BALGĀWI ARABIC

2. TEXTS IN THE DIALECT OF THE *YIGŪL*-GROUP

BY

HEIKKI PALVA

Balgāwi Arabic

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The present two texts were recorded in summer 1965, text *a* in Wādi s-Sīr, a mixed Arab and Circassian village about 10 km west of ᶜAmmān, text *b* in ᶜAmmān. The speaker of text *a* is an illiterate farmer, Moslem, aged about 70; text *b* was related by a literate labourer, Moslem, aged 38. Both are natives of their domiciles, the grandfather of the speaker of text *b* was a farmer in ᶜAmmān, and his father still cultivates land in the northern outskirts of the city.

The two stories are part of the same cluster of folk tales.[1] Text *a* seems to be only the first half of a longer narrative which the speaker could not finish because his son, who did not like such 'stupid stories', urged him to stop. Although the style is curt and the meaning therefore ambiguous in some passages, the language is genuine local dialect without any admixtures of classicisms, and the lexicon reflects familiarity with nomadic life. Text *b*, on the other hand, is distinctly influenced by literary language, and the lexicon is poor in nomadic termini technici. However, both texts represent the *yigūl*-group of Balgâwi Arabic.[2]

Text a. Wādi s-Sīr.

1. fî kân fi ha-z-zamân el-gadîm wâḥad 'ibn 'aḥyar u-wâḥad 'ibn 'aǧwad, wâḥad ib-ᶜên eš-šarg, wâḥad ib-ᶜên el-ǧarb. haḏ̣ôl yismaᶜu b-ṣît baᶜáḏ̣hum el-baᶜaḏ̣.

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[1] Another variation of this story is published by Michel Jiha, Der arabische Dialekt von Bišmizzîn. Volkstümliche Texte aus einem libanensischen Dorf mit Grundzügen der Laut- und Formenlehre. — Beiruter Texte und Studien, Bd. 1, Beirut 1964; pp. 10—22. Cf. also Enno Littmann, Märchen und Legenden aus der syrisch-arabischen Wüste. — Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse 1915; pp. 1—27.

[2] Here I follow the classification proposed by Ray L. Cleveland, A Classification for the Arabic Dialects of Jordan. — BASOR 171 (1963), pp. 56—63. The groups are: I *yigûl*, II *bəgûl*, III *bəkûl*, and IV *bə'ûl*.

gâm 'ibn 'aḥyar ričib ḏalûlu w-râḥ ᶜala bn-aǧwad, masâfe ṯalaṯîn yôm 'arbᶜîn yôm ᶜa-ḏ-ḏallâl.

2. *yōmínnu 'aǧa ᶜala bn-aǧwad, ma lagî, ḏâyif 'ibn 'aǧwad ᶜand ᶜarab ṯânye. gâmat mart 'ibn 'aǧwad u-faršatlu bi-l-maḥram¹, bi-l-bêt, u-ḥayyatu.² 'aǧa bn-aǧwad bi-l-lêl, gâlátlu: maḏyûfîn. haḏâk râḥ ᶜala š-šigg³ u-nâm, 'ibn 'aǧwad.*

3. *eṣ-ṣubeḥ sawwale gahwa, sawwale gahwa w-ḥaddar la-ḏ-ḏêf. haḏâka gâm min ᶜand mart 'ibn 'aǧwad u-šadd ᶜa-ḏalûlu w-ričb u-maša. gallu: ya fâṭer ǧîrt 'alla⁴ 'illa l-gahwa. gallu: wâṣel. gallu: ǧîrt 'alla min šarg el-bêt u-ǧarb el-bêt. gallu: wâṣel. fakk ḏalûlu w-râḥ.*

4. *hâḏa yôm maša min ᶜandha, 'aᶜṭâha l-ḥatim, galla: ya bint el-eǧwâd⁵, balki 'âḫr ez-zamân taᶜrifûni b-ḥâtmi. hâḏa bn-aǧwad ḥallaṣ el-ḥalâl u-mâl ᶜala l-ᶜarab yiḏbaḥ ib-ḥalâl el-ᶜarab, la-ḏ-ḏyûf. el-ᶜarab halkat ib-ǧanamhum. gâlu 'ilu: l-iblâd mâlu ᶜibâd. bi-l-lêl haḏôla šaddu w-raḥḥalu ᶜannu. mâ tamm⁶ 'illa ǧêr huww u-ᶜaǧûzu, 'úmratu.*

5. *yōmínnu tamm hinâk eṣ-ṣubeḥ u-lû 'innu ǧayyînlu ḏyûf. ma ᶜandu ǧêr el-faras. saḥab es-sêf u-ᶜaggarha w-ḏabaḥḥa w-sawwâlhum el-ǧada. gâl: ya bint el-eǧwâd, ma tamm 'ilna ha-r-rizga. eḏ-ḏêf 'ill-aǧâna, wên ṣâr, wênu? gâlátlu: wallâhi 'aᶜṭâni ha-l-ḥatim. yōmínnu gara l-ḥatim w-innu bn-aḥyar. u-yimšu mn-iblâd eš-šarg la-blâd el-ǧarb ᶜalê.*

6. *yōmínnu ṭabb garîb mn-el-ᶜarab, ḥaṭṭha b-ruǧum, el-mara ḥaṭṭha b-ruǧum⁷ u-wiṣil bêt 'ibn 'aḥyar. imsâwi l-ǧada 'ibn 'aḥyar. gûm ya flân, gûm ya flân, gûm ya flân! lamma ṣaddar el-ᶜâlam kullha, gallu: ya ḏêf, kûd ma*

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¹ *maḥram* is the women's compartment of a tent; cf. JIHA, 2, 8, p. 12.

² i.e., he said to the guest *ḥayyâk 'allâ*; cf. ALOIS MUSIL, The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins. New York 1928. (American Geographical Society. Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 6); p. 461.

³ *šigg* is the men's compartment of the tent, or a special tent for guests.

⁴ Cf. MUSIL, p. 460: 'To adjure anybody by the word *ǧira* is a proof of the greatest earnestness and determination. A *maǧjûr* is one so adjured. To persist in refusal after this word has been used would be a direct insult to the person giving the invitation.'

⁵ Cf. J. J. HESS, Von den Beduinen des inneren Arabiens. Erzählungen/Lieder/Sitten und Gebräuche. Zürich und Leipzig 1938; p. 170: *ybn eǧwâd* 'Ein Sohn der guten Geister' = ein rechtlicher, wohltätiger Mensch.

⁶ The word *tamm* is a verb in both *a4* and *a5*, and used similarly to *mā tämmiš* in LEONHARD BAUER, Das palästinische Arabisch. Die Dialekte des Städters und des Fellachen. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1910; p. 168, —4. According to W. FISCHER, Die demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Grammatik des Arabischen. 's-Gravenhage 1959; p. 130, the word in Bauer, loco cit., is derived from *tammā*. He translates the words 'es gibt nicht'; the usage is by no means exceptional, but occurs generally throughout Palestine, and never in the form *(ma) tamm(iš)*. Also in Bauer, loco cit., *tämm* is most probably a verb, and the accurate translation of *ma tämmiš* 'es gibt nicht mehr'.

⁷ The wife could not come to the tent, because she was naked; so JIHA 2, 6, p. 10.

dǧaddêt? gallu: billâhi dǧaddêt. gâl la-l-gahwaǧi: ṣubb el-gahwa w-atla finǧân
aᶜṭî la-ḍ-ḍêf.

7. el-gahwaǧi dâr el-gahwa ᶜala r-rǧâl w-atla finǧân 'aᶜṭâ la-ḍ-ḍêf. gallu: ya
ḍêf er-rhamân, 'atla z-zâd mā-kálit minnu, 'atla l-gahwa 'išríbit minha. gâl el-
gahwa 'awwálha kêf u-'āḥérha kêf, 'amma z-zâd 'awwalu mâhu miṯl 'âḥru.
gâl: gawwak ya bn-aǧwad,[1] u-ᶜaddille[2] frâš u-ǧîb[2] haḍâk el-ǧazûr u-ᶜaggru[2]
w-sawwîlu[2] l-ǧada. u-taᶜallalu b-amân iḷḷâ taᶜâla.

8. yôm 'aǧa ta-ynâm, 'aǧat ib-bâlu 'úmratu, gâl: ya flân. gâl: 'â. gâl: tuḥtufi
l-wiliyya bi-r-ruǧum haḍâk. ᶜandu 'ibn 'ahyar ṯalaṯ niswân, râh ᶜa-l-imlîha
fîhin, gallha: flâne, ḥuḍi min 'awāᶜîč u-hallîna nǧîb haḍîče. gâlat: 'î walla ma
'âḥuḍ. eṯ-ṯânye míṯelha. râh ᶜa-bint ᶜammu gâl: ya-mm iflân, ǧîbi min ehdûmič
ez-zēnât u-hallîna nrûh inǧîb haḍîče. gâlat: 'î walla.

9. râhat ǧâbat l-ihdûm u-râhat hî wiyyâ. labbasatha mn-er-ruǧum u-ǧābátha
la-ᶜand ǧôzha. sa'alatha: lê ya-ḥûy? gâl: waḷḷa yá-ḥti, l-hagg ᶜala ǧôzič, ma-hû
ᶜalayyi. baᶜdên farašúlha u-nâmat.

10. el-mᶜazzbe, raᶜît el-bêt, 'ilha walad gannâṣ fi-l-batîl, yugnuṣ eṣ-ṣêd,
gâlat 'ilha: ya ḍêft er-rhamân, tara 'ibni bi-ṣ-ṣêd w-el-ganaṣ. 'iḍa 'aǧa w-inti
wâᶜye, gulîlu: dawwer ᶜa-halak, w-iḍa w-inti ǧâfye, la-tḥâfi minnu. tara ynâm
ib-huḍnič yiḥsâbič[3] 'inti 'immu. yôm 'aǧa l-walad w-innu nâm b-huḍn 'immu,
yiḥsâbha 'immu w-nâm.

11. gallu: ǧûm rawweh ᶜala bêtak ya bn-aǧwad. yôm 'aǧa w-inn el-walad
mitmaǧǧeṭ ib-húḍunha. sahab es-sêf u-gaṭaᶜ râsu, la-l-walad. yômin fâr ed-damm,
gatlu: waḷḷ, sawwed wuǧhak, 'iben el-mᶜazzbe hâḍ. râh la-'abû w-aᶜṭâ ḥabar.
zammu l-walad u-haṭṭû bên el-iǧmâl.

12. w-eṣ-ṣubeh, nuṣbeh ib-ḥêr 'ehna w-'ummet imhammad, gallu la-l-ᶜabed:
ya wad[4], 'ebᶜad la-hab̲bâbak[5]. râh la-hab̲bâbu, laga l-walad maḍbûeh. ṣabar
išwayy, gall el-ᶜabed: ya flâne, 'ebᶜadi la-hab̲bâbič. yômin râhat w-innu maḍ-
bûeh. dabbat eṣ-ṣôt, lagu l-walad maḍbûeh.

Translation of text a.

1. In olden days there were two men, one called Ibn Aḥyar, the other Ibn
Aǧwad, one lived far in the east, the other far in the west. They knew each
other by reputation. Once Ibn Aḥyar mounted his riding camel and went
to meet Ibn Aǧwad, a distance of thirty or forty days on camelback.

[1] Only now does Ibn Aḥyar accept his guest and show that he knows him.

[2] The four verbs form a schematic list; the forms are not imperatives but imperfects
without personal prefixes.

[3] yiḥsâb is apparently a contamination of the verb hasab and the substantive hsâb.

[4] A shortened form usual in addressing.

[5] = la-hadd bâbak.

2. When he came to Ibn Aǧwad, he did not find him; Ibn Aǧwad was calling other Bedouins. Ibn Aǧwad's wife spread rugs for him in the *maḥram* — in the tent — and welcomed him. Ibn Aǧwad came at night. She told him, 'We have guests'. So Ibn Aǧwad went to the men's side to sleep.

3. In the morning he made coffee. He made coffee and offered it to the guest. The guest stood up from the bed of Ibn Aǧwad's wife, saddled his riding camel, mounted the camel and was about to leave. Ibn Aǧwad said to him, 'In the name of God, by the protection of God, you must have coffee.' He answered, '(I count it as) received'. He said, 'By the protection of God, you must come, whether it is from the eastern or the western side of the tent'. He answered, '(I count it as) received'. So he untied his riding camel and left.

4. When he left her, he gave her his ring saying, *'Bint el-eǧwâd*, maybe you will later recognize me from my ring.' Ibn Aǧwad had no more cattle, and so he went to the Bedouins to slaughter some of the cattle of the Bedouins for the guests. But the Bedouins had been robbed of their sheep, and he was told: 'There are no people in this region.' They had saddled in the night-time and moved their camp away. Now only he and his old wife were left.

5. When he was left there, guests came to him unexpectedly in the morning. He had nothing but his horse. He took his sword, cut its throat, slaughtered it and cooked a dinner for them. Then he said, *'Bint el-eǧwâd*, now we have nothing left for our living. The guest who came to us (recently), where did he go? Where is he now?' She said, 'Look here, he gave me this ring.' When he read the ring he found that it belonged to Ibn Aḥyar. So they left from the east for the west to meet him.

6. When he came near the Bedouin camp, he left his wife behind a pile of stones, and came to the tent of Ibn Aḥyar. Ibn Aḥyar was cooking the dinner. (Then he invited the people to eat saying,) 'Get up, So-and-So, get up, So-and-So, get up, So-and-So!' When he had invited all the people to eat, he said, 'O guest, possibly you have not had your dinner? 'He answered, 'By God, I have.' The host said to the coffee server, 'Pour coffee and give the last cup to the guest.'

7. The coffee server went around serving coffee to the men, and gave the last cup to the guest. The host said, 'O guest of the Merciful, you did not eat the leavings of bread, but you took the leavings of coffee.' He said how (good) the coffee is from the first drop to the last, but as for bread, its first bites are not like the last ones. The host said, 'Be strong, Ibn Aǧwad!' Now he gave him more rugs, brought a fatted camel, cut its throat, made a dinner for him, and they began to entertain themselves in the protection of God the Exalted.

8. When it was time to go to bed, Ibn Aǧwad remembered his wife. He

said (to Ibn Aḥyar), 'Look here, So-and-So!' He said, 'Well, what's the matter?' He said, 'My wife is hidden behind that pile of stones.' Ibn Aḥyar had three wives. He went to the most beautiful of them and said to her, 'So-and-So, take your clothes and let us go to bring her.' She said, 'No, in the name of God I won't.' The second wife said the same. Now he went to his (first) wife and said, 'O mother of So-and-So, bring the best of your clothes, and let us go to bring her.' She said, 'Yes, in the name of God, I will.'

9. She went and brought the clothes and went with him, dressed her and brought her from behind the pile of stones to her husband. She asked, 'Why this, my brother?' He said, 'In the name of God, my sister, the right is against your husband and not against me.' Then they spread rugs for her and she went to sleep.

10. The hostess, the mistress of the tent, had a son, a hunter, who was on a hunt outside the camp. She said to her guest, 'O guest of the Merciful, my son is on a hunt. If you are awake when he comes, tell him: »Go to look for your family», but if you are sleeping, don't be afraid of him, he will sleep in your bosom in the belief that you are his mother.' When the boy came, he went to sleep in the bosom of his mother, he thought she was his mother and went to sleep.

11. Ibn Aḥyar said, 'Go to your tent, Ibn Aǧwad.' But when he came, the boy was sleeping in her bosom. He took his sword and severed the head of the boy. When the blood began to flow, she said to him, 'Oh, darken your face, this is the son of the mistress!' Now he went to the father of the boy and told him what happened. They bound the boy and placed him between the camels.

12. In the morning — may we have a good morning, we and Muhammad's people — he said to a slave, 'Boy, go to the door of your tent.' He went to the door of his tent and found that the boy was killed. The slave waited for a moment, and then said to the mistress, 'O So-and-So, go to the door of your tent.' When she went she found that he was killed. She burst out wailing. They found that the boy was killed.

Text b. ᶜAmmān.

1. hâḏa yǧázi 'iben šaᶜlân ᶜala bn-el-hêṭ. u-ᶜugum͜ma maša l-gôm sebaᶜt iyyâm maᶜ sebaᶜ layâli, ḥašš bi-dyâr 'ibn el-hêṭ. lamma ḥašš bi-dyâr 'ibn el-hêṭ w-el-gôm gaᶜadu ᶜa-s-sibîl yaᶜmalûlhum 'akel. ᶜand ma gâmu yaᶜmalu 'akel, ṭalaᶜ l-'amîr ᶜala ḏahr el- . . . tall el-ᶜâli w-naḏar bi-d-dirbîl. naḏar w-innu yšûf ha-l-bêt eš-šaᶜr el-kbîr 'alli mâ fî ᶜandu nâs. ma šâf 'illa raᶜît el-bêt mawǧûda fî.

2. gâl 'iḏa riǧaᶜ la-ǧamâᶜtu l-'amîr, u-gâl la-ǧamâᶜtu — l-ǧamâᶜa lli maᶜu lli humma l-ǧazw illi ǧazîn ᶜala sibîl yinhabu l-mâl w-el-ḥalâl u-ygattlu l-'arwâḥ

— *gallhum: ya ǧamāᶜt el-ḫêr, 'ana raǧǧâl u-widd arûḥ ᶜankum, 'aǧîb ᶜankum muddet seᶜatên 'aww ṭalâṭa 'aww el-lêla, ṭûl.*

3. *lamma lifa ᶜala l-bêt w-inn ma fî ǧêr el-bint, raᶜît el-bêt. galla: ya binit, wên 'ahl el-bêt? gâlat: yilfu. ḥašš ᶜala l-bêt u-fâtat u-faršatlu l-frâš, sawwatlu l-gahwa w-ᶜamlatlu 'akel u-širb u-ḥala, u-trayyaḥ.*

4. *ᶜugum ma trayyaḥ, gaᶜad la-l-muǧrib, w-inn ǧâyi l-ḥalâl. el-ḥalâl kbîr, yaᶜaddlu fôg ḥamist alâf, ᶜešrîn 'alf râs. ǧâ l-mᶜazzib, gâm el-mᶜazzib u-ḏabaḥlu ḏabîḥa ᶜala gadd wâǧbu w-karramu.*

5. *u-baᶜd ma karramu, gallu: ya ḏêf, gaddem ᶜa-ṭ-ṭaᶜâm. gâl el-amîr: 'ana mā-gáddem ᶜa-ṭ-ṭaᶜâm 'illa ma taᶜṭîni ṭalabi. gallu: 'ibṣir mahma ṭalabt 'aᶜṭîk, laww ṭalabt el-mâl willa l-iᶜyâl, mustaᶜidd 'ana bîha.*

6. *lamma lifa, taᶜašša bi-l-ᶜaša w-kal ez-zâd u-ḥamad 'alla. ǧâ l-'amîr eṭ-ṭâni lli hû râᶜi l-bêt, u-sahab ḥâlu râḥ bên baᶜarîn u-nâm. 'aǧa ḏ-ḏêf u-fât ᶜand el-mᶜazzba ᶜa-s-sibîl 'innu yudḫul ᶜalêha w-yāḫuḏha, ṭalabha minnu ṭalba w-haḏâka 'akramlu bîha.*

7. *baᶜd ma fât ᶜandha, ṣâr yimzaḥ maᶜha. fa-kânat 'ilha, kân . . . ǧêr nafs yaᶜni. fa-sa'alha u-sahab es-sêf ᶜalêha u-gallha: 'illa thabbrîni 'êš eṭ-ṭarîga lli ḥallâtik tiḏḥaki ᶜalayyi. gālátlu: 'ana râᶜi l-bêt hâḏa zawǧi, w-ana 'aᶜṭâni yyâk ᶜa-s-sibîl 'innak ṭalabtni minnu. fa-gallha: ya bint, ḫuḏi minni ha-l-ḫatim. el-ḫatim b-ism ben šaᶜlân, 'amîr min 'umarâ el-bilâd. u-sahab ḥâlu 'iben šaᶜlân u-daššar el-bint u-râḥ ᶜa-ǧamâᶜtu.*

8. *fa-ḏall el-ḫatim maᶜ el-bint, gallha: 'iḏa ǧâr ᶜalêkum ez-zamân, fa-tiǧu ᶜalayyi, talgûni b-'arâḏi suriyya, b-'arâḏi ᶜrâg, fâ-na mustaᶜidd 'inšalla 'inni 'asâᶜidkum ᶜala gidr asṭaṭâᶜ. fa-sahab ḥâlu huww u-gômu u-rawwahu, 'aǧu ᶜala bilâdhum.*

9. *ḏalla kull wâḥad fi bilâdu ḥatta 'inn ez-zaman ḏayyaᶜ mâl el-'amîr 'ibn el-hêṭ. lamma ḏâᶜ mâl el-'amîr ibn el-hêṭ, gallat ḥîltu w-mâ ḏalla ᶜandu min el-mâl w-el-ḥalâl 'illa baᶜîr wâḥad. fa-ḥammal el-mara w-el-ulâd u-ǧâ ydawwir, ǧâ ᶜa-bilâd eš-šâm.*

10. *lamma 'aǧa ᶜa-bilâd eš-šâm, gallha: ya bint en-nâs, la-l-'unta tabaᶜu, 'innu 'eḥna miḥtaǧîn el-ᶜumur u-ma naᶜref nâs yaᶜṭîna šî ᶜala nistagawwat fî. gālátlu: ḫuḏ ha-l-ḫatim hâḏa w-is'al ᶜan saḥbu. lamma ḥaḏ el-ḫatim u-garrâ fi bilâd eš-šâm, galûlu: hâḏa šêḫ, el-amîr 'iben šaᶜlân min 'amâra r-rwala l-kbâr. fa-ḏahab 'ilu huww u-'iᶜyâlu.*

11. *lamma 'awǧah ᶜala l-bêt, ᶜirfu l-'amîr w-istagbalu w-istarḥa fî, karramu. baᶜd ma karramu, 'aᶜṭâ bêt m-el-byût w-aᶜṭâ ḥamst ālâf râs ǧanam u-nâmu haḏîkt el-lêla, w-kânu sahranîn el-'amirên maᶜ baᶜâḏhum.*

12. *fa-rawwahat marat el-'amîr, 'alli huww ed-ḏêf, ᶜala l-bêt illi hum yaᶜṭuyyâ fa-ṭilᶜat el-mara, 'alli hî marat el-'amîr, u-gâlat la-ḏêfha 'innu 'ana 'ibni yiǧi mn-eṣ-ṣêd es-seᶜa ᶜašara 'aww es-seᶜa ḥdâᶜeš bi-l-lêl. fa-lamma 'iǧa ᶜalêki bi-l-bêt, gulîlu 'inn 'ana ruḥt ᶜa-l-bêt el-kbîr.*

13. fa-lamma 'aǧa ṭ-ṭafel, 'aww huww el-walad illi yubluǧ ᶜumru suṭṭâᶜš sana, w-wiǧid willa 'innu fî ḥurma nayme bi-l-bêt, fa-fakkar 'innha 'ummu w-šalaḥ 'awāᶜî w-nâm bi-l-frâš ᶜandha. fa-baᶜd el-'umarâ' ma sahru, ṭâl lêlhum u-twaḥḥar wagthum, sahabu ḥâlhum, kull minhum ḏahab la-manâmu.

14. lamma 'aǧa ᶜala l-manâm, wiǧid hâḏa 'innu maratu fî ǧambha šabb yubluǧ ᶜumru suṭṭâᶜš 'aww sebaṭâᶜš sana, fa-ṭabb bi-l-ḥamâs u-sahab es-sêf ᶜala sibîl 'innu yúgutlu, w-ḏarab el-walad w-innu gaṭaᶜ râsu.

15. baᶜd ma ḏabahu, haḏîč fâgat min manâmha gâlátlu: lahh ya bn-el-ḥalâl, hâḏa kân šê ḥaṭa. galla: hâḏa lli ḥasal illi 'ana ma 'adri. fa-sahab el-'amîr 'alli huww el-mᶜazzib 'iben šaᶜlân, gallu: ya bn-el-hêṭ, ḥuṭṭ el-walad wasṭ el-ᶜarab, w-inšaḷḷa yṣîr hêr. fa-gâm 'ibn el-hêṭ u-zamm el-walad u-zattu wasṭ el-ᶜarab u-nâm bi-frâšu ḥatta ṭalaᶜ en-nahâr.

16. lamma ṭalaᶜ en-nahâr, bagga l-gahwa l-'amîr 'iben šaᶜlân ᶜa-s-sibîl 'innu l-ḥuṭṭâr itmurr ᶜalê w-titgahwa. fa-baᶜd ma ... w-inn en-nâs šaᶜaru, b-inn el-walad magtûl, 'aww šâfu, sôlafu la-l-'amîr, fa-l-'amîr dâr ǧaḏabu ᶜa-ǧamâᶜtu, gallhum: waḷḷâhi l-ᶜaḏîm, mas'ulîn ᶜala bakrat 'abîkum. fa-traḥḥamû w-bakûlu šakûlu, w-aṭnaban ᶜalê n-niswân.

17. baᶜd ma 'aṭnaban ᶜalê n-niswân, gallhum: hâḏa 'ibni dîtu ᶜešrîn 'alf râs min el-'ibil, w-ᶜašart âlâf min el-ǧanam u-hamsîn râs min el-hêl. fa-baᶜd hâḏa ma ǧamaᶜûhun 'ilu fa-'aᶜṭâhin 'ila ḏ-dêf. lamma 'aᶜṭâhin 'ilu, gaᶜadu mudde mn-ez-zaman maᶜ baᶜaḏ u-hum ǧîrân w-aḥwân w-aḥbâb w-ashâb, iḏallu suwa w-igattlu suwa w-iǧayyšu suwa w-yᶜîšu maᶜ baᶜâḏhum el-suwa.[1]

18. lamma ṭâlat el-mudda, l-ulâd balaǧu šiddhum u-kibru. fa-ḥasal bênhum šwayye sû t-tafâhum bi-n-nisbe la-l-'awlâd 'aww el-banât, fa-raḥalu ᶜan baᶜâḏhum. lamma rḥalu ᶜan baᶜâḏhum, 'abᶜadu. haḏâka walla ᶜala dyâr suriyya ǧuwwa w-haḏâka walla ᶜa-dyâr el-ᶜirâg.

19. lamma 'abᶜadu ᶜan baᶜâḏhum, 'aǧa l-wâlid la-l-'awlâd u-gallhum: ya wlâdi 'innu hâḏa šê kân ǧarîb 'innu hâḏa 'eḥna kunna ᶜand el-'amîr w-eḥna lâzim kunna ndawwir ᶜa-l-banât, 'aww nâhuḏ el-banât ... el-'amîr.

20. fa-kân 'ibnu z-zǧîr muhṭi ᶜa-banât el-'amîr. fa-gatal 'ibnu w-baᶜaṭ râsu maᶜ el-ᶜabd 'ila l-'amîr 'iben šaᶜlân. gallu l-'amîr 'iben šaᶜlân: hâḏa mû kifâya. gallu: 'aᶜṭîni ṭnên. fa-baᶜaṭlu ṭnên. baᶜaṭlu ṭ-ṭnên, gallu: muš kifâya. gallu: ya 'amîr, mâli hîle ᶜala sidâd hâḏa.

21. fa-tnâfasu l-ǧihatên u-tgâwam el-ḥarb bênhum u-baᶜd ḏâlik gâmu ᶜala sibîl yitgâḏu ᶜand el-'umarâ' eṭ-ṭânîn ᶜa-s-sibîl kull waḥad yaᶜrif ḥaggu 'êš hû. fa-ᶜand ma lifu ᶜand 'amîr mn-el-'umarâ', fa-tgâḏu ḥagighum u-tnâgaḏu ḥagîthum, fa-'aᶜṭa l-ḥagg la-l-'amîr 'alli huwwe gaddam maratu la-l-'amîr eṭ-ṭâni, w-inn hû râh ᶜa-l-faḏel. w-es-salâm ᶜalêkum.

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[1] Anacoluthon, i.e., el- ... suwa (?); however, the text is here very fluent.

Translation of text *b*.

1. Ibn Ša°lân was on a raid against Ibn el-Hêṭ. When his men had marched seven days and seven nights, they arrived at the territory of Ibn el-Hêṭ. When they arrived at the territory of Ibn el-Hêṭ, they set themselves to cook food. While they began to cook food, the emir ascended a high hill and looked around with a telescope. Looking around he saw a big tent, but there were no people around it. The only one whom he saw was the mistress of the tent.

2. When the emir came back to his men, he said to them — the men who were with him, the raiders, who were on a raid to rob property and cattle, and to fight people — he said to them, 'Comrades, I shall go alone and stay away for a couple of hours, or maybe the whole night.'

3. When he came to the tent, there was nobody but the girl, the mistress of the tent. He asked her, 'Girl, where are the people of the tent?' She said, 'They will come.' Now he entered the tent; she came in, spread rugs for him, made coffee, made food, drink, and a good place for him, and he took his rest.

4. When he had taken his rest, he stayed there until the sunset, and then saw the cattle coming. The herd was big, he estimated its number more than five thousand, twenty thousand. The lord of the tent came and slaughtered for him according to the rules of hospitality, and received him with friendship.

5. When he had received him with friendship, he said to him, 'Guest, come to eat.' The emir said, 'I do not come to eat if you will not give me what I ask.' He said to him, 'Whatever you ask, I shall give it to you, be it property or members of the family, I am prepared to give it.'

6. Now he came to eat the supper, ate bread and thanked God. The other emir, the lord of the tent, then went to sleep among the camels, but the guest went to the mistress to sleep with her and to take her, for he had asked this and the lord of the tent had given her to him.

7. After having come to her he started flirting with her. But she was not willing, and he asked her, threatening her with the sword, 'You must tell me on what ground you have been ridiculing me.' She said to him, 'The lord of the tent is my husband, and he gave me to you because you asked him for me.' Now he said to her, 'Girl, take this ring from me.' In the ring there was the name of Ibn Ša°lân, one of the emirs of the country. Then Ibn Ša°lân went and left the girl and went to his men.

8. So the ring was left to the girl. He had said to her, 'If the times become difficult for you, come to me, you will find me in Syria or in Iraq, and I am ready, God willing, to help you as much as I can.' Then he got off, he and his men, and they returned to their territory.

9. Now they all remained in their domains, until the times became difficult and emir Ibn el-Hêṭ lost his property. When emir Ibn el-Hêṭ's property was lost, his conditions grew worse, and (at last) he had neither property nor cattle left except one camel. Now he took his wife and children along, started wandering and came to Syria.

10. When he came to Syria, he said to his wife, 'Daughter of respected people, we are in a miserable condition, and we do not know people who could give us something which we might live on.' She said to him, 'Take this ring and ask for its owner.' When he took the ring and had it read in Syria, they said to him, 'This belongs to a sheikh, emir Ibn Šaᶜlân, one of the great sheikhs of the Rwala.' Now he went to him with his family.

11. When he approached the tent, the emir recognized him, came to meet him, asked him to make himself comfortable, and received him with friendship. After having received him with friendship he gave him a tent and five thousand sheep. When people went to sleep that evening, the two emirs entertained themselves far into the night together.

12. When the wife of the emir — that one who was a guest — went to the tent which had been given them, the wife of the (other) emir came to say to her guest, 'My son will come from the hunt at ten or eleven o'clock at the night. When he comes to you to the tent, tell him that I have gone to the big tent.'

13. When the boy, or actually he was a youth, sixteen years of age, came and found that there was a woman sleeping in the tent, he thought she was his mother, took off his clothes, and went to sleep on the mattress beside her. After having spent the time far into the night the emirs finished their evening party, left and both went to their lodgings.

14. When Ibn el-Hêṭ came to his lodgings, he found that there was a young man, sixteen or seventeen years old, beside his wife. He got furious, drew his sword to kill him, smote the boy and severed his head.

15. When he had killed the boy, his wife woke up from her sleep and said to him, 'Oh no, you good man, this was a mistake.' He said to her, 'This happened only because I did not know.' Now the emir, the lord of the tent, Ibn Šaᶜlân, said to him, 'Ibn el-Hêṭ, take the boy amidst the Arabs, and, God willing, that will turn to good.' So Ibn el-Hêṭ bound the boy, placed him amidst the Arabs, and slept on his mattress until sunrise.

16. At sunrise emir Ibn Šaᶜlân left coffee so that the guests might call on him and have coffee. When the people found that the boy was killed, they told the emir, but the emir turned his anger against his men, and said to them, 'By Almighty God, you are responsible, all of you.' Now they said 'May God have mercy on him', they cried and wailed for him, and the women burst into lamentations over him.

17. When the women had lamented over him, Ibn Šaᶜlân said to the people, 'The blood price of my son is twenty thousand camels, ten thousand sheep and fifty horses.' When they had collected those for him, he gave them to the guest. When he had given them to him, they lived for a space of time together as neighbours and brothers, friends and comrades, they spent time together, fought together, raided together, and lived together with each other.

18. When this space of time had elapsed, the children grew and reached maturity. Now some misunderstanding arose between them concerning the sons and daughters, and they moved away from each other. When they moved away from each other, they drew away very far from each other. One turned to the regions of inner Syria, and the other turned to Iraq.

19. When they had drawn away from each other, the father (Ibn el-Hêṭ) came to his children and said, 'My children, it was something uncommon that we were living with the emir. We should have sought the emir's daughters in marriage.'

20. Now the youngest son had offended against the daughters of the emir, and he killed his son and sent his head with a slave to emir Ibn Šaᶜlân. Emir Ibn Šaᶜlân said, 'This is not enough; give me two.' So he sent him two. But when he sent him two, he said, 'This is not enough.' Now he answered, 'Emir, I am not able to give that much.'

21. Now the two began to quarrel, and a war broke out between them. Thereafter they went to law before other emirs that each one of them would know his right. When they went to an emir demanding their rights and presenting their conflicting claims, he judged in favour of the emir who had first given his wife to the other emir. So he (Ibn el-Hêṭ) came out as the winner. And peace be upon you.

PHONETICS AND PHONEMICS

Consonants. As a whole, the dialects spoken in Belqā' are very uniform in the pronunciation of consonants; in fact, the inventory of consonant phonemes given by CLEVELAND is exactly the same for both main groups, *bəgûl* and *yigûl*.[1] There is, however, some differences regarding the variants of *qāf* and *kāf*. This is not confined to the changing proportions in the distribution of *k* and *č* in different local dialects and in different speakers; there is also a major difference, viz. the palatalized *ǧ* variant of *g* in the *yigûl*-group.[2]

[1] CLEVELAND, p. 57.

[2] This variant is used in the dialects of Central and Northern (including Eastern) Arabia, cf. ALBERT SOCIN, Diwan aus Centralarabien. Hrsg. von Hans Stumme. Bd.

The present texts are illustrative of the development towards suppression of the $č$ variant of $kāf$. Thus, there is only one occurrence of $č$ in text b, $hadič$ $b15$, while text a shows several instances of this variant: in the sing. 2. feminine suffix $-ič$, viz. $'awāᶜič$ $a8$, $ehdûmič$ $a8$, $ğôzič$ $a9$, $hudnič$ $a10$, $yih-sâbič$ $a10$, and $bâbič$ $a12$, in the feminine demonstrative pronoun $hadîče$ $2 × a8$, and in the verb $rič(i)b$ $a1$, $a3$. The speaker of text b seems to have suppressed $č$ in order to 'elevate' his speech in a formal situation; he used $č$ when speaking to his friends after the recording. In text a, on the other hand, $č$ occurs consistently in the contiguity of i. The only exception here is $balki$ $a4$, possibly due to its Turkish origin.[1]

Syllable. In some cases a non-final syllable of the form CaC becomes CCa, viz. when the closing consonant of the syllable is one of the consonants $ğ$, $ḥ$, h, ($ḫ$, $ᶜ$). This feature is not consistent, and often it is impossible to be certain whether the syllable is open or closed, e.g. $gahwa$/ $ghawa$ a passim, $b4$, $gah-waği$/$ghawaği$ $a6$, $a7$, and $titgahwa$/$titghawa$ $b16$. The most clear instances of an open syllable are $yğázi$ $b1$, $er-rḥamân$ $a7$, $a10$, and $halak$ $a10$, whereas in $maḥram$ $a2$ and $'ahl$ $b3$ the syllable is clearly closed.

The dialect described shares this phenomenon with the Central and Northern (including Eastern) Arabian dialects, where the consonants $ḫ$ and $ᶜ$ also behave similarly to $ğ$, $ḥ$ and h.[2] In the present texts such syllables remain closed: $'aḫyar$ $2 × a1$, $a5$, $2 × a6$, $a8$, and $šaᶜlân$ b passim, but on the ground of so few instances these consonants cannot be regarded as behaving differently from $ğ$, $ḥ$ and h in these texts.

Emphasis. The sing. masc. and pl. forms of the demonstrative pronoun $hâḍ(a)$, $haḍâk(a)$, and $haḍôl(a)$ are emphatic in both texts. This feature is common in Bedouin dialects,[3] but also occurs sporadically elsewhere, e.g., in the dialect of the Druzes of Western Galilee.[4]

1—3, Leipzig 1900—01. — Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Classe der kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Bd. 19; passim, and T. M. JOHNSTONE, Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies, London 1967. — London Oriental Series, Vol. 17; pp. 31f. In my recordings this variant occurs sporadically in the $yigûl$-dialects of Belqā', most often in the word $ğibli$ 'southern'.

[1] In Ḥōrân, $belče$ is the more usual variant, but $belke$ also occurs, see J. CANTINEAU, Les parlers arabes du Ḥōrân. Notions générales. Grammaire. Paris 1946. — Collection linguistique de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, T. 49; p. 118.

[2] SOCIN, Diwan, Bd. 3, p. 206; J. CANTINEAU, Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient. — Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales 2 (1936), pp. 1—118; 3 (1937), pp. 119—237; see pp. 167—170; see also JOHNSTONE, pp. 6f.

[3] FISCHER, pp. 77—79.

[4] HAIM BLANC, Studies in North Palestinian Arabic. Linguistic Inquiries Among the Druzes of Western Galilee and Mt. Carmel. Jerusalem 1953. — Oriental Notes and Studies publ. by the Israel Oriental Society, No. 4; p. 57. In my recordings from Lower Galilee it occurs only in the small Moslem villages of Sahl el-Baṭṭôf, e.g. in el-Bᶜêne,

GRAMMAR

Pronouns. The following forms of the personal pronouns and suffixes occur in these texts: sing. 1. *'ana, -i/-y, -ni*; sing. 2. fem. *'inti, -ič/-ik/-ki* (*k* 'corrected' for *č*); sing. 3. masc. *hú/huww/huwwe, -u/-e* (in *sawwale* 2 × *a3*, *ᶜaddille a7*), after a vowel zero; sing. 3. fem. *hî, -ha/-a* (in *galla a4, b3*, but *gallha a8*); pl. 1. *'ehna, -na*; pl. 2. masc. *-kum*; pl. 3. masc. *hum/humma, -hum*; pl. 3. fem. *-hun/-hin*.[1]

The demonstrative pronoun *ḏálik b21* is apparently a learned borrowing; as regards the form *'alli* of the relative pronoun (*b1, b12, b21*, but *illi b2, b12, b13*), it also appears elsewhere in my recordings of the *yigûl*-group in Belqā' side by side with (')*illi*, and may be genuinely dialectal. In text *b*, a curious feminine form appears, viz. *haḏîkt b11*, most probably due to the correction of the dialectal *haḏîč(e)*, and construed with the following word as a st.cstr. form.

Substantives. The feminine st.abs. suffix is *-a/-e*, but *-a* is considerably more usual here than in the Palestinian dialects spoken west of the Jordan. The broken plural forms *'arwâḥ b2, 'awlâd b18, b19, w-aḥwân w-aḥbâb w-aṣḥâb b17* must be regarded as 'corrections', since *ulâd b18* and *wlâdi b19* also occur; besides, the hypercorrect *'aḥwân* for *'iḥwân* is an unmistakable sign of a classicizing tendency.

Verbs. There is only one certain 'correction' of a verbal form in these texts, viz. *'awǧah b11* for *'ôǧah*, whereas forms like *taᶜašša b6* and *taᶜallalu a7* (for *it-*) are common in words whose first radical is *ᶜayin*. The word 'to come' occurs in different forms: *ǧâ b4, b6*, 2 × *b9, 'iǧa b12*, (')*aǧa* 2 × *a2, a5*, 2 × *a8*, 2 × *a10, a11, b13, b14, b19*; imperf. *yiǧi b12, tiǧu b8* (in my other recordings also *yîǧi*); the imperfect of *'aḥaḏ* is *'âḥuḏ a8, nâḥuḏ b19*, the imperative *ḥuḏ b10, ḥuḏi a8, b7*; the words *'akal* and *'aḥaḏ* lose their first radicals easily after a vowel: *mā-kálit a7, lamma ḥaḏ b10*, even *w-kal b6* (cf. *mā-gáddem b5*).

In some verbs the vowel of the imperfect prefix is exceptional, e.g. *talgûni b8* (for the expected *tilgûni* or *tlagûni*) and *tuḥtufi* (imperf. VIII, sing. 3. fem., for the expected *tiḥtfi*). The perf. I of the verb *ḏall* appears in form *ḏalla* 2 × *b9*, as if perf. II from *ḏly*.

Negation. The negative afformative *-š* occurs only once, *muš b20*, used with great emphasis. This is seen by its climactic use in the context: *mû kifâya* 'this is not enough', *muš kifâya* '(even) this is not enough'.

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see my Lower Galilean Arabic. An Analysis of Its Anaptyctic and Prothetic Vowels with Sample Texts. — St. Or. XXXII, Helsinki 1965; text 4, pp. 134ff.

[1] In my other recordings of this dialect group *-h* after a vowel in sing. 3. masc. suffix is also distinctly heard, and the pl. 1. appears in form *ḥǝnna*.

CLASSICISMS IN THE LEXICON

The lexicon of text *a* is entirely dialectal, but text *b* contains several 'corrections' and words borrowed from the literary language. Such are *ᶜa-s-sibîl b* passim (modified towards the dialect), *mahma b5*, *zawǧi b7* ('corrected' for *ǧôzi*, cf. *a9*), *'umarâ' b7*, *b13*, *2 × b21* ('corrected' for *'umara*), *aṣṭaṭâᶜ c8* (a learned borrowing, wholly emphatic, therefore also *â* for *î*), *'unṭa b10*, *ma 'adri b15* (dialectal?)[1], *ᶜala bakrat 'abîkum b16*, *sû t-tafâhum b18*, *bi-n-nisbe la-l-'awlâd b18*.

CLASSIFICATION

In these texts no instance of the imperfect with *b-* is found. Thus they must be classified as belonging to the *yigûl*-group, spoken in Belqā' primarily by the Bedouins, but appearing also among the recently settled nomads.[2] The form of imperf. ind. (*b-* vs. *y-*) can be regarded as the most important distinctive feature between the Syro-Palestinian sedentary dialects and the nomadic dialects of Northern Arabia. Another hallmark which these texts, although inconsistently, have in common with the Northern and Central Arabian dialect group, is the change of the closed non-final syllable CaC into CCa when the closing consonant is *ḫ*, *ǧ*, *ḥ*, *ᶜ*, or *h*.

In other respects the language of these texts does not differ from the sedentary Balgâwi (*bəgûl*) to a noticeable degree. Among the different variations of the *yigûl*-group in Belqā' it represents the variety spoken by the recently settled nomads. Text *a* is plain colloquial, while text *b* shows a typical modern development: it has preserved the essential structure of the *yigûl*-group, but the lexicon contains borrowings, some forms are 'corrected' through a phonemic modification, and the phonology is influenced by the tendency to suppress the *č* variant of *kāf*.

[1] Cf. MUSIL, p. 670: *jâ flân ana mâ-dri waš allâh jaktob ᶜaleyyi.*
[2] CLEVELAND, pp. 56f.