A GENERAL CLASSIFICATION

FOR THE ARABIC DIALECTS

SPOKEN IN PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN

BY
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1. I n t r o d u c t i o n

The Arabic dialects spoken in Palestine and Transjordan[1] do not constitute one
more or less homogeneous linguistic unit, but, owing to geographical, historical
and socio-economic factors, a great variety of dialects belonging to several
typologically different groups. It is a fact well known to all students of Ar-
abic dialectology that in many geographical areas there are considerable dif-
ferences, not only between sedentary and Bedouin dialects, but also inside
these two major dialect types as well.

As the result of dialect levelling — a natural consequence of the fundamental
change of society in our days — many earlier differences between local dia-
lects tend to be eliminated, and in the course of time previous linguistic
boundaries will fade or be wiped out. As a matter of fact, such boundaries have
always been exposed to changes. During relatively static periods the local dia-
lects have developed mainly by natural drift, but in times of great changes
they have been influenced from outside through the immigration of new groups
in the area or as the result of widened contacts. This was the main reason for
me to include in this summary classification all the Arabic dialects spoken in
the geographical area of Palestine and Transjordan with their eastern and south-
ern peripheries. For the understanding of the development of rural dialects —
particularly in Transjordan — the Bedouin dialects are of capital interest.

G. Bergsträsser's *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina*, published in 1915, can
be considered as a natural starting-point for the classification. Although it

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1 In this paper geographical names are used irrespective of historical or con-
  temporary political boundaries.

was based on a very short field study that covered the Syrian Arabic dialect
area from Aleppo in the north to Petra and Ma^{c}ān in the south, and was only
complemented with scattered, in some cases admittedly unreliable data collected
from the literature, it does give a rather fair picture of the dialect bound-
aries of the area as well as of the most pertinent hallmarks of the different
dialect types.[2]

The general setting of the sedentary Arabic dialects in Greater Syria was giv-
en by Jean Cantineau in a short but very instructive paper *Remarques sur les
parlers de sédentaires syro-libano-palestiniens*, published in 1938. In it he
draws the northern boundary of the Palestinian dialects from Haifa to Beisan,
whereas Bergsträsser includes the whole of Galilee in the Palestinian dialects.
While Bergsträsser draws boundaries between different sedentary dialects in
Transjordan, Cantineau regards the river Jordan as the eastern boundary of the
sedentary dialects. Also in the south, the area of sedentary dialects is more
limited in Cantineau's than in Bergsträsser's map.[3]

In his paper *A Classification for the Arabic Dialects in Jordan*, published in
1963, Ray L. Cleveland divides the Arabic dialects spoken in the Hashemite
Kingdom of Jordan, i.e. Transjordan and the West Bank, into four groupings,
roughly corresponding to social and economic stratification in the country, as
well as to geographic zones. With reference to an important phonetic (reflex
of *qāf*) and an important morphological (imperfect with *b-*) characteristic, he
calls the different types Group I (*yigūl*-Group), Group II (*bəgūl*-Group), Group
III (*bəkūl*-Group), and Group IV (*bə'ūl*-Group). Group I belongs to the Bedouins
in the eastern and southern deserts of Jordan, but appears also among the re-
cently settled nomads in the district of el-Karak and elsewhere. Group II is
the dialect type spoken by all the rural folk in southern Palestine, the Jordan
valley and the settled region lying east of this valley, as well as most of the
nomads outside Group I. Group III belongs to the village people around Jerusalem
and in central Palestine, Group IV represents the urban dialect type spoken in
Jerusalem, Jenin and Hebron.

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2 Because almost seventy years have passed since Bergsträsser's study, it is
   old enough to be used as a basis for observations of recent dialect level-
   ling. For the same reason, when some linguistic boundaries drawn by Berg-
   strässer are revised in this paper, this does not necessarily imply that his
   data in these cases were incorrect.

3 Cf. Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 39, and Cantineau, *Remarques*, map p. 84.
   Cantineau uses the *g* reflex of *qāf* as the most important criterion for ex-
   cluding the Transjordanian and South Palestinian dialects from the sedentary
   group.

Cleveland's article gives in a concise form essential information about some main characteristics of the different dialect types, especially those spoken on the West Bank. Since the rest of Palestine, however, is not included in the article, it seems appropriate to widen the scope in this respect. Furthermore, the dialects spoken in Transjordan by both the settled and Bedouin population will in the present paper be classified in greater detail. It is, however, not my purpose to draw exact dialect boundaries, nor to provide conclusive evidence for a classification by means of exhaustive lists of typologically pertinent isoglosses. My pretensions are in fact much more modest: the aim of this paper is to give a tentative general classification for the Arabic dialects spoken in Palestine and Transjordan and to illustrate some of their main characteristics in the light of a few selected distinctive features. The dialect groups as given below are, of course, to a certain extent arbitrary, since many important isoglosses actually cross dialect boundaries. It must therefore be borne in mind that noticeable differences occur, e.g., between the dialects of Jerusalem and Safed, albeit they have been classified as belonging to one group. This also applies to, e.g., the different dialects in Galilee (Druzes, Muslims, Christians, Upper and Lower Galilee etc.), which all here have been treated as one group. On the other hand, one might prefer treating the rural dialects of Central and South Palestine — in spite of major differences (k vs. g) — as one group in the same manner as has been done with the dialects of North and Central Transjordan.

2. Selected linguistic criteria for classification

In order to illustrate linguistic differences between the different dialect groups, a small number of selected distinctive, typologically pertinent features are given in tabular form (see p. 6).

Criterion (a) Reflexes of older interdentals

In the Palestinian-Transjordanian area the reflexes of older interdentals serve fairly well as a distinctive feature between urban and non-urban dialects. In all markedly urban dialects, i.e. those of Jerusalem, Hebron, Gaza, Jaffa, Haifa, Tiberias, and Safed, the older interdental spirants have been replaced with their postdental stop equivalents. This feature is also attested in some sedentary dialects related to the urban type, e.g. Ramla, Jenin, Nazareth, and ᶜĒn ez-Zētūn (near Safed in Galilee), but not Nablus,[4] and appears

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4 Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 1, § 1; Bauer, *Pal.*, p. 3; Cantineau, *Remarques*, p. 81; Cleveland, *Classification*, p. 58f.

SELECTED DISTINCTIVE FEATURES IN THE ARABIC DIALECTS SPOKEN IN PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN

	(a) reflexes of older inter-dentals	(b) reflex of qāf	(c) reflex of kāf	(d) reflex of ǧīm	(e) reflex of the sequence CVCaCV-	(f) reflex of the sequence -aXC- X=ǧ,x,ᶜ, ḥ, or h	(g) gender distinction in 2nd & 3rd p. pl. in pron. & verbs	(h) imperfect indicat. non-past 3rd p.pl.m.	(i) 'here'	(j) 'now'	(k) negation 'it does not matter'
1. URBAN DIALECTS	t d ḍ	'	k	ž	CᵛCaCV-	-aXC-	no distinction	bi'ūlu	hōn	halla', hal'ēt	mā biḥimm(iš)
2. RURAL DIALECTS											
1. Galilee	t d ḍ	q	k	ž	CᵛCaCV-	-aXC-	no distinction	biqūlu	hōn	'issa	(mā) biḥimmiš
2. Central Palestine	t d ḍ	k̇	(k)/č dīč dyūč	ǧ	CᵛCaCV-	-aXC-	distinction	bik̇ūlu	hān, hēn	halkēt, halōket	(mā) biḥimmiš
3. South Palestine	t d ḍ	g	(k)/č dīč dyūč	ǧ	CᵛCaCV-	-aXC-	distinction	bigūlu	hān	halgēt, (h)alḥīn	(mā) biḥimmiš
4. North and Central Transjordan	t d ḍ	g	k/č dīč dyūč	ǧ	CᵛCaCV-	-aXC-	distinction	bigūlu	hōn	hassāᶜ	mā biḥimmiš
5. South Transjordan	t d ḍ	g	k	ǧ	CᵛCaCV-	-aXC-	distinction	bigūlu	hān	hassāᶜ	mā biḥimm
3. BEDOUIN DIALECTS											
1. The Negev Bedouins	t d ḍ	g	k	ǧ	CᵛCaCV-, CVCᵃCV-	-XaC-, -aXaC-	distinction	bigūlu	hniy(yih) fīhāḍa	(h)alḥīn	mā biḥimm (?)
2. Bedouins of Arabia Petraea	t d ḍ	g	k	ǧ	CᵛCaCV-, CCᵃCV-	-XaC-, -aXaC-	distinction	yigūlu	hān, bhāḍa, fīhāḍa	hassāᶜ, halḥīn	mā yxālif
3. Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearers	t d ḍ	g/ǧ šarg šargi	k/č dīč dyūč	ǧ	CCᵃCV-	-XaC-	distinction	yigūlūn	hān	hassāᶜ	mā yxālif
4. North Arabian Bedouins	t d ḍ	g/ǧ šarg šargi	k/č dīč dyūč	ǧ	CCᵃCV-	-XaC-	distinction	yigūlūn	hān, bhāḍa	halḥīn, ditwān	mā yxālif

sporadically in the dialects of Christian and Muslim, but not Druze, villagers in Galilee.[5]

Sibilant substitutes s, z and $ẓ$ for the older interdentals $\underline{t}$, $\underline{d}$ and $\underline{d}$ respectively, occur mainly in urban dialects, but only in loans — often very old — from Literary Arabic, borrowed either directly or via Turkish. The last-mentioned loans ($ẓābiṭ$ 'army officer', $maẓbūṭ/mazbūṭ$ 'correct, right', and $bi-ẓ-ẓabṭ$ 'exactly') are also used in sedentary dialects which have preserved the older interdentals.[6]

Criterion (b) Reflex of $q\bar{a}f$

The reflexes of $q\bar{a}f$ can be regarded as the most prominent distinctive feature for the classification of Arabic dialects spoken in the area in question.[7] Thus, voiceless reflexes occur in sedentary dialects only, the glottal stop ' being the urban reflex, the postvelar q that used by a great majority of Druzes as well as by most Muslim and Christian villagers in Galilee, and the prevelar (or postpalatal) $\underline{k}$ the reflex used by most Central Palestinian villagers.[8] The voiced reflex g, on the other hand, is used by all Bedouin speakers in the area, but only in the south, i.e. in the dialects of the Negev Bedouins and of the tribes el-Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ᶜAṭīye in Arabia Petraea,[9] this reflex remains constant. In the remaining two groups of Bedouin dialects it has phonetically conditioned affricated variants in the contiguity of front vowels. In the dia-

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5 Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 1, § 1; Blanc, *North Pal.*, pp. 57–59; Palva, *Lower Gal.*, p. 25f.; for fluctuation between different reflexes of interdentals, see Aro, *Südliban. 2*, p. 27.

6 In urban dialects there are many lexical alternants one of which is the inherited dialectal form displaying the postdental stop reflex, the other a loan from Literary Arabic, having the sibilant substitute for the original interdental, e.g. *ḥadīt* 'conversation' and *ḥadīs* 'oral tradition (in Muslim canonic law)', both from *ḥadīt*; *dakar* 'male' and *zakar* 'he mentioned', both from *dakar*. For more details, see Blanc, *North Pal.*, p. 59; Bauer, *Pal.*, p. 2f.; Barbot, *Emprunts*, p. 183; Cleveland, *Classification*, p. 59 n. 10; Garbell, *Remarks*, p. 317f.; for a discussion based on Middle Arabic material, see Knutsson, *Studies*, pp. 78–94.

7 According to Cantineau, *Cours*, p. 68, there are no true exceptions ("véritables exceptions") from the rule that all Bedouin dialects of Arabic have voiced reflexes of $q\bar{a}f$, whereas all sedentary dialects have voiceless reflexes.

8 Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 4, § 10; Bauer, *Pal.*, p. 4; Blanc, *North Pal.*, p. 68f.; Palva, *Lower Gal.*, pp. 23–25. For historical explanations for the glottal stop reflex, see Barbot, *Emprunts*, pp. 184–186; Garbell, *Remarks*, p. 313; Sabuni, *Aleppo*, pp. 31–35.

9 In this paper I use the term Arabia Petraea for the southern part of Transjordan (south of el-Karak) and the area to the east of the Gulf of Aqaba.

lects of the sheep-rearing Syro-Mesopotamian Bedouins (e.g. the ᶜAdwān, ᶜAǧār-
ma and Bani ᶜAbbād in the Balqā') the affricated variant is ǧ (=dž), whereas
it in the dialects related to the camel-rearing North Arabian Bedouins (the
Šammar and ᶜAnaze; in Transjordan the dialects of the tribes Bani Ṣaxar, Bani
Xālid and Sirḥān belong to the Šammari type) is ǵ (=dz).[10]

Between the settled area in Palestine proper and the desert in the south and
east there is a zone of cultivated areas where the townspeople and villagers
have the voiced g reflex of qāf. This area covers the towns and villages of
the whole of Transjordan and the Jordan valley as well as the villages of South
Palestine.[11] According to Cantineau this major Bedouin feature, which belongs
to the hallmarks of the Horani dialects as well, can be explained through a
relatively late sedentarization of the population.[12] This explanation is un-
doubtedly correct, because the bulk of the population in these areas is of
recent Bedouin origin. As a matter of fact, Transjordan was very sparsely in-
habited during the Ottoman rule, especially in the 16th century, when the
number of inhabitants in the whole area was not more than 51.000 the most of
which lived in ᶜAjlūn, whereas es-Salṭ, according to the Ottoman assessment
rolls, was the only market centre in the Balqā'.[13]

Criterion (c) Reflex of kāf

The distribution of the reflexes of kāf is analogous to that of qāf in Bedouin
dialects. Thus, the Bedouins of the Negev and Arabia Petraea, who have no af-
fricated variant of g, only have the non-affricated reflex k of kāf. The tribes
the dialect of which belong to the type of the North Arabian camel-rearers,
have the phonetically conditioned ǵ (=dz) and č (=ts) variants of g and k re-
spectively in the contiguity of front vowels, whereas the affricated variants

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10 Cantineau, *Nomades* I, pp. 33-39; II, p. 141f.; Blanc, *Negev*, p. 116; Palva,
    ᶜAǧārma, p. 10f.; for the tribes el-Ḥwētāt and Bani ᶜAṭīye, own observa-
    tions; cf. also Palva, *Bani Ṣaxar*, p. 114. For the distribution of the af-
    fricated variants, see Johnstone, *EADS*, pp. 2-6, and id., *Affrication*; for
    a diachronic analysis, see Blanc, *qāl-gāl*.

11 The villages of the Plain of Jezreel seem to belong to the same group. In
    1961, when collecting material for *Lower Gal.*, I observed the g and č re-
    flexes in idiolects of older people and women, whereas the idiolects of
    younger generation were more koineized and in this respect resembled the
    dialect of Nazareth. For Iksāl, Dabbūrye and ᶜEn Māhil, see *Lower Gal.*, p.
    24f.; according to my recordings the same is true of the villages of Nēn
    and Sūlam as well. For the boundaries of the g reflex area, cf. Bergsträs-
    ser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 4.

12 Cantineau, *Ḥōrān*, pp. 416-421; for ethnic affinities between Horan and
    Transjordan, see *ibid.*, pp. 44-46.

13 Hütteroth, p. 22; cf. Peake, *Jordan*, p. 86f.

in the dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-raisers are $\breve{g}$ (=$d\breve{z}$) and $\breve{c}$ (=$t\breve{s}$).[14]

In the urban dialects as well as in all dialects spoken in Galilee the only reflex of $k\bar{a}f$ is k, while it normally is an unconditioned $\breve{c}$ in most rural dialects of Central and South Palestine.[15] The originally conditioned affricate has been generalized through root analogy, and finally k has only been retained for morphological reasons (suffixed personal pronouns in 2nd p. masc. sing. and plur.).

In Central and North Transjordan, as well as in Horan, the distribution between non-affricated and affricated variants is roughly the same as in the dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-raisers, but there is a tendency for $\breve{c}$ to function as an independent phoneme, i.e., the earlier complementary distribution has lost its transparency and the system has become more complex due to morphological and lexical reasons.[16] The sedentary dialects of South Transjordan have, contrary to Bergsträsser's data for el-Karak, no affricated variant of k.[17]

The historical explanation for the reflexes of $k\bar{a}f$ in rural Transjordanian dialects is probably parallel to that for the g reflex of $q\bar{a}f$, i.e., connected with the character of the Bedouin dialects formerly spoken by the bulk of the rural population of the areas in question. The generalized affricated reflex $\breve{c}$ in Central and South Palestine may be explained as a Bedouin ad- or

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14 Cantineau, *Nomades* I, pp. 28-39, II, p. 141; Johnstone, *Affrication*; id., *EADS*, pp. 2-6; Blanc, *Negev*, p. 116; Palva, *$^{c}A\breve{g}\bar{a}rma$*, pp. 11-14; id., *Bani Ṣaxar*, p. 114f.; for el-Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ^{c}Aṭīye in Arabia Petraea, own observations.

15 Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 3, § 7; Bauer, *Pal.*, p. 4; Cleveland, *Classification*, p. 58; id., *Southern Pal.*, p. 44f.; Blanc, *North Pal.*, p. 67; Palva, *Lower Gal.*, p. 26.

16 Grotzfeld, *Syrisch-pal.*, p. 174f.; Cantineau, *Ḥorān*, pp. 115-125; Palva, *Balgāwi* 2, p. 13, and 3, p. 18. Some minimal pairs show that there already is a phonemic contrast between /k/ and /č/: *'abūk* 'your (masc. sing.) father' vs. *'abūč* 'your (fem. sing.) father', *kān* 'he/it was' (less frequent than the synonymous *baga*) vs. *čān* 'if'. This development has taken place in some Bedouin dialects, too, see Palva, *$^{c}A\breve{g}\bar{a}rma$*, pp. 11-14. It is interesting to notice that the phonemic status of /č/ in Central and North Transjordanian dialects is parallel to that of /k/ in Central and South Palestinian rural dialects. In all sedentary dialects of Palestine and Transjordan, the affricated variant is regressive and already lacking in most idiolects of younger generation.

17 This statement is based on my inquiries and recordings from el-Karak, Mādaba and eṭ-Ṭafīle; cf. Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 3, § 7.

superstrate that has spread from Transjordan, in the same manner as the neigh-
bouring Bedouin dialects have influenced the Euphrates group of the Mesopota-
mian $q\partial ltu$ dialects.[18] The foreign origin might also explain the generaliza-
tion of the affricated variant, a development which, on the other hand, made
possible the fronting of q to $\underset{.}{k}$.[19] The assumption is, in my opinion, corrobo-
rated by the situation in the dialect of the Sukhne oasis in the Syrian Desert.
It is an old sedentary dialect where the affrication no doubt is due to a Bed-
ouin superstrate and where the affrication has been generalized. Furthermore,
the generalization of the affricated reflex has there been followed by the
fronting of q to $\underset{.}{k}$.[20]

Criterion (d) Reflex of $\breve{g}\bar{\imath}m$

The palato-alveolar spirant $\check{z}$ (voiced counterpart of $\check{s}$) is the reflex of $\breve{g}\bar{\imath}m$
characteristic of Levantine urban dialects except for Aleppo,[21] as well as of
the Damascus plain and greatest part of Lebanon. In the Palestinian dialect
area it occurs in most rural dialects in Galilee,[22] but in the rest of Pale-
stine only in urban dialects. In this respect Galilee can therefore be con-
sidered as an area of transition between the rural dialects of Palestine and
Lebanon. In all the remaining dialects spoken in Palestine and Transjordan
the reflex of $\breve{g}\bar{\imath}m$ is the palatal affricate $\breve{g}$.[23]

Criterion (e) Reflex of the sequence CVCaCV-

This criterion serves as a distinctive feature between Bedouin and sedentary
dialects. All the sedentary dialects of the Palestinian and Transjordanian

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18 Jastrow, *qD* I, p. 42f.; Cantineau, *Remarques*, p. 85.

19 Cantineau, *Cours*, p. 69; Blanc, *qāl-gāl*, p. 25f.

20 Cantineau, *Remarques*, p. 86; id., *Cours*, p. 66.

21 Sabuni, *Aleppo*, p. 20f.; Grotzfeld, *LF*, p. 17; Barbot, *Emprunts*, p. 184;
   for $\breve{g} > \check{z}$, see Garbell, *Remarks*, p. 323, where the development has been
   dated to 18th – 20th centuries. For more details, see Cantineau, *Cours*, pp.
   56–62.

22 Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 2, § 5, gives $\check{z}$ in Galilee for the north-
   western part only, whereas I could not observe reflexes other than $\check{z}$ in the
   16 localities in Lower Galilee included in my *Lower Gal.* According to Blanc,
   $\check{z}$ and $\breve{g}$ vary freely for many Druze speakers in Western Galilee, *North Pal.*,
   p. 66. It is probable that the $\check{z}$ reflex is spreading through dialect level-
   ling.

23 Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 2, § 5; Bauer, *Pal.*, p. 2; Cleveland, *Clas-
   sification*, p. 58; $\breve{g}$ is the most frequent reflex in the Bedouin dialects,
   too, but many other reflexes occur, see Blanc, *Negev*, p. 116 ($\breve{g}$, $\check{z}$, d^y);
   Cantineau, *Nomades* I, pp. 24–26, II, pp. 136–138 ($\breve{g}$, y); Palva, *Bani Ṣaxar*,
   p. 114 ($\breve{g}$, g^y); el-Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ^cAṭīye have $\breve{g}$ (own observation).

area allow the syllable structure $C\acute{V}CaCV$-, whereas it in all Bedouin dialects
normally is reduced to $CC\acute{\partial}CV$-, e.g., $kitab + -aw \rightarrow kt\acute{\partial}baw$, $\check{g}amal + -i \rightarrow$
$\check{g}m\acute{\partial}li$, *$badawi > bd\acute{\partial}wi$, *$f\acute{u}gara > fg\acute{a}ra$.[24]

Criterion (f) Reflex of the sequence $-aXC-$

This criterion is parallel to (e) and complements it as a distinctive feature.
In all Bedouin dialects spoken in the Palestinian-Transjordanian area the re-
flex of the sequence $-aXC-$ is normally $-XaC-$ if X is one of the consonants x,
$\dot{g}$, $\d{h}$, ^{c}, or h, while this so-called $gah\acute{a}wah$ syndrome does not occur in sed-
entary dialects.[25]

Criterion (g) Gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd
persons plural in personal pronouns and verbs

Here again, as in (d) above, the urban dialects and the dialects spoken in
Galilee differ from the rest of the dialects of the area, which have preserved
the gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd persons plural in personal pronouns
and verbs. The boundary drawn by Bergsträsser through Galilee might have been
correct seventy years ago; however, now it runs south of Nazareth.[26]

Criterion (h) Imperfect indicative non-past

The use of the b- afformative with the imperfect as a morpheme for indicative
non-past is a typically sedentary feature in the whole Syrian Arabic dialect
area. In this respect, all non-Bedouin dialects in South, Central and North
Transjordan, as well as in Horan, clearly represent the sedentary type and

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24 Cantineau, _Ḥōrān_, pp. 171f. and 419; id., _Nomades_ I, pp. 61-65, II, pp.
   164-170; cf. Johnstone, _EADS_, pp. 3-9; Palva, ^{c}_A\v{g}\=arma_, p. 24; id., _Bani_
   Ṣaxar, p. 119; in the dialects of the Negev Bedouins this sequence is al-
   lowed, but there is some hesitation as for the place of the stress: _wal\'a-_
   dah/w\'aladah 'his boy', _zal\'amah/z\'alamah_ 'a man', _faṛ\'asah/f\'aṛasah_ 'his horse',
   Blanc, _Negev_, p. 121; this is also true about the dialects of el-Ḥwēṭāt and
   Bani ^{c}Aṭīye (own observations); for the stress patterns, see Janssens,
   Stress, pp. 59 and 62.

25 Cantineau, _Nomades_ I, p. 66, II, pp. 167-170; cf. Johnstone, _EADS_, p. 6;
   Palva, ^{c}_A\v{g}\=arma_, p. 24; in the Negev and Arabia Petraea the two patterns
   $-XaC-$ and $-aXaC-$ occur in free variation ($gh\acute{a}wa^h/g\acute{a}hawa^h$), Blanc, _Negev_,
   pp. 125-127, and own observations.

26 Bergsträsser, _Sprachatlas_, Map 15, § 38; Bauer, _Pal._, pp. 19, 23, 68, 70;
   Cantineau, _Ḥōrān_, pp. 196-203; id., _Nomades_ I, pp. 70-73, 79; Blanc, _Negev_,
   pp. 130 and 134-137. I have not been able to observe gender distinction in
   Lower Galilee in the 2nd and 3rd persons plural in pronouns and verbs; the
   genus commune forms are _'intu, -ku; hinni, -hin; -tu, -u; t-...-u, y-...-u._

contrast with the Bedouin dialects.[27] There is, however, one exception, the Negev Bedouins and the Ta^{c}āmra tribe west of the Dead Sea, and the Sinai Bedouins, in the dialects of which the b-imperfect is well attested.[28] This is perhaps the most striking difference between the dialects spoken in the Negev and Arabia Petraea.

The morphemes for the 2nd p. fem. sing., 2nd and 3rd p. masc. plur. disclose one more typologically important distinction between different Bedouin dialects in the area. Thus, both the North Arabian and the Syro-Mesopotamian type have longer morphemes with a final $-n$ ($t-\ldots-\bar{\imath}n$, $t-\ldots-\bar{u}n$, $y-\ldots-\bar{u}n$), while the rest of the Bedouins have shorter morphemes identical with those used in sedentary Syrian Arabic.[29]

The b-imperfect in the dialect of the Negev Bedouins cannot be a feature recently borrowed from the neighbouring sedentary dialects; it must rather be regarded as an inherited genuine form which reflects the long local traditions of many tribes in the area and the fluctuation between seminomadic and semisedentary culture.[30]

The b-imperfect in the sedentary Transjordanian dialects seems also somewhat problematic if we are to presume that the dialects of Central and North Transjordan as well as of Horan are based upon Bedouin dialects formerly spoken by the bulk of the population. This presumption is, generally speaking, undoubtedly correct, but one must bear in mind that in the few centres of the area which were settled in the 16th century, the dialect probably belonged to the sedentary Palestinian type. The dialect spoken by the sedentary kernel of population in the commercial centres of Transjordan was not superseded by

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27 Cantineau, *Ḥōrān*, pp. 219-221; id., *Nomades* I, p. 83; Palva, *Balgāwi* 1, p. 12, and 3, p. 24; id., *^{c}Aǧārma*, p. 33; Cleveland, *Classification*, p. 60; cf. the b-imperfect with volitive and future functions in the dialects of the Persian Gulf area, Johnstone, *EADS*, pp. 143 and passim.

28 Blanc, *Negev*, p. 139 and n. 48.

29 Cantineau, *Nomades* I, pp. 83 and 113, II, p. 107; id., *Ḥōrān*, p. 220; Blanc, *Negev*, p. 136; for el-Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ^{c}Aṭīye, own observations; Palva, *^{c}Aǧārma*, p. 32f. (in ^{c}Aǧ. the older longer forms have already been replaced by shorter forms).

30 The Ta^{c}āmra, like other Bedouin tribes in Palestine proper, are of peasant origin, Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen* II, p. 74. Many tribes in the Negev and eastern Sinai, the ^{c}Azāzme and Terābīn in particular, have very old traditions in the area, see Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen* II, pp. 95-98 and 122; for the Tiyāha and Ḏullām, *ibid.*, pp. 110-112 and 129; cf. also Musil, *Arabia Petraea* III, pp. 32-44.

dialects of those sedentarized Bedouins who during the following two or three centuries outnumbered the older population, but the older sedentary dialect was first heavily Bedouinized and, later on, the mixed dialect spread from the centres to the surrounding villages. In these dialects the b-imperfect is one of the most prominent evidential criteria of the basically sedentary type of their grammatical structure, whereas the voiced g reflex of $q\bar{a}f$ is the most striking example of the phonetic influence of the Bedouin dialects.[31]

Criterion (i) The adverb 'here'

In the sedentary dialects of the area there are two main forms of the adverb 'here', $h\bar{o}n$ and $h\bar{a}n$, the former attested for all urban dialects, for Galilee and Central and North Transjordan, the latter for South and Central Palestine as well as South Transjordan.[32] Compared with the criteria discussed above, the distribution is exceptional, as Central and South Palestinian rural dialects here share a distinctive feature not only with South Transjordanian rural dialects but the North Arabian and Syro-Mesopotamian Bedouin dialects as well,[33] still, different from Central and North Transjordanian rural dialects and the dialects spoken in Galilee which share the form with urban and sedentary Syrian dialects. This item thus crosses major dialect boundaries.

The forms $bh\bar{a}\underline{d}a$ and $fih\bar{a}\underline{d}a$, which occur in the Negev and Arabia Petraea side by side with $hniy(yih)$ and $h\bar{a}n$, have not been attested for other areas.[34]

Criterion (j) The adverb 'now'

The form $halla'$ connects the dialect of Jerusalem with urban Syrian Arabic, whereas $hal'\bar{e}t$ is the urban reflex of the form typical of Central and South

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31 For the situation in the 16th century, see Hütteroth, p. 22; Peake, *Jordan*, p. 86f. After that time the newcomers have not been Bedouins only, but many immigrants have come from settled areas, in the first place from Palestine, see Peake, *Jordan*, pp. 146f., 178-182, 187, 195, 200; Musil, *Arabia Petraea* III, pp. 84f. The linguistic process in the area since the 16th century resembles to a great extent the Bedouinization of the Muslim dialect of Baghdad as described by Blanc, *CDB*, p. 167f.

32 Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 25, § 68; Ramla and some villages in northwestern Central Palestine have $h\bar{e}n$, *ibid.*; Bauer, *Pal.*, p. 90; Horan has $h\bar{o}n$, Cantineau, *Ḥōrān*, p. 392; for eṭ-Ṭafīle I have noticed $h\bar{a}n(a)$, for el-Karak both $h\bar{a}n(a)$ and $h\bar{o}n$, for Mādaba only $h\bar{o}n$; $h\bar{o}n$ is here suspect of being a koine form.

33 Cantineau, *Nomades* I, p. 110, II, p. 207.

34 Blanc, *Negev*, p. 146; $bh\bar{a}\underline{d}a$ (el-Ḥwēṭāt) and $fih\bar{a}\underline{d}a$ (Bani ᶜAṭīye), own observations; I have noticed $bh\bar{a}\underline{d}a$ for Bani Ṣaxar as well, *Bani Ṣaxar*, p. 132.

Palestine which have different variants developed from *hal-wuqayt (halloket, halket, halgēt). Galilee displays the form 'issa which it has in common with southern Lebanon. The form hassā^c, used in Central and North Transjordan as well as in Horan, is the same as in the dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearers, and thus likely of Bedouin origin. In the rest of Bedouin dialects the form (h)alḥīn seems to be predominant;[35] South Palestinian villagers have probably borrowed it from neighbouring Bedouin tribes.

Criterion (k) Occurrence of the compound negation mā ...-š

The compound negation mā ...-š is given by Bergsträsser for the whole of Palestine, South Lebanon and North Transjordan as well as for Horan.[36] I have noticed it also for Central Transjordan, but only in conversation, where the -š afformative is optional and probably has some affective value.[37] In South Transjordan and in Bedouin dialects of the whole area the -š element does not occur.[38]

The use of the negation is not, however, uniform throughout the mā ...-š area, but there are noticeable differences both in the stylistic value and frequency of the negative morphemes. Thus, Feghali points out that the use of the -š afformative in Lebanon is felt as a rural feature and is therefore avoided in cities.[39] Bauer does not distinguish between rural and urban dialects in this respect, but there seems to be a typologically significant difference: in urban dialects the -š morpheme is optional, whereas mā often is omitted in the Palestinian countryside.[40]

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35 Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 27, § 70; the hassā^c area covers, in addition to Transjordan, the northeastern corner of Central Palestine (in *Sprachatlas* Jenin and Sūlam); Bauer, *Pal.*, p. 89; Cantineau, *Ḥōrān*, p. 395; id., *Nomades* I, p. 111, II, p. 208; Blanc, *Negev*, p. 145; Palva, ^{c}Aǧārma, p. 39; id., *Bani Ṣaxar*, p. 132 (dilwān 'now', halḥīn, hassā^c, hassa^c 'right now').

36 Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 21, § 53; Cantineau, *Ḥōrān*, p. 390. For the negative -š split in the dialects of Arabic, see Obler, *Reflexes of šay'un*, pp. 30-37

37 Cf. Palva, *Balgāwi* 2, p. 14, where -š does not occur in narrative context; in my material from es-Salṭ and surrounding villages the double negation, however, is rather frequent.

38 Cleveland, *Classification*, p. 60f.; Blanc, *Negev*, p. 143; Palva, ^{c}Aǧārma, p. 42; for South Transjordan, own observations.

39 Feghali, *Syntaxe*, p. 220.

40 Bauer, *Pal.*, p. 122f.; Cleveland, *Classification*, p. 60f.; Blau, *Syntax*, pp. 193-195; Obler, *Reflexes of šay'un*, pp. 28-42.

3. A tentative classification

On the basis of a few typologically pertinent distinctive features it is pos-
sible to arrive at a classification of the main types of Arabic dialects spo-
ken in Palestine and Transjordan, which in broad outlines coincides with the
geographical and socio-economic division of the area. In the following short
characterization, minimal linguistic distinctions are given by using maximal-
ly four different items ('he says', 'cock' sing./plur., 'heavy', and 'coffee').

1. <u>Urban Palestinian dialects</u> belong to the common Levantine urban dialect
   type. (*bi'ūl*).

2. <u>Rural dialects</u>

2.1. <u>Galilean dialects</u> represent the old sedentary dialect type of Greater
   Syria. They have features in common with both Central Palestinian and Leban-
   ese dialects and thus take a position as an area of transition between them.
   Galilean dialects are the only rural dialects in the area not influenced by
   Bedouin dialects during the Ottoman period. (*biqūl*).

2.2. <u>Central Palestinian dialects</u> are in many respects more conservative than
   the Galilean dialects. They have also been indirectly influenced by Bedouin
   dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian type. (*biḵūl*).

2.3. <u>South Palestinian dialects</u> are very closely related to Central Palestinian
   dialects, but they have some features (e.g. the *g* reflex of *qāf*) that wit-
   ness about a greater Bedouin influence, in the first place from the Negev
   Bedouin dialect type. (*bigūl*, *dīč/dyūč*).

2.4. <u>North and Central Transjordanian dialects</u> are very closely related to the
   dialects of Horan. They display many features typical of both rural seden-
   tary and Syro-Mesopotamian Bedouin dialect type,[41] a fact that reflects the
   joint composition of the population the kernel of which is of sedentary or-
   igin while the majority are sedentarized Bedouins. (*bigūl*, *dīč/dyūk*).

2.5. <u>South Transjordanian dialects</u> also represent a mixed dialect type, but
   the Bedouin influx here comes almost exclusively from the Bedouin dialects
   of Arabia Petraea. (*bigūl*, *dīk/dyūk*, *gahwa*).

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41 It is worth noticing that the Bedouin component in the North and Central
   Transjordanian dialects, as well as in the dialects spoken in Horan, does
   not represent the Hijazi type, as supposed in *HAD*, p. 28, whereas the Bed-
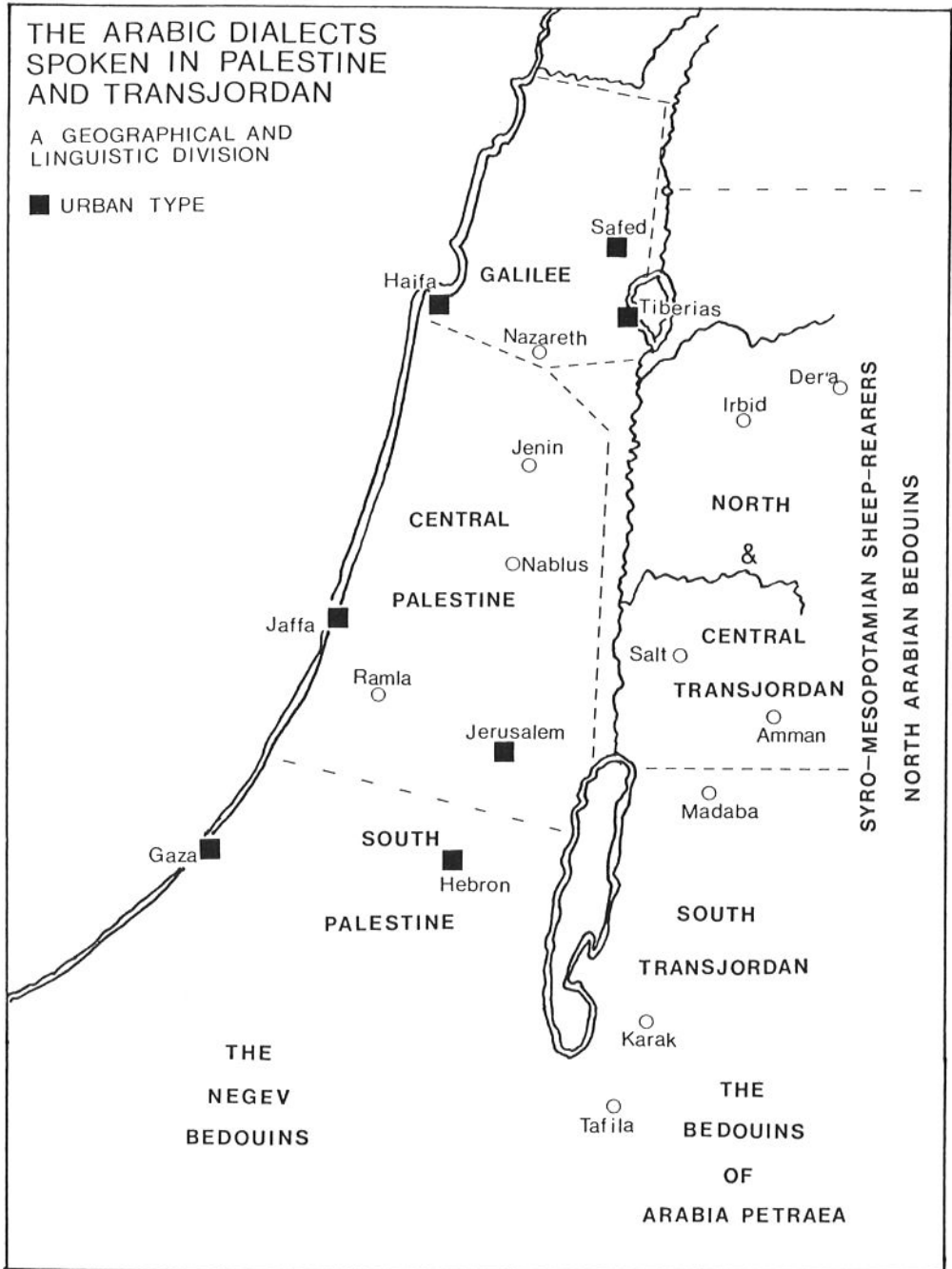   ouin dialects of the Negev and Arabia Petraea are of the Hijazi type.

3. Bedouin dialects

3.1. <u>The dialects of the Negev Bedouins</u> display some traits (the b-imperfect in particular) typical of sedentary dialects. This fact reflects the old close connections of many tribes in the area with the sedentary population of South Palestine. As a whole the dialects belong to the same type as the Sinai dialects. They also show striking similarities with the Bedouin dialects of Arabia Petraea. ($big\bar{u}l$, $d\bar{\imath}k/dy\bar{u}k$, $gah\acute{a}wah$).

3.2. <u>The dialects of the Bedouin of Arabia Petraea</u> differ in many respects very sharply from the Bedouin dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian and North Arabian types; instead, they represent an old local Bedouin dialect type which shows unmistakable affinities with the Hijazi dialects. ($yig\bar{u}l$, $\underline{t}a$-$g\bar{\imath}l$).

3.3. <u>The dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing tribes</u> spoken in Transjordan belong to the same type as the rest of the dialects of the sheep-rearing tribes in the Syrian and Mesopotamian peripheries of the Syrian Desert.[42] They also show many similarities with the Iraqi $gilit$ dialects as well as Gulf Arabic. ($yig\bar{u}l$, $\underline{t}i\check{g}\bar{\imath}l$).

3.4. <u>The dialects of the North Arabian Bedouin type</u>, in Transjordan spoken by the Sirḥān, Bani Ṣaxar and Bani Xālid, are a group of dialects belonging to the camel-rearing ^cAnazi and Šammari confederations and some other tribes. These dialects have not had influence on sedentary dialects in Palestine and Transjordan. ($yig\bar{u}l$, $\underline{t}i\check{g}\bar{\imath}l$).

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42 The dialects of the Galilean population of Bedouin origin have recently absorbed many sedentary features; historically they represent the dialect type of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing tribes, see Rosenhouse, *ZAL* 7, pp. 23-47, and id., *BSOAS* XLV:1, pp. 14-38.

THE ARABIC DIALECTS
SPOKEN IN PALESTINE
AND TRANSJORDAN

A GEOGRAPHICAL AND
LINGUISTIC DIVISION

■ URBAN TYPE

Safed

GALILEE

Haifa

Nazareth

Tiberias

Der'a

Irbid

Jenin

NORTH

&

CENTRAL

PALESTINE

○Nablus

Jaffa

CENTRAL

Salt ○

TRANSJORDAN

Ramla

Amman

Jerusalem

Madaba

Gaza

SOUTH

Hebron

SOUTH

PALESTINE

TRANSJORDAN

Karak

THE

NEGEV

THE

BEDOUINS

BEDOUINS

Tafila

OF

ARABIA PETRAEA

SYRO—MESOPOTAMIAN SHEEP—REARERS

NORTH ARABIAN BEDOUINS

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