example: bah'r ("sea"), nab'a ("spring, source"). But not always so: yi'rfu ("they know"), waḍ'a ("situation"), sa'o ("difficult"). Notably, near h the helping vowel is the common i: nah'r ("river"). The word šuğ'l ("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 ġ 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 ḍ and ḍ, without apparent contextual differences.

A helping vowel is also inserted between word boundaries: ḥalīb ṡṛṣ (
"cheap milk"), nrū ṡṅib ("we go and bring"); or in the beginning of an utterance: ṡṅib w nuṭụx ("we bring and cook"). The following example (by Maḥmūd Rašwān) illustrates the different possibilities of using helping vowels: ḡayyaru ṿiš ḏ ḫṭīr snīn ("they changed the name after many years").

3.1.6. Stress
Stress falls on VC 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. Usually, anaptyctic vowels do not influence the location of the stress: yigdārš ("he cannot"), bašağğiʿš ("I do not encourage"), yiʿrifum ("they know"); the underlying forms being *yigdarš, *bašağğiʿš, *yiʿrifum. However, in a few cases the helping vowel has become a full vowel and is stressed: yiḥīlbu ("they milk"; Ğamila Ğurbān), wadīna ("our situation"; Ğād Šihāb); the underlying forms being *yihlibu, *waṭ+na. In the case of ʿandīhum ("by them"), the helping vowel is stressed and lengthened, although ʿindhum is also used, even by the same speaker (Ġamila 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: *niʿmilu* ("we make it"; Ğamila Ğurbān); *xalāgu* ("he created it"; Ğād Šihāb); *bakráhu* ("I hate it"; girl, Ğurbān); *itwaḥḥádat* ("[the families] were united"; Ğād Šihāb). The first three examples may be explained by considering the underlying 3 sg. m. suffix -hu: *niʿmil 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 ĪC is followed by more than one vowel, the stress falls on the vowel after this sequence, as in *madrāsa* (Woidich 2012). This explains *niʿmilu, bakráhu, and itwaḥḥádat*, but not *xalágu*. 
3.2. Morphology

3.2.1. Personal pronouns

3.2.1.1 Independent personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. 3 sg.</td>
<td>ḥū</td>
<td></td>
<td>m. 3 pl.</td>
<td>hummu, humma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. 3 sg.</td>
<td>hi, hiyya</td>
<td></td>
<td>f. 3 pl.</td>
<td>hinni, hinna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. 2 sg.</td>
<td>inta</td>
<td></td>
<td>m. 2 pl.</td>
<td>intum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. 2 sg.</td>
<td>inti</td>
<td></td>
<td>f. 2 pl.</td>
<td>intin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. 1 sg.</td>
<td>ani, ana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iḥna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jastrow (2009b) identifies two distinct paradigms which are used by the Ğurbān and Naḡḡār clans. The differences are in 3 pl. m. (Ḡurbān: hummu, Naḡḡār: humma); 3 pl. f. (Ḡurbān: hinni, Naḡḡār: hinna), and 1 sg. (Ḡurbān: ani, Naḡḡār: 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 Naḡḡār form of humma, however, was also used by a boy from the ʿAmmāš 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 Naḡḡār, was also used by a boy from the ʿAmmāš. 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 Ġurbān it is expressed by ani whereas in the Nağgar it is ana. Indeed, ani was used by Ġamila Ġurbān, but ʿAli Ġurbān and Ġād Šihāb used only ana. Some speakers use both forms interchangeably; so did Maḥmūd Rašwān, a boy from the ʿAmmāš and a girl from the Ġurbān.

d. 3 sg. f. – the short form hī is given by (Jastrow 2009b). The longer form hiyya was used by Ġamila Ġurbān and Ġād Šihāb. According to (Jastrow 2009b), it is found in the Triangle and in Fureidis.

e. 1 pl. – while the common form is clearly ihna, I have also one occurrence of nihna in the speech of a boy from the ʿAmmāš.

3.2.1.2. Suffixed personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3 sg. m.</th>
<th>3 pl. m.</th>
<th>3 sg. f.</th>
<th>2 sg. m.</th>
<th>2 sg. f.</th>
<th>1 sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-u, -V, -</td>
<td>-hum</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>-ak, -k</td>
<td>-ič, -č, -či, -ki</td>
<td>-i, -Vy, -Vy, -Vni, -ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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"; anṭi, "I give" → anṭī, "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"; ʿalēk, "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 (dārī, "my house") and y or ya after a vowel with a lengthening of the vowel (abūy~abūya, "my father"; biya, "in/with me"). When suffixed to verbs and certain pseudo-verbs (see 3.3.3.4 below), it is -ni after a consonant (baʿdni, "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/hāḍāk ("that", m.), haḍiče/hāḍike ("that", f.).
a. The sg. m. near demonstrative usually appears in its long form
\((hāḏa/hāḏa)\), rarely in the short form \(hāḏ\). In the plural, \(hadūla\) occurs
once (‘Ali Ğurbān), next to the more common \(hadūl\). In the far deixis
the usual forms are short, while \(haftike\) 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 \((haḏič)\)
and non-affricated \((haftike)\). The presence/absence of affrication seems
to be consistent dependent upon the speaker. Ğamila Ğurbān, Maḩmūd
Rašwān and Ğād Šihāb always used affricated forms for "this (f.),
while ʿAli Ğurbān only used the non-affricated form.

d. In the plural, the form \(hadūl(a)\) has been attested for both genders. For
example: \(hadūla kullhum ʿummāl\) ("these, all of them (m.) are
laborers"), \(nsīthin hadūl\) ("I forgot them (f.), these ones"). There have
been no occurrences in the corpus of the plural far demonstrative.

e. The irregular plural demonstrative \(haffumun\) has been recorded by
Maḩmūd Rašwān, although it is not clear whether it refers to the near
or far deixis: \(min haffumun xawālī, axwān ummi yaʾni, ţnēn\) ("from

\[14\] According to (Nevo 2006:45), the form \(hāḏ\) is used in Iksāl only in pause, contrary to the
following example (Maḩmūd Rašwān): \(bass ēš hāḏ ʿandīna\) ("but what is this by us").
these/those, my uncles, my mother's brothers, two’); min ḥadḏumn ilḡamā’ā (“from these/those guys”).

f. It should be noted that some demonstratives are occasionally pronounced with a stop d, e.g. hāda (Ḡād Šihāb), hādi (Ḡamila Ĝurbān, ʿAli Ĝurbān, Ḡād Šihāb), hadič (Ḡamila Ĝurbān, Ḡād Šihāb), hadik (‘Ali Ĝurbān).

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 ilḥayā (“this life”); hāy iṣṣēd ḥada (“this hunting”); ilmaṭraḥ hāy (“this place”); innās hāy (“these people”); hāy ilʾiyyām (“these days”).

h. I have noted one occurrence of hal: ballašna bi-hal-balad (“we started in this village”).

3.2.3. Gender distinction

A notable characteristic of Ĝisir 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

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15 In the second occurrence the final vowel u is omitted because of the vowel in the following word: ḥadḏumn ilḡamā’ā (“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).
itʿallamin w kibrin iğğawwazin ("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 mifʿala/e, where the Old Arabic form has an initial ma-. For example: miʿrfe (< *maʿrifa, "knowledge"), midrase (< *madrasa, "school"). More frequent, however, is the pattern mafʿala/e, whether it corresponds to the Old Arabic form (madrase; maʿrife; marḥale, "stage") or not (mantiga < *miṭga, "area"; maşkale/muşkile < *muşkila, "problem"). In the case of mifal / mafal, however, only instances with an initial ma- were noted: maḥğar ("stone quarry"), maṭraḥ ("location"), maktab ("office", likely a literary loan).

3.2.4.2. Numerals

The forms for the number "one" are wāḥad (m.) and waḥde~waḥda (f.); one instance of wahde (f.) has been noted (Ǧād Šihāb). For "two" we have the expected forms with an interdental t: (i)ṭnēn (m.) and ṭintēn (f.), next to forms with a dental stop t: (i)ṭnēn (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 mifal were noted, only of mafal.
state, while otherwise the long series is used.\textsuperscript{18} Thus we have: \textit{xams wād} ("five boys") vs. \textit{wād, xamse} ("boys, five"); \textit{sitt wād} ("six boys") or \textit{sitt ʿsnīn} ("six years") vs. \textit{sitta w sabʿūn sine} ("seventy six years"). Some variation exists in the pronunciation of the number "three". In the construct state the following forms were attested: \textit{ṭalāṭ ṭabaragāt} ("three floors", Maḥmūd Rašwān); \textit{ṭlāṭ ʿnwāʾ} ("three types"), \textit{ṭlāṭ-arbaʿ ʿsnīn} ("three-four years", Ğamila Ğurbān). Note also the use of the long form with a noun of measurement, as in \textit{ʿašara šēkel} ("ten Shekels").\textsuperscript{19} As usual, when counting thousands, the word \textit{alāf} is preceded by \textit{t}, as in \textit{ʿašartalāf} ("ten thousand").\textsuperscript{20}

Two series of numerals are also found in the numbers 11-19. The long one, ending with -\textit{ar}, is used when directly followed by the counted noun; otherwise the short form is used. Thus we have \textit{ṣaff ʿḥdaʿaš} ("grade 11"), but \textit{ṣabʿaṭašar sane} ("17 years"). In the latter form we see that the second of two original \textit{c} has dropped (contrast Old Arabic \textit{sabʿata ʿašara}). As in other Arabic dialects,\textsuperscript{21} this \textit{c} usually leads to emphatization of the \textit{t} (originally the feminine ending): \textit{xamasṭaʿšar wālād} ("15 children"), \textit{ṭamanṭaʿšar sane} ("18 years"). In the number 13, this results in the shift of the second \textit{t} to \textit{ṭ} (\textit{ṭalaṭṭaʿšar}), and sometimes also the first (\textit{ṭalaṭṭaʿś}).

\textsuperscript{19} C.f. (Taine-Cheikh 2012), who cites the following example from Cairene: \textit{ʿašara g(e)rām} ("10 grams").
\textsuperscript{20} Diachronically, this \textit{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.
In the ordinal numbers the common fāʿil pattern is used for the masculine form of 2-10, e.g. ṭānī, ṭālīṯ, rābiʿ, etc.; for feminine we have fāʿla/e, e.g. ṭānye. 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 Ğamila Ğurbān.22

Some observed fractions are the following: nuṣṣ ("half"), ṯīlṯīṯīṯulṯuṯ ("third"), rubiʿ ("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 Naǧḡār. Consider the following table (based on Jastrow's findings).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. m.</td>
<td>ġdarabum / ġdarabu</td>
<td>yuḍrubum / yuḍrubu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. f.</td>
<td>ġdarabin</td>
<td></td>
<td>yuḍrubin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. m.</td>
<td>ġdarabtum / ġdarabtu</td>
<td>tuḍrubum / tuḍrubu</td>
<td>uḍrubum / uḍrubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. f.</td>
<td>ġdarabtin</td>
<td>tuḍrubin</td>
<td>uḍrubin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ġurbān, especially by Ġamīla Ġurbān. For example: *fataḥum iṭṭarīg lēna w lēhum* ("they opened the road for us and for them"); *yṣayydum issamač* ("they catch fish"); *xudum* gaddēš biddkum _manyē, xudum išrabum* ("take as much water as you like, take and drink"). It also often appears in the speech of a Ġād Šīhāb: *lamment kānat il bxirōt* kānum *yižum* hōna ("when the elections took place they used to come here"); *humma yiërฟum šū nixarrař?* ("do they know what we are talking about?"); *rāhum sawwum Ṭxomāh* ("they went and made a wall"). I have also noted it in the speech of a boy from the ʿAmmāš (e.g. *ykibbum zēt*, "they pour oil"), although a girl from the ʿAmmāš 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: *ṭilʿum, ṭilʿu* ("they left"); *rāḥum, rāḥu* ("they went"); *yōklum, yōklu* ("they eat"); *yištiģlum, yištiģlu* ("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"); *ygūlum* ("they say") but *ygulūha* ("they say it"). This ending is also dropped when the verb is negated by the negational suffix -š: *sawwum* ("they made"), *sawwūš* ("they didn't make"); *yiërřum* ("they know"), ma-

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23 Here ḏ>d, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).
24 For the use of Ŝ instead of Š 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"); yḥibbum mašākil ("they like troubles"), ma-yḥībbūš baʿḏ ("they don't like each other").

3.2.5.2. Form I

The paradigm of the strong verb is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sg. m.</td>
<td>ḏarab</td>
<td>yuḏrub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg. f.</td>
<td>ḏarbat</td>
<td>tuḏrub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. m.</td>
<td>ḏarabu(m)</td>
<td>yuḏrubu(m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. f.</td>
<td>ḏarabin</td>
<td>yuḏrubin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. m.</td>
<td>ḏarab’t</td>
<td>tuḏrub</td>
<td>uḏrub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg. f.</td>
<td>ḏarabti</td>
<td>tuḏrubi</td>
<td>uḏrubi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. m.</td>
<td>ḏarabtu(m)</td>
<td>tuḏrubu(m)</td>
<td>uḏrubu(m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. f.</td>
<td>ḏarabtin</td>
<td>tuḏrubin</td>
<td>uḏrubin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>ḏarab’t</td>
<td>aḏrub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td>ḏarabna</td>
<td>nuḏrub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: yišlaʾ ("to leave"), yiʿrif ("to know"), yiqʿud—yugʿud ("to sit"). As illustrated in the last example, when the stem vowel is u the prefix vowel can be i or

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26 Occasionally we have uḏrubu (< *uḏrubu < uḏrubu).
u, but there is a clear tendency for u, e.g. yuṯбуx ("to cook"), yuktub ("to write"), yuḡbuḍ ("to grab, to collect"), yuḡṛub ("to hit"). In one instance the u prefix was noted even when the stem vowel is not u, namely, nuxbiz ("we bake"), by Ğamila Ğurbān. Some variation between speakers occurs, for example, in the root ṣ-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: yiṭlaʿ ("to exit"), yikbar ("to grow, rise"), yikrah ("to hate"), yismaʿ ("to hear"), yimlaḥ ("to become salty"), yimnaʿ ("to prevent"), yiẓraʿ ("to plant").

c. In the perfect of fiʿil-type verbs we have, for example: rikib ("he rode"); zihig (3 sg. m.), zihīgat (3 sg. f.), zihigum (3 pl. m.), zihīgin (3 pl. f.) ("to become tired or bored of something"); kibrin ("they (f.) grew up"); tilʿu(m) ("they got out"); riǧʿu ("they got back"). Some variation exists in the preservation of the vowels, thus we have both čiḥīna ("we grew up"), with the first vowel preserved, and zʿīlna ("we were angry"), lḥīγa ("we acquired"), xliγna ("we were born"), with the first vowel omitted. Also contrast smiʿt ("I heard") with ʿmiḥt ("I made").

3.2.5.3. Forms II and III

The prefix vowel (Old Arabic u) in the imperfect is deleted in most persons: nṭaʿẓim ("we feed"), ṯayyīr ("you change", "she changes"). In the 1 sg. the
prefix is always a: afakkir ("I think"), a’allim ("I teach"), ašaġġi’c ("I encourage"), ašallī ("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").

In the few examples that occurred in the corpus, the 3 sg. f. was faʿʿalat, with the a vowel preserved, e.g. ḥaḍḍarat ("she prepared, made"), xarrafat ("she told stories"), wazza‘at ("she distributed"). This pattern is contrasted with form I fa‘lat, e.g. ẓarbat ("she hit"), saknat ("she dwelt"), fatḥat ("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‘dī ("help! (sg. f.)"), thāsib ("she settles an account"), ydāfi’ ("he protects"); t‘āmil ("you treat, deal with").

3.2.5.4. Form IV

Form IV is rarely used, with almost all examples being from the verb yiʿṭī~yinṭī ("to give"): yiʿṭu ("they give"), biʿṭūna ("they give us"), ma-yiʿṭūš ("they don't give"), yinṭūna ("they give us"), ninṭīha ("we give it"). The forms with n were used solely by Ğamilā Ğurbān. Except for this verb, a single occurrence of niṭʿim ("we feed") was noted, next to form II nṭaʿṭim.

27 The use of ẓ instead of ǧ 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 taʿāmal ma‘a, with deletion of the affix t (< *ṭiṭʿāmil), given that it appears with the preposition ma‘.
3.2.5.5. Forms V and VI

Examples of form V include: tʿallam ("he studied"), tḡayyar ("he changed"), nitḡallab ("we cope, manage"), tfarraḡ! ("behold, look! (m.)"), nitxarraf ("we converse, talk"), yithammam ("he has a bath"). Cases of assimilation include: ma-niddaxxalš ("we don't interfere"), īḡammaʿat ("[the village] gathered"), biddi aḡɡawwaz ("I want to get married"), īḡawwaz ("he got married"), īḡɡawwazin ("they (f.) got married").

Form VI is uncommon, with the following few examples noted: nitkātal ("we fight one another"), yiddāyagum ("they (m.) are angry with one another"; with assimilation t > ḍ), baṭʿaṭa ("I engage in").

As in form II (see 3.2.5.3 above), the feminine form preserves the vowel a, as in tḡayyarat ("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"), tinbaṣit ("you will have fun"). The stress in all these cases is on the penultimate syllable.

In form VIII, the prefix ʾi can be preserved as in iṣṭara ("he bought"), or omitted as in Štaḡalt ("I worked"), ntaṣrat ("she/it spread out"). The latter example shows deletion of a following the infixed 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"), yiṣṭaḡil

29 ʿq > k here is probably a literary influence.
("he works"), tišṭāgil/nišṭāgil ("you/we work"), baḥtarin ("I respect"), tixtalif ("it differs"). It can also be replaced by i, for example: yišṭīgil ("he works"), yišṭīglu/tišṭīgil ("they/you work"), baḥtirmu ("I respect him"). Finally, the a may be deleted altogether: yišṭīgil ("he works"), nišṭīgil/aštīgil/tišṭīgil ("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: tistaʿmilu ("you (pl.) use"), yistāžir ("he rents"), innās istaslamat ("the people gave up"). The prefix ʾi can be omitted: staslamat.

3.2.5.8. Participles

Active participles are frequently used in the dialect. The form I paradigm is fāʿil, fāʿla/e, fālīn, fālāt. Examples include: ʿāyiš, ʿāyše, ʿāyšīn ("to live, be alive"), šāyif ("to see"), māšye ("to walk"), ḍāy'a ("to get lost"), rāyha ("to go"), ḍākir ("to remember"). In the other forms we have the prefix m(i)-,30 for example: sg. m. mfakkir ("thinking"), mxallīs ("finishing"), mḥaḏḍir ("making"), mitwaffir ("found, existing"), miğgawwiz ("married"), mitʿawwid ("accustomed"), mitʿammil ("hoping"); sg. f. miğgawwze ("married"), minḍahre ("declining, deteriorating"); pl. m. mgasslin ("washing"), mnattfin ("cleaning"31), mgarririn ("having decided"), mitʿallmīn ("educated"). Feminine plural forms exist but

30 The single occurrence of mustakfiyyīn must be considered as literary in its mu- prefix, although the conjugation is not in accordance with the Old Arabic form ʿmustakfīn.
31 Here we have ẓ > t, where normally ẓ is preserved (see 3.1.1.2 above).
are not very common: *snānha miš rākbāt mlīḥ.. mšalbakāt iḥna bingūl ʿanhin* ("her teeth are not well placed.. what we call crooked"); *lamma iḥna nkūn gāʾdāt* ("when we (f.) are sitting"); *miġğawzāt* ("married").

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

3.2.5.9. Weak verb

a. $C_1 = ' \,$

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. Ğamila Ğurbān, a boy from the ‘Ammāš) drop the first syllable and treat these verbs as if they were $C_3 = y$ 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
while in the second case ("to take") it is u. Imperative base forms are kul and xud. Observed participles are māxīd, māxīdin.

b. C₁ = w

Noted examples in the perfect: wlidt ("I was born"), wildum ("they (m.) were born"); imperfect: yīgaf ("he stands"); imperative: igaf ("stand!"); participle: wāgfin ("standing", pl. m.). In form VIII I have noted ittafagu ("they (m.) agreed"), mittafiq ("agreeing", sg. m.).

c. C₂ = w/y

The semivowel w/y becomes a long vowel in the imperfect: ygūl ("to say"), yḡib ("to bring"), ynām ("to sleep"). The corresponding perfect forms have ā for the 3rd person: gāl, ḡāb. As in Old Arabic, in the 1st and 2nd persons we have a short vowel, either u or i: gul⁰t, ġibt. In the imperative we have gūl and ḡīb. Perfect and imperative forms for ynām were not attested in the corpus, though we could expect nām – nīmt – nāml. A few instances of the conjugation of šār – yṣīr ("to become", "to start") in the 1st and 2nd person exhibit vocalization as in C₂ = w verbs: sur⁰t (1 sg. and 2 sg. m.) and surna (1

34 A similar pattern is found for Iksāl in (Nevo 2006:52).
35 I have not noted forms with Imāla (mēkil, mēxiḏ) 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 (yīgā', i'ga'), but the imperfect is different than Iksāl's yōgaf (Nevo 2006:52).
37 Contrast with mittifi(·) in Haifa (Geva-Kleinberger 2004:118).
In the active participle the distinction between \(w\) and \(y\) disappears, so we have both ʿâyiš (‘-y-š, "living") and šâyif (š-w-f, "seeing"). Other than that the active participle behaves as in the strong verb, e.g. ʿâyiš, ʿâyše, ʿâyšin ("living"); râyiḥ, râyha ("going").

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. m.</td>
<td>gālu(m)</td>
<td>3 pl. f.</td>
<td>gālin</td>
<td>2 pl. m.</td>
<td>gultu(m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ygūlu(m)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ygūlin</td>
<td></td>
<td>tgūlu(m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 pl. f.</td>
<td>gūlin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: yṣayyiḥ ("he screams"), ykayyfu ("they have fun"), tḡayyir ("you change"), nrawwiḥ ("we go home"), ydawwir ("he looks for"), mṭawwagin ("encircled", "surrounded"); form III: yžāwrūna ("they are our neighbors"); form V: tḡayyar ("it changed"), iǧǧawwaz ("he got married"), tiǧǧawwaz ("she will get married"), miǧǧawwiz/miǧǧawwze/miǧǧawzwāt ("married", sg. m. / sg. f. / pl. f.; with

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38 Used by ʿAli Ġurbān and Maḥmūd Rašwān. C.f. (Nevo 2006:52), according to which these forms are "dialectal" and "phonetically motivated".
assimilation \( t > \tilde{g} \); form VI: \( \text{yid\text{dot}ayagum} \) ("they (m.) are angry with one another"); with assimilation \( t > \tilde{d} \). For form VIII we have \( \text{xtirtak} \) ("I elected you"), with the old \( a \) (\(*\text{ixtartuka}\)) shifted to \( i \), and the participle \( \text{mirt\text{dot}ah} \) ("satisfied").

d. \( C_3 = y \).\(^{39}\)

There are two paradigms, corresponding to Old Arabic *\( \text{fa'ala} \) and *\( \text{fa'ila/fa'ula} \). For the former we have \( \text{ha\text{dot}a} – \text{ha\text{dot}et} – \text{yi\text{dot}hi} \) ("to talk"). Consider the 2\(^{nd}\) and 3\(^{rd}\) person plural forms of \( \text{ha\text{dot}a}:\)\(^{40}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. m.</td>
<td>( \text{ha\text{dot}u} )</td>
<td>( \text{yi\text{dot}hi} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl. f.</td>
<td>( \text{ha\text{dot}in} )</td>
<td>( \text{yi\text{dot}hi\text{dot}in} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. m.</td>
<td>( \text{ha\text{dot}etu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ti\text{dot}hi} )</td>
<td>( \text{ih\text{dot}hi} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl. f.</td>
<td>( \text{ha\text{dot}etin} )</td>
<td>( \text{ti\text{dot}hin} )</td>
<td>( \text{ih\text{dot}hin} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 3\(^{rd}\) person pl. f. perfect/imperfect (\( \text{ha\text{dot}in}/\text{yi\text{dot}hi\text{dot}in} \)) and 2\(^{nd}\) person pl. f. imperfect/imperative (\( \text{ti\text{dot}hin}/\text{ih\text{dot}hin} \)) appear without a final long \( \tilde{e} \), which is what we find, for example, in the Triangle (see 4.2 below).

As for *\( \text{fa'ila/fa'ula} \) type verbs, I have noted \( \text{nsit} \) ("I forgot"), \( \text{nasin\text{dot}a} \) ("we forgot it"); \( \text{bagat}, \text{bag\text{dot}ena}, \text{tibga}, \text{yibgu} \) ("to remain"); all produced by the same speaker (\( \text{\v{G}amila \v{G}urb\text{dot}an} \)). 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.
In the perfect there is some inconsistency between forms with and without initial \(a\) (\(nsit\) vs. \(nasināha\), \(bagat\), \(bagēna\)). The latter seem to behave as if they were originally *\(\text{fa'ala}\) type (c.f. \(\text{ḥa'at}\), \(\text{ḥa'ēna}\)), differently, for example, from what we find in the Triangle (Jastrow 2004): \(\text{diryat, drīna}\).^{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 \(\ddot{s}\). This is true for all measures. For example: \(\text{nrabbī} - \text{nrabbīhum}\) ("we raise" – "we raise them"); \(\text{asawwi} - \text{asawwi}\) ("I make" – "I make it"); \(\text{tsawwi} - \text{tsawwilna}\) ("she makes" – "she makes for us"); \(\text{tihči} - \text{ma-tihčiš}\) ("you talk" – "you don't talk"); \(\text{ašalli} - \text{ašalliš}\) ("I pray" – "I don't pray"). And old diphthong \(\text{ay}\) is monophthongized into long \(ē\), as in \(\text{sawwēt}\) ("I made"), \(\text{banēna}\) ("we built"), \(\text{waddētu}\) ("I sent him"). If, as a result of a shift of stress, the long vowel is shortened, the old \(a\) reappears: \(\text{rabbēna} + \text{hum} > \text{rabbānāhum}\) ("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: \(\text{yi'ṭū}\) ("they give it"), \(\text{bi'ṭūna}\) ("they give us"), \(\text{bi'ṭūš, ma-yi'ṭūš}\) ("they don't give"); form V: \(\text{twaffa}\) ("he passed away"), \(\text{nitgadda}\) ("we eat lunch"), \(\text{yit'asša}\) ("he eats dinner"), \(\text{trabbēt}\) ("I grew up"), \(\text{titsalla}\) ("you have a good time"); form VI: \(\text{bat'āta}\) ("I am occupied with"); form VIII: \(\text{ištara/ištarēt}\) ("he/I bought"), \(\text{iltagēt}\) ("I met"), \(\text{bniltigi}\) ("we meet").

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^{41} C.f. (Jastrow 2004), \(\text{yidra}\).

^{42} The form \(\text{nasināha}\) can be interpreted as a *\(\text{fa'ala}\) type verb, with the long \(ē\) shifted to short \(i\) with the addition of the pronominal object (\(<\ *\text{nasēna} + ha\)), or as *\(\text{fa'ila}\) type, with the initial \(a\) preserved (\(<\ *\text{nasīna} + ha\)).
In form I active participle of 1st person sg. m. the semivowel is dropped, as in ṛāḍī ("satisfied"). In other persons the semivowel is preserved: ṛāḍyīn (pl.); māšye ("walking", sg. f.). The only example from other forms is in form X, mustakfiyyīn, with the literary mu- prefix.

e. ağa ("to come")

This doubly weak verb appears with the initial a in the 3rd person perfect forms, otherwise without it: ağa, ağat, ağu, ağin, ṣit, ṣiti, ṣitu, ṣitin, ṣit, ṣina. On one occasion I heard iğu, though the same speaker (a boy from the ‘Ammāš) usually used ağu. Interestingly, in an old recording a man from the village used ġā, without the initial a. Some imperfect forms are: yiği, tiği, yiğu, tiğin, aği, niği; yiži, tiži, yižum. In the participle we have ġāy (sg. m.) and ġayin (pl. m.). The imperative is taʿāl (sg. m.) or the short form taʿa (used by a girl from the Ĝurbān).

f. C2 = C3

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

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43 Here ḍ > ḍ, where normally ḍ 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 ṣaža, while the Jews use ṣxa. 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 yiği (by Maḥmūd Rašwān): biđdu yiği 'indhum ẓeft ("a guest is supposed to come to them").
47 Forms with ź were uttered by Ĝād Šihāb, see 3.1.1.1 above.
feel”); *yḥuṭṭ* ("he puts"), *yxuddum* ("they shake").

Sometimes there is variation in the stem vowel choice, even in the speech of the same speaker. For example, Ğamila Ğurbān used both *yḥibbum*, *ma-yḥibbūš* ("they like", "they don't like") and *yḥubbūna* ("they like us"); *baliffu* ("I role it up") and *yluffū* ("they roll it up"). Āli Ğurbān used both *yḥib* ("he likes") and *yḥubbu* ("they like"). In the 1st and 2nd persons of the perfect we have a long vowel, in analogy to $C_3=y$ verbs. Examples include: *ḥaṭṭēt* ("I/you put"), *ḥabbēt* ("I/you liked"), *ḏallēt* ("I/you remained"), *natṭēna* ("we jumped"). The only observable participles are *ḥāṭṭīn* ("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 *farǧa/warǧa* ("to show"; base form itself not observed), all with a pronominal suffix or an indirect object with the preposition *l*: *afarǧīk* ("I will show you"), *warǧētak* ("I showed you"), *ywarǧīlu* ("he will show him"). Forms with initial *f-* and *w-* seem to be used interchangeably by the same speakers.

h. $C_2=w$, $C_3=y$

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48 Old Arabic *xrqṣ, with de-emphatization.

49 According to (Geva-Kleinberger 2004:122), in Haifa the Jews use *warža* while the Christians and Muslims use *farža.*
I have noted one occurrence of yitsawa ("it is being made"), formed in the pattern itfaʿal, which is used in some other dialects such as in Cairo (Woidich 2012).

3.2.6. Prepositions
3.2.6.1. bi, fi ("in", "at")

bi and fi are both used before nouns and pronominal suffixes, though bi is much more common. Examples for fi: fi lbalad ("in the village"); fiha ("in it").

b- is used before CV/CV: b-ḥayāti ("in my life"), b-ḥālu ("to himself"), b-ṣaff ʿṭnaʿaš ("in grade 12"); bi appears before CCV/CCV: bi-ṣṣēf ("in the summer"), bi-lbalad ("in the village"). However, with pronominal suffixes we usually have a long base bi: bi~bīya, bik, biha, bihin, bihum.

Both bi and fi are used as the existential marker ("there is"), with negated forms (ma-)bišš and (ma-)fišš. Examples include: bi nabaʾ ʿala ḡamb ilğabal ("there is a spring near the mountain"); fi azmit sakan hōna ("there is a housing crisis here"); bišš maṭraḥ bi-Sraʾil ma-štağaltš biha ("there is no place in Israel that I haven’t worked at"); ma-fišš farʿe bēn bin’t w walad ("there is no difference between a girl and a boy"). Certain speakers tend to prefer bi to fi or vice versa. Ğamila Ğurbān used exclusively bi, while Ğād Šihāb used only

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

51 bišš usually appears without ma-. I only noted one occurrence of ma-bišš, by ʿAli Ğurbān.
ft. ʿAli Ġurbān and Maḥmūd Rašwān used both forms. It should be noted that
bi forms were recorded by young as well as old speakers.

3.2.6.2. ʿind, ‘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 (ʿindi~ʿandi, ʿindu, ʿandak). When the suffix starts with a
consonant, there may either be no change to the base form (ʿindna~ʿandna,
ʿindha, ʿindhum) or the consonant cluster may be resolved by insertion of a
long vowel i (ʿandina, ʿandihum); in this case an initial a seems to be the
norm.52

ʿind/ʿand + pronominal suffix can denote possession, for example:
ʿindi tumbīl ("I have a car"); ʿindi wlād wlād arbaʿa w īṣrīn ("I have 24
grandchildren").

3.2.6.3. ʿala ("on")
Some observed forms with pronominal suffixes: ʿalayyi, ʿalēna, ʿalēk, ʿalē,
ʿalēha. When preceding a noun, ʿala may be shortened to ʿa-, so we have both
ʿala šaṭṭ ilbaḥr and ʿa-šaṭṭ ilbaḥr ("on the beach").53

52 Another alternative to resolving the consonant cluster is assimilation d > n, which was
only rarely noted, e.g. ʿinna~ʿanna.
53 I have also noted two cases of ʿal, which seems to be a shortened form rather than ʿa +
definite article l. Thus: ʿal-ilzabal ("on the mountain"), ʿal-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 *minnī* ("from me") and *minnīk* ("from you (m.)"); both by a girl from the Ġurbān) seem to be a back-formation based on long-vowelled forms (like *minnēna* and *minniha*).

3.2.6.5. maʿ, maʿa ("with")
These two base forms have two different declensions, e.g. *maʿna / maʿāna, maʿu / maʿā*. Forms with base *maʿ* seem to be much more frequent with pronominal suffixes than those with base *maʿa*. Occasionally we have the assimilation of *ḥ* > *ḥḥ* (*maḥḥa, maḥḥum*; 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 Ġād Śihāb and Maḥmūd Raʾswān. These forms seem to be used more frequently non-enclitically in order to denote possession, e.g. *ilhum niswaṃ*

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-karīš īlu mašāri* ("he had no money"), although we have also cases such as *kull balad lu laḥğe* ("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-Zīxron* ("to Zikhron"), *la-nnāhīr* ("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: *axagha la-ummi* ("he married my mother").

3.2.6.8. Other prepositions

The following are some less frequent interesting prepositions. *ta-* (< Old Arabic *ḥatta*) is used to express a destination, as in *min ilbaḥALIGNMENT taphēna* ("from the sea to here"). *wara* ("behind") is used in the expression *ma-hū kullu wara ilfikr, wara itta‘lim* ("it all depends on thinking, on education"). *wiyyā- appears once (Maḥmūd Rašwān) with the same meaning as *ma‘* ("with"): *wiyyāhum* ("with them"). I have also two instances of *iyyā* in the expressions *ana w iyyāk* ("me and you"; Ğād Șīhāb) 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).
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-lʾiyām hāy, b-hādāk ilwakt, b-waktha, (min) awwal, (min) awwan.

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57 *šū* is used more frequently than *ēš*; a single occurrence of *ē* has been uttered by ʿAlī Ġurbān: *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 ʿAlī Ġurbān, *čēf* by Maḥmūd Rašwān and Ġamīla Ġurbān; *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 wahda* ("at once"); all uttered by Ġamila Ġurbān. But *marra wahade* in the speech of Ġād Šihāb just means "once".
3.2.8.3. Adverbs of measure and manner

Measure: ḵṯīr ("much", "many");⁶⁵ la-lāxīr ("very much", "extremely"); šwāyy(e) ("little"); bass ("only"). Manner: hēč(a), hēk(a) ("so", "thus"); found also in phrases such as w hēk ("and so on"); w išī w hēk, w hēč w hēč ("and so on and so forth").⁶⁶

3.2.9. Conjunctions

3.2.9.1. Coordinating conjunctions

w-, fâ- ("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 gaddeš ("as much as");⁷⁰ minšān, ʾašān, ta- ("in order to", "so that"); bass ("as soon as"); innu, inn- + pronominal suffix, e.g. inni, innak, innhum ("that", "that I/you/they"); ʾašān, laʾinnu, līʾinnu, līʾannu (the latter more literary), līʾann- + pronominal suffix, e.g. līʾanni, līʾannha ("because", e.g. "because I", "because she"); zayy mā ("as").

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⁶⁵ I noted a single occurrence of each of katīr and ktīr, 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 xīlīna ("when we were born"). There were also single occurrence of yōmīn by Ğamila 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: gaddeš 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-yihčūš 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-yibʿidš ʿan ašlu (“but one doesn’t go far beyond his origin”); ma-ḥašalš lēhum iššaraf innhum yžāwrūna (“they didn’t have the honor to be our neighbors”); bukra ma-ništiğıš (“we don’t work tomorrow”); ana yaʿni ma-t’allamš barra ma-ruḥš 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 maraḍ ʿindu bilmarra yaʿni (“he didn’t have any sickness”); ma-fāš ilmadrāse (“he didn’t go to school”). I noted the following two exceptions to this rule: ma-tiġdarš tihči maʿu bi-lbidāya (“she can’t speak with him at start”, by a girl from the Ĝurbān) and ma-ruḥštši ʿa-lmadrāse (“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 Similar forms are found, for example, in Salṭ (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: *xub’z ʿarabi* ("Arab bread"), *ḥāle mliḥa* ("good situation"), *yikbar ilbaḥr* ("the sea rises"), *ma-kānš ḫimaraḏ ḥāḍa* ("this illness did not exist"); inanimate plural nouns usually have sg. f. agreement in adjectives, verbs and resumptive pronouns: *makulāt ʿmliḥa* ("good food"), *kānat arāḏi ziraʿiyye* ("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.. yaʾni mšalbakāt iḥna bingū l ʿanhin* ("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 (Ǧamila Ğurbān):

yaʿni ilmišpaxā kullha tibga tḥubb baʿḏha. yōxḏum 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 ṣāru mlāh. w lbanāt itʿall amin w kibrin iğğawwazin ("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 tḏayyarat 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 itṣalla b-ḥurritha ,"people should pray freely"), whereas specific references are usually in plural (e.g. axūti kullhum sayyadin, "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., *tištģil* ("it works"), but after more details are provided, the final reference is in plural, *yištiţľu* ("they work"), referring to the people of the village:

*w ilbalad kullha tiţla‘ barra btištţgil. tištţgil bi-lmustašţayat, Tel Ha-şomer, b… Kfar Saba b-Mayir, Ixilov, Ḣēfa yištiţľu.*

"The all village goes out and works, works in hospitals, Tel Ha-GShomer, 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 ʿala ttaʿlīm* ("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 mitʿallmīn. w lbanāt kamān mitʿallmīn* ("They are all educated and the girls are also educated"). The second occurrence of *mitʿallmīn* is possible affected by the first.

3.3.2. Genitive constructions

The dialect uses the genitive exponent *taba‘* (f. *tab‘at*, pl. *tab(a)ţīn*) next to the construct state. Not very common, it is used with increasing frequencies by Ġamila Ġurbān (once), ‘Ali 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*miktsō’a* taba’u, "his profession"; il*be’ayā* taba’i, "my problem"73) or end in a (underlying) long vowel, e.g. ilmaṣāri taba’atna, "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 (Ǧād Šihāb) refers to himself and his interlocutor, which are prominent, and uses the genitive exponent when emphasizing their demand:

ilyōm ana w iyyāk nixjarraf hēna, humma yi’rľum šū nixjarraf. humma yi’rľum šū ittalabiyye taba’na? ma-yīrifūš.

"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 (Ǧād Šihāb) first uses the genitive exponent, and then switches to the construct state or the use of a possessive pronoun.

ana biddīš agūl il*be’ayā* taba’i ilmuškile taba’i. ana law biddi agūl ilmuškile taba’i biddhum yğālum hāqā zalame dāyir ʿala maṣālhu… ana bagūl ʿa-μuškilt innās kullha, muškilti? ʿani ʾiftōr otā*…. amma hōna fī mašākil gēru. 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’ayā" and the masculine taba’i.
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 Ġurbān): miš tab‘in mašākil tab‘in ya‘ni itbe‘ayōtī w šaqlāt ("[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, šītī ("mine"). When asked what unique words are used in the village, a boy from the ‘Ammāš gave the following example: lamma ana agūl il‘iši la‘ili, bī nās ygūlum šītī ('when I say 'the thing is mine' [il‘iši la‘ili], some people say 'mine' [šītī]".
Other speakers agreed that this word is rarely used.\textsuperscript{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 Ṽayye ʿala ēn ilbaḥr, "there was water in the spring of the sea") and its function as a copula (e.g. kānat ilḥayā ya‘ni mliḥa, "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):

\textsuperscript{75} For the use of šīt 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 ʿāyšin yaʿni ʿēše mliḥa ("in the past they used to live a good life"). Sometimes this construction describes an action in the past, not necessarily continuous: maʿnātu kān abūya māxiḍ ummi gabl ʿišrin, bi-lʿišrin ("this means that my father married my mother before [19]20, in [19]20"); yaʿni kān māsik ilšugʿil ("he held the job"); kānu mgarririn b-haadāk ilwakʿt... 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 ʿthresh baʿḏha ("people used to like each other"); ilʾakʿl illi kānu yōklu awwal, ġēr ʿan 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: yaʿni kān ilwāḥad minhum maṭalān birabbi ǧāg ("one of them, for example, used to raise chickens"); kunt yaʿni barbaḥ mašāri mniḥa. kunt arbaḥ mašāri mniḥa mniḥa ("I used to make good money. I used to make very good money"); kān btiği ʿala Ḥēfa, bi-lBika minšān tōxud šahrīthu ("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 mḥaḍdir ḥāli, kān warğētak ilxārta illi ʿindi min wēnta kāyin bāni ilbēt tabaʿna ("if I had prepared, I would have shown you the map I have from the time he

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76 Notice the lack of gender agreement in the last example between kān (m.) and btiği (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 bi 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-telefōn, ma‘a wahde ("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 aštiğil bass
liḥdāde hāy ("I started working only in this smithcraft"); ilwāhad yṣīr ydaifi ‘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 xliga 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 ɳṟūḥ ‘a-lmadrase... (“After we were born and started going to school...”).

baga is used to convey the meaning of continuation of a state or action. For example (all examples are from Ğamila Ğurbān): w yibgu yuṭṭlbu minnēna xub‘z ‘arabi (“they [the neighboring Jews] keep asking from us Arab bread”), yaʿni il-lišpaxāl kullha tibga thawbb baʿḏha (“the all family loves [lit. keeps loving] each other”); yibgu yihḥlbu lḥalib, ɳṟūḥ ɳḡīb min ʿindhum ḥalib (“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, ṛāḥ) and ağa (“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: ṭuḥna gulna la-lulād lāzim yitʿallamum (“we went and told the children that they should study”). In my data, however, rāḥ is more frequently followed by an imperfect verb: kunna ɳṟūḥ ɳḡīb ilṃayye ‘a-rūsna,

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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 ilbahr, la-hena ("we used to go and bring water on our heads, from the sea, to here"); ilbalad kan galil illi yrhu ywaddi lulad li-tta'lim ("there were few in the village that would go and send their children to study"); sarat innas itrhu tsawwi 'urs bi-l... b-saht imadrase ("the people started going and having a wedding in the school yard"); baden ruht astgil barra fi-l'mikso’aH79 taba'i ("afterwards I went to work outside in my profession").

The verb ağa ("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: ġit ištarēt hāy il'ard hon ("I came and bought this land here"); illahğa hāy la-birīt ahla min yiği ṣābb yiği 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]"). In one occasion the verb ağa is used with an atelic meaning of "set out to go" (c.f. Brustad 2000:186): w lamman ağa 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 ağa 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 yṣir wala iši ("nothing is going to happen").

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79 Here the Arabic š substitutes the Hebrew ts.
80 Note that in the last example the verb astgil ("I work") could be interpreted as modally embedded by the preceding ruḥt ("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 mašāri* ("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 yrūḥ ynām* ("because he wants to go and go to sleep"); *min biddu yiğal biya?* ("who would want to accept me?"); *biddhum yḏ̣allu hēč* ("they want to stay like this"). Negation is formed by suffixing -š, e.g. *biddhummiš yitʿallamu* ("they don't want to study"); *ana biddīš agūl il"beʿayāh taba'i* ("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).

**lāüzim** + **imperfect**: used to express obligation ("should", "must"). As the following examples show, *lāüzim* is not inflected for number or gender: *makānšiš yfakkir innu lwalad lāüzim yitʿallam, ilbin't lāüzim titʿallam* ("he didn't think that the boy should study or that the girl should study"); *zayy mā sawwu bi-ḏďaffe kānu lāüzim ysawwu židār hōna* ("like they did in the [West] Bank, they should have made a wall here"); *innās lāüzim itṣalli b-hurritha* ("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: *fi* and *bi* (see 3.6.3) are used for denoting existence (“there is”), while their negated forms – *(ma-)*fī and bišš – 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 ʿāyša ḫarālī, bi-Ḡisir, bās ba‘dha miš fāhma llūġa (“it’s true that she lives here, in Ḡisir, but she still doesn’t understand the language”); ba‘dīnī mā-

štaġaltš (“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.\(^\text{82}\)

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, ittaḡribē akbar būrhān (“what do we say? Experience is the best proof”); amma ana barbuţ’s issiyāse la-lḥayā, ilmawḡūde bi-

lbalad (“but I don’t connect politics with the life in the village”); illi yrūḥ yṣālši bakrahūš, baḥtirmu (“He who goes to pray – I don’t hate him, I respect him”); baḥkī li-

likbār (“I’m talking about the elderly”).

\(^{82}\) Brustad (2000:155) notes that *ba‘d* is "lass verbal" than other pseudo-verbs because it cannot be negated. I too have not noted negated examples of *ba‘d*. 72
In the 1st p. pl. the b- prefix can be assimilated to m- because of the following n (all examples from Ğamila Ğurbân): yōmha bi-l’iyyām isfēf, ṭīḥ ‘a-kubbanīyyāt ‘ind ilyahūd, minḡîb laḥ’m minḡîb ǧāč ("back then in the summer days, we would go to the shops of the Jews, we would being meat, we would bring chicken"); ǧōz, marrāt ma-yi’rifnāš. minṛūḥ ‘alē ‘a-Pardes Hanna, mingullu... ("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 Šīhāb). 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’iyyām hāy binaḥṣīḥa. la-l’iyyām hāy ynaḥṣīḥa ("In those days they would dry it [the Mulukhiya]. In those days they would dry it"); w kunt ya’ni barbaḥ maṣāri mniḥa. kunt arbaḥ maṣāri 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 maṭālān birabbī ḡāğa, ‘indu bi-lbēṭ. biddu ḡāğa, 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

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83 Note that this construction is doubly determined, by both annexation and a definite article.
84 ǧāč is a pausal form (see 3.1.3).
corpus of imperfect verbs without b- that carry the indicative sense. Some examples: kunna nrūh 'ṅgīb ilṃayye 'a-rūsna ("we used to go and bring water on our heads"); nīrifš, ma-nigrāš ("we don't know, we don't read"); nrūh w niği 'indhum yiğū 'indna ("we go and come to them and they come to us"); kēf 'ṅgūl iḥna? ("how do we say?"); ilwāḥad yuṭḫux iṭṭaḥxe ʿala nnār, yōkil hū w wlādu yitʿāšša ("one cooks the meal on the fire, eats with his children, has dinner"); ilyōm ana w iyyāk nixarraf 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). In the following example the word bafarḡik ("I will show you") appears in the apodosis of a conditional sentence: amma in šārat ḫizdamnūtā ṭānye, w haddēt 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 fakkart gult bukra ana batḡawwaz, ilulād biddi aʿallimhum. bikūn aḥsan, fi taʿlim... ("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.
"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 haggi 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 baʿḏ̣ ("they don't like each other"); ana ma-šuftūš ("I didn't see him"); ma-kānīš ilu yaʿni, maṣāri aw iši ("he didn't have money or something [of the sort]"); ma-ḥabbēthāš ("I didn't like it").

Occasionally, the ma- is omitted: yʿizzūš ʿalēna lṃayye ("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 Ĝād Šihāb: biʿṭūš mažāl li-lḥayā ("they don't give space to live"); amma ana barbuṭš issiyāse, la-lḥayā, ilmawḡūde bi-lbalad ("but I don't connect politics with the life in the village");

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 bakrahīš illī yrūḥ yṣallī ("but I don't hate those who go and pray");
ana bahčīš ‘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 niḏdar ngūl innu humma ḡgirān illī sabbabūlna lmašākil hāy ("we can't say that these are the neighbors that brought these troubles upon us"); ana xtirtak minšān tsawwi išī la-balad, mā xtirtak minšān ‘tnām, w tinbaṣīt ("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, biddt + pronominal suffix is negated by suffixing -š, for example: biddhummiš yitʿallamu ("they don't want to study"); mīn illi biddhāš tigbal bik? ("who wouldn't want to have you [as a husband]? "); fawḍa 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 bi, 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 Ğamila Ğurbān never uses mā in this construction, and ʿAli Ğurbān and Maḥmūd Rašwān do so only rarely, with Ğād 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 Ğamila Ğurbān: bišš kān ‘andīna maraḏ qaṭīr, 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 ʿandīna maraḍ kaṭir ("we don't have a lot of sickness"), in which ḫān 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-tgūš 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 tabaḥha miš min hēna ("its road is not from here"); ažat ilkahraba w lwaḍī miš ḫālī ("electricity arrived and the situation is [still] not good"); ana miš mitʾammil inni ašūf ilʾiši hāda ("I don't hope to see this thing"). As Brustad notes (2000:301), the subject of the negated predicate may be elided: lā, miš ʿadawīni ("no, [they are] not my enemies"); miš ḥilwa, šahḥ? ("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 ağa la-hēna. miš ağa šammit hawa.
aġa minšān yištgil... ("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 Ĝurbān explains how the negative image of the village affects the establishment of new relationships: ʾiši ḫašēli, yaʿni innak miš tiḥči maʿ insān inta ʿārif maʿu w muṭṭallaʿ 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 ṭinnu: miš ṭinnu nitkātal w nṛūḥ nuḍrub baʿḏ̣ ("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-... + ʾš to negate verbs. These dialects omit the suffix -ʾš 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 Ĝād Šihāb) confirms this pattern: ana ʿumrī ma-ʿmišt ʾāṭıl maʿ insān ("I never did anything wrong to anyone").

Single constituents may be categorically negated with the particle walla (Brustad 2000:309). Consider the following examples in my data: miš nāgīš bik walla ʾiši ("you don't lack anything"); walla b-hayāṭ[i] smītak lahge wahde wahde wahde ("I never heard you [speak] just one dialect"); walla maʾra zʿilna
"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 \textit{wala wāḥad}, next to \textit{ma-ḥada} (or \textit{mā ḥada}) and \textit{ma-wāḥad}. I have also noted one occurrence of \textit{lā min wāḥad} ("not one", "more than one").

Lists are usually negated with \textit{lā… wala…} For example, the following speaker stresses that there was no change in the village, no matter which political party was ruling: \textit{lā b-zaman ilMaʿarax wala b-zaman illLikud… yaʿni sawwūš wala iši, lā bi-IlLikud 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: \textit{w yaʿni māt yaʿni hēk min aḷḷa, amma bidūn maraḏ yaʿni, ma-kānʾiš maraḏ ʿindu bilmarra yaʿni. lā sukkar. lā ḥlaxaṣ daṃ 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 \textit{yā yuṃṭa} ("my child"), used by Ġamila Ġurbān, is a typical Bedouin form (Rosenhouse 1984:52). The lexical items \textit{xūṣa} ("knife") and \textit{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, ġ, 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 Tayybe). The latter villages are said to have \( g \) in Behnstedt & Woidich's map, but \( k \) 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 Ġisir izZarga. Considering the reports of the arrival of Ġisir 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 – \( t, d, \) and \( \text{ḏ} \). This triad has been preserved in the majority of rural and Bedouin dialects in Palestine as well as Transjordan (see
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, ż. Note that according to Palva's classification (2.2), ż 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), ż 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 Ğisir – which shows an

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2 The map in Behnstedt & Woidich’s (2005:63) shows a few villages in the Galilee in which the interdentals have been shifted to dental stops such as Kufir Yasīf 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 Ğisir (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 \( k > č \) – 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 Ğamila Ğurbān (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 ġ, x, ʿ, ḥ or h). In practically all of the Bedouin dialects of Palestine and Transjordan, these are realized as \( CCə́CV \) 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, Ğisir izZarga clearly belongs to the sedentary type.

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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 ḏ̣ (e.g. ḥāḏa, "this" (m.), ḥaḏāk, "that (m.")") whereas the feminine forms are always non-emphatic due to the neighboring high vowel i (ḥāḏi, "this (f."); ḥaḏić, "that (f.")") According to Rosenhouse (1984:20), "[a]lmost all Bedouin dialects have in common the feature of emphatisation 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, tabaʿ, 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 šīt- is found in Syria (Fischer & Jastrow 1980/2000:86), for example in Damascus, although there it's mostly replaced by tabaʿ (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 tabaʿ; 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 šīt- 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 Ğamila 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 Antioch (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:  

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.
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 Saʿāida (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 Ğurbān and ʿAmmāš. 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 Naḡḡār 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 $C_1 = ʾ$, corresponding to Old Arabic *akala (“to eat”) and *axaḍa (“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, axad*) and one that models these verbs as $C_3=y$ (*kala, xađa*). The first system was used by a girl from the ʿAmmāš, while a boy from the ʿAm māš and Ğamila Ğurbān used the second system. Some speakers (Maħmūd Rašwān) mix the two. $C_3=y$-like forms in the perfect (*kala, xađa*) 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, yōxuđ*) – 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, xađa*) and sedentary (imperfect *yōkil, yōxuđ*) features. Note that alternation between i/u (*yōkil/yōxuđ*) is similar to the situation in Iksāl (Nevo 2006:52), although there the perfect forms are of the Old Arabic type (*akal, axad*).

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-Mifğar (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 \( ḥača \) ("to talk"). In Ğisir, the feminine plural forms for 3\(^{rd}\) person perfect/imperfect (\( ḥačin/yiḥčin \)) and 2\(^{nd}\) person imperfect/imperative (\( tiḥčin/iḥčin \)) 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 Salṭ (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 \( aḡa \) ("to come") appears with an initial \( a \) in the 3\(^{rd}\) 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). On the other hand, in many sedentary dialects we find an initial \( i \) or \( a \), at least in the east. Thus, while there are exceptions to this pattern, 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.

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6 Most of my data involve verbs like \( ḥača \) that correspond to Old Arabic *faʿala*. I have only encountered a few examples for verbs with \( C_3 = y \) corresponding to Old Arabic *faʿila/faʿula* (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 \( giḥ/ga \) (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* (Ǧamila Ğurbān, a boy from the ʿAmmāš and two girls from the Ğurbān), while others prefer *fī* (Ǧād Šihāb) or mix between the two forms (ʿAli Ğurbān 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 Salt (Palva 2004:232).

Another interesting feature is the insertion of *ī* to resolve consonant clusters in forms such as *ʿandīna*, *ʿandīhum* ("by us", "by them (m.)"); 3.2.6.2) or *minnēna* ("from us"; 3.2.6.4). By analogy we have also *ʿannīk* ("of you (m.)"), *minnik* ("from you (m.)"), and *minnī* ("from me"). Such forms are more common with Ğurbāni speakers, but in any case the long *ī* is not obligatory, so we have also *ʿīndna*~*ʿandna*, *ʿindha*, *ʿindhum*; *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: *li*, *lak*, *lu* ("to me", "to you", "to him") and *ilkum*, *ilhum* ("to you", "to them"). The latter forms are mainly used by Ğād Šihāb and Maḥmūd Rašwān, and they are said to be typically sedentary (Rosenhouse 1984:40, 109).

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10 Another girl from the Ğurbān 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 min ("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 Ǧurbān: yḥibb 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: (šū in sentence-initial position, ʾēh in sentence final), and attributes it to Cairene influence.

\(^{12}\) See (Geva-Kleinberger 2004:84) and the references therein.
The predominant form for "now" is *hassa*. 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).

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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 Ğisir 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 bīš (Palva 2004:232). Interestingly, bišš has also been recorded in the nearby city of Bāqa lĞarbiyya (Majadly 2012), and ma bišš is noted for ġēn Ḥōḏ in the Galilee.¹⁵

4.4. Lexicon

The words xuṣa ("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 xōṣa ("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), ‘Aġārma 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 Ǧisir 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 Ǧisir fits in the picture.

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<td>hassa</td>
<td>(ma-) … -š</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ġisir 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 Ġisir and the Triangle. We are left with South Palestine, South Transjordan, and North and Central Transjordan. All three are quite similar to Ġisir Arabic. However, the South Palestine group lacks the Ġisir form for "now" (hassa) while the other two have a similar form (hassāʾ). On the other hand, in contrast to the situation in Ġisir, 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 Ġisir 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 Ġisir 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-Mifğar. Significantly, the founders of Fureidis are said to be Bedouins from the Jordanian Ghor (Hareuveni 2010:802). While more details on the dialects of Fureidis and il-Mifğar are needed in order to confirm the uniqueness of the Carmel Coast dialects, it is clear that there are some important differences between these dialects. For example, while all three dialects exhibit $^*k > ċ$ (to different degrees), they differ with regards to the realization of $^*q$: Ġisir has $^*q > g$, while Fureidis and il-Mifğar have $^*q > k$. Interestingly, the Ġisir combination of $^*q > g$ and $^*k > ċ$ 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.

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16 The people of il-Mifğar (also pronounced il-Mafğar) 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 Mafğar, 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 $iḥči/iḥki$ ("speak!", "say!"). Asked which dialect they prefer, speaker R said that she prefers her own dialect ($ana bahībb lahīgīti$, "I like my dialect"), which uses $iḥči$, rather than the use of $iḥki$, adding that it's difficult to say $iḥki$. Speaker H agreed that "one is accustomed to [his or her own dialect]" ($ilwāḥad mitʿawwid ʿalēha), which makes it easier, but argued that $iḥki$ 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 ʾāl ("said"; Old Arabic *qāl) is not pretty (lahǧat ilʾāl ... miš ḥilwa, ṣaḥḥ?) and said she does not like this dialect (ma-ḥabbēthāš). Interestingly, the girls expressed a gender-based preference: it is better that a girl speaks with *q > ʾ than a guy. For example (speaker R): illahǧe hāy la-birʾ iṭlaʿ aḥla min yiği šābb yiği ygullak: ʾalli w ʾultillu ("this dialect is nicer for a girl than a guy coming and telling you: ʾalli [he told me] and ʾultillu [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 yiḥči 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 ṭrūḥ tḡayyir lahḡṭak. wuṣṣiṭ Kfar Kasim tiḥči zayyhum, wuṣṣiṭ Ḥēfa inta tiḥči zayyhum. il..zalame yiṭlaʿ, yḏ̣aḷlu ʿałah ʾālahgṭu, bass inta kull mā tiṭlaʿ tḡayyir lahḡṭak.

"Wherever you go, you change your dialect. In the middle of Kufir Kāsim 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 *ġurāni* dialect. This remark is especially interesting as it contrasts the word *ġurāni* (literally: of the Jordanian Ghor) with the word *madani* ("urban"), which means that *ġurāni* is used to denote a "rural" dialect. In so doing, Speaker R identified with the *ġurāni* 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" (*luğa wuṣṭa*). While speaking, he switched between dialectal Arabic and Educated Arabic: *ana bāḥki luğa wuṣṭa, ana bāḥki luğa w atahaddat luğa ʿarabiyye wuṣṭa*. Note the first use of *bāḥki* – dialectal, though not the Ğisir form which would be *bāḥči* – and the subsequent use of literary *ataḥaddat* 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 *bāḥki* and at the literary *ataḥaddat*.

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).

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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 Ğisir izZarga is a rural dialect with a significant Bedouin component. Its rural character is evident from the phonological (e.g. preservation of the interdentals; \( ^*\text{ḡīm} > \text{ḡ} \); inconsistent \( k > c \)), morphological (gender distinction in plural verbs and pronouns), morphophonological (preservation of the sequences \( CVCaCV- \) and \( -aXC- \), where \( X \) is \( \text{ḡ}, \, x, \, ʿ, \, h \) or \( h \)), and morphosyntactic features (\( b- \) prefix for the indicative; \( (ma-) \ldots -ş \) for compound negation). Bedouin, or rather Bedouinized elements are found, for example, in the phonology (\( ^*q > g \)) and in some morphological forms: \textit{awwala} ("first", f.), \textit{ani} ("I"), -\textit{um} ending for 2/3 pl. m. verbs. There are also several Bedouin lexical items such as \textit{yōmin} (conjunction "when") and \textit{yā yūmna} ("my child"). Occasionally, we see a mix of sedentary and Bedouin forms in the same paradigm: perfect forms \textit{kala} ("to eat") and \textit{xaḏa} ("to take") are typically Bedouin, while their imperfect counterparts \textit{yōkil} and \textit{yōxuḏ} are typically sedentary. Similarly, we see both Bedouin \textit{bī} and sedentary \textit{fī} for the existential marker.

A comparative analysis of the main features shows a high similarity between the Arabic of Ğisir izZarga and the North and Central Transjordanian dialects (such as Salṭ), although many points of resemblance to Karak (South Transjordan) were also found, as also attested by the
similarity to Iksäl, 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 ʿAmmāš as coming from the Jordanian Ghor. Other clans (Šihāb and Naǧḡār) 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 Naǧḡār. The points of divergence are some personal pronouns (ani/ana, hummu/humma, hinni/hinna for Ğurbān/Naǧḡār, 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 ʿAmmāš, on the one hand, and that of Šihāb and Naḡḡār, on the other hand. The data from my Šihābi informant partly agrees with the Naḡḡār situation in the use of ana for 1 sg personal pronoun. However, I have both Ğurbāni hummu and Naḡḡāri humma, and have noted multiple occurrences of the -um ending. In addition, an informant from the Rašwān used forms typical to both Ğurbān and Naḡḡār, as have also several young speakers from the ʿAmmāš. The mixed
usage among my ‘Ammāš 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 ‘Ammāš 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 / Ğamīla Ğurbān

1. min awwal kānu ‘āyśin ya’ni ‘ēše mlīḥa. min awwan¹ kān kull ši rxīṣ. bišš iši ṣala ya’ni. kunna nrabi lulaḏ,² ma nḥiss’s čēf ‘nrabbihum. ḥalīb ‘rxīṣ, kull ši rxīṣ, il’ak’il rxīṣ, kunna, w rabbanāhum ‘ârul-dēna.³

2. šā kunna ni’mil biḥum bi-lḥimmām? bagat lana ‘ēn ‘ala šaṭṭ ilbaḥr, ‘ēn ‘a-shaṭṭ ilbaḥr, biha māyye hilwa. kunna nrūḥ ʿngīb ilmāyye ‘a-rūṣa, min ilbaḥr, la-hēna.

3. lamma⁴ yikbar ilbaḥr w timlaḥ il’ēn, bi nahq⁵ ‘ala ġamb ilɡabal, ‘a-ğamb ilɡabal wēn ḫarakevet⁶. nrūḥ ‘ngīb min hināk la-hēna māyye, mīnšān nisgi lulaḏ w niṭ’amīhum,⁷ niġli šāy(?) ni’mil ak’il. w bi nahr mālīḥ, ngīb minnu mīnšān nuṣṭuf iḍḍār w nimsāḥ. w kunna ‘āyśin lulaḏ kunna nḥammimhum bi-lʻusbū marra w ‘āšu. šārū mliḥin.


5. w kānat ilḥayā ya’ni mlīḥa. kunna ḣina w ġbirān¹¹ mlāḥ. min ilkabbūs la-Bēt Ḥanāna la-Kisāryi, mlāḥ. nrūḥ ‘a-ba⁵ niği ‘a-ba⁵ḏ̣

6. w kunna ništgil ‘indhum. w yinṭūna min illi ‘andīhum ya’ni min xudra¹², yinṭūna. ā, mīnšān lulaḏ. w kunna mlāḥ, w rabbanāhum ya’ni b-hāle mlīḥa, bass iḥle l’awwala¹³ šu […] agullak mlīha? kānat innās ‘thubb ba’qha. ya’ni il’mišpaxāṭ kullha tibga ṣubba ba’qha. yōxjam min ba’qhum, yōklum min ba’qhum.¹⁴ ilyōm la’. ilyōm kull wāḥad yis’allaḵ yā niṣfi, ya’ni kull wāḥad yibqa(?) ḥālu ya’ni. yiḏāyagum¹⁵ min ba’q ilyōm ma-yibbùs ba’q, yibbum mašākil. w ilyōm ġēr ġēr ‘an awwal.

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¹ min awwan, min awwal, used exchangably for "in the past".
² l + wlād > lulaḏ, "the children".
³ *a + idēn + na > ‘a-rūṣa, "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 nṭaʿʿim with the same meaning. Notice the insertion of a long ī (c.f. 3.3.6.2).
⁶ Here ayy > ıy (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 ḳ > k, 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 ǧ (see 3.1.4).
¹² Here ǧ > 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 = ʔ verbs, see 3.3.5.9a.
¹⁵ < yiḏāyagum.
7. ilḥalīb hāḏa¹⁶ ilḥalīb, kān bagar ilğamūs, li-ʿeltēn kānum, gānīn¹⁷ ʿeltēn, bagar ilğamūs. yibgu yihīlbi.¹⁸ ilḥalīb, nrūḥ ʿāmmīb min ʿindhum ħalīb. čunna nrūḥ nrūḥ min ʿandīhum ilḥalīb.¹⁹ nrūḥ ilłabān. yxuddum²⁰ bi-tānak ilhāmīd, yiʾmilu ḥāmiḍ. w nta€™im ilulād.

8. rabbēna lulād yaʾni tarbāye mlīḥa w tīlʿum tarbayithum mlīha. ā. w illi tʾallam, tswawwir awwan iši ḥāḍa limhāmī bni waddētu ʿala Itānyā.²¹ hāḍa tʾallam ḡamīt Ḥēfa. wāḥad tʾallam ḡamīt Tal Abīb. batʾallamu.²² ibni wāḥad [...] yitʾallam ḡamīt.²³ karhabbi.²⁴ w wāḥad ḡamīt, wāḥad mʾallim madrase. biss ʾinēn tilʾu ʿandiya biddhummiš²⁵. biddhummiš yitʾallamu. biddhum yḏallu hēc, zaʾimin tīlʾu bḥālhum.

9. w ḡallēna iḥna w ḡīrān mlāḥ. wala marṣaʾ zʾinna min Bēt Ḥanānā wala marṣaʾ zʾinna min ilʾkabūs²⁶ wala marṣaʾ zʾinna min Kīsāryī, nrūḥ ʿnfil ʿa-dār ʿindhum. w ṣīfna nlaggit xudra b-hāy ilʾiyyām, ʾnlaggit xudra w niṭlaʾ, ma-yiḥēṣ maʿna. kunna mlāḥ mlāḥ mlāḥ gaddan maʾ bēn baʾqna.²⁷

10. w ʾtāʾir baladna ḡay ilbalad, ʾtāʾir tabāḥha miš min hēna. laʾ. kānat ʾtāʾir bi-ʾgisir ṭtawwāhīn yugulū. yugī hīnāb bi-birʾī itimsāh. w bi yugulūhā ʾiddibdibīyya.

11. niṭlaʾ min hēna, nrūḥ ʿala²⁶ Ḥēfa, ʿa-zZammārin, ʿa-al-Ālīdīs, hadīʾ.²⁷ hass(a) lamman aḡat il... Bēt Ḥanānā saknaṭ hēna, fathāt ʾtāʾirīk²⁸. ḡataḥūm ʾtāʾirī lēna w lēhum. sār šāriʾ rasmi lēna w lēhum.

12. bagēna zayy ḡēcca. w nlaggit ilḫubbēze, nuṭḥuṣ w nōkil.

13. ilbaḥṭr, ḡwānī kullhum bahriyye ʾa-ilbaḥṭr. yṣaʾyūdūm issamaḥ, nrūḥ ʿāmmīb samaḥ. nišwi, nigli, nōkil. [...] ʿayše nās yaʾni b-xīr w ḡlīha. w ṭhubb baʾqna. w ma-kānīš maraq, ma-kānīš maraq, dār Ḥisāʾin kullha ṭnaṣrat biha marat.²⁹

14. yaʾni ibʾin sittīn sine yṣīr ḡnaxē²⁰, ibʾin sabʿīn sine yṣīr ḡnaxē²⁰. bi ʿindu [...] hāle nafṣiyye, ma-yiṭdakkarš ibnu wala yiṭdakkar bintu.

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16 Here the demonstrative is not emphaticized, while later it appears as ḡāḍa (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 qvnvy).
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-ḍ-ḍ (to shake).
21 Notice l > n.
22 This form is ungrammatical, but should mean "they studied".
23 Metathesis from kahrabbi (“electrician”).
24 Notice the geminated m (see 3.2.10).
25 The emphatic ḡ here is quite weak. As for the form maʾ bēn baʾqna, it is likely a contamination of maʾ baʾqna and bēn baʾqna.
26 The r in rāḥ has an emphatic allophone.
27 Here ḡ>d, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).
28 ṭāʾir > tarīk#, "road", in pause (see 3.1.3).
29 maraq > marat#, "illness", in pause (see 3.1.3).
15. [...] ǧōzi, marrāt ma-yiʿrifnāš. minrūḥ_ʿalē ʿa-Pardes Hanna, mingullu min ḫāḍa ibnak, ygūl hēč, ḥāy bintak, ygūl hēč. agullu min ani? ygūl inti uṃṃi. ani martu w ygulli inti uṃṃi. kaʾinnu ḏ̣āyʿa zzākira ʿindu, iza ma-rags₂š, maʾāna.

16. kullu ḫāḍa min il ilwak ḫāḍa illi xašš yaʾni bi-lʿiyām ḥāy hi tġayyarat ilʿālam kullha tġayyarat maṛṛa wahda. tġayyar, yā yuṃṃa, ktīr tġayyarat innās.

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

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

32 Here ṭ > 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 Kibbuts [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 Zammarīn [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 Ḥana 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. min illi biddhaš tigbal bīk? / Maḥmūd Rašwān

1. abūy miš min mawalīd hōn.34 ummi min mawalīd hōn.
2. min mašr. min mašr. ummi min hān, min ilbalad hēna, w hēna xawālī35 w ahrlha. min sint il.. tamanmiyye36 w... garīb ilʿalf w tsʿamiyye, gabl alf w tsʿamiyye. ilha axwān w xawāt w ʿelithum.
3. abūy ağa la-hēna. miš ağa šammit hawa.37 ağa minšān yištgil w kān yitʿallam gult(?) lak(?). ḫēš(?). kān yitʿallam, ḫandasaʾi mašehu kazēt [...]. mašr. hassa ḫkanirʾē lo, mašr. makār iš ilu yaʾni, mašāri aw isši ma-ʿrifʾś hū mā kān lu. ḫlo histadert, ağa šugl, ağu nās, min hunāk, w gālu biddhum yigru38 la-huna,39 Fīlaṣṭīn, yištiglu.
4. šū biddhum yištiglu? biddhum.. yḡirru ilmustankaʾat la-nnahr. min taḥt ilʿard40. bi-lʿibrānī baʾrif isʾmha w kamāb bi-lʿarabi agūl. ybiššu ilmustankaʾat bi-nnahrʾ.
5. hassa abūy kān šway yaʾni yigra w yuktub w kull ši yaʾni bi-blādu, amma miš ʿmxallīs ilʿāxir. baʾdu bi-lḥād. w šabb w biddu mašāri w biddu biddu biddu.
7. hassa čēf biddhum biddhum yiḥadīḏūlhum ilmaṭraḥ yaʾni? biddhum yiḥadīḏūlhum ilmaṭraḥ yaʾni. minšān tiḏi, baʾdēn ʿišrīn, wān ʿišrīn, wān ilmaṭraḥ bafarḡīk ʿiyāh. hū hōna mawḏū ṭ, iši gabl išrīn, innu ʿišrīn, ibn(?) mawalīd ṭalāṭa w ʿišrīn, ibn(?) mawalīd ṭalāṭa w ʿišrīn. maʾnātu kān abūya māxiḏ44 ummi gabl ʿišrīn, bi-lʿišrīn.

34 Later we have also hān and the more typical hēna. See 3.3.8.1.
35 Notice the first vowel a in xawālī, which seems to follow the pattern of the Gahāwa syndrome, although it is an isolated case (see 4.1).
36 Here ḫ>r, 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 ḏ̣ is slightly devoiced towards ḫ, 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 = ṭ verbs, see 3.3.5.9a.
9. axūy likbir, ihna... gābat ummi... čef axaḍha abūy? ağa hēna yistaği, min haḍḍumr
ilgāmā’a illi yistiğlu wiyyāhum, muhandisīn w ġer w ġarātu. ba’rif il’asāmi la-lyōm
baa’dna niḍākir il’asāmi. [...] ana i’rifthun ba’dēn, iltaqēt ‘alēhum ba’d rubbama hū
tlaṭin w arba’in sine iltaqēt ‘ala ilgāmā’a, illi kān yir’ru abūya.

10. abūy ād... kān hōn. sār yōxuḏ ‘ummāl min hōn, xa ḏū, yir’rif yiḥki ġarātu. ba’rif il’asāmi lavlyōm
ba’ a dna nḏākir il’asāmi. [...] ana i’rifthum ba’dēn, iltagēt ‘alē hu m ba’d rubbama
hū tlaṯīn w arba’in, illi kān yir’fu abūya.

11. min haḍḍumr axwālī, axwān ummi ya’ni, œnēn. ‘Ali w Isma’il il’mhum. hēna bi-
bēthum la-hēna la-fōq.50 ‘Ali w Isma’in, xawālī.

12. ilmuḥimm, ağa yōm sab’t, zayy hēk. šār(?) dāxil sab’t. is’iṃ abūy Ḥasan. galūlu, Ḥasan, inta tištāqil hōna w nāṭir w... ya’ni kān màsik il. ‘šuğ’l. išmērī uxra, nāṭir.
yistaği mas’āl w nāṭir, kull iššāglāt. hū la-ḥālu min hunāk.

13. ta’āl ‘andina52 ḏiyāfe. miṣl m īnta gāyu'l. ahlan w sahlan, ahlan w sahlan.

14. šū biddi... galūlu ta’āl ‘andina bukra bi-sabb’t ‘aṭāla. bukra ma-nistiğiš. hū kān
maṣgūl fi yōm il’aḥad b-waktha.

15. ba’dū miṣ dōlit Isra’il. [laughs] il’inglīz ya’ni. kān bass yōm il’aḥad. ya’ni yōm issabb’t,
yudxul ‘alēhu il’aḥad. ta’āl, yōm il’aḥad ‘andina ziyārā.

16. hummu xawālī sayyāde. ya’ni yir’ru yṣīdu samak. šábake. w yitla’u bi-lbah’r, bi-nnaḥr
w bi-lbah’r. ẓaglī... ya’ni ‘āyšīn ‘ala heč.

17. gāl lēhum baġi. aği [...] kān lu bhīm, ḥmār ya’ni. rikib. w ağa yōm il’aḥad. amma
hummm bi-llēl ġirfu innu biddu yiği[i] ‘indhum ġèf, rāhū ‘a-lbah’r, masaku samak, innaṣīb.

18. masaku samak, uxt hum ‘andihum, illi hi ummi. ti’rif tištīgil hāgā ‘šuğ’l. ilhum niswān
amma... bi ‘indhum kamān uxt, šābbe, w šāṭre, miš... ya’ni, ti’rif iššuğ’l. hi miš
šalabīyye, amma šātre. xallīnī agullak li’ānu ana lḥigtha ya’ni ḥāy.

19. sawwūlhum ġada, kānu [...] ilzalame maḥḥum.53 w lamman ağa yrawwih, xallīk
‘indha ya Ḥasan, xallīk. gāl xalas, niği marra tānye. galūlu ya Ḥasan, w mā rāyak inta
ṭiḥči(?) bihum, i’hem rotsīm la’avōdī. biddhum yistiğlu. biddhum ykūnu ma’ ilmas’āl,
ibsēderī. galūlu ya Ḥasan, mā rāyak tiğgawwawz w ḡallak hēna w dašrak min mašr w ġer

45 Irregular demonstrative, later also appears as haḍḍumr; see 3.3.2.
46 Here in form III, “to remember”, usually in form II.
47 Literary form.
48 C₁ = y 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 i is assimilated to h, resulting in ġh (see 3.1.4).
masar inta hena toxul shugl w ti, inta situr inta. tirif tabbib umurak. w hena lwaq biquzz aqwa min la-ghad.

20. gal lehum min saitt ilaḍ ḥu baxur tsair, lo... hēḏ gālat ummi, ana ma-shuftaš. ma-shuftaš ana, lā. ana, hū twaffa gabl... w ana ibn sintēn. ana ibn sintēn. w bagullak bi-ʾēs? bakullak bi-ʾēs. lāḥik.

21. ṭayyib, mliḥ. min biddu yigbal biya? galulu šū bik ḥu ḥešer!? mā ḥu ḥes.. miš nāqiš bik wala šī. ʾagl bi, bani adan, šabb w ṭsair, w yiʾrif yigra w yuktub w waḍiše w maṣāri w... min lēš biddhāš tigbal bik? min illi biddhāš tigbal bik?

22. gal ana ʾārif? galulu lā, háy ṭandina uxt. illi hi ummi. ummi miš salabiyye, samra swaye. biha dagak, tabʾat badawiyāt w hēk. hi miš badawiyāy bass biha umūr(?) zayy... taṣwīg bīgal ilhna bi-lˤarabiyya w ilkalām.

23. snāna miš rākbāt mliḥ. yaʾni mšalbakat ilhna bīgal ṭanhin. wāḥid rākıb ʾa-ttānī. amma ḥu ḥaxamā, bli lilmūd bli šum davārī. tiʾrifš tigra wala tuktub, amma muckha šaqqāl. w lʾidēn šaqqalāt w ḥarake, ā. ḥażdarat ilgada la-lḏēf wa tḡaddu ilmawǧūdīn. bi-lmawǧūd, ʾngūl. bi-lmawḡūd.

24. hassa, saʾalū ya Ḥasan, čēf kān imbēriḥ? lamman riğišu ṭaššu ṭu,l saʾalū ya Ḥasan, kīf kān iššu ṭu ilgada imbēriḥ w kam? gal salim diyāthā tirif tsawwilna akʾl w bthīχi w hēče w biš. galulu mabrūk ʾalek, iza inta biddak iyyāḥ. biddhum ymaššu lbdlaʾa. bḥēṯ tigārā háy. gal lehum hallum biddi yyah, iza intu biddkum. gālu tuskun hēna bi-lbalad, maʾna. xalaš. ağa abūya gāl ā. ittafagu.

54 > saʾidit + ilaḍ. 
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". 

111
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 [Ǧisir 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’il. Here in their house, here above. ‘Ali and Isma’il, 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 held 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 be 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: "ハウス安, how was it yesterday?" When they went back to work, they asked him: "ハウス安, 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. اِلْبَالَاد / Ġād Šihāb

1. ana ismi Ġād Tawfīk ‘Ŝhāb. min mawalîd ilbalad. ana wli’d bi-lsab’a w arb’in. ya’ni. w ‘āyiš hōna63 bi-ilbalad.

2. ana miǧga’wiz.64 ‘andi tis’a wlâd, banâtī miğiğawwzât. arba’ wlâ… banât. w ‘indi arba’ wlâ… xams wlâd ya’ni. gis’m minhum miğiğawwiz, iṭnēn ba’dhum. w ‘āyišin, zayy mā ‘āyiše kull ilbalad ya’ni.

3. awḍâ’65 ilbalad hēna sayy’a. wḍā’ ilbalad miš mniḥa. ilbalad mindaḥre ‘and iššārī, fišš biha ‘ta’asukā. fišš biha mašâliḥ šuq̣l, kullhum ‘ummāl w kullhum ‘ala lbarake.


5. amma iżmālan66 ilkull mittafig yaʾni bivhal… iḥna ‘āšitna ḥayāttna ḥayā badawiyye. ḥayā, ḥayā mindaḥre ‘an il’ālam. ya’ni lā ḥayā… ṣaʿbe židdan. ṣaʿbe židdan.

6. lā… fišš fišš takaddum67 bi-ilbalad, ma-fišš da’am min ilḥukūma, ma-fišš… iššawārī miš ‘ala mustawa žirānna, Bēt Ḥanānā maṭalan. fūt ‘ala Bēt Ḥanānā, hōna kilometer w fūt hōna...


9. ilyōm illi yiq̣qawwaz biddu ydawwir ‘ala dār minšān yistāţir69 w yuskun biha. w šuq̣l illi yq̣atī l’azārāt ma-fišš. ya’ni iza biddu yidfa’ alf w xam’smiyye alf sen šēkel lā’ixuriṭ70 w hū yōxiq̣71 arba’a talaʃ šēkel, yiğdar72 y’iš b’alfen šēkel? ma-yigdarš. innu ʂa b ya’ni.

10. awḍā’na ma’a lq̣ārān hiyya mlīha. ihna mā niq̣dar72 ngūl innu humma q̣qirān73 illi sabbabūlna lmašākil hāy, ilmašākil ikṭiṣadiyye.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 < miğiğawwiz.
65 This speaker occasionally has ǧ > ǧ (also below yidhar, rādi), but in other cases the interdental is preserved (e.g. arāği).
66 This speaker often has ŋ for old *g̣ for 3.1.1.1.
67 Here q > k, probably as a substitution in a literary word; normally q > g (3.1.1.3).
68 < nidaxxal’s.
69 < yistaţir.
70 For C playlists, see 3.3.5.9a.
71 Occasionally we have q > ǧ 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 ǧ (see 3.1.4).
11. w kamān miš min ḥaggi ana bas‘al\(^{76}\) su‘alāt hāy li‘annu ana lā bat‘āta bi-sisiyāse wala hāda.\(^{76}\) ‘āyiš hōna. hāy min ġibit ‘ašara šēkel, min ġibit īšrīn w min ġibit xamsīn. ‘āyiš w ṭādi ʾlhamdu illā.

12. hāy il‘awdā‘ ya‘ni hāy il‘awdā‘ illī mawgūde hēna bi-ilbalad ma-fišš... īš Ṿīlī hāy ma-fišš. lā fi gahwa hōna, lā fi... fi gahwāt wāhde tintēn, amma miš ‘ala mustawa innak ‘trūḥ tug‘ud Ṧīha w ddayy\(^{77}\) wakat. fišš \(^{\text{78}}\)ma‘adōn\(^{79}\) ‘indna, nādi illī trūḥ matalan trūḥ titsalla aw \(^{\text{78}}\)maxōn sport\(^{80}\) aw... ma-fišš ilhāyā Ḥayā ‘ala śṣifr hōna. \[...\]

13. šūf, il‘ām illī fāt kān aḥsan w illī gablū aḥsan w illī gablū aḥsan w min arb‘in xamsīn sine\(^{79}\) kān aḥsan.

14. min arb’in sane xamsīn sane ‘rifna innu ma-fišš kahraba. xalaṣ, banēna ḥālīna innu ma-fišš kahraba. ilwāḥad yuṭbux ḳtābexe ‘ala mnār, yōkil\(^{79}\) hū w wlādu yit‘aṣṣā. Ṣayye ma-kārīṣ, kān Ṣayye ‘ala ‘en ilbah‘r. kunna nṛūḥ\(^{80}\) niqīb Ṣayye bi-dlā aw aw aw... minšān ilwāḥad yitḥammām […] yiṣrāb.

15. amma lyōm ažat ilmāyye w lwād’\(^{81}\) miš ‘.mdlīh. ažat ilkahraba w lwād’\(^{82}\) miš ‘mdlīh.

16. […] bi‘tūna ‘ašān […] ‘n‘ammīr. ya‘ni wāḥad biddu y‘ammīr bēt la-wlādku,\(^{82}\) ma-fišš, hōna l‘vait‘āda\(^{82}\), l‘vait‘āda\(^{82}\) zayy mā yuglāha bi-l‘ibrāni \(^{\text{83}}\)rāšṭanīt\(^{82}\). \(^{\text{83}}\)rāšṭanīt\(^{82}\) la-l‘āxir.

17. biddak tiftāḥ šubbāk, biddak l‘vait‘āda\(^{82}\), biddak l‘iśār\(^{82}\), minšān tsawwi \(^{\text{86}}\)matṣavīm\(^{82}\) biddak sab‘a_talāf, minšān tsawwi xārta biddak ‘ašar_talāf. w ma-yi‘tuš l‘iśurīm\(^{82}\) bi-shūle, \(^{\text{86}}\)hetēr bniyā\(^{82}\). ma-yi‘tuš bi-shūle.

18. ilhāna waḍ‘īna\(^{83}\) hōna min ilnāhya hāḏi, Ṣūwaggīna ḥnā la-l‘āxir. l‘hōna la-l‘āxir. \(^{\text{84}}\)sugrīm\(^{84}\) la-hōna la-l‘āxir.

19. ma-fišš min illī ymīd dīdu, ywaggīhā ‘ala ṣṭārīg illī trayarīhā. ma‘a kull il‘awdā‘ ṣṣa‘eb, ūxra \(^{\text{86}}\)makṣīm ‘elēnu\(^{86}\), il‘awdā‘ tab‘at l‘vait‘āda\(^{82}\).

\(^{74}\) 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).

\(^{77}\) > ṭḍāyyī\(^{8}\) > ṭāṭāyyī\(^{8}\).

\(^{78}\) We have both same and sine (‘year’).

\(^{79}\) For C\(_1\) = ‘ verbs, see 3.3.5.9a.

\(^{80}\) The \(r\) in rāḥ has an emphatic allophone.

\(^{81}\) Should be \(wādū\), "his kids".

\(^{82}\) This Hebrew word literally means "situations", "states". Here it probably refers to a site plan (Hebrew \(\text{ma}pā\) matsavīt\(^{82}\)); 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 \(\text{sgurīm}\)\(^{84}\), "closed in".
20. biʿtūş biʿtūş maẓāl lī-lḥayā. innās staslamat yaʿnī. innās istaslamat la-lwaḏc ḥāḍa, w āyšīn bi-lwaḏc ḥāḍa ma-fišš išī mlīḥ hōnā.
C. The conditions of the village / Ḥād Šihāb

1. My name is Ḥād Tawfīk Ṣhāb, born in the village. I was born in 1947 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 Ṣhāb, Ḍammāš, Ğurbān, there's Nağğār, and there's Ṭawāṭḥa.
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.

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85 That is, the committee is extremely harsh and strict.
D. itta’līm / ‘Ali Ġurbān

1. w lḥamdu lillā rabb il’alamin ya’ni iḥna ya’ni min86 xliga w ballašna87 nṛūḥ88 ‘a-lmadrase w hēk w hāy ‘t’allamna bass la-ṣaff tāmin bass. ma-kānī’s hōn bi-libalad ya’ni ta’lim. bass la-ṣaff tāmin. bass.

2. ana t’allam’t bass la-ṣaff tāmin, miš akṭar ya’ni. ba’den ruḥt aṣṭīq barra fi-l’miksō’ār89 taba’i, liḥdāde ya’ni liḥdāde. hassa t’allam’t abu sane hēka bi-liḥdāde. b-Ort. śayif? w tkaddamna90 ṣwayye bi-liḥdāde w surna91 ... masakna źza ya’ni źma... źurt ya’ni aṣṭīq bass liḥdāde hāy. ilḥām, mawasir. [...] nrakkib aṣyā kṯir ya’ni, šaglāt zayy hēk. śayif?

3. w lḥamdu lillā rabb il’alamin iḥna ya’ni šufna l ḥayā kēf kānat hēna bi-libalad. kān galil, itta’līm kān šwayye galil. bi-lfatra hadik kān galil itta’līm. ya’ni ma-kānī’s nās i’t’allamu barra bi-ḡām’āt maṭalaṇ. śayif? w hōn w hōn, ma-kanuš.

4. hassa iḥna faṭritma hāḏi gulna ya’ni kunt afakki an bi-mustagbal ilḥayā. agūlu ana ya’ni ma-t’allamte’ barra ma-ruḥte’ at’allam w hēš.92 ana fakkart gult bukra ana baḡgawwaz,93 ilulād biddi a’allimhum, bikūn aḥsan, fi ta’lim fi... fakkart hēk ana ya’ni mustagbal ya’ni il’alam.

5. ilḥamdu lillā źurna ništaqil, ništaqil bi-liḥdāde hādi94 w kull iši w lḥamdu lillā w żabbatna hālna w dīnna bālna ‘ala hālna. kull iši.

6. w rabbeṭ ilulād ilḥamdu lillā w ‘allamthum. w kullhum mit’allmīn. w lbanāt kamān mit’allmīn.95 kullayyathum. ilḥamdu lillā.

7. bi ‘indi walad daktōr, bvʾalmānya. [...] ā, w bi ‘indi mudīr madrase. likbīr mudīr madrase, hōna. w fī ‘indi muḥāmi. muḥāmi. [...] w bī ‘indi waḥāye bi-libalad. kēn galil bi-libalad hēna, ya’ni fišš ya’ni kṯir96 nās bitwaddi wlaḥadum ‘ala ta’lim.97 la’inunu min nāhyit ėś? min nāhyit ilmādde ya’ni maṣāri fišš. ya’ni

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 ṛ in ṛāḥ.
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 źurna, see 3.3.5.9b.
92 This could be derived from the commong hēč, although this speaker rarely uses č. hēš could also mean "what", for example in Omani Arabic (Holes 2013).
93 > batḡawwaz.
94 Here ḏ>d, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).
95 Notice the pl. m. adjective for pl. f. noun.
96 Here f>t, normally preserved (see 3.1.1.2).
mā yigdar ilwāḥad ywaddi ibnu yitʿallam, bi-ḡğām’a.98 aw barra aw hōn aw hōn ‘ašān yidfa’ maṣāri. inta ‘ārif kēf ḥādi. biddak daxl illi lwāḥad ydīr ḥālu.

10. fa-ana ya’ni ṣtaḡalt ‘b-hayāti kull ilwākt bi-liḥdāde w iši w kunt ya’ni barbāḥ maṣāri mnīha. kunt arbaḥ maṣāri mnīha mnīha.99 ṣtaḡalt ‘b-Ḥēfa. bišš maṭrah bi-Sra’īl ma-ṣtaḡaltš biha. min Batey Zikuk la-Xevrat Xaṃal la-l... kullu kullu bi-Sra’īl ilmaṭāriḥ ħāy, ħāy kullu ṣtaḡalt bi.

11. ilḥamdu lillā, ṣabbaṭna ħālina w ḥayātna w iši w ḥēk, w ilḥamdu lillā rabb il’alamin. ṣabbaṭna.


14. hassa šār nās bišīfu ya’ni maṭalan ygūlu ya’ni, ygūlu maṭalan ‘Ali maṭalan ‘allam wālād, ‘allam bāntū. šārāt innās šātu ṭaḥaddum. ilḥamdu lillā ilyām mumtāz. ilyām fī ya’ni ‘andina101 fi madāris ṭanawiyye, illi yit’allam fiha hōna bi-lbalad ḥāda. bass xaḷḷaṣ saff ‘tna’aš ba’dēn yṛūḥ ‘a-ḡām’a barra ba’dēn ilḥamdu lillā “besēder” ya’ni, mitwaffir kull šī, hōna šār. šāyif kēf?

15. ilḥamdu lillā ilyām mumtāz. ilyām fī ya’ni ‘andina101 fi madāris ṭanawiyye, illi yit’allam fiha hōna bi-lbalad ḥāda. bass xaḷḷaṣ saff ‘tna’aš ba’dēn yṛūḥ ‘a-ḡām’a barra ba’dēn ilḥamdu lillā “besēder” ya’ni, mitwaffir kull šī, hōna šār. šāyif kēf?

16. hassa lbalad ‘indna xāṣṣatan ya’ni, aḡlab iza ṭṭalla‘ ala mustawa lbalad ya’ni kull ilbalad ya’ni aḡlabhum haḍōla kullhum ‘ummāl. ya’ni miš mit’allmin madāris w ħāy. likbār, bahlki li-likbār. miṭl ya’ni aḥalīna ya’ni. aḥalīna ma-kanūš, ṭ’allamūš bi-Ifatra haḍike.

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 ǧ (see 3.1.4).
99 Notice the inconsistent use of the b-imperfect: kunt barbāḥ... 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 / ʿAli Ǧurbān

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 ʿAli 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 Ikanā

1. ana smiʿt min abūy w ġiddi hāḍi lkanā, baṇāha wāḥad mislim w wāḥad masiḥi. w lmasiḥi biddu bint ilmalake sār, w imislim biddu bint ilmalake sār.

2. gāl lehum min ilī yūḥub lēna ṭayy min īn Šabbārin hōn nišrāb ṭayy ūlwa zayy issukkar, ana malak, rāyiḥ anṭī lbint w mā barɡaʿ fi kūli.

3. wāḥad ġāb ġamāṭu w wāḥad ġāb āxwānu, ļāru yibnu. wāḥad ġā⁵⁰⁵ min hōn w wāḥad ġā min hōn. tanhum⁵⁰⁶ ġūbulhum ilṃayy la-ḥadd Gisārya.

4. fikri innu kān ilmislim ġāy bi-lṃayy bi-lʿawwal. ġūlāṭlu⁵⁰⁷ ana māna⁵⁰⁸ biddi yyāk, biddī ibʿn malak Atālya. gāl leha abīč malak w ḥača hāḍa lḥači w čannu⁵⁰⁹ yirğa, ana baʿmāllu maḥkama bēn kull ilmlūk.

5. ‘ala ḏimmt irrāwi innha kānat biddha tingaḥ⁵¹⁰ aw ddubb⁵¹¹ ḥālha fi lbah⁵¹². laḥadd ġhnāk ġlna waṣalna w fihimna, bass ġāy ilxurrāfiyye la-hōn mā nigdar nirğa la-wara.

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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 āğa; 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 < gūlāṭ + lu. When the two are pronounced together, the stress falls on the short final a in the verb. The same happens later in baʿmāllu < baʿmal + 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 mānī for 1 sg. in Syrian Arabic. māna—mānī is found in Salṭ (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 ʿēn Ṣabbarin\textsuperscript{112} 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.

\textsuperscript{112} This is one of the sources of the aqueduct leading to Caesarea (Hareuveni 2010:766).
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המקופף שלטריק לקורס הלגיון ואלו שלא ההנחתה על קיים והיו. בר תחת גם
למשתפות הארצים הבכירים ולא אשר המקור לקולקנ手機י את הלבריר שוטב.
כון, ברצוני להודות להנחות קורדר אברהםואל דאשיות פעילות גיור-פורפ'swire#$% על הפיכת הבנדזה

וז.
א加強 את המגמות והשובובים במרחך מחקר דיאלקטולוגיה או אחרון האניכרצית המתחימה.
אשר הוקר והראשה מהוזאת זה שבירה צליל, אשר לקח על קיים הלגיון על כלידיד רוחבר בין
דואגת הנחות של סאם לקורס ה cinéma הוא מקור למורצבים אחד שמחת על כל שבחות.
אגר מיתוג
חייהם
מנסיון
איתי
שחלקו
לאינפורמנטים
תודה
אסיר.

בסבלנות שבשאלה על בני הקהל, ב 예산 והわかる של הכותב, ברקע
לבוטח,ート תודעה לוחמי על כל שמח ואופנה בברזל כל אימת שאזף קוק לבך, אסף
מפרקים. לאﺷתחי גרה, אחר נצאת כמות של ערכים.image המורים לפסוקים – תודה על כל שאה תמיד

נאמינה ב.
משוער לאותה ההליך, המفحصoyer את האזורים שלא חלים בו, עוד חי. ב-19, באשר מופיעה השפעה של לצארonga והגיעה לبارك מ-19 ואינה מתאימה את האמנים. 

משועל卫浴. בא יסם הבכורה של החלון ו랩ורי רכ TKey-ו שhift ממספרים מספר שבטים ובכפרות עם נושאים מהלכים собאות עצים עם ענפים של אזורים שונים ובהם המנהלים של העולם בהם, אבר. 

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אנדרטת לתל אביב

הפקולטה לפיתוח המרות "לשני והאילumin" עתית

הוחה קולימורה לפייתית ותאלאמ

הלוגה הערבי של א"ר א-זרקא:

社会组织 בעברית רסימוני, בלומדים בחוגים של עברים

זיבור כלשהי רבים של נ伕ים של קבוצות קצרים

”موسמר אוגריברטש" – קאובכרדית לעברית

על יד

ויתן בלינקוב

העבידה והכנה בחרפת

פורפ' נאסר בסל

ทนון תש"ד

יולי 2014