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BŌRAD AND HIS BROTHERS IN KUFIR-YASĪF DIALECT¹

Students of Classical Arabic learn, as a rule, the first ten verbal forms derived from the following trilateral verb: I. f^ʿl (fa^ʿala, fa^ʿila, fa^ʿula), II. fa^ʿala, III. fā^ʿala, IV. 'af^ʿala, V. tafa^ʿala, VI. tafā^ʿala, VII. 'infa^ʿala, VIII. 'ifta^ʿala, IX. 'if^ʿalla, X., 'istaf^ʿala, XI. 'if^ʿālla ('iḥmārra), XII. 'if^ʿaw^ʿala ('iḥdawdaba), XIII. 'if^ʿawwala ('iḡlawwada), XIV. 'if^ʿanlala ('iḥranḡama), XV. if^ʿanlā² ('iḥbanṡā). This order of conjugations (awzān al-fi^ʿl) is followed and utilized in European lexicons and grammars. Conjugations II–XV reflect, as a matter of fact, some modifications of the signification expressed by the first form of the trilateral verb (al-fi^ʿl al-tulāṡī al-muḡarrad). In addition, the quadrilateral (rubā^ʿī) verb fa^ʿlala and its three derived forms—tafa^ʿlala, if^ʿanlala and if^ʿalalla—are included in the study of the Arabic verb.

The quadrilateral verb including wāw as its second letter is very rare in Classical Arabic. The usual example supplied for this verbal form is the verb ḥawqala³, which means to become weak or old, to walk and become feeble. More common and familiar to students of Arabic is the verb ḥawqala⁴ or ḥawlaqa, which means to utter the expression—lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata 'illā bi-llāhi—there is no power and no strength save in God. Denominatives taken from nouns consisting of more than three letters, such as ḡawraba=to put on a stocking (from ḡawrab^{un5}=stocking) are also to be found.

¹ An Arab village with Christian, Muslim and Druze residents in Western Galilee, 12 km north-east of Acre, ca. 6,500 inhabitants; see Rafā'īl Būlus Būlus, *Kufir-Yāsīf baina 'Aṡālat al-Mādī wa-Raw'at al-Ḥāḡīr*. 'Akkā 1985; Nāḡī Ḥabīb Maḡḡūl, 'Akkā wa-Qurāḡa min Aqdam al-Azmina ila al-Waqt al-Ḥāḡīr. 'Akkā 1979, pp. 106-109.

² Cf. W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Translated from the German of Caspari and Edited with Numerous Additions and Corrections, 3rd ed. revised by W. Robertson Smith and M.J. De Goeje. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1967, vol. I, pp. 29-47.

³ See *Sībawaihi*, al-Kitāb, edited by 'Abd al-Salām Muḡammad Ḥārūn. 5 Vols. Dār al-Qalam, Cairo 1966—1977, vol. 4, p. 237: "'wa-'ammā al-wāw fa-tuzādu ṡāniyat^{an} fī ḥawqala wa-ṡawma'a wa-naḡwihimā"; Ibn ḡinnī, al-Ḥaṡā'iṡ ed. by Muḡammad 'Alī al-Naḡḡār, 2nd edition. Beirut 1952, vol. I, p. 221, ḡalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṡī, al-Muḡḡir fī 'ulūm al-luḡa wa-anwā'ihā. Cairo (n. d.) vol. 2, p. 27; W. Wright, *ibid.*, p. 48, H. Fleisch, *Al-'Arabiyya al-fuṡḡa, naḡwa binā' luḡawī ḡadīd* (L'Arabe Classique, Esquisse d'une structure linguistique) transl. by 'Abd al-ṡābūr ṡāḡīn, Beirut 1966, p. 197, Rafā'īl Naḡla al-Yasū'ī, *Gharā'ib al-luḡa al-'arabiyya*. Beirut 1959, p. 51, ḡamdala, ḡasbala, ḡawqala, ḡawlaqa, ḡay'ala, dam'a, kabta'a, maṡkana and ba'ba'a; Ibrāḡīm al-Sāmarra'ī, *Al-Fi'īl azmānuhu wa-abnatiyhu*. Baghdad 1966, p. 175 'yuḡāl: fō'ar al-raḡul. wa-huwa min (fa'ara) al-tulāṡī ṡumma zīdat al-wāw ḡaṡw^{an}. wa-lā ṡay'a min ḡālika fī faṡḡh al-'arabiyya'.

⁴ Cf. similar forms such as: basmāla (to say bi-smi llāhi, in the name of God), ḡamdala (to say al-ḡamdu lillāhi, praise belongs to God).

⁵ From the Persian پُور, see al-Sayyid Iddī ṡīr, *Kitāb al-alfāz al-fārisiyya al-mu'arraba*. Beirut 1908, p. 48.

Spoken Arabic, embodied in a wide range of dialects in the Arab World, uses more than the aforementioned and fixed number of verbal forms. Such a living language shows that the principle of deriving quadriradicals from trilateral verbs is very productive. This derivation can be carried out by adding one of the following letters as prefixes, infixes or suffixes—A, B, T, D, R, S, Š, ʿ, M, N, H, W and Y⁶—to a given triradical verb. A few examples are in order: ʿaʿma (ʿm +a, to feed); zalbaʿ (zlʿ +b, to bare, undress), laḥbaʿ (ḥlʿ>lhʿ +b, to mix, confuse); talwan (lwn +t, to colour); daʿtar (ʿtr >ʿtr +d, to cause someone to stumble); šōtar ʿala (šwt +r, to call somebody in a loud voice), karfat (kft +r, to throw something gently from a high place), šarbak, (šbk +r, to complicate, interwine), ḥardab (ḥdb +r, to become hunchbacked), ḥarkaš (ḥkš +r, to agitate, provoke); saḥmad (mhd>hmd +s, to make even or level), šaḥbar (ḥbr +š, to make black), šalhab (lhb +š, to be ablaze), šaʿlab (qlb >'lb +š, to turn things upside down), šanhaʿ (nhq >nhʿ +š, to bray, rather than a compound form (Naḥt) of šhq +nhq); daʿbal (dbl +ʿ, to agglomerate, gather into a compact mass), mōkar, bimōkir (wkr +m, to ambush, to lie in wait); maḡyab, bimaḡyib (ḡyb +m, to be often absent); zarnaʿ (zrʿ +n, to drink usually from a jug without creating a contact between its spout and the drinker's lips), sōdan (swd +n, to become black, to cause anxiety), šafran (šfr +n, to faint), ḥanbaʿ (ḥbʿ +n, to have a full belly, usually of animals, the opposite of ʿōraʿ; see below no. 43); baḥdal (bdl >bdl +h, to reprehend, to treat meanly); baḥwaš (bḥʿ > bḥš +w, to dig repeatedly looking for something), šaḥwar (šḥr +w, to snore), laḥwas (lḥs +w, to lick up repeatedly); hēlam ʿala (hlm +ē, to act without earnestness), dēwan (to waste time, from dīwān, divan), lēʿba (lʿb +y, to play with somebody, to let somebody play).

This article is devoted to the verbal form fōʿal⁷, whether or not the equivalence of wāw to ō is additional to such an obvious triradical Arabic verb as bōrad = to cool off, or whether a denominative form is at issue, such as šōban (from šābūn⁸) = to soap. This linguistic phenomenon in the Palestinian dialect has not, as far as we know, received adequate discussion either in scientific articles or in textbooks or grammars. Moreover, the present writer was unable to find examples of fōʿal in the known and published Palestinian Arabic texts and dictionaries⁹. Therefore, the collection of verbs and exam-

⁶ In literary Arabic the additional letters are sʿItmwnyhā, see Sībawaihi, *Al-Kitāb*, vol. IV. *hāḡa bāb ʿilm ḥurūf al-zawāʿid*, pp. 235-237 (ʿāhyntsmwl).

⁷ The pattern fōʿal is also for nouns (aw>ō), for example: kōkab (star), šōmar (dill), šōbak (rolling-pin). al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-luḡa wa-anwāʿihā*. Cairo (n. d.) vol. 2, pp. 95-96 gives a list of 88 examples and their meanings. The quadrilateral verb, the so-called reduplicative is excluded, such as bōbaz, tōtaš, ḡōḡal, zōzaʿ, šōšar, fōfaš, ʿōʿab, šōša, lōlaḥ.

⁸ On the pattern fāʿūl in Arabic see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-luḡa wa-anwāʿihā*. Cairo (n. d.) vol. 2, pp. 81-83; Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarāʿī, *al-ʿArabiyya baina amsihā wa-ḥāḡirihā*. Baghdad 1978, pp. 165-220.

⁹ For a list of dictionaries, grammars and textbooks see Haseeb Shehadeh, *mibaʿ ayoteha šel hamilonāʿut ha-ʿivrit la-ʿaravit ham-medubberet*. Lešonenu 43 (1979) pp. 52-53, "Kunt 'ištr" in Kufir-Yasif Dialect. ZAL 11 (1983) p. 80 notes 6-7. A mention of the discussed point is to be found in: Max Löhr, *Der vulgärrabische Dialekt von Jerusalem nebst Texten und Wörterverzeichnis*. Giessen 1905, p. 51 (šōban = abseifen), Haim Blanc, *Studies in North Palestinian Arabic, Linguistic Inquiries among the Druzes of Western Galilee and MT. Carmel*. Jerusalem 1953, p. 117, hōḡan; H. Blanc, *The Arabic Dialect of the Negev Bedouins*. Jerusalem 1970, p. 148, ḡōtar; Moin (Muʿīn) Halloun, *Tables for Paradigms. The Complete (sic!) Verbal System of Conjugation in the Spoken Arabic of*

ples presented below have been picked up from native speakers of Kufir-Yasīf Arabic (el-Kafārise) and written down by the present writer in different periods, the beginning of the 1970s and the late 1980s. The form under discussion is in use in several Arabic dialects, such as, Egyptian, Lebanese¹⁰, Syrian¹¹, Yemenite¹² and Nigerian Arabic¹³.

The basic six forms of fō'al, namely past, present / future, imperative, active participle, passive participle and noun of action (mašdar) may be exemplified by the verb bōdar: bōdar, bibōder, bōder, (i)mbōder, (i)mbōdar and (i)mbōdara. It is needless to indicate that not all these forms are in use or equally used. In this given verb the usual form utilized is (i)mbōdara (passive participle fem. sing.) and very often with (i)mḥōmara (see below). The reflexive conjugation of bōdarat ḥālha = she made up her face is (i)tbōdart.

Fō'al can be derived from transitive or intransitive verbs (cf. in particular nos. 9, 19) alike, as the following list of examples shows. This derivation is not regular or analogous (qiyāsī) but is hearsay or else sanctioned by common usage (samā'ī, i'tibā'ī). Finally, it should be noted that in numerous cases the semantic field of the verbs listed below is very specific. This fact may be one reason behind the absence of such verbs in textbooks and grammars produced for foreigners. Moreover, the tendency of native speakers to avoid using typical local peculiarities, especially in the presence of strangers and tape-recorders is a well-known fact. Very often they strive to talk in a kind of stylized language. In the following pages an attempt is made to present what is known to us concerning fō'al, 74 examples in number, in the dialect of Kufir Yasīf in Western Galilee.

(1) Bōdar—to anoint the face or any other part of the body with powder; to make up one's face (from French poudre, English powder). For example: Ḥayta šu ssīre hāda bnik mšammiṭ lal'ma, yaḷla 'ūmi ḡībi būḍrit Fisān ubōḍrī (rušī būḍra) 'ala 'afā ubēn maḥāšmu—Sister, what is the matter? Your son has serious stinging, get up quickly and fetch Fisan powder and powder his buttocks and his pubes. The second example is: A.: 'Ulli šu btištḡil Amīra bint ḡārna abu Bāsīm? B.: Lēšə btis'al, fi 'iši ? A.: Lā, fiš 'iši muḡarrad su'āl, li'annu -l-mazḡbūṭ mā bašūf(h)a ššubih wana rāyih 'aš-šūḡul 'illa whī mbōḍara 'umḥōmara 'a-l-'āḡir, B.: 'Abšar, bi'ūlu btištḡil mwazzaffe fi-l-banki -l-'arabi—A.: Tell me what work Amīra the daughter of our neighbour Abū Bāsīm does?

Jerusalem and Galilee with an English-Arabic Dictionary of 1000 English Verbs. Bethlehem University 1988, pp. 41 no. 21, 62: three verbs are indicated—bōdar, kōrab and šōban—to make up someone's face, to make a curve and to soap, respectively. Though the noun kōrba (= lakke) meaning a curve, a turn (in the road) is known and used in the dialect of Kufir Yasīf, no verb derived from exists.

¹⁰ See Anis Khouri Frayha, *Quadrilaterals from the Dialect of Rās al-Matn (Lebanon)*. University of Chicago, Ill. 1938 (Ph.D. dissertation); Idem, *A Dictionary of Non-classical Vocables in the Spoken Arabic of Lebanon (in Arabic)*. Beirut 1973, Idem, *al-Muqtaṭaf* vol. 91, July 1937.

¹¹ See Mark W. Cowell, *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic {based on the dialect of Damascus}*. Georgetown UP, Washington, D.C. 1964, p. 109 seq.

¹² See 'Alī 'Aqīl, *Namūdaḡ min al-lahḡa al-yamaniyya fi wādī Ḥaḍramawt*. Maḡallat Dirāsāt al-Ḥalīḡ wa-al-Ġazīra al-'Arabiyya 28, Kuwait University (1981) pp. 131-144, p. 139. In this dialect fō'al can only be derived from transitive verbs and expresses exaggeration, intensification and frequency as do ḍōhak, kōtab, ḥōbas.

¹³ See, for example, A. S. Kay, *A Dictionary of Nigerian Arabic*, *Bibliotheca Afroasiatica* vol. 1. Malibu 1982, sō'ar, bisō'ir [be mad (dogs)],

B.: Why do you ask, is there something (wrong)? A.: No, nothing, just a question, because, as a matter of fact, I see her in the morning on my way to work and always her face has full make-up and she has rouge on her lips. B.: Who knows? People say that she works as a clerk in the Arab Bank.

(2) *Bōrad*—to cool off. An example: *Waḷla maḥsūbak ṭamiš ‘ara’ umballiḥ mini -l- ‘aṭaš, tarūḥ ‘a’ ‘od taḥt haš-šağara wašrabli nu’ṭiṭ mayy balki -l-wāḥad bibōridlo šwayy*—In fact I am (lit.: and O God, I your obedient, protégé) wet with perspiration and terribly thirsty, I am going to sit down under this tree and drink some (lit.: a drop of) water. Perhaps I can cool off a little bit.

(3) *Bōšar, mbōšir, ‘indo bašūr*—to have haemorrhoids.

(4) *Bōṭa’ ‘ala¹⁴*—to encroach upon the rights of, to cheat, swindle etc. An example: *Ma t’ahizniš¹⁵ bi-hal-kilme yā šāḥbi, ma‘rūf fi hal-balad ‘innu ‘aḥūk bibōṭi’ u‘ašān hēk farğini wāḥad fi hal-balad bidayynu walla bi’irḍo ‘irši mšaḍḍi*—My friend, do not blame me by saying (or my friend sorry to say), in this village it is known that your brother swindles people and so show me one person in this village who lends him even so much as a single (lit. rusty) grouch.

(5) *Ġōban¹⁶*—to be a coward. An example: *Illī biḥki ktīr ubiza‘bir bitla’ī wa’ti -l-ḥazze wi-lazze¹⁷ mğōbin ubinihzim mitli -l-‘aranab*—He who speaks much and shouts becomes (lit.: you find him) a coward in a serious situation (in the nick of time) and runs away like a rabbit.

(6) *Ġōra’*, *ğōra’ a¹⁸*—sweet pastry offered by the landlord to all workers at the end of the harvest, olive gathering etc.

(7) *Ġō‘ar, biğō‘ir¹⁹*—to burst into tears almost without control, to bark, bay. For example: *Ḍallak mğō‘ir! fiš ilak ‘iši*—Keep crying strongly! you will get nothing (lit: nothing to you).

(8) *Ḥōbal*—to take the shape of a rope, especially barley or wheat straw during the process of threshing on the threshing-floor, or plants which stick to the plough while tilling the ground—*iṭṭarḥa / il‘ūd²⁰ mḥōbil / mḥōble*.

(9) *Ḥōrab*—A) to sing popular songs on joyful occasions such as weddings²¹; B)

14 Cf. ‘Akal ḥaqq (fulān) and naṣaba also in written Arabic.

15 *Ma t’ahizniš* can also be heard. The shift *ḍ > d* is much more common than the shift *ḍ > z*, e.g.: *dāb* (to melt), *dīb* (wolf), *dabaḥ* (to slaughter), *danab* (tale, agent) etc. etc. and on the other hand: *iza* (if), (i)mzabzab (variable, hesitant), *zakar* (to remember), *zakī* (clever).

16 Cf. *Ġabuna* in written Arabic.

17 A kind of the so-called *Itbā‘ wa-Muzāwağa*; see *Ḥusain Naṣṣār, Dirāsāt luğawiyya*. Beirut, 2 nd ed. 1986, pp. 47-64.

18 The verb is not in use.

19 Cf. *ğā‘ar* in literary Arabic = *ğā‘‘ar* in spoken Arabic (to moo, low).

20 A layer of straw laid on the threshing-floor / the plough.

21 A common example of *mḥorabe* is: *yā šamsi ġībi mini ssama u‘a-l-ardī fī ‘inna ‘arūs, wirğālik min ḥōliki ahlē ššahāma winnāmūs, willē y‘ādiki mnidbaḥo mā yhimmina daf‘i -l-filūs*—O sun, descend from the sky, on earth we have a bridegroom, your men are around you, and they are followers of gallantry and honour, and he who shows enmity towards you we will kill and take no heed in paying ransom (lit.: money). For examples of various kinds of *Azğāl* (popular Arabic poems in strophic form), see *Su‘ūd al-Asadī, Ağānī min al-Ġālīl, aš‘ār zağaliyya*. Nazareth 1976, examples of *mḥōrabe, saḥğe* and *ḥadāde* see *idem.*, pp. 48-49; *Yousef Haddad, Al-Muğtama‘ wa-al-ṭurāṭī fī falasṭīn, qaryat al-*

to stop being friendly with somebody²². An example: ‘Ala har-rašše ba‘id akammin sine ḡīli -l-yōm bibaṭil yi‘rif šū ya‘ni mḥōrabe wala šaff saḡge wala baṭṭīḡ-i-masmir—If things go on at this rate then after some years this generation will no longer know the meaning of mḥōrabe, saḡge (the row of males walking slowly shoulder-to-shoulder, clapping their hands in a special way and repeating suitable popular verses²³) or anything (lit.: defective watermelon).

(10) Ḥōza’—to have the hiccups. For example: Yaṃṃa, ‘aḡūy ‘am biḥōzi’ anṭi imbū²⁴—Mummy, my brother has the hiccups. Give him some water!

(11) Ḥōzan, mḥōzin ma‘—(among elementary school children) to discriminate in favour of somebody, especially a teacher who gives a pupil a higher mark than he deserves for personal reasons or interest. For example: Hāda li-m‘allim dāyman biḥōzin ma‘ak fi li-ḥsāb ubitmarri’ / ubtinḡaḡ ma‘ innak ibti‘rifīš ilḡamse m(i)ni ṭṭamše²⁵—This teacher always shows you favouritism in arithmetic and you pass / succeed even though you don’t know anything (lit.: the five from iṭṭamše—a meaningless word used here for the sake of rhyme).

(12) Ḥōlaš—to throw a tool at somebody (something or animals) from a distance (a stick, hammer, axe, shovel, mattock etc.) in order to frighten or hurt him, usually in a quarrel. For example: Il-ḡa’ ‘alē, ḥōlašto bi-l-‘ašāy wēnta, hā? ba‘id ma sabbni ušaršāḡni wit‘alla‘—He is guilty (lit.: the right is on him) I threw the stick on him, do you know when? Only after he cursed me, humiliated me and went away.

(13) Ḥōmar, (i)mḥōmara—to use lipstick (see no. 1).

(14) Ḥōza’—to entangle, to involve someone in difficulties (lit.: to put on a stake with a sharp point). For example: ‘Ittakalna ‘alē whāda wiḡi dḡēf, ḥōza’na (‘iṭḥōza’na) wit‘allamna dars—We relied on him but he disappeared (lit.: and this is the face of the

baṣṣa. ‘Akkā, 2nd ed. 1987, pp. 245-247.

²² This second meaning is merely used among young children, for example: Iza biḥallinīš al‘ab baḡōrbak—If you do not let me play I will stop talking to you or we will cease to be friends. The antonym of this verb is šōlaḡ, see below. Among adults the words used to describe the same situation are: biḡkūš ma‘ ba‘id; hinne za‘al, fiš binātin marḡaba.

²³ Such as: Lā t‘iddi -l-ḡēl ‘iddi ḡḥūrha—Do not count horses, count their backs (knights); Hadda -l-bulbul ‘arrumān wi-ḡla‘lo ya bu Slimān—The nightingale alighted on pomgranate tree, Abū Sulaimān go out (face) it. It goes without saying that this second verse does not have much meaning. In addition to the il-hadda, a popular poet, there is an important man called il-ḡašā whose role is to move in front of the row and to arouse enthusiasm.

²⁴ Imbū or imbōwā are used to mean ‘Do you want to drink some water? A sample of words used among children aged one and a half—five years and by adults to such children is not superfluous in this connection: ‘a’ā (to try to sleep), ‘ā’a (an egg), ‘abbā (Dad, Daddy), ‘a‘ (dirty), ‘ammā (Mummy), ba’ēni (here I am), baḡḡ (nothing more is left, cf. baḡbāḡ in literary Arabic), bobbo (a baby), tēta (grandmother), tiš (a trip), ḡalō (your maternal uncle), dādi (usually with the words, šaṭṭa baṭṭa, let us see your first steps, try to make a step), daḡḡ (new, usually in regard to clothes, cf. in literary Arabic dāḡ), diddē (don’t extend your hand towards anything dangerous or forbidden), sidō (your grandfather), ‘ammō (your paternal uncle), ka‘, kakka (excrement, filth), kiḡ (phew!), nanna (food, do you want to eat?), naḡḡ (sweets), ninnē (sleep), nūnu (small, little), ḡus (keep quite), wāwa (pain, it hurts). See Dāwūd ‘Abdu and Salwa ḡulw, Fī luḡat al-ṭifl, al-mufradāt. Part one, ‘Ammān, 1st ed. 1986, 2nd ed. 1991.

²⁵ A similar expression used to indicate a complete ignoramus is: Flān ṭaṭamīš bi‘rifīš -l-ḡum‘a mini -l-ḡamīs—So and so does not know B from a bull’s foot (ṭaṭamīš is probably derived from ṭamīs which means blind, literally: does not know when it is Friday and when it is Thursday).

guest), we got into serious trouble and learned a lesson.

(15) *Ḥōfar*—to be a little bit hard, tasteless and hollow to some extent, especially of radish. For example: *Halfiḡil illi ‘am biḡi ‘assū biswāš ‘iṣrit baṣale, kullu mḡofer*—The radish available (lit.: which is coming) in the market is entirely worthless (lit.: does not equal onion skin), all of it is *mḡofer*.

(16) *Ḥōla*—to hit the target in the boys' game of marbles²⁶.

(17) *Ḥōlaf*—to put a load of items in the shape of an X to keep it balanced on a riding animal.

(18) *Ḥōma*—synonym of no. 16. For example: *Ṭaṣṣ ‘īdi hāda babi‘oš šēli bēli, šuft kīf mḡōma ‘a baḡōmi‘ fiyyo ‘uba‘štīl kulli wlādi l-ḡāra*—This marble that I play with²⁷, I will not sell at all, you saw how perfectly I hit the target with it and cause loss to all boys of our quarter.

(19) *Dōbal*—A) to be doubled (from English); B) to double, to stay twice (two years). For example: A) *Bi-hal-‘anāmil izzahar bidōbil mdōbale*—Through these fingertips numbers are coming in doubles. B) *Il-maḡḡūṭ, miš ‘ārfin šu ni‘mal bi-hal-ṣabi, ‘ammālo bidōbil kul ṣaff*—The truth is that we do not know what to do with this boy, he stays two years in every class.

(20) *Dōḡas, mdōḡis*—to have a whitlow (*daḡūs*)²⁸ *Il-uṣba‘ / il-‘uḡfar mdōḡis*—the finger / the fingernail has a whitlow

(21) *Dōzan*—to become almost drunk / exultant and to become cheerful. For example: *Ibin ‘ammak ra’‘iṣ*²⁹ *‘ala kēfak bass muṣkīlto binzališ ‘a-l-ḡalabe ‘illa yam taykūn mdōzen*—Your cousin (the son of your paternal uncle) is an excellent (lit.: as you please) dancer but his problem is that he does not come to (lit.: go down) the dance floor without being entirely *mdōzen*.

(22) *Dōšar*—to have free rein, move to and fro (*šrd > dšr, dašar and dāšir* have the same meaning³⁰). For example: *Baṭṭal yiroḡḡ ‘a‘abū wala ‘ala ḡada uhiyyāto mdōšir uṭāšiš min maṭraḡ lamaṭraḡ*—He stopped to obey his father or anybody else and now he is moving and strolling from one place to another.

(23) *Dō‘ar*—to be obstinate, stubborn, to bow one's head in silence. For example: *Šarṛlu biḡi t(a)lat si‘at ‘a‘id imdō‘ir fi hadīki -l-‘urne kulliš*—He has been almost three hours sitting and bowing his head down in that furthest corner.

²⁶ The game called *bananīr* is disappearing and various terms used in it gradually become unknown, such as: *ṭaṣṣ īd, imṭaṭāy, mōr, ḡardat īdi, ‘an dūd, ‘an ribiḡ, ‘aṣtal* etc.

²⁷ A marble held by the thumb, index finger and the middle finger and propelled by the thumb at other marbles arranged in a triangle (*mōr*).

²⁸ Cf. in literary Arabic *daḡisa, dāḡis and dāḡ‘ūs*.

²⁹ Other common intensive adjectives (in contrast to words of the same pattern, such as, *bakkīr* = early and *dallīl* = sparse, scattered) of this pattern in Kufir Yasīf Arabic are: *‘akkīl* (eater, glutton), *baṣṣīm* (a learner by heart), *ḡawwīl* (a man who picks up olives from the ground), *a ḡarīf* (professional), *ḡawwīf* (coward), *dabbīk* (dabka dancer), *darrīs* (diligent, industrious), *rassīm* (a painter), *rakkīd* (a good runner), *sabbīḡ* (a swimmer), *sakkīr* (addicted), *šarīb* (heavy drinker), *šaḡḡīl* (good worker), *šarīf* (extravagant), *šayyīb* (sharpshooter), *ḡarīb* (a good striker), *la‘‘īb* (good player), *na‘‘īl* (deceptive, usually in exams), *haššīt* (a liar). It should be noted that the plural form (and feminine singular) of such adjectives is *fa‘‘īle/a*, e.g.: *‘akkīle, sabbīḡa*.

³⁰ On the expression Kufir Yasīf *dašūra*, see R. Būlis mentioned in n. no. 1, p. 77.

(24) *Dō'as*—especially referring to the head, *rāso mdō'is* or *fi da'ūse fi rāso*—his head is bent backward, elongated at the back, has a protruberance.

(25) *Dōkam/n*—to bend/bow one's head. For example: A) *Lēš mdōkim? fi 'ēš 'am tiħdis? nušši -l-'alf ħamis miyye!* A) Why are you bowing your head? What is revolving in your mind? Take it easy (lit.: half of one thousand is five hundred)! B) *'Itšawwar 'innu a'azz šāħib 'illi kunt 'inti wiyyā ūzēn bi-l-bās fağ'atan yiṭayyizlak—!* B) Imagine that your dearest friend with whom you were hand and glove (lit.: two backs in one pair of underpants) all of a sudden gives you the cold shoulder (lit.: shows you his backside).

(26) *Rōdaħ*—to sing or to hum softly a popular song on both joyful and mournful occasions, for example, *il-ħawārne* (the people of Hauran in SW Syria and N. Jordan) *birōdħo mrodaħa*.

(27) *Rōkab, mrōkib*—to be out of order (usually, a telephone) or playing cards are not well shuffled (*iš-šadde mrōkbe*).

(28) *Zōba'c, mzōbi'c—iṭṭa's ilyōm mzōbi'c*—it is stormy today.

(29) *Zōmar, mzōmir*—to have the mumps

(30) *Sōgar*³¹, *msōgar*—to ensure, secure; certainly; registered. For example: *'Ilwāħad baddo ykidd taysōger musta'balo, msōgar fiš iši biği bbalāš illa l'ama wiṭṭrāš*—one needs to work hard in order to secure one's future, certainly nothing comes gratuitously except blindness and deafness. *Maktūb msōgar*—a registered letter.

(31) *Sōğak, msōğak*—not straight (for instance, a wall, a shirt which is tight on one side).

(32) *Sōlaf*³²—to talk, to tell a short story, anecdote etc. For example: *'Imbayyin 'am biṭħillo muškilit falašṭīn, lā 'iħna la minħill wala mnorboṭ*³³ *'ammālna nsōlif*—It seems that you are solving the problem of Palestine, no, we are not influential (lit.: we neither untie nor tie up) we are {just} talking.

(33) *Šōbaħ, mšōbaħ*—to pendulate, swing back and forth (usu. on trees).

(34) *Šōtaħ, mšōtaħ*—synonym of no. 33. For example: *Baddaki dđallak tit' amša' wiṭšōtaħ ħālak 'az-zatūne walla ağıblaki ssibe utinzal?*—Would you like to remain climbing and swinging back and forth on the olive-tree or shall I fetch a tripod for you to get down?

³¹ From the Italian *sicurta*, *sōgar* is used among close friends to mean to smoke a cigarette from time to time. The sound [g] is rare in the Kufir Yasīf dialect and, as a rule, it occurs in loan-words, for example: *argīli* (water pipe, narghile), *galan* (galoon), gull, *glāl* (marble/s), *fagōn* (wagon), *fagūra* (a kind of hook), *gawwād* (pander, pimp), *gīr* (gear), *gada'* (brave), *'abaḏāy* (from Turkish, brave), *gawāfa* (guava fruit), *grēbfrūt* (grapefruit), *zangal, zangīl* (from Turkish, to become wealthy, wealthy), *ğđrd lang* (brand-new), *inglīzi, ingiltra* (English, England), *bagāğ issayyāra* (car luggage, boot of car), *gōl* (goal), *golarği* (goal-keeper), *zğort* (from Turkish, bold, decent, perspicacious), *imħargal* (to be dressed without any harmony), *sigāra, sagāyir* (cigarette, cigarettes), *šangal* (peg, hook), *grām* (in spite of the fact that it is written with *ghain*, gram). Cf. Albert Jamil Butros, *English Loanwords in the Colloquial Arabic of Palestine (1917-1948) and Jordan (1948-1962)*. Diss., Columbia University, 1963.

³² Cf. Heikki Palva, *Artistic Colloquial Arabic. Traditional narratives and poems from al-Balqā'* (Jordan): transcription, translation, linguistic and metrical analysis. *Studia Orientalia* 69, Helsinki 1992, pp. 14 (l. 3), 36 (l. 1).

³³ *Biħill u-burboṭ* with connection to magic see, Aħmad Abū Sa'd, *Qāmūs al-muštalaħāt wa-al-ta'ābir al-ša'biyya, mu'ğam laħğī ta'šīlī folklorī*. Beirut 1987, *rabṭ il-'arīs*, p. 234.

(35) Šōfar, mšōfir—to work as a driver (chauffeur). For example: Būliš kol 'omro mšōfir, mafhūm bisū' tuḥfe—All his life Būliš (Paul) works as a driver, ofcourse (lit.: it is understood) he drives magnificently.

(36) Šōla—to lift somebody by the hand.

(37) Šōban—to soap, wash with soap and water.

(38) Šōlab—mšōlabe—'uḥruṭ il'arḍ mšōlabe!—plough the soil in a cross manner!

(39) Šōlaḥ—to become reconciled, to make peace; antonym of no. 9 B).

(40) Tōbar—to prepare the framework of a building.

(41) Tōbaz, ṭabaz, mṭōbiz—to squat on the ground (with one's legs drawn up closely in front of one's body and one's arms holding one's legs)³⁴.

(42) Tōban, mṭōbne—to be full of smoke as in a ṭābūn (a hut in which there is a jar-shaped oven, sunk in the ground, open on top and used for baking bread, cooking etc. Dung is used to fuel)³⁵. For example: Ḥāḡə ṭhiššu waḥde bṭizi ttāne, ṭōbant il-ōḍa—Stop (lit.: a need) smoking one cigarette after (lit.: one in the posterior of) another, the room has turned into a ṭābūn.

(43) Tōra'—mṭōr'a, mṭōr'āt—to be or become slim and slender because the belly is empty (usu. of animals, sheep, cows). For example: 'Imbayyan 'innu ssine maḥil, šal'it il-mi'za / (il-'aḡḡāl) 'am bitrawwiḥ (birawwiḥ) mṭōr'a (mṭōri')—It seems that this year is barren, the herd of goats / ((herd of) cattle) is coming home mṭōr'a (mṭōri').

(44) Tōmal—to bend down to pick something up from the ground or to bend down in general. For example: Ya ḥālṭi ṭōmli šwayy wala 'amrin 'alēki taḥammlik hal-ḡarra!—Lady (lit.: O, my maternal aunt), please (lit.: and not an command on you) bow down a little bit so that I can make you carry this jar.

(45) 'ōtal—to rise up like a pin or peg.

(46) 'ōraṭ—to hit somebody with a tool similar to a long stick, cf. no. 12.

(47) 'ōram—to heap, pile. For example: Rūḥ 'ōrimi ṭṭarḥa wana badarrīha—Go and heap the layer of straw and I will winnow it.

(48) 'ō'ad, m'ō'id³⁶—to be knotty (rope, thread, lace etc.).

(49) 'ōmad, m'ōmid—to look (usu. male organ) like a post ('āmūd>'amūd). For example: Bi'ulūlak kōl-i-mkassrāt, abu kādo ma' 'asal manzū'i rraḡawe 'uṣūf kīf bi'ōmidlak izzłame³⁷ iṣṣubiḥ—People say (or it is said; lit.: they say to you), "Eat almonds and nuts, avocado with honey that its foam is removed and see how your penis straightens up in the morning."

(50) 'ōhar, m'ōhir—to pretend bursting into tears in order to get something. For example: Yaḷla 'ōhri taṣūf ayy iḥwat bisadd'ik—Continue crying (fem. sing.) and

³⁴ Cf. the expression ḡalasa al-qurfuṣā'a in literary Arabic.

³⁵ On this traditional Arab bakery which disappeared several decades ago, see Sharīf Kanā'na, Zāwiyat al-tiknōlōḡyā al-ša'biyya: al-ṭābūn, al-ṭurāt wa-al-muḡtama', maḡalla faṣliyya tu'na bi-al-dirāsāt al-iḡtimā'iyya wa-al-ṭurāt al-ša'bī. Al-Bīra 13-16 (1981-82).

³⁶ The same meaning is usually expressed by the second verbal form—'a''ad, im'a''id etc.

³⁷ Other words used are: Ḥamame (when adults talk politely to children), 'aḏīb, iddakar, abu 'alī, illi bēn iḡrēk, taba' or intā' with a connected pronoun, ḥamad, in vulgar usage: ēr (from Greek eyros?), zibb, and zubor are in use.

shedding tears so that I can see which fool will believe in you.

(51) Fōraṣ, mfōriṣ³⁸—to have a holiday. For example: Ba‘id ma tfōriṣ, iḥwāš il-bamyāt³⁹ ‘alēk—After you start your holiday you have to pluck the okra (lit.: plucking the okra is on you).

(52) Fōra‘—to throw a kind of axe at somebody or something (farū‘a).

(53) Fōsa’—e. g. il-kalb mfōsi’ (from fasū’)—the dog has a kind of insect or small worm on his skin.

(54) Fōšar, mfōšre—dry and cracked (usu. it refers to earth, land).

(55) Fōkar⁴⁰—to keep a window open or closed by means of fakūra (a kind of metal hook or peg) to avoid it banging.

(56) ‘ōba‘—to run away.

(57) ‘ōraṭ—to find a kind of small living creature (‘arūṭ, usually in old wheat, rice, sesame etc.). For example: Wala ‘amrin ‘alēk kubb has-simismāt laḡḡaḡāt, m‘ōrṭāt—Please (lit.: and no command on you) throw this sesame to the hens, it is m‘ōriṭ.

(58) ‘ōšal—to remove straw from grain.

(59) ‘ōḏab ‘ala—to become tame. For example: ‘Il-kurr baddo taman tisi‘ tušhur⁴¹ taysīr yi‘ōḏib ‘ala šāḥbo—A young donkey needs about eight or nine months before it begins to be tame to its owner.

(60) ‘ōṭar—to tie an animal with another in front of it. This verb can be used also intransitively, e.g.: ‘ōṭar liḥmār ma‘i l-ḡamal—the donkey and the camel are tied together.

(61) ‘ōṭa‘⁴²—to take a short cut. For example: Min hōn lamaḥaṭiṭ ittaksiyyāt m‘ōṭa‘a baddak abu ‘ašar da‘āyi’—(To get) from here to the taxi station you need to take a short cut of about ten minutes.

(62) Kōbaḡ—to make small round balls of dough in order to make Arabic loaves (kmāḡ).

(63) Lōṭaš—to swarm, spread about. For example: Dīr bālak winti ‘am tiḥba‘ bi-hal-hašīr, iddinya nār wil-ḥayāya bitlōṭiṣi mlōṭaše—Be careful while you are walking with fast and high steps on these wild and dry plants, it is very hot and snakes dart out in all directions.

³⁸ In Jerusalem the words fōdas, mfōdis etc. are used.

³⁹ Collective nouns to which is attached the morpheme of the sound feminine plural -āt- have a specific meaning, for instance, hadōl bamyātna, baṭṭiḥāṭna, ḥarrušātna, ḥumšātna, ‘amḥātna, bašalātna, zitātna, etc.—these are (as a rule, the listener can cast a glance at them) our okra, water-melons, honey-melons, chick-peas, wheat, onions, oil respectively. In a few cases the morpheme in question indicates the sense of duration—iṣṣubḥiyyāt, idḏuhriyyāt, il‘ašriyyāt, ilmigribiyyāt.

⁴⁰ Fōgar is also in use.

⁴¹ The suffix -t reflects the last sound of the preceding numbers 3-10 and the following noun is in the broken plural, ‘af‘āl, ‘af‘ul and ‘af‘ila. This phenomenon is found in a few cases only, such as: ḥam(i)s tiyyām, tirtāl, tunfus, turuḡfe, talāf—five days, rotls (2.5 kgs.), individuals, loaves, thousands, quarters (fourth part). Cf. Charles A. Ferguson, ‘‘The Arabic Koine’’, in S. H. Al-Ani (ed.), *Readings in Arabic Linguistics*. Indiana University 1978, pp. 58-59.

⁴² In Egyptian Arabic, for example, the equivalent verb is ḥaram, see Yūsuf Idrīs, *Dunyā Yūsuf Idrīs*, ed. Sassoone Somekh, Tel-Aviv 1976, p. 51. In Lebanon ‘ōdam is used while ‘ōṭa‘ has a different meaning, see Anis Frayha, *A Dictionary of Non-classical Vocables in the Spoken Arabic of Lebanon* (in Arabic). Beirut 1973, p. 146.

(64) *Mōṭal*⁴³—to tarry, put off. For example: 'Il-yōm iṣṣanāy⁴⁴ 'i bimōṭil wi-l-wāḥad biniḡbir yidfa⁴⁵ lo ḡānib salaf^{an}—Today a craftsman takes his time and one is compelled to pay him part in advance.

(65) *Nōzal*, *mnōzil*—to catch a cold, catarrh.

(66) *Nō'ar*, *mnō'ir*—to be slim, pale, thin etc. For example: *Wiḡḡo*⁴⁴ *mnō'ir* mini -l-hamm, 'illiti nnōm wit-ta⁴⁶ 'ab—His face is pale and slim due to solicitude, lack of sleep and fatigue.

(67) *Hōbar*—to become infuriated and to shout in vain. For example: *Ḥāltak rāḥat il-ḡum'a lli fātat* 'ind dār aḥla uhōbarat, ba⁴⁷ id fiṣ ḡum⁴⁸ 'it zmān farṭaṭ.—Last week your maternal aunt went last week to see her family; she shouted excitingly and after less than a week she died.

(68) *Hōba*⁴⁵—to walk in an odd way, the neck and the legs move to the right and to the left.

(69) *Hōza*⁴⁶, *hōza*⁴⁶ or *hēza*⁴⁶—a state of clamour and turmoil.

(70) *Hōṣal*⁴⁶—to wander aimlessly about (humans or animals).

(72) *Wōrab*—to hold at an oblique angle. For example: *Hal-barrād bifuṭiṣ mini -l-bāb iza minwōrboṣ*—This refrigerator cannot come through this door unless we hold it in an angle.

(73) *Wōṭa*—to bend (head, body) down. For example: *Ta' ya ḥabībi ṭulli ṣṣuḥāṭa, ittēta iḥtyāra ubtiḡdarṣ*⁴⁷ *twōṭi*⁴⁸—Come, my dear, and pick up the matches for me, your grandmother is old and cannot bend down.

(74) *Wō'ad*—to fuel a fireplace, oven. For example: 'ā, lēṣ la' mana hēk hēk mwō⁴⁸ 'de nnār uba⁴⁸ 'da mharibḡe—Yes, why not? I have at any rate kindled the fire and it is still burning well.

⁴³ It seems that the roots of the two verbs *mōṭa* and *mōkar* (to bend down, to ambush) are *wṭy* and *wkr*.

⁴⁴ *Wiṣṣ* is usually used in negative associations.

⁴⁵ *Haba*⁴⁵ in the first verbal form has the same meaning.

⁴⁶ *Haṣal* in the first verbal form expresses the same meaning.

⁴⁷ The shift *q > ḡ* of *qdr* occurs in the following forms of the *fa'al*, perfect, imperfect, imperative and active participle—*ḡidir*, *biḡdar*, *iḡdar* and *ḡādir* (*miṣ ḡādir* alone means sick and *q > '* , as usual, in proper names such as 'abd-il-'ādir, 'addūra, 'adrī, 'ādrī)—but not in nouns of action and the comparative form 'udra, 'adar and 'a'dar min (ability, amount of, nearly, more able than). Other possible examples of this shift in the *Kufir Yasif* dialect are unknown to the present writer who himself is a native speaker of this dialect. In the dialects of *Stria* and *Egypt* the shift in question takes place in *qdr* only in the imperfect form in the dialects of *Syria* and *Egypt*, see C. de Landberg, *Jeder tut was ihm passt, denn reden werden die Leute immer. Arabisches Sprichwort im Dialekt von Ḥaurān und Daṭīnah. Festtage zu seinem vierzigjährigen Jubiläum als Orientalist. Leiden 1909, p. 45; Ramaḡān 'Abd al-Tawwāb, Al-Taṭawwur al-luḡawī, mazāhiruhu wa-'ilaluhu wa-qawānīnuhu. Cairo 1981, p. 21.*

⁴⁸ In this case the forms (i)tmōṭi, (i)twāṭṭi ḥālha can also be used.