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BALGĀWI ARABIC
3. TEXTS FROM ŞĀFŪṬ

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Balgāwi Arabic

3. Texts from Šāfūt

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The present texts were recorded by the author in summer 1965 at Šāfūt, a little Latin Christian village in the northern outskirts of Šwēleh, by the side of the road from ^cAmmān to Ğeraš. The inhabitants came from *l-iFhēš* after World War I, and thus belong to the old sedentary Christian population of the Belqā' district. Text *a* was spoken by *Yūsef Tarīf el-Mahāmre (el-iBdēwi)*, who at the time of the recording was about 65 years old, and died in September 1965. His art of story-telling and reciting folkloric poetry was well-known far beyond his own village; according to himself he had a repertoire of about two hundred qašīdahs. Among the material which I recorded from him text *a* is the only story not followed by a qašīdah. Texts *b* and *c* come from *Mūsa Samāwi*, about 40 years old, like the former peasant, and able to read and write. He also composes poetry in both classical and colloquial Arabic, and has a considerable repertoire of stories. The presence of the microphone left the former speaker completely undisturbed, but the latter took the situation somewhat formally. Accordingly, his speech was disturbed by some hesitation, and his language was influenced by a classicizing tendency. Asked to talk about Ğuḥa he relaxed, but spoke too eagerly to give the points of the jokes without confusion.

Text a

1. *waḥad ^cágrami — hadól el-^cağárma¹ maskánhum ^cind nā^cūr u-hisbān, min dūn mādaba min ğáy — waḥad igulúlu šáyil eš-šhawān ^ʿiben ešhawān, lákin šēh, yahruġ, u-r-riġġál ib-bētu z^{el}lima tayyib. ġā^cdīn ^ca-l-ġ^ahāwa. yóm*

¹ A Bedouin confederation of sub-tribes living between the north-eastern corner of the Dead Sea and the village Nā^cūr (12 km southwest of ^cAmmān). The sub-tribe called *eš-Šhawān (el-Yásfe)* camps at Ḥisbān; in recent years they have started building concrete houses. Cf. PEAKE PASHA, *A History of Jordan and Its Tribes*. Coral Gables, Florida, 1958; p. 173f., Map 2.

ladd w-inn ha-d-dallâl mârig w-innu mraččib bint ʿammu ʿindu w-la-nnha mazyûne w-ğamîle tayyib.

2. *margat min giddâm el-bêt. yôm ladd w-innu râčib farasu w-hû gāyidha, ladd ʿalêha w-innha ġamîle, gâl: maʿûn ha-l-wâldên, imkayyif hâd, šûf ha-l-ib-déwi ʿéf imkayyif, râčib faras zêna w-bint ʿammu mraččibha ʿala faras zêna.*

3. *simiʿ. hâda simiʿ. hâda dâr min wara l-bêt, nawwah¹ ha-d-dalûl w-aġa fâyit: es-salâm ʿalêku ya-rġâl! — gaww ha-r-riġġâl! gallu: guwît. gaʿad. šabbûlu gʰâwa, ʿawwal finġân u-tâni finġân u-tâlîl finġân, hazz el-finġân², ħalaş, ma widdi gʰâwa.*

4. *gâl: min minku ya-rġâl ʿalli gâl: marġûm ha-l-wâldên³, imkayyif ha-l-ib-déwi hâd? gâl: ismîʿ! gâl: ʾi bi-llâh. gâl: w-aġla kûd ʿana lli gilt. gâl: weş šifit minni? weş idarrîk ʿanni ʿan ħayâti ʾinni ʿaddâbit? ʾiftah šalîlak⁴ ya-bn-ešhawân lamanni ʿawarrîk weş šâr bi.⁵*

5. *gâl: w-aġla ya-bn-ešhawân, nôba ʿana riġġâl ruġt imtarriid min ha-d-dîra hâdi w-aġîli ʿala dîra baʿîda. w-etrâfagna ʿana w-raġel, w-innu ha-l-tâni mitel iġčayti zahagân.*

6. *w-aġla w-nitġaşar u-rrûġ inšûfinna ħarbûš⁶ u-nibni. — weş int . . . ha-l-ib-dâʿa lli maʿâk weş tsawwi? gâl: ma fi šî. gâl: w-aġla nšîr indawwer en-niser — yaʿni kassâra — nisrig. gâl: irrûġ ʿala flân nisrig ʿabâʿru, ʾirrûġ ʿala flân nisrig inʿeġâtu, ʾirrûġ ʿala flân nisrig fursu wu-nbiʿha b-maşâri wu-nḍubbha bi-ġyûbna.*

7. *gâl, ʿašara tnaʿšer sane šâr ʿindena ġanam u-šâr ʿindena bill u-šâr ʿindena šî w-âġar. gâl nôba min ha-n-nôbat w-innu hu-ygulli: ya-flân, w-aġla ha-l-iblâd*

¹ *nawwah* is a technical term used for letting the camel kneel down; cf. J. G. WETZSTEIN; Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrischen Wüste. — ZDMG 22 (1868), pp. 69–194; p. 75: 7f. The speaker uses the words *dallâl*, *faras*, *dalûl* inconsistently.

² If a Bedouin does not want more coffee, he shakes the cup when extending it to the coffee-server. *ħalaş*, *ma widdi gʰâwa* here is only an explanation for the foreign listener.

³ When speaking of one and of one's own parents one cannot use the word *maʿûn*. A curse, once spoken, may be effective even if it is used unintentionally. Therefore it is replaced by a word of opposite meaning.

⁴ *šalîl* is the fold of the robe used as a pocket; cf. CARLO DE LANDBERG, Glossaire de la langue des bédouins ʿAnazeh, publ. K. V. Zetterstéen, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1940: 2; p. 37.

⁵ The imperative mood is used to dramatize and actualize the situation. Thereafter the narration goes on in the same form as before; cf. *a16* and WETZSTEIN, Zeltlagern, pp. 79: 13–14, 86: 18–19, 88: 15–16.

⁶ A small tent; cf. ALOIS MUSIL, The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins. New York 1928. (American Geographical Society. Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 6); p. 72: A small rectangular tent with no main pole. TOVIA ASHKENAZI, Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine du Nord. Paris 1938; p. 119f.: a small tent made of sacks. In Jerusalem the word is used to denote a ruined house, *ħirbe* plus pejorative *-š*, A. BARTHÉLEMY, Dictionnaire Arabe-Français. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem. Fasc. 1–5, Paris 1935–54; p. 196.

talbat 'áhelha, 'aríd 'arawweh. éán t'éríd ta'ṭīni min ha-l-ḥalál, 'a'ṭīni, ḥallvi 'adóheḡ lá-hali. gallu:¹ weš 'alé. gámu 'ala ha-l-bill yigsimúha, w-gámu 'ala ha-l-ǧanam yigsimúha w-gallu: b-ḥátrak. gallu: ma^c es-saláma.

8. háda l-walad 'alli lifa 'alé min hán, 'ilu 'ihwán u-ǧú 'alé ḥadák en-nhár. yóm ǧú 'alé w-innu yǧúl šayre tóša bi-l-balad el-flaniyye — hádi lli bīha ha-r-riḡ-ǧál hád, 'alli ǧá 'ind ibn ešhawán — u-sām^cin 'inn ihwánu madbuhín — 'ihwánu ha-d-déf háda lli ǧá 'ind ibn ešhawán madbuhín.

9. laḡagú. hú má ma^cu ḡabar, laḡagú, u-raddu t-tarš minnu. ǧál: ehná n-ni-šáma² ḡassafu 'ala t-tarš illi 'a'ṭūni-yyá. šárat 'indhum niyya radiyya.

10. ǧál: máلكu yá nišáma ḡassaftu? ǧál: la', bi-lláh ma ḡassafna. ǧál: n'éríd nirtáh ḡenna wiyyák, nig'adínna 'a-čammín yóm. ǧál: ǧulúli weš es-súra. ǧál: w-a'lla ngullak ha-s-súra. el-'arab el-flaniyye šayre bīha tóša w-mindabaḡ wahad igulúlu flán l-ifláni. w-ǧál: w-a'lla háda ḡúy. ḡáfu 'alé 'ir ráh, yidbahu. ǧál: háda ḡúy.

11. ga'ádlu šahar zamán, gallu: ya-ḡúy. gallu: há. ǧál: háda l-ḥalál udá'ea 'indak. 'in nikast 'alék, tarík ta'ṭīni-yyá, ma nikast 'alék w-illa minḡallillak iyyá. w-aḡa ráyeh u-aḡa 'a-l-iblád 'alli bīha ḡú.

12. yóm sim^c el-ḡabar w-inn aḡú dábḡu flán, dábḡu flán, námlu bi-š-šigg. la-ma 'annu šahḡlu tarig ifút 'ala ḡ-ǧimá'ea w-éán yiḡi dámer. yóm 'aǧáhum w-innhum 'ihwán itnén naymín 'ind ba'adḡum, dabahḡum el-tnén w-aḡa nákis, wén? 'ala dírta. b-al-lél yimši w-b-an-nhár yit'habba. 'at-talába šárat nušš el-lél, — dabḡat eǧ-ǧimá'ea — u-má ma'áh imkán illi yiṭla^c mn-ard el-ḡatar.

13. yóm innu báḡ en-nhár, ǧálu 'ala l-muǧára, w-inn el-muǧára bīha maytín. ǧá 'a-l-muǧára w-nám bīha. ḡadóta ḡabúhum widdhum yigibrúhum — el-matal 'ind el-'arab igúl: krám el-mayyit dafnu, ya'ni lázim inám, u-ba'édén illi dbahú, ybayyin — zammúhum u-mašu bīhum, wén? 'ala ḡadīce d-dára lli bīha l-muǧára ha-lli bīha r-raǧǧál.

14. ḡadól l-i'yal illi ndabaḡu, 'ilhum ḡál. u-ričbet ha-l-'álam u-ḡaṭtu ha-l-mayyit 'ala ha-l-ba'ér u-ǧóṭaru 'ala miǧbara ḡatta yigibrúnhum³, u-ḡada ḡálhum maša giddámhum.

15. yóm in ḡálhum 'aḡa 'a-l-muǧára, yóm in ladd w-inn 'énu b-één er-raǧǧál, ǧál: weš int? gallu: 'ib-waḡhak.⁴ gallu: 'inte lli sawwét ha-t-talába? ǧál: 'i

¹ The speaker changes the person from 1. sing. to 3. sing.

² 'Généreux et brave', LANDBERG, Gl. 'An., p. 82; pl. of *našmi*, 'geschmückt, tapfer' (man), 'schön, kokett' (woman), ALBERT SOCIN, Diwan aus Centralarabien. Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Cl. der kgl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 19. I—III, Leipzig 1901; III, p. 314.

³ A form not belonging to the dialect of the story; cf. *yigibrúhum a13*.

⁴ Protection granted by a man against his tribesmen or allies, regardless of whether he is present or not, is called a countenance, *waḡh*, MUSIL, *Rwala*, p. 438ff. In surrendering a man will definitely say to one of the other side: *ya fulán 'ana fi waḡhak* 'O So-and-So, I place myself under your protection'. Anyone who thereafter harms the prisoner thus protected, 'blackens the protector's faces', H. R. P. DICKSON, *The Arab of the Desert*. London 1949,⁴ 1967; p. 125.

bi-lláh. gál: hallak hallak hallak hallak b-ardak w-ana 'ahrifhum 'annak 'ala gál, u-méta ma hawwalna nigbir el-mayyit, tirčab el-faras eš-šafra hadžé, faras 'ahu l-magtúl, 'ahu lli gataltu, tara hi lli tišla'ak. tirčabha w-tinhezim u-hi lli tišla'ak.

16. háda gál: ya-rabe^c. gál: há. gál: ha-l-mugára riheṯha tál'ca, biha mjad-dir, biha riġgál imġaddir, riheṯha tál'ca. 'ala gál 'annu, 'ala gál! ihtarafu 'ala gál 'annu w-hawwalu w-ga'adu yibhašu, w-inte ya-r-riġgál 'itla^{c1} mi l-mu-gára, gá 'a-l-faras illi gál 'anha, ma gá 'aléha hi, 'aġa 'ala wahade ġerha, táh, ma 'ahad ez-zéna, 'ahad wahade radiyya, šafra šafra.²

17. tabb dáharha, bátaḥ, ya-hal el-hél ya-hal el-hél!³ hayy el-faras ga'adat turguḍ u-hi b-ardha. 'aġa l-ahw el-táli! — inén indábahu w-dall wáhad — rikb el-faras l-imliha. lahagu: 'idbah 'idbah 'idbah 'idbah!⁴ háda r-riġgál 'aggab el-barúde la-wara, taḥhu. māt. šáru taláte. 'ahh, háda silim, hayy el-faras ma btillaheg, ráh, háḍ silim.

18. háda hálu ma gál 'annu mnén hú wa-la yidri 'annu mnén hú, u-hado-láka nakasu w-háda ráh 'ala ġamá'atu.

19. 'aġa 'ind eġ-ġamá'ca mabsút, gatal taláte, badál el-wáhad taláte. 'aġa hináka, 'ind 'ihwánu. el-walad hadáka 'illi ráh, 'ihu 'ihwán biġi hamsi. 'aġu 'alé, šáru 'arab. gallu: baddna nġawwzak — minšán el-walad háda, 'illi hača 'annu, bn-ešhawán — gallu: baddna nġawwzak. ġabúlu ḥurma, u-bét, u-ġaw-wazú.

20. 'á . . . 'ind ma ġawwazú, kánu yisharu 'alé bi-l-lél, 'ind ma ynám, yisharu 'alé. háfu hadólák eġ-ġamá'ca yġu 'alé bi-l-lél u-yidbahú. yisharu 'alé w-hú naym, ma yidriš. 'ihwánu hamsi, kull wáhad inám léle, kull wáhad inám léle.

21. léle mn-el-layáli š-šubeḥ, ga'ad, gám 'ahu l-bint, en-nāṯúr, baddu ráh⁵ irawweḥ, šáfu. 'ind ma šáfu, saḥab el-barúde gám taḥhu, w-innu dábhu. gálátlu ḥurmtu: weš et-talag illi tár? gál: wéḥ ha-r-raġel! yómin gámat 'alé w-inn ahúha. gálat: 'alla la y'aww'ad, háda háy. gál: weš isawwi? gálat: hadól šalhum⁶ tis'at ušhur u-bihursu bik.

22. gal la-l-ḥurma: b-hátrič, 'ana widdi 'ánhezim. el-ḥurma šárilha tes'at

¹ = p. 4, footnote 5.

² The Bedouin believe that the speed of a horse can be guessed from its colour, e.g. the Rwala suppose that a bay mare, šagra, is the fastest, and a dark brown mare, ḥamra, the most enduring. But the most desirable horse is a pure white mare, šafra, MUSIL, Rwala, p. 373f.; cf. DICKSON, Desert, p. 396ff.

³ This is the cry of alarm, šiyáh or šól, among the Bedouin; WETZSTEIN, Zeltlagern, p. 96, footnote 21a; MUSIL, Rwala, p. 525.

⁴ A dramatizing use of the imperative.

⁵ The personal prefix y- is often dropped after biddu/baddu, especially in such frequently used combinations of words as baddu ráh, baddu rawweḥ.

⁶ = šár(i)lhum, regressive assimilation.

uṣḥur u-baddha dǧǧīb walad. gālaltu: widdak itrūḥ? gāl: 'i bi-llāh. — 'ana widd-arūḥ ma'ak. — halli'c 'ind 'ahūc. gālat: lā bi-llāh! 'atla'c min ed-dinya bala dīn, bala ḡōz u-bala 'ahḥ; 'ahūy dabaḥtu. hāda r-riḡḡāl gāmat ḥurmtu ma'ā 'ala t-tarīḡ minšān yinhāzmu.

23. *'ind ma nhāzamu, 'ahaḍu ḥamsi sitti kīlu, ga'eat el-mara galbha yōḡāḥha, baddha dǧǧīb walad 'a-t-tarīḡ. ḡābat walad, ed-dinya bard, ma fī ḡaṭa la-l-walad, ma fī 'iṣi. ḡāb, rāḥ iḡīb ḥaṭab, yōged nār u-yḥuṭṭ el-mara bi-n-nuṣṣ, yōged nār minšān iṣīr dāfi ṣwayyi.*

24. *ḡāb ḥaṭab, 'ogad, raḡa'c. yōmīnnu raḡa'c w-inn en-nār mākle l-walad u-mākle l-mara — en-nār māḥarge l-walad u-māḥarge l-mara. inhāzam. yōm inhāzam, yōm ladd warā w-inn el-hēl ibturguḍ wara. hadolāk eṣ-ṣubeh ṭala'c en-nhār, šāfu l-walad madbūḥ, gāl: ehnā, dabaḥu ma-drīš¹ 'annu w-inhāzam.*

25. *lahagū gaḍabū², gāl: 'issa'c yidbaḥūni. gāl: lē nhazāmit? gāl: ya ḡa-mā'at el-hēr, 'akṭar min ha-l-balwa baddku balwa? 'ana ma 'adri 'annu nasībi yuḥrus 'alayyi. gāl: hāda 'int ma-tidri 'annu, ma 'alēk lōm minnu. ruddu raḡḡ'ū.*

26. *gallu: 'inte ma tidri, 'inte dībaḥtu ma dībaḥtu ḡāsed bī. 'inte dībaḥtu ṭhamnu riḡḡāl ḡōmāni ḥarāmi ḡāy yisriḡ, ma ma'ak minnu ḥabar. gāl: 'irḡa'c. gallhum: ya riḡḡāl, ḥayy eṭ-ṭalāba ma tissōlaf. gāl: lā bi-llāh. iḡūmu 'alē ynakksū w-yidifnu l-ḥurma w-el-'ayyil hināk, u-ya'ṭū ḥt el-bint u-dḡawwazu. u-ṣāru l-'arabēn 'arab. u-salamītku.*

Translation of text a

1. A Bedouin of the ḲAḡārma — the ḲAḡārma live round Nā'ūr and Ḥisbān, in this side of Mādaba — a man called Ṣāyil eš-Šhawān, Ibn Šhawān, a sheikh who used to joke, and in his home he was a good man. People were sitting at coffee, when he looked out and saw a mount passing by and a man riding with his wife who was pretty and very beautiful.

2. She passed by the front of the tent. When the man looked out he saw him riding his horse and leading her, and looking at her he found her beautiful. He said, 'Cursed be the parents of that man, how he is happy. Look how happy this Bedouin is. He is riding a good horse and his wife is riding a good horse (with him).'

3. He heard it. The man heard it. He turned around from behind the tent, let the mount kneel down, and came in. 'Peace be upon you, men!' 'Strength to you, man!' He said, 'Strength to you!' He sat down. They poured coffee

¹ = *ma yidriš*.

² = *gaba'ū*, a metathetic form; also Socin, *Diwan* III, pp. 207 and 303; J. CANTINEAU, *Les parlers arabes du Ḥōrān*. Paris 1946. Collection linguistique publ. par La Société de linguistique de Paris, 52; p. 93.

for him, the first cup, the second cup, the third cup. Then he shook the cup. 'Enough, I do not want more coffee.'

4. He said, 'Men, which of you said »Blessed be the parents of this Bedouin, how he is happy?»' A man asked, 'Did you hear it?' He said, 'Yes, by God.' He said, 'By God, truly it was me who said it.' He said, 'What do you know of me? How could you know my life, (how could you know) that I have suffered?' Now Ibn Šhawân began to reveal his secrets in order to show the man what had happened to him (lit. open your fold, Ibn Šhawân, so that I can show you what has happened to me.)

5. He said, 'By God, Ibn Šhawân, once I had wandered on foot leaving this district and coming to a district far away. By God, we joined company, I and a man, and this man was also bored with life like myself.

6. By God, we banded together, went to look for a small tent for us and pitched it. (I asked,) 'What do you mean? What are you going to do with those things which you have?' He said, 'It's nothing.' Then he said, 'By God, we shall go around living by robbery, we shall start stealing. We shall go to So-and-So and steal his camels, we shall go to So-and-So and steal his sheep, we shall go to So-and-So and steal his horses. We shall sell them for money and pack it in our pockets.'

7. Well, after ten or twelve years we had sheep and camels, and we had this and that. Once he unexpectedly said to me, 'So-and-So, by God, I long for my country. I want to go. If you want to give me part of the herd, give it me and let me go to my people.' He said, 'Why not?' Now they went to the camels and divided them, then they went to the sheep and divided them. Then he said, 'Good-bye.' He said, 'Go in peace.'

8. The young man who came to him — who went to him from here — had brothers. People came to him that day. When they came to him, one of them told him that a feud had taken place in the region where the man who had come to Ibn Šhawân came from, and they had heard that (one of) his brothers had been killed, (one of) the brothers of the guest who had come to Ibn Šhawân had been killed.

9. Now they followed the man. He did not know the news. They followed him and took the herd back from him. He thought, 'These fellows have regretted having given me the herd. Their intention has grown malicious.'

10. He said, 'Why did you regret it, men?' A man said, 'No, by God, we have not regretted it, but we think it is best to take our rest, you and us, and stay here some days.' He asked, 'Tell me what happened.' He said, 'By God, we tell you what happened. A feud has taken place among the tribe called So-and-So, and a man called So-and-So has been killed.' Now he said, 'By God, he was my brother.' They feared that if he went there, he would be killed. (They feared) because he said, 'He was my brother.'

11. Now they stayed there for a month. Then he said, 'Look here, my brother.' He said, 'Yes.' He said, '(I leave) this herd as a deposit with you. If I come back to you, give it to me, but if I do not come back to you, it will be left to you.' Then he left and came to the country where his brother had been living.

12. When he heard the news he learnt that his brother had been killed by So-and-So. This man was sleeping in a tent. When the way was clear, he entered (the tent) to the men, and he came rushing. Coming to them he saw that there were two brothers sleeping together. He killed both of them and started back. Where? To his district. He wandered by night and kept in hiding by day. The affair, the killing of the men, took place at midnight, and he had no possibility of escaping from the dangerous country.

13. At daybreak he came to a cave. There were dead bodies in this cave. He entered the cave and slept there. Those men (i.e. the fellows of the killed brothers) brought them in order to bury them. The Bedouin have this saying: The honour of the dead is the burial — i.e. they must sleep (in peace) — and (only) later it is the time to detect those who have killed him. They bound them and set out with them. Where? To the district where there was the cave where the man was.

14. The murdered boys had an uncle. The men mounted their horses, put the dead on a camel and got on the way to the burial place in order to bury them, and this uncle of theirs rode leading them.

15. When their uncle came to the cave and looked there, he saw the man face to face. He said, 'Who are you?' He said, '(I ask for) your protection.' He said, 'Was it you who committed this offence?' He said, 'Yes, by God.' He said, 'Stay where you are. I'll turn them farther away from you, and when we dismount in order to bury the dead, you must mount that white horse, the horse of the killed brother, the brother whom you killed. (Only) with that can you escape. Mount it and flee. With that one you can escape.'

16. He said, 'Comrades, look here.' They said, 'Yes.' He said, 'The cave is stinking. There is a man infected with smallpox, it is stinking. Keep off from him! Keep away from him!' Now they drew away from him, dismounted and started digging. In the meantime the man slipped out of the cave (lit. you, man, slip out of the cave!), came to the horse which was at the side of the cave, but he did not come to the right horse; by mistake he took another horse. He didn't take the good horse, he took a bad one, a pure white horse.

17. He mounted it and spurred it. 'Horsemen, alarm!' But when this horse started running, it (almost) stood where it was. Now the third brother — two were killed and one was left — mounted the good horse and pursued him. Kill him, kill him, kill him, kill him! But the man turned his rifle backwards and shot him down. He died. Now the number of the killed was three. But

what? This man escaped. The horse was no more within reach; he was gone. The man escaped.

18. The uncle did not tell where the man was from. He did not even know where he was from. They returned, but the man went to his people.

19. He came happy to his people. Instead of one he had killed three. He came to his brothers. The man who had gone away had about five brothers. Now they came to him; they assembled. One said to him, 'We want to marry you off' — he meant this young man about whom he was telling, viz. Ibn Šhawân — he said to him, 'We want to marry you off.' They brought him a wife and a tent, and married him off.

20. When they had married him off, they (regularly) kept guard over him at night. While he was sleeping they kept guard over him. They feared that those people would attack him at night and kill him. They kept guard over him while he was sleeping, but he did not know of it. He had five brothers, and they all slept at night. They all slept at night.

21. One night towards the morning the brother of the girl, who was keeping guard, stood up in order to go out. This man saw him. When he saw him, he drew out his gun and shot him. He killed him. His wife asked him, 'What was the report that was heard?' He said, 'That devil of a man!' When she went to him she found that it was her brother. She said, 'May God not punish you! This was my brother.' He said, 'What was he doing?' She said, 'They have kept guard over you for nine months.'

22. He said to his wife, 'Good-bye, I must flee.' The wife was in her ninth month and it was her time to give birth to a baby. She asked, 'Are you leaving?' He said, 'Yes, by God.' 'I want to leave with you.' 'Stay with your brother.' She said, 'No, by God, how could I manage in the world without anything that belongs to life; without husband, without brother; you killed my brother.' The wife got her way with this man in order to flee.

23. Fleeing, they (only) covered a distance of five or six kilometres, when the wife began to feel her pains. She had to give birth on the way. She gave birth to a son. The weather was cold, and there was no cover for the baby, there was nothing. The man went for firewood. Then he lit a fire. He placed his wife near the fire. He lit the fire so that the baby would get a little warmed.

24. When he had brought firewood and lit the fire, he went again, but when he came back, he found that the fire had burnt his baby and his wife. He fled. When he on his flight looked back he found that a horse was running behind. When those men in the morning at sunrise had seen that the young man was killed, they said, 'Look, he has killed him, because he did not know of him, and he has fled.'

25. They pursued him and caught him. He thought, 'Now they will kill me.' A man asked him, 'Why did you flee?' He said, 'Dear fellows, all of you,

do you want a calamity still greater than this disaster? I did not know of him, (I did not know) that my brother-in-law was keeping guard over me.' He said, 'Since you did not know of him, you are not to blame for (killing) him. Let him come back.'

26. He said to him, 'You killed him, but you did not know. You did not kill him deliberately. You killed him thinking that he was an enemy, a thief who came in order to steal. You did not know of him.' Then he said, 'Come back.' He said to them, 'Man, this affair should not be told.' He said, 'No, by God.' Now they came to him and brought him back. They buried the wife and the son there, and gave him the sister of this girl, and they got married. So everything was settled between the Bedouin. And peace be upon you.

Text b

1. *hāda, ya hādert ed-dêf, sint 'alf u-tesa^c miyy u-tamantâ^{cš} kânat turkiyya b-ha-l-iblad. 'ehna sukkân l-ifhês, balad masaḥiyye, kunna nisma^c el-'inglîz 'ida biġu^c a-l-iblad 'innu byaġtu maṣâri kîr u-cindhum ḥilim u-cindhum raḥma 'aḥsan min turkiyya, la-'annu turkiyya eamlat sūġiyyât u-ġamat maṣâri w-ḥbûb m-il-muzâr^{cîn}, u-'afgarat el-âlam, min nahîl el-ḥarb el-cudma l-gadîme.*

2. *ba^cdên el-'inglîz 'iġu dahalu l-'urdun, ġamat 'ahl el-bilād el-masaḥiyye, el-'aḥaṣṣ baladna bi-dât, ġamu ma^c el-ġêš l-ibriṭâni ḥarabu turkiyya. el-'inglîz dahalu ḥamst iyyâm l-iblad. ba^cdên inkâsar u-mn-el-ġiha l-ġarbiyye, trâġa^cu. el-balad el-masaḥiyye lli ġamat yiḥârab ma^chum, mâ gidru yibgu, ḥâfu turkiyya tidbahḥum. ġamu raġa^cu ma^c el-'inglîz, hâġaru, miil el-lâġ'în el-yôm, 'illi 'aġu min falaṣṭîn.*

3. *fî 'ihwân iṭnên min šyûḥ el-balad, minhum wâḥad cindu ġmâl u-cindu hêl, rakkab ḥarîmu w-banâtu, w-el-'aḥḥ et-lâni ma cindu 'iši, bimšu maši w-ḥâm-lîn el-mawcâ^{cîn} ala dâharhum, muḥâġrîn, la-'innu laww biggyu, turkiyya bliġi tidbahḥum bi-l-balad. fa^clan, hum ma ṭala^cu mn-el-balad, el-'atrâk w-el-'arab 'iġu dabahu lli mawġudîn, 'illi biggyu, w-nahabu l-balad.*

4. *fa-waḥad m-el-'aḥwân, lamma ṭabb, ya^cni b-nuṣṣ et-ṭarîġ, gabel šûnt ibn el-cadwân, gallu: ya ḥûy, rakkib ḥurmti 'aww waḥade min banâti ala l-ġamal ḥatta tistrayyah.¹ gallu: rûḥ, 'ana bi-ḥâli, 'ana rakkib ḥurmti bass u-cyâli, miš šuġli bîk, rûḥ ma^c es-salâme.*

5. *hâda 'et'attar ġiddan u-bada yibki w-šâf 'innu šâr tafriġa, b-sâc^cet ha-d-ġiġ ma fî raḥma cind 'aḥû, bass 'innu biddu rakkib² ḥarîmu huww w-illi biḥuṣṣu bêt. gallu: t-ṭarîġ 'illi 'inte bissâfir fîha, 'ana mâ basâfir fîha. saḥab ḥâlu raġa^c a-ġ-ġâl illi fî turkiyya.*

¹ Contamination of *tirayyah* and *tistrîḥ*; cf. MICHEL JIHA, *Der arabische Dialekt von Bišmiz-zîn. Beirut Texte und Studien 1. Beirut 1964; p. 143: strayyâḥ.*

² The personal prefix *y-* dropped.

6. 'etwaġġah mn-et-tariġ hâdi ċala ġihat mādaba, ċala balad bugulúlha súmye. 'ilu nasáyib hináka, 'ašhâru, gál: 'ana barûh ċindhum hunáka w-bathhabba ċindhum, baċġiš, li-bên ma nšúf šu bišîr fi-d-dinya.

7. fa-l-ħarb hâdi kánat táħne bên el-'inglîz u-bên turkiyya, w-'ašadd eġ-ġabhât kánat fi wád išċêb gabel ġiser lambi. 'ehna wšiltna l-guds — 'aġu l-'inglîz yaċġúna ċarabayât u-sayyarát, rakkabúna w-dahħalúna l-gudes, u-ċġúna mahállát. u-baċċên ġabúlna ħubez u-taċyîn, rawášin kifáye, w-fataħu mašariċ mišán mawcasîr el-mayyi, u-šaġġalu l-muhāġrîn u-'iċtanu kull el-ċitná¹ bîna.

8. fa-baċċad m-iš-šabáb yitlahħagu bi-l-garaġát bi-l-lidd w-er-ramla, w-baċċad m-iš-šabáb yithidmu bi-l-gudes maċ eš-šabbát, šujul, yaċni yadaawi maċ el-ħukúma, ċā'ilát bi-'akmalha btištagil fi maháll wáħad.

9. yirġaċ našš el-kalám li-ha-š-šahš illi daššar 'ahú, 'ahú má ġibil irakkib ħarîmu. ráħ ċala súmye, stagbalu 'ašhâru w-sakan hináka b-ħále dalíle w-mithabbi bi-n-nhâr u-bi-l-lél yidhar.

10. gaċádlu lamant ušhur u-ħú mithabbi lamannu šâr el-'ihtilál. fa-lamma šâr l-'ihtilál, raġaċ ċala baladu, wládu ċaryânîn u-bétu mihtáj, u-fagirîn ġiddan, yaċni ċaryânîn m-il-tibs. raġaċ ċala betu, 'iġat el-ħukúme l-briġitániyye 'aṭlaċat la-kull bêt baġel ħatta yuhruċ ċalé 'arġu, w-mugábil mašári ġirġa, w-aṭlaċálhum ħubúb u-gámat fi ħimmethum yaċni tagriġban seni.

11. ċind ma raġaċna m-il-guds, 'iġina, turkiyya w-el-ċurbán nāhbîn el-byút u-ħātminha, w-kán ikrúm la-l-balad ċenab, emgaṭċeîn el-ċenab u-gameħ ħāš-dînu, el-balad yaċni bi-l-'ihtilál kánilha 'eš? ma fî 'ilha 'iši 'abadan, el-ċurbán ħarrabat kull 'iši.

12. u-baċċên šárat el-balad balad ikwayyise ġiddan u-b-hâdi l-balad 'amlák, ġisem bi-ha-l-balad hâdi — šáfút ġisem mil l-iffhês — fa-mîn-lu mil kiktîr, tarak l-iffhês, báċ el-galíl, 'iġa w-nazal hôn. 'aywá. u-mîn ha-l-ġamáċa ħadól illi nazahú hôn, 'ana w-eš-šáċer yúsef 'abu kamál, eš-šáċer el-ċadîm.

Translation of text b

1. Dear guest, in the year 1918 the country was in the hands of the Turks. We, the inhabitants of l-Fhês — it is a Christian village — heard that when the Englishmen came to the country they gave much money and were more sensible and benevolent than the Turks. The fact was that Turkey, preparing herself for the First World War, had bought necessities and collected money and grain from the farmers, and reduced the people to poverty.

2. When the Englishmen then came to Jordan, the people of the Christian villages, particularly our village, joined the British army and fought against

¹ ċitná < 'iċtná < 'iċtiná'.

Turkey. The English advanced for five days in the country. Then their front was broken on the western side, and they retreated. Now the people of the Christian village who started fighting with them could not stay, because they were afraid the Turks would kill them. Now they retreated with the English and fled like today the refugees who came from Palestine.

3. In the village there were two brothers, leading men of the village. One of them, having camels and horses, let his wife and daughters ride, while the other brother who had nothing, had to go on foot (with his family), carrying their utensils on their backs. They fled, because the Turks would have killed them in the village if they had stayed there. The fact was that when they had left the village, the Turks and the Bedouin killed the people who were there, those who remained there, and robbed the village.

4. On the way before Šūnet 'Ibn ʿAdwān, one of the brothers said, "Brother, let my wife or one of my daughters ride a camel to have a rest." He said, "Be off! This is my business, I only let my wife and children ride. Your business is no concern of mine. Be off and good-bye!"

5. This man was hurt very deeply, and he began to weep when he saw that they fell out because his brother had no mercy in a critical situation, but would only let his own wife and family members ride. He said, "I shall not travel on the road on which you travel." So he turned back to the side which was in the hands of the Turks.

6. Now he made his way from this road in the direction of Mādaba, to a village called Sūmye. He had relatives of his wife there, and he thought, "I shall go to them there, hide there and stay alive until we see what will happen in the world."

7. The war was carried on between England and Turkey, and the hardest fighting took place in Wād Šʿēb before Allenby bridge. We came to Jerusalem. The English gave us wagons and cars, loaded us and drove us to Jerusalem. There they lodged us and brought us bread and rations of food, and gave us enough pocket money. Then they started a water project, set the displaced people to work, and took all possible care of us.

8. Some fellows were employed in garages at Lydda and Ramla, and some fellows worked in Jerusalem with girls at handicraft given them by the Government. Whole families were working in one place.

9. Let us now return to the man who left his brother, because his brother did not let his wife ride. He went to Sūmye. His relatives received him, and he lived there in a humiliated condition, hiding by day and appearing by night.

10. He spent eight months hiding until the country was occupied. When the country was occupied, he returned to his village. His children were naked and his home was poverty-stricken. They were very poor and had no clothes. When he had returned to his home, the British government gave every home

a mule so that one might plough one's land with it. He also received money, a loan with no interest. They also gave them grain and took care of them for about a year.

11. On our arrival from Jerusalem (we found that) the houses were robbed and destroyed by the Turks and the Bedouin. There had been vineyards in the village, but now they had cut down the vines and harvested the wheat. The Turks had cut the trees for the railway (for fuel). When the country was occupied, what was there (left) in the village? There was nothing at all. The Bedouin had destroyed everything.

12. Later on the village became very prosperous. Part of the land possessions were in this place — Šāfūṭ is a part of l-Fḥêṣ — and the people who had much land, left l-Fḥêṣ, sold a small part of their possessions, came and settled here. Well, I also and the poet Yûsef Abu Kamâl, the great poet, are among those people who moved here.

Text c

1. *ʔiġa waḥad gallu: ya ġuḥa. gallu: eššú btuʔmur? gál: w-allá_{na} šaḥbak min zamán w-ana ma šuft minnak hêr ʔabadan, wa-la ʔumri šuft minnak ši hidme. gál: šu biddak iyyá? gál: w-allá_{na} bagullak miš raḥ taʔmal, miš raḥ idġîb ʔi. gallu: bass gulli ʔinte w-ana háder, ʔana šu ma btuʔmur, ʔana basáwi.*

2. *gallu: ʔana miḥtáġ iḥmár, tištrîli yyá, bass iḥmár ikún ḥilu hêk, iḥmár ḥilu, ḥilu klîr. ġuḥa fakkar ʔinnu ḥilu yaʔni mitel el-ʔasal ʔaww kaḍa, gallu: háder, ʔamrak, hát mašári. gál: huḍ hay l-mašári.*

3. *háda ġuḥa táni yóm sár ʔala s-súġ minšán yištri — fi-l-balad dayman, kull balad fîha súġ, maḥall maḥšús bibiʔu biyy el-ḥaywanát — ráḥ ʔa-l-ḥamîr, yirfaʔ dël el-iḥmár u-ymidd ilsánu ydîr ta-yilḥas, má laga ḥmár ḥilu, má laga ḥmár ḥilu. staġrab, gál: ʔana miš ʔarîf ʔaláġi ḥmár ḥilu?*

4. *ʔawwal yóm ráḥ ma štara. ʔaġa l-ʔašer ʔalê gallu: ʔinšalla ġibit? gallu: w-allá ya-ḥúy ma ġibt el-yóm. ruḥt ʔa-l-máġaf, ʔalla ma yassar. bukra ʔinšalla baġiblak iḥmár ḥilu.*

5. *táni yóm sár ʔa-l-máġaf, yiġi ʔala ḥmár, yirfaʔ danab l-iḥmár, yilḥasu ta-yšúf ʔinnu ḥilu. laʔ, kull el-ḥamîr murrát. staġrab háda, gál: háda s-súġ ma fî ḥamîr ḥilwát, bidd ʔarúḥ ʔala balad táni, baġîb iḥmár ḥilu.*

6. *ráḥ mitel ma tgúl mn-el-ʔurdun ʔala suriyya, kull yóm yigaf fi-s-súġ, yiġi ʔa-l-ḥamîr, yirfaʔ dël l-iḥmár, yilḥasu w-innu murr. gál: hay l-iblád kullha ma bibiʔu wa-la ḥmár ḥilu. lázim ʔaġîb l-iḥmár min mašer ʔana.*

7. *ʔaġa ʔalê táni yóm gallu: ya šaḥbi, ʔana biddi minnak naylún et-ṭarîġ ʔarúḥ ʔa-mašer ʔaġiblak iḥmár min ná¹ ḥilu. hádi l-iblád ma fî ḥamîr ḥilwát. háda*

¹ = min hinák.

gallu: *ṭayb, ib-gaddēš eṭ-ṭarīḡa hayy?* 'a^{ca}ṭā mitel ma tgūl dinārēn 'aww sitt lirat 'a-šan yirkab eṭ-ṭayyāra. galle: 'ana bakassib minnak sitt dananīr u-mitel ma tgūl nīra maṣrūf, bašel hināk w-aḡjiblak iḡmār ḡilu.

8. *hāda fakkar 'innu ṣaḡḡi miš lāḡi. ričib hād u-rāḡ 'a-mašer. 'aḡa 'a-mašer, dawwar bi-l-māḡaf, 'ind māḡaf el-ḡamīr, yilḡas l-iḡmār mitel 'awwal, w-innu kullu murr. staḡrab el-'amer, gāl: hay l-iblad kullha ma fi ḡamīr ḡilwāt. 'ana ma bidd 'astri la-ṣaḡbi ḡamīr, ḡa-ništariḡu¹ ḡamal. hāda raḡa^c 'ala blādu, gallu: ya-ṣaḡbi. gallu: 'a. gāl: kull el-ḡamīr murrāt, m-fišš iḡmār ḡilu. 'amma šta-rētlak ḡamal, 'aḡsállak².*

9. *ba^cdēn hāda marra ṣabaḡu harūr r-rašid la-'innu kân ṣayf maratu sitt izbēdi tiḡammam bi-l-ḡammān. hādi ša^carha klīr iklīr sitt izbēdi. lamma tōḡeh iddir eš-ša^car 'ala giddām, yašel el-'ard u-ma ybayyin ḡisemha ya^cni. lamma tirḡa iddir eš-ša^car 'ala dāharha. timšī — 'aywā — u-hū min ḡarb u-hī min šarg, ma yšūf 'iši min ḡisemha ma-'annu ša^carha ṭawīl.*

10. *ba^cdēn riḡa rama harūn er-rašid 'alē ṭarīḡa, gallu — harūn ṣayf es-sitt biddha tiḡammam, tiḡraf ib-'abarīḡ fuḡḡarīyye, bitmallīhin mayyi w-tuskub 'ala rāsha b-ḡammām — hāda l-fuḡḡar 'ismu bi-l-luḡḡa l-'arabīyye ḡadīme lḡēn³ — buḡullu:*

naḡarat 'ēnī la-ḡinī

taḡta dīl eš-šaḡaratēnī — ya^cni ḡadāyīlha —

wa-hiyya taskub 'alayha bi-'abarīḡ el-luḡḡēnī.

gallu: *riḡa ma ḡzirthin b-ḡarf 'arba^c u-'ešrīn sā^ca, bass farrḡak, fūṭīk⁴ 'a-s-siḡen, 'a-l-mū^ctagal. gallu: ṭayyib ya-sīdi.*

11. *hāda tāni yōm eš-ṣubēḡ sara^c 'alē, wuḡḡ eš-ṣubēḡ, es-se^ca 'arba^ca bi-l-lēl, dagg 'ala l-bāb. hināka ma fišš ḡēr 'askar u-ḡaddamīn: šu biddak ya-ḡuḡa? gāl: fa^cwtūni la-harūr r-rašid. haḡōl ma biddhum yig^cadu harūr r-rašid: lēš? gāl: 'ana ḡzirt eṭ-ṭarīḡa, es-sā^ca biddi yyā. biddi 'aḡabbu 'ana. gālu: 'issā-ḡna ma mnigdir.*

12. *hāda ḡām ḡabbaṭ 'a-l-bāb, lamannu ḡa^cad harūr r-rašid: šu biddak? gallu: hayy eṭ-ṭarīḡa 'ana ḡzirtha. hādi 'abarīḡ el-fuḡḡar illi kánat tuskub 'alēha biḡin sitt izbēdi. bass šār bēni w-bēnak šarṭ mitēl līra riḡa na ḡzirtha. baddi mitēl līra 'issa 'a-d-daraḡ. gallu: ḡuḡ hayy mitēn dīnār u-'aškurak la-nnu 'inte zalame faḡīm.*

13. *ba^cdēn inhār biḡī^c iḡmār la-l-malik, u-rāḡu ydawwru 'alē. ma ligu l-iḡmār, 'aywā. ṭāḡat es-sitt . . . izbēdi tiṭmašša ya^cni tšimm el-hawa hī w-el-malik.*

¹ *ḡa-* is probably borrowed from Cairo Arabic to give local colour.

² = 'aḡsan-lak, regressive assimilation.

³ The speaker probably mixes *luḡayn* 'silver' with *'aḡīn* 'earthenware'.

⁴ Personal prefix *'a-* dropped from *'afarrḡik* and *'afūtik*, most likely due to the affectionate character of Hārūn's words.

14. *hâda hû naym hêk ya^eni missattêh fi-š-šağara. margat sitt izbêdi w-ma-
rag el-malik. lamma margat sitt izbêdi, gâm ^ealêha w-nakašha b-^ešba^eu. laddat
hêc: šu hâd? galilha: w-alla ya-sitti hammantîc el-malik. gallu: yigta^e ^eumrak,
šu hâd? šu smu ha-l-bađâha¹ hayy illi ^eindak? šu-l-malik u-šu s-sitt . . . izbêdi?
lâzim ^ašîngak. gallu: ya-sîdi, lôma hammantha l-malik, ma lamastha.*

15. *kân naym ^eala đahru w-el-malik mârig. lamma ⁱnnu nakašha w-rağā^e
el-malik, gallu: ya-sîdi, ma lagêt l-iğmâr? gallu: magşûf el-^eumur! hayy ka-
mân mitên dînâr u-rûh u-ma^e es-salâme. samah ^eannu. salâmtak.*

Translation of text c

1. A man said, 'Look here, Ğuḥa!' He said, 'What do you ask me to do?' He said, 'By God, I've been your friend for a long time, but I've never met with anything good from your side. I've never got any service from you.' He said, 'What do you want?' He said, 'By God, I'm sure you won't do it, you won't bring me anything.' He said, 'Just tell me, I'm ready, I'll do whatever you ask.'

2. He said, 'I need a donkey, please buy it for me, but it must be a nice (lit. sweet) donkey, a very nice one.' Ğuḥa thought that the word *ḥilu* meant something like honey. He said, 'I'm ready, as you ask, give me money.' He said, 'Take this money.'

3. Next day Ğuḥa went to the market to buy — in every town there is always a market, a special place where animals are sold — he went to the donkeys, raised the tail of a donkey, and stretching out his tongue, he licked it rolling his tongue. But he didn't find a sweet donkey. He wondered, 'Can I really not find a sweet donkey?'

4. The first day he left without buying it. In the evening he came to his friend. He said, 'I hope you brought it.' He said, 'By God, my brother, today I didn't bring it. I went to the market, but God didn't help. Tomorrow, God willing, I'll bring you a nice (lit. sweet) donkey.'

5. Next day he went to the market place, came to a donkey, raised the tail of the donkey, licked it to see whether it was sweet. But no, all the donkeys were bitter-tasting. He wondered, 'There are no sweet donkeys at this market. I must go to another town and bring a sweet donkey.'

6. He went, let's say from Jordan to Syria, and every day he hung around the market, came to the donkeys, raised the tail of the donkey, licked it, but found that it was bitter-tasting. He thought, 'In all this country there is not even one sweet donkey on sale. I must bring the donkey from Egypt.'

7. Next day he went to his friend and said, 'My friend, I want you to give

¹ = *badâ'a*.

me a ticket for Egypt so that I might bring you a nice (lit. sweet) donkey from there. There are no nice donkeys in this country.' The man said, 'Well, how much does this trip cost?' Then he gave him let's say two dinars or six pounds, so he could travel by airplane. He said, 'I ask you to give me six dinars and let's say one pound pocket money. I'll go there and bring you a nice donkey.'

8. The man thought that he really could not find it. Ġuḥa left for Egypt. When he came to Egypt he wandered about at the market, at the donkey market, licked the donkeys as before but they were all bitter. He wondered, 'There are no sweet donkeys in all this country. I'll not buy donkeys for my friend, I'll buy him a camel.' Now he returned to his country and said, 'My friend, look here!' He said, 'Yes?' He said, 'All the donkeys are bitter, there is no sweet donkey. But I bought a camel for you, that's better for you.'

9. Then, Hārūn ar-Rašīd once caught him because he had seen his wife Sitt Zubayda bathe in a bath. Sitt Zubayda had very long hair. When she turned herself towards him, she pushed her hair forwards. It came down to the floor and did not bare her body. When she turned her back towards him, she pushed her hair behind her. When she walked, he was on her side (lit. 'he was on the western side and she on the eastern side'), he did not see anything of her body, because her hair was long.

10. Now Hārūn ar-Rašīd set a riddle for Ġuḥa. Hārūn had seen that when Sitt Zubayda was going to bathe, she scooped water with earthenware pots, filled them and poured over her head in the bath. Earthenware was called in old Arabic language *luḡayn*. He said to him:

My eye looked in a direction
under the shadow of two trees (i.e. her plaits)
when she was pouring over her head in silvery jars.

He said, 'If you don't solve (the meaning of) these verses within twenty-four hours, I'll show you, I'll put you in jail.' Ġuḥa said, 'Right, my lord.'

11. Next day in the morning he hurried to meet Hārūn at daybreak, at four o'clock at night, and knocked at the door. There were only soldiers and servants. 'What do you want, Ġuḥa?' He said, 'Let me go inside to Hārūn ar-Rašīd.' They did not want to wake up Hārūn ar-Rašīd, (but asked,) 'Why?' He said, 'I've solved the riddle, I must meet him right now. I want to tell him.' They said, 'Just now we cannot do that.'

12. Now Ġuḥa started pounding on the door until Hārūn ar-Rašīd was awakened. (He said,) 'What do you want?' He said, 'Look here, I've solved the riddle. That meant the pots with which Sitt Zubayda poured water over her head. But we made a bet of two hundred pounds if I could solve it. I want two hundred pounds immediately.' He said, 'Here are two hundred dinar, and thank you, you're an intelligent man.'

13. Then, one day a donkey of the king was lost. People went to look for it, but they didn't find it. Well, now Sitt Zubayda went to take a walk with the king.

14. Ġuḥa was lying prone in the grove, when Sitt Zubayda and the king passed by. When Sitt Zubayda passed by, Ġuḥa started up to her and pushed her with his finger. She looked at him, (saying,) 'What does this mean?' He said to her, 'By God, my Mistress, I thought you were the king.' The king said, 'May the devil take you! What does this mean? What impudence! What's that nonsense about the king and the mistress? I must hang you.' He said, 'Lord, if I had not thought she was the king, I wouldn't have touched her.'

15. When he was lying on his back and the king passed by, and when he had pushed her, and the king came back, he asked, 'Lord, didn't you find the donkey?' He said, 'You pest, here are two hundred pounds more, be off and good-bye.' He forgave him. And peace be upon you.

On the language of the texts

PHONETICS AND PHONEMICS

Consonants. As regards the characteristics of the dialect, the most essential question is the pronunciation of *qāf* and *kāf*. All three texts have the same inventory of consonant phonemes with only one exception: text *b* shows no instance of the *ĕ* variant of *kāf*, found in texts *a* and *c*. This contrast does not, however, here indicate an actual dialect difference, but can most properly be attributed to a difference in style. Texts *b* and *c* are both spoken by a man who avoids the *ĕ* variant in the more constrained and formal text *b*, but uses it in the relaxed style of text *c*: *ḥammantiĕ c14*, *riĕib c8*, *hĕĕ c14*, but *hĕk c2*, *c13*. This phenomenon is typical of the sedentary dialects of the area, but is also known elsewhere, e.g. in Kuwait.¹ By contrast, text *a* is an example of a conscious aspiration to the traditional style of the nomadic narrative art. Therefore the *ĕ* variant is not avoided, but is even used relatively more often than in the plain colloquial. The slight inconsistency in the use of the two variants may be caused by this tendency, e.g. *mraĕĕib a1*, *a2*, *rāĕib 2×a2*, *riĕbet a12*, *tirĕab a15*, but *riĕb el-faras a17*; *ĕĕf a2*; *ĕĕm a7*, *a12*, but *kānu a20*; *'a-ĕammin a10*; *iĕĕayti a5*, *ḥaĕa a19*; *hadĕĕe a13*, *hadĕĕ a15*, *b-ĥātrĕ a22*, *'ahūĕ a22*, *ḥallĕ a22*. The *ĵ* variant of *qāf* does not belong to the plain colloquial of the speakers. Yet it is common in the *qaṣīdahs* recited and sung by the speaker of text *a*. Here again the stylistic form of the presentation must be

¹ T. M. JOHNSTONE, *Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies*. London Oriental Series, Volume 17. London 1967; p. 29.

taken into account. The language of the prose tales tends to some extent to take the nomadic dialect as a model, but in metrical form this dependence is much closer. This means that folkloric poetry cannot reliably be used as material for study of a certain local dialect without comparing it with other stylistic variations of the dialect.

The regressive assimilation of consonants appears here more often than in Palestine proper, e.g. *l + n*: *inšúfinna* a6, *nig^cadinna* a10; *r + l*: *šálhum* a21; *t + s*: *bissáfir* b5, *missatṭeḥ* c14, *tissólaf* a26; *n + l*: *'aḥsallak* c8, *btillaḥeg* a17. On the other hand, such instances as *harúr r-rašíd* c11, c12, *mitél lúra* 2 × c12, *u-rráḥ* a6, (')*irráḥ* 3 × a6, *'ir ráḥ* a10, *yōǧaḥḥa* a23, are not uncommon on the western bank of the Jordan.

Vowels. As in the whole Syro-Palestinian dialect area, the short vowels *i* and *u* have been dropped in unstressed open syllables. There seems to be some exceptions to this rule in the present texts, however, e.g. *ṭeríd* a7, *n^eeríd* a10, *yigsimáha* 2 × a7, *n-nišáma* a9, a10, *nikast* 2 × a11, *ǧimá^ea* a12, *muǧára* 3 × a13, a15, 2 × a16, *únhizim* a15, *'ánhizim* a22, *dībaḥtu* 3 × a26. It is noteworthy that all these instances occur in text *a*, whereas in text *c* there are practically no exceptions, if such a classicism as *el-luǧéni* c10 is not taken into account. Similarly, the exceptions in text *b* are all due to classicisms: *bi-dát* b2, *bi-ḥáli* b4, *l-muḥāǧrín* b7, *ḥukúma* b6, *el-iḥṭilál* b10, *l-iḥṭilál* b10, b11, *muǧábil* b10. It seems, then, that the rule is not valid in the dialect of text *a*. The situation is, however, too complicated for such an assertion, because most instances are ambiguous. Thus, it would be misleading to speak of the preservation of *i* in *nišáma*, *nikast*, *ǧimá^ea*, and *dībaḥtu*, since *i* in these words is not a realization of the ancient *i*.

Syllable. All the texts follow the same main rule regarding the consonant clusters, which are usually dissolved by a non-phonemic anaptyxis (or prothesis) between the first and the second consonant (silence is counted as one consonant), e.g. *'ib-waǧḥak* a15, *^ea-l-iblád* a11, *'áhelha* a7, *dáharha* c9, *yigibráhum* a13, *bíhursu* a21, *šifil* a4, *bi-l-gudes* b8, *ǧibit?* c4. Often the cluster remains undissolved, e.g. *lamastha* c14, *ḥzirthin* c10, *ḥzirtha* c12, *tistrayyaḥ* b4. In most such cases, the second consonant of the cluster is less sonorous than the first. If the first consonant is doubled, the cluster is not dissolved, e.g. *ṭhammnu* a26, *ndubbha* a6, *šaḥḥlu* a12.¹ If a word ends and the following word

¹ This is also true for the Lower Galilean dialect(s) analyzed in my Lower Galilean Arabic, although H.-R. SINGER in his review of my book in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 65 (1970), No. 1/2, p. 60, gives *ḥattēnda* (Lower Galilean Arabic, p. 148, line -6) as an example of another possibility. I cannot, however, see how this example could be applicable here, since *e* is a shortened phonemically long vowel (*ḥattēna* plus *-ha*). This is certainly not due to terminological differences, but to an easily understandable difficulty in observing the non-standardized transcriptions. Similarly, *^earfu* (Singer, p. 59 'perfect'; Lower Galilean Arabic,

begins with two consonants, the dissolving of the cluster depends mainly on the nature of the juncture, e.g. *ruḥt imṭarriḍ a5*, *ya-bn-ešhawân a4*, *a5*, but *miṭel iḥṣayti a5*, *ʾiben ešhawân a1*.

A Central and Northern Arabian feature is found in text *a*, where a non-final syllable of the form *CaC* may become *CCa* when the closing consonant of the syllable is *h* (or *ḥ*, *c*, *ḥ*, *ġ*): (*e*)*šhawân a* passim, *ġ^hháwa a1*, $2 \times a3$, possibly also *n^eaġātu a6*, if the sing. form is *n^eaġe* and not *n^eġe*. The words *hal 2 \times a17* and *z^elīma a1* (cf. *zalame c12*) are better regarded as lexical borrowings from the *yigūl*-group.²

p. 138, line 11) is naturally not a perfect form but an active participle, i.e. *ʿarīf* plus *-u*, which is clear from the context: *ma ḥada ʿarfu mnēn wa-la ḥada fāhim ʿa-luġtu*. In the case of *iskar* (Singer, p. 59 'perfect', Lower Galilean Arabic, p. 142, line 21) I should either have written *yiskar* or provided the form *iskar* with a footnote. But since the context (*u-yballeš iskar*) did not admit a misunderstanding, a footnote seemed superfluous. Actually the transcription was based on a sonagram which showed no initial consonant. The reviewer also suggests (p. 56) a systematic study of word groups which I preferred, and still prefer, to refrain from for fear of becoming entangled in the intricate junctural phenomena. The most reliable material for the study of the consonant clusters is undoubtedly found elsewhere, viz. in internal clusters, secondly in post-pausal initial and pre-pausal final clusters, and only thereafter in word groups.

There is much truth in HEINZ GROTZFELD's assertion that in Damascus Arabic the anaptyctic and prothetic vowels are not introduced to alleviate the pronunciation of 'difficult' consonant groups (Syrisch-arabische Grammatik. Wiesbaden 1965; p. 14f., Laut- und Formenlehre des Damaszenisch-Arabischen. Wiesbaden 1964. AKM 35,3; p. 37). However, the argumentation is not convincing. The fact that any cluster of three consonants (-CCC-, -CC, CC-) can be dissolved by an anaptyctic vowel by no means proves that this anaptyxis is *never* demanded by the quality of the consonants. Certainly it is not 'demanded', but it should be noted that the anaptyxis is not as frequently used in different consonant clusters. It is most common in physiologically heterogeneous clusters and also before the medial consonant of a three-consonant cluster if it is more sonorous than the first consonant, i.e. if it forms a crest of sonority (viz. a syllable), and less frequently when the medial consonant of the cluster is less sonorous than the first consonant (cf. the rôle of sonority in the dialects of North Africa). It is therefore very probable that the anaptyctic vowels were introduced for phonetic (physiological) reasons, and that their domain has only gradually grown wider. Such forms as *mutil* and *futil* are not the outcome of a purely phonetic development, but of a morphological analogy. Although the phenomenon is not as distinct in the urban dialects of the Syro-Palestinian area as in those of the fellahin, it is improbable that the development could have been essentially different in the two dialect types.

For speakers of different languages different consonant clusters are naturally 'difficult' or 'easy', and therefore the subjective audition of a foreigner is not very reliable. Grotzfeld's scepticism is, however, not quite justified. The study can also be based on exact methods; in this case the subjective audition can be checked by a sonograph study which shows the absence and presence of the vowel as well as its length and colour. This was what I actually did in order to check the audition of some cases of my study.

² Cf. J. CANTINEAU, Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient. Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales, Alger, 2 (1936), p. 1–118, 3 (1937), p. 119–237; p. 14.

GRAMMAR

Pronouns. The personal pronouns and suffixes occurring in the texts are: sing. 1. 'ana; -i, after a vowel -y, with a verb -ni; sing. 2. masc. 'inte, 'int; -ak, after a vowel -k; sing. 2. fem. -iĉ, after a vowel -ĉ; sing. 3. masc. hū (hu, huw); -u, after a vowel zero; sing. 3. fem. hi; -ha; pl. 1. 'eĥna b1, b7, c11, ĥenna a10; -na; pl. 2. masc. -ku; pl. 3. masc. hum; -hum; pl. 3. fem. -hin 2 × c10. The only essential difference between the two dialect types appears in pl. 1., where 'eĥna belongs to the begūl-group and ĥenna to the nomadic yigūl-group. Although this distinction is not very clear-cut, it can be regarded as one of the main criteria in the classification of the dialects in the area. The fact is that 'eĥna or 'eĥne is used by some Bedouin of the area, but ĥenna is not used in the sedentary dialects.¹ On the other hand, -ku occurs in text a, even in es-salām 'alēku, a3. This is not a form exclusive to the begūl-group; it often occurs in the dialects of the yigūl-group side by side with -kum (-kom). I have marked the sing. 3. masc. suffix after a vowel with zero, but not without hesitation between zero and -h; in one case h is distinctly heard between two vowels: ma'āh imkân, a12.

The demonstrative pronoun has the following forms in text a: hāda, hād; hādī, hayy; hadōla, hadōl; hadāka; hadīĉe, hadīĉ; hadolāka, hadolāk. The system seems clear enough to be supplemented with hadāk, probably also hadolīĉe and hadolīĉ. In texts b and c fewer forms occur, but they do not differ from those of text a.

The sedentary Palestinian interrogative pronoun min occurs in text b; text a has a shorter form min, a4, comparable with men given by CANTINEAU for Sardīye.² 'What?' is rendered in text a by weš, in texts b and c by šu, once by eššú, c1. According to CLEVELAND 'eš is found in all parts of Jordan, while šu is apparently missing entirely from the yigūl-group, though found everywhere else.³ It might be added that the form typical of the yigūl-group is weš, cf. also wuš Sardīye, weš, uš Ḥsāne, wāš Weld 'Ali, weš Šammar, but šī, š- Mawāli.⁴

Particles. The demonstrative adverb 'there' has the forms hināk(a), hunāk(a) in all texts, whereas 'here' is expressed in text b by hōn, but in text a by hān. This contrast agrees with CLEVELAND's observation that hōn predominates in the begūl-dialects east of the Jordan, and that hān is there heard in the yigūl-group.⁵ Text a also has a demonstrative interjection ehnā

¹ Vide CANTINEAU, Nomades, pp. 70–79 and 173–185; e.g. Mawāli: 'ōĥne, p. 173.

² CANTINEAU, Nomades, p. 206; cf. also mānhū Rögga, p. 108.

³ RAY L. CLEVELAND, A Classification for the Arabic Dialects of Jordan. – BASOR 171 (1963), pp. 56–63; p. 62.

⁴ CANTINEAU, Nomades, p. 206f.

⁵ CLEVELAND, p. 62.

a9, a24.¹ The temporal interrogative particle *mêta a15* is given by CANTINEAU for Ncêm in Ḥōrân,² while the usual form in Ḥōrân is *ʿamêt*.³ According to BERGSTRÄSSER the greatest part of Transjordan has *ʿamêt(a)*.⁴

As for the prepositions, text *a* avoids the use of *fî*, which occurs only in *ma fî, a6, 2 × a23*, whereas texts *b* and *c* have several instances of this preposition. The absence of *fî* is a nomadic feature typical of Central and Northern Arabian dialects.⁵ The preposition *b(i)-* has two parallel forms: *(i)b-* and *bî-*, the latter used with personal suffixes. Similarly, there are *ma^e* and *ma^eâ-*, but no consistency can be found in their use: *ma^eak a26, ma^eâk a6; ma^eu a9, ma^eâ a22, ma^eâh a12*. BERGSTRÄSSER draws a line between the areas where *ma^e* and *ma^eâ* are used⁶, but although this line crosses Ḥōrân, on closer inspection it proved impossible to follow it.⁷ Both types also occur side by side in the nomadic dialects studied by CANTINEAU.⁸

Substantives. The feminine sing. st.abs. suffix *-a* appears much more frequently here than in the sedentary Palestinian dialects, e.g. *g^hâwa a1, 2 × a3, dîra 2 × a5, a13, ba^eîda a5, niyya a9, radiyya a9, a16, sîra 2 × a10, ḥurma a19, 2 × a22, a26, lôša a8, a10*, which all have *-e* in most local dialects west of the Jordan. This is, according to CANTINEAU, evidence of the emphasis of the preceding consonant.⁹ In this case the words quoted are wholly emphatic; the same is true of *ḥukûma b8, tafriga b5, raḥma b5, tayyâra c7* (learned borrowings), *nôba a5, a7, mara 2 × a23, 2 × a24, lîra 2 × c12, nîra c7, tarîga c7*, and *mujâra 3 × a13, a15, 2 × a16*, while in the words *zêna 2 × a2, a16*, and *kassâra a6* only the last syllable is emphatic. The only difference — lexical rather than phonetic — between text *a* and texts *b* and *c* in this respect is *z^elîma a1* vs. *zalame c12*.

Verbs. In the perfect of the verbal form I both stem-vowels are preserved in the type *a—â* everywhere except in sing. 3. fem., where the latter vowel is dropped: *margat a2, 2 × c14, talbat a7, ga^edat a17, a23, ʿamlat b1, ġam^eat b1*.

¹ Probably from *hunâ*, vide WOLFDIETRICH FISCHER, Die demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte. 's-Gravenhage 1959; p. 125f.

² CANTINEAU, Nomades, p. 110.

³ J. CANTINEAU, Ḥōrân, p. 393f.

⁴ G. BERGSTRÄSSER, Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina. — ZDPV 38 (1915), pp. 169—222; § 69, Map. 26.

⁵ WETZSTEIN, Zeltlagern, p. 147 footnote; SOGIN, Diwan III, p. 79f., CANTINEAU, Nomades, pp. 109 and 208. This feature is also shared by the dialect of Palmyra: J. CANTINEAU, Le dialecte arabe de Palmyre. T. I. Grammaire. T. II. Vocabulaire et textes. Beyrouth 1934 (Mémoires de l'Institut Français de Damas); I, p. 228.

⁶ BERGSTRÄSSER, Sprachatlas, § 66, Map 24.

⁷ CANTINEAU, Ḥōrân, p. 402.

⁸ CANTINEAU, Nomades, p. 108f.

⁹ CANTINEAU, Ḥōrân, p. 347, cf. also *id.*, Cours de phonétique arabe. Paris 1960 (réimpr.); p. 154.

In the type *i-i* one or the other *i* is dropped in an unstressed open syllable: *ismīʿt* a4, *ričbet* a14, *sim^e el-ḥabar* a12, *rikb el-faras* a17, *gidru* b2, *wšilna* b7, *ḥzir̄t-* c10, c11, c12. In text *a* a third type also occurs, viz *i-a*, e.g. *ḍibaḥ* a11, *liḥa* a8. Unlike the *i-i* type, this type tends to preserve its *i*: *nikast* 2 × a11, *ḍibaḥtu* 3 × a26 (but *illi ḍbaḥú* a13), probably due to the nomadic origin of the *i-a* type. The same verbs also have, parallel with the *i-a* type, the form *a-a*: *ḍabaḥ* a22, a12, a24, *nakasu* a18.

In general, the *a-a* type seems to be more common in both dialects of the present texts than in most sedentary dialects west of the Jordan, e.g. *maša* a14, *raǧa^e-* 2 × a24, 2 × b10, c8, c15, b2, b11, *nazal* b12, *ṭala^eu* a24, b3, *laḥaǧú* 2 × a9, a25, but the instances are too few for adequate comparison. There is probably no essential difference between the present texts and the Central Palestinian rural dialect in this respect.¹

The imperfect forms of the verbs C¹*w* have short-vocalic types: *yigaf* c6, *bašel* c7, *yašel* c9 (almost *baššel*, *yaššel*). The number of instances is, however, too few to exclude the possibility of other forms occurring side by side with these.² Moreover, there is no instance for the *yigúl*-group in text *a*. In the imperative the accent lies as a rule on the first syllable, e.g. *ʾiftaḥ* a4, *ʾiṭla^e* a16, *ʾiḍbaḥ* 4 × a17, *ʾirǧa^e* a26. The imperative of *ʾahaḍ* is *ḥuḍ* c2, c12; in text *a* there are no instances of this form.

The speaker of texts *b* and *c* always uses C¹-forms of the verb *ǧā'a*: *ʾiǧa* b12, c1, c10, *ʾiǧat* b10, *ʾiǧu* b2, b3, *ʾiǧina* b11; *ʾaǧa* c4, c7, c8, *ʾaǧu* b2, *w-uǧu* b7. Accordingly, all the imperfect forms have a long vowel on the first syllable: *yǧi* c5, c6, *btǧi* b3, *bǧu* b1. Also in text *a* the type C¹ occurs: *ʾaǧa* a3, 2 × a11, a12, a15, a16, a17, 2 × a19, *ʾaǧáhum* a12, and *ʾaǧu* a19, but never *ʾiǧa*. Instead, there are some instances of the more conservative *ǧá*, 2 × a8, a13, 2 × a16, *ǧálu* a13, *ǧú* 2 × a8. On the other hand, the first syllable of the imperfect always has a short vowel: *yiǧi* a12, *ʾaǧiṭi* a5, *yiǧu* a20 (and particle *biǧi* 'about' a19). Most probably *ʾiǧa* and *ʾaǧa* both belong to the dialect of the *begúl*-group, while the speaker of text *a* has a few times changed the form of his own vernacular for the 'nomadic' *ǧá*. The long vowel of the perf. sing. 3. masc. is not attested by CANTINEAU in the nomadic dialects, where the word is inflected as follows: *ǧé*, *ǧát*, *ǧiṭ*, *ǧiṭi*, *ǧiṭ*; *ǧám*/ǧo^u, *ǧán*, *ǧiṭám*/ǧiṭo^u, *ǧiṭán*, *ǧiṭe*; sing. 3.

¹ Cf. LEONHARD BAUER, Wörterbuch der arabischen Umgangssprache in Palästina und im Libanon. 2. Aufl. Wiesbaden 1957; e.g. *miši*/fell. *maša*, *riǧi^e*/fell. *áwad*, *nizil*/fell. *ṭāḥ*, *hawwad*, *ṭili^e*, *liḥik*. Cf. also CANTINEAU, Ḥōrān: *nazal*/*nezal*, *ṭala^e*/*ṭili^e*, *leḥeg*, *raǧa^e*/*reǧe^e*, pp. 210–212.

² BAUER, Wörterbuch, gives *byáṣal*, *byá'af* for Palestinian town-dwellers, and *biṣal*, *bašel*, *biqaf* for villagers, s.v. 'ankommen', 'stehen'. In Ḥōrān many varieties are found, the most common of which is *baṣal*, *baǧaf*, CANTINEAU, Ḥōrān, pp. 232–237. The nomadic dialects of the Syro-Palestinian area also have both long-vocalic and short-vocalic forms with different vowels, cf. CANTINEAU, Nomades, pp. 89f., 194.

masc. *ǧé'* °Ömür, Faḍḍ, Manâḍre, *ǧá'* Bani Hâled, *ǧá'* Sirhân, *ǧé'*, *ǧá'* Hadîdîn, in Rögga.¹ SOGIN gives *ǧâ* for Central Arabia.² Forms without C¹ also occur in Hōrân: *ǧa* Mgayyer and Rafid, *ǧâ* el-°Âl, but °aǧa/°eǧe/°eǧa is predominant.³ The long-vocalic perfect form appears, surprisingly, in Bišmizzîn (15 km to the south of Tripoli, Lebanon): *ǧâ*, imperf. *biǧî*.⁴ Thus the following scheme may be given: *begûl*-group: perf. °aǧa/°iǧa, imperf. *ǧîǧî*; *ǧigûl*-group: perf. certainly *ǧá'*, probably also °aǧa and °iǧa, imperf. *ǧîǧî*. This scheme corresponds to that found in Hōrân: perf. °eǧe/°eǧa, imperf. *ǧîǧî*⁵, and the nomadic dialects of the area: perf. *ǧé'*, imperf. *ǧéǧî* (°Ömür).⁶

The verbal form IV appears in some verbs, the most common of which is °a°ta (not °ata): °a°tūniyyá a9, °a°tūna b7, ya°tū a26, bya°tu b1, ya°tūna b7. Although many other cases occur, e.g. °ôgad a24, yôged 2 × a23, yôǧahḥa (wǧ°) a23, tôǧeh c9, ǧig°adu c11, tiḥla°ak 2 × a15, °aḥla°at b10 (learned borrowing?), °afǧarat b1 (learned borrowing?), form IV is scarcely any more productive in the *ǧigûl*- or the *begûl*-group. The imperfect forms are probably not based on the Classical Arabic type *yūqtíl-*, but are new formations, in verba primae firmæ on the analogy of the imperfect of form I, in verba primae wāw on the analogy of the perfect form (°ôgad-yôged).

In forms VII and VIII except in hollow verbs, the accent of the imperfect, imperative, and participle (without suffix) lies on the prefix: *tinhizim* a15, *btillaḥeg* a17, *mîndabaḥ* a10, *ǧištiri* c3, *btīštajil* b8 (learned borrowing for *btīšt-ǧil*).

The *b*-imperfect occurs consistently for the non-past indicative in texts *b* and *c*, whereas the speaker of text *a* avoids this form. There are, however, a few exceptions, viz. *ma btillaḥeg* a17, *biḥursu* 2 × a21, and *ibturguḍ* a24. The first of these denotes the state of being out of reach, the second an action which was begun in the past and is still going on, and the third a present durative. This may show the actual functions of the form in the *ǧigûl*-dialects of Belqā', but the instances may also be regarded as forms slipped into the narrative from the vernacular of the speaker. Anyway, imperfect forms with *b*- are heard in the nomadic dialects of this area, e.g. among the °Aǧârma tribe.

Negation. The negative affirmative -(i)š does not belong to either group of dialects represented in the present texts. Only some cases occur here: *ma fišš* c11, *mfišš* c8 (but *ma fiš* c5, c7, c8, *mâ fiš* b11), and besides in the nominal negation *miš* b4, 2 × c1, c3, c8, and in text *a* twice: *ma yidriš* a20, *ma-driš* a24.

¹ CANTINEAU, Nomades, p. 93.

² SOGIN, Diwan III, p. 168.

³ CANTINEAU, Hōrân, p. 245f.

⁴ JIHA, Bišmizzîn, p. 143.

⁵ CANTINEAU, Hōrân, p. 246.

⁶ CANTINEAU, Nomades, p. 93.

This negation is probably a recent borrowing spread in Belqā' by Cairo Radio and Palestinian refugees, but may also have had some earlier use in the dialects of the district. I have myself heard it sometimes in the plain colloquial of illiterate °Aǧārma Bedouin, but only as an emphatic negation. According to CANTINEAU's report it is not found in the nomadic dialects studied by him.¹

LEXICON

The pseudoverb **b-widd-* has three different forms here: *bidd-* in texts *b* and *c*, *badd-* and *widd-* in text *a*, and, besides *badd-* once in *c12*. Of these forms *bidd-* seems to be the commonest in the *begûl*-group, *badd-* is used side by side with it in sedentary Balgāwi, and *widd-* is a loan from the *yigûl*-group. The speaker of text *a* himself used *badd-* in his plain colloquial.

The vocabulary of text *a* is essentially nomadic, even if such words typical of the *yigûl*-group as *nikas*, *lifā*, *ladd*, *gôṭar*, *dôhaǧ*, and *sôlaf* occasionally occur even in the *begûl*-group. Characteristically enough, these words are not found in texts *b* and *c*, except *laddat c14*.

Classical influence. Text *a* is entirely free of classical devices; they occur most frequently in text *b*, but less in the more relaxed text *c*, e.g. *bi-dât b2*, *la-annu b1*, *lāǧ'în b2*, *fa°lan b3*, *°ā'ilât b8*, *bi-°akmalha b8*, *muhāǧrîn b7*, *ra-wâšîn b7*, *ta°yîn b7*, *yadawi b8*, *hukûma b8*, *btu°mur c1*, *dayman c3*, *'aškurak c12*, *ṭayyāra c7*, in this context probably also *ǧiddan b5*, *b10*, *b12*, *fa- b4*, *b7*, *b10*, *b12*, and *'abadan c1*. Besides, the riddle given by Hārûn, *c10*, tends to be wholly classical. The form *'ahwân b4* is a hypercorrect form of *'ihwân b3*. Such instances as *b-al-lêl*, *b-an-nhâr*, *yit°habba*, and *'at-ṭalâba a12* are nomadisms rather than classicisms.

CLASSIFICATION AND STYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS

Texts *b* and *c* belong to the *begûl*-group and represent a local variant of the sedentary Balgāwi dialect mixed with some classical features not much beyond the normal range of classicisms in modern plain colloquial. Text *a*, on the other hand, shows an essentially different dialect form, that of the *yigûl*-group. This dialect is not the speaker's own vernacular and cannot precisely be ascribed to any tribe of the area. It can most properly be characterized as an artistic form of the nomadic Balgāwi, a kind of artistic koine used so skilfully that only a few devices betray the sedentary origin of the speaker.

¹ CANTINEAU, *Nomades*, p. 110.

Some main characteristics common to both types of dialect are: 1. *qāf* is pronounced as *g*, 2. both dialects are 'différentiels', i.e. short *i* and *u* are dropped in unstressed open syllables, but short *a* is preserved, 3. the negative affirmative *-(i)š* is missing.

The following features can be regarded as contrasts between the dialects:

1. The nomadic dialect type represented by text *a* uses both variants of *kāf*, viz. *k* and *č*, while the sedentary dialect tends to suppress the *č* variant, especially in the mildly formal colloquial of text *b*.

2. In the nomadic type a non-final *CaC* may become *CCa* when the closing consonant of the syllable is a laryngeal or a post-velar. This does not occur in the sedentary dialect.

3. The non-past indicative is rendered in the sedentary dialect by *b* plus imperfect, in the nomadic type by simple imperfect.

4. Among the personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and demonstrative adverbs the following contrasts are found: *ʿehna, mîn, šu, hân* (sed.) vs. *henna, min, weš, hân* (nom.).

5. The pseudoverb appears in the nomadic dialect in the form *widd-*, in the sedentary dialect as *bidd-* and *badd-*.

6. The preposition *fī* is missing in the nomadic type.

7. The verb 'to come' has the forms *ʿaġa/ʿiġa* and *yġi* in the sedentary dialect, in the nomadic type *ġā* and *yġi*.

8. Some lexical items are almost exclusively used in the nomadic dialect, e.g. *nikas, lifa, ladd, gôtar, dôhaġ, and sôlaf*. Such instances as *nikas* and *lifa* both show a morphological and a lexical difference, but the morphological peculiarity is inseparably associated with the lexical items. However, the form *dîbaġ* shows a morphological productivity of the type *i-a*.

The contrasts are not clear-cut, mostly due to the fact that both speakers have the same vernacular, but it should be added that the border line between the sedentary and nomadic dialects of the district is getting more vague as a result of the growing intercourse of the different population groups. Thus it is not surprising to find some typically sedentary devices in the dialect of the Bedouin, and the opposite, though undoubtedly rarer, also occurs. But this is true only as regards the plain colloquial and its various 'elevated' forms. In artistic use the nomadic dialect still has greater prestige as the traditional language of story-telling and qašidah poetry.