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NOTES ON CLASSICIZATION IN MODERN  
COLLOQUIAL ARABIC

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## Introduction

Modern developments in Arab society have opened a new phase in the problem caused by the dichotomy of Arabic. Although the classical language has become closer and thus better known to the average citizen through the modern communication media, the problem is growing increasingly acute, as it becomes indispensable for everybody to know the standard literary language.

The increasing contact of Classical Arabic and the local dialects has given rise to a variation of styles between the two levels. The traditional dichotomy is growing less clear-cut; in addition to the vertical style spectrum there is a horizontal development towards koineization of the dialects. The variation in style is, of course, vast, but a general classification in broad outlines is possible. A practical division is made by HAIM BLANC, who uses the following terminology:

1. '*plain colloquial*' refers to any local dialect, within which the speaker may select 'informal' or 'mildly formal' features;
2. '*koineized colloquial*' is any plain colloquial into which leveling devices have been more or less liberally introduced;
3. '*semi-literary*' or '*elevated*' colloquial is any plain or koineized colloquial that is classicized beyond the 'mildly formal' range;
4. '*modified classical*' is Classical Arabic with dialectal admixtures; and
5. '*standard classical*' is any of a variety of Classical Arabic styles essentially without dialectal admixtures.<sup>1</sup>

Of these variations, the 'semi-literary' or 'elevated' colloquial is often called by the Arabs *luġat el-muta'allimîn*. This social designation gives expression to one side of its character; it is essentially the variety of colloquial used by the educated, but also the variety demanded by the unwritten accepted standards in certain 'formal' situations. The use of this style also depends on the subject. In a conceptual conversation the 'elevated' colloquial is the most natural style, also used by the uneducated though often unsuccessfully.

<sup>1</sup> HAIM BLANC, *Style Variations in Spoken Arabic: A Sample of Interdialectal Educated Conversation*. — *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*, ed. Charles A. Ferguson, Harvard Middle Eastern Monograph Series III, pp. 79–161. Cambridge, Mass., 1960; p. 85.

Because of the heterogeneity of the 'semi-literary' or 'elevated' colloquial it is impossible to give a detailed characterization of general application. The substantial problem in fact lies elsewhere. It concerns the relation between the classical language and the dialect, not so much their fluctuating quantitative proportions in this style variety as the nature of the classical influence on the dialect. One method of investigating this influence is to analyze a given amount of material, systematically arranging the departures from the local dialect.

For this analysis I have selected three Palestinian Arabic texts from the material which I collected during summer 1961 in Galilee. Text *a* is part of a conversation of educated young Moslem men, text *b* is the beginning of a description of social welfare problems, given by a social functionary, text *c* is an account of the sights in a historic church. The dialect used by the speakers of text *a* is *qurawi*, while texts *b* and *c* represent the *madani* type of the local dialect.

## Texts and translations

### *Text a. Kofr Manda.*

The speakers (F = Faḍl, aged 22, teacher, S = Şâleḥ, aged 27, secretary of the Local Council, M = Muşṭafa, aged 21, student at a Teachers' College, Y = Yûsef, aged 28, farmer, U = °Umar, aged 23, teacher, H = Ḥalîl, aged 20, secondary school education, B = Brahîm, aged 22, farmer, Z = Zakiyye, aged 7, all Moslems,) are sitting in an olive grove outside the village and discussing different problems of the locality. The atmosphere is relaxed, and the presence of a microphone does not disturb the speakers. Consequently, the language is almost purely colloquial; most deviations from the dialect are only 'mildly formal', but occasionally more formal classicisms occur.

1. F. *masa l-ḥêr ya žamâca. fi °inna °issa muškali kbîre bi-l-qarye, ḥatta mnigdar insammîha muškaltên, °awwalan, šâri° ma-lhâš, ya°ni țariq im°abbad illi țisal es-sayyarât bi-š-šita ma fišš, u-mayyi miš wâšle l-byût. ma°a l-°ilem °innu ț-țariq ma°mûle, bass biddna ta°bîd, w-el-mayyi mawzûde ktîr, lâkin ba°dha miš wâšle l-byût. w-issa biddna n°šûf mîn °ahamm, iktîr en-nâs bidžâ-dalu, eš-šâri° °ahamm na°mal bi-l-°awwal willa l-mayyi °ahamm bi-l-°awwal, u-biddna n°šûf mîn fa°lan °aww mîn ḥaqgan ya°ni °ahamm. šâleḥ matałan, šu ra°yak?*

2. S. *'ana ra°yi °innu l-mayyi °ahamm. lês? la-°annu l-wâḥad bi-l-°awwal buqşur el-bêt min žuwwa, miš min barra. u-kamân el-ma' ḥayawi bi-n-nisbe la-kull šaḥş, la-°annu bidûn el-ma' ma ba°îš °ayy insân, sawa ḥaywân °aww insân.*

3. F. *ṭayb, w-inte muṣṭafa maṭalan, šu bitqúl?*

M. *'ana min ra'iy 'ala 'inna nibda bi-š-šáric' ṭab'an, la-'annu š-šáric' hú 'amal hayri la-l-balad kulliyyátha, u-bifid iklír el-balad, 'aktar min mayy, la-'annu l-mayy mawzúd, 'amma š-šáric' miš mawzúd. mnigdar inmalli maṭalan, 'amma š-šáric' miš mawzúd 'abadan. bi-l-wahli maṭalan tiǵdárš tittášil ma'a 'ayy balad tání.*

4. F. *yúsef ma smi'š 'awwal el-ḥaki, ta-nšúf ráyu.*

M. *'á, šu ráyak, 'ahki, yalla! min 'ahsan? málak?*

Y. *el-žihatén imláha ya'ni. 'in kán el-mayy willa š-šáric', mašlúh la-l-ḥaya fi-l-qarye.*

F. *mín 'ahamm 'eḥna biddna.*

5. U. *la', 'ana mwáfiq ma'a š-šéh muṣṭafa, li-'annu š-šáric' bikún šakel širyán la-l-žisem, w-el... šáric' hú širyán la-l-balad, li-'annu maṭalan nufrud 'innu bi-š-šita mirid wáhad, bimrad bimút 'ala d-darb u-hinni ḥámlinu 'ala s-sillam. lamma bikún šáric', bivaššlú b-'aqrab waqet mumken, u-bižúz ya'ni yišfa mn-el-marad.*

6. H. *'ana baḍinn 'innu l-mayy 'ahamm mn-eš-šáric' 'inna. 'intu btácarfu 'innu bidún mayyi ma fišš insán bi'šš, lá ḥaywán wa-la 'insán wa-la 'ayy... ya'ni ḥaya 'ala wiž el-'ard. u-tšúfu nnu fi ša'ubát 'ala kull el-'aháli, matalan mart el-wáhad 'aww bintu 'aww uhtu, bitrúh 'ala l-'én u-tahmilha 'iddet marrát kull yóm ya'ni w-háda 'iši ša'eb. lázim 'eḥna na'mal fi kull... , nes'a fi kull himmetna ta-nwaššel l-mayyi la-byútna, w-ba'dén 'iši tanawi, š-šáric'.*

7. F. *'awwal 'iši tidḥakúš 'alayyi ya žamá'a. 'ana miš ma'a kull el-žamíc, ya'ni la l-mayyi muḥimme wa-la š-šáric', hayy bass muškali n-nás 'ámlinha. 'awwal ši 'eḥna 'ayšín u-šár 'ilha hayy kofr manda yumken 'aktar min — biddnáš inkattir — 'alf sini, w-'ayšín bala mayyi wášle l-byút u-bala šáric'. bass šu 'issa? \*\*\*1 tanna náži nžib eḥžár u-nuršuf u-nit'ab ḥálna w-na'raq, u-ba'dén inžib mawasír u-nidfin bi-l-'ard u-nit'ab, kullu la-léš? miš 'ayšín ya'ni hék willa 'éš?*

8. M. *šáleḥ!*

S. *la-la', ḥalli braḥím yaḥki.*

M. *šahúh, ya šéh ibrahím!*

B. *'ana šu baqúl? baqúl 'innu ya'ni l-mašrú' illi mláh, 'illi n-nás ibtin-dáfi' fi-l-'awwal.*

9. M. *'ana baḍinn 'innu š-šáric' 'ahsan 'iši, la-'annu bižúz ya'ni, w-akíd bižúd min 'iqtisadiyyát el-balad, la-'annu mantuzátha kullha btitsahhal biḥár-žúha barra 'ida kánat šatawiyye 'aww šefiyye. ba'dén min kull el-žihát btitsahhal 'umúrha. faḍḍal ya... .*

10. S. *el-'ustád fadel 'akíd ma ḥakáš min žadd, ya'ni bišírš 'inna l-qarye*

<sup>1</sup> One word missing because of uncertain audition.

ttamm *ca*-ma hiyye. ba<sup>c</sup>dên bî nuqta la-*c*umar. *c*umar qâl 'innu š-šâri<sup>c</sup> šarayîn la-l-balad. 'ida kân eš-šâri<sup>c</sup> šarayîn, bikûn mašrû<sup>c</sup> el-mayy qalb ib-hayy eš-šarayîn, fa-bidûn el-qalb bimšîš eš-šarayîn. 'iši lâni kamân, qâl b-izyâtt el-maḥşûl. el-mayy, fî rayy ikîr, u-b-waşlet er-rayy minzîd el-maḥaşîl. mazbûṭ eš-šâri<sup>c</sup> b-ahâmmyye, bass el-mayy 'aktar minha.

11. F. ya *c*ammi, hâd 'intu btaḥku min žiha hayaliyye, 'iši hayâli. lâkin el-fa<sup>c</sup>-lan 'innu 'aḥsan la ykûn šâri<sup>c</sup> wa-la mayy. lês? 'issa biddi 'atbet el-šumla l-qašire 'innu 'aḥsan ma ykunš. w-illi biḥebb 'izayân, yiqûl la', u-yiṭbet bass. 'issa lês na<sup>c</sup>mal šâri<sup>c</sup>? badâl ma nžîb eḥžâr u-nurşuf šâri<sup>c</sup>, minzîb eḥžâr li-l-buna, li-l-*c*amâr, nibni fihin. iṣawwar laww kull yôm niqta<sup>c</sup> mn-el-žabel nitfe 'uww inžîb eḥžâr, ba<sup>c</sup>d malyôn sini bittâmmiš *c*inna ḥžâr. fa-... enwaffer hayy kullha, balâš na<sup>c</sup>mal šâri<sup>c</sup>.

12. nirža<sup>c</sup> *c*ala l-mayyi. 'issa n-nâs bitmalli w-bti<sup>c</sup>ab u-btišrab. wa-laww ruḥna 'issa w-maddêna mawasîr, kull wâḥad bišîr yiṭhammam talaṭ marrât bi-l-yôm u-bišîr ikabkîb u-ahîrta yumken bthluṣ el-mayy u-nitjallab. fa-hêk *c*ayšîn, hêk *c*ayšîn, la-lês ha-t-ta<sup>c</sup>ab, ta<sup>c</sup>ab el-bâl 'issa?

13. U. el-mazbûṭ 'innu 'iši maḏḥak 'innu biqûl bittâmmiš *c*inna ḥižâra, lâkin 'ida naḡar 'ila š-šamâl, bilâqi 'innu kull eš-žabel eḥžâra, bass ḥažar. u-l-mis'ali 'issa biddi 'abḥaṭ, 'innu mîn 'afdaliyyet . . . , eš-šâri<sup>c</sup> 'aww el-mayy. el-mayy ana bafakker 'innu 'issa mitwaqqa<sup>c</sup> ladaynâ w-mniğdar 'issa nišrab bi-'ayya wasîle. eš-šâri<sup>c</sup>: 'issa bi-š-šita mi<sup>c</sup>tâzal *c*inna kull 'iši.

14. F. 'inte ya šêḥ šâleḥ, 'inte btišğil bi-l-mahamme hayy. yumken 'innu qarîb inžîb el-mawasîr, ba<sup>c</sup>riš *c*âd, qabl el-intihâbât willa ba<sup>c</sup>d el-intihâbât, 'êš ráyak?

15. S. walla l-ḥaқиqa miš *c*ârfin wêmta. bass 'eḥna, fišš mašâri 'issa fi-l-waqt el-ḥâḡer, biddna na<sup>c</sup>mal hêka ya<sup>c</sup>ni *c*ešrîn ḥamsîn nêra, šayf, u-nižma<sup>c</sup> hâda l-mablag u-mništri fi. ba<sup>c</sup>dên 'ažâna ḥabar 'innu l-mawasîr bitigla ba<sup>c</sup>dên taq-rîban *c*ešrîn fi-l-mayye. yârêl kân *c*inna mašâri w-ištarêna. ba<sup>c</sup>dên el-'ustâḡ *c*umar ḥaka 'innu ya<sup>c</sup>ni dayman biliff la-nafs en-nuqta, 'innu l-mayy w-eš-šâri<sup>c</sup>. eš-šâri<sup>c</sup> dayman mitwaffer, na<sup>c</sup>am fi-š-šita yumken žum<sup>c</sup>a žum<sup>c</sup>atên inatṭi, wa-lâkin ġêrha biqtá<sup>c</sup>š el-murûr. 'amma l-mayyi dayman fî ḥaži.

16. F. 'issa ya žamâ<sup>c</sup>a sme<sup>c</sup>na 'arâ'i ktîr, biddna ntšûf râ'i há'i ṭ-ṭafle z-zġîre lli bta<sup>c</sup>riš 'iši. šu 'ismik 'inti?

Z. zakîyye.

F. zakîyye? qulîli ya zakîyye mîn 'aḥsan bi-l-'awwal ya<sup>c</sup>malu, š-šâri<sup>c</sup> willa ya<sup>c</sup>malu l-mayy? quli ya zakîyye, el-*c*ên ba<sup>c</sup>ide *c*anku willa qarîbe?

Z. qarîbe.

F. ṭayyib, 'inti bti<sup>c</sup>allam bi-l-midrasi?

Z. 'á.

F. fî *c*intku bi-l-midrasi mayy?

Z. la'.

F. *šu 'isem m'allimtku?*

Z. *sahwa.*

F. *sahwa? sahwa willa salma? tayyib, mîn 'ahsan, mayy willa š-šâri?*

17. F. *bî ši biqûl na'mal maktabi, u-bî 'iši biqûl biddna na'mal maṭalan sāḥa la-l-'awlād, u-bî 'iši biqull ibnūki. maṭalan 'ida lammēna l-mašâri, kēf biddha tarhan ikûn lammha?*

Y. *'ana mir\_raqiy, 'ala 'arḍ, ya'ni, badâl ma ya'malu 'ala l-walad 'aww matalan 'a-n-nafar lîrtên.*

F. *sayyid ḥalîl!*

H. *'ana bfakker bi-t-tadrîž. daraže 'ûla lâzim 'inn nihtamm fi-l-midrasi 'inna. miṭel ma ḥaka yûsef, 'ana bfakker 'iši ḥaṭa. lâzim inlimm 'ala . . . fi nâs ya'ni ma-lhinnîš lâ 'arḍ wa-la 'iši wa-la 'amlâk. u-l-ba'ad el-gâlib, ya'ni miš gâlib, tiğdar itqûl 'arb'în ḥams'în fi-l-miyye 'ilhin miṭik, yumken miṭên 'amlâk, lâzim inlimm mašâri 'ala 'adad el-'anfus 'aww 'ala n-nafar. ba'dên ši tâni, 'ana bfakker lâzim daraže 'ûla na'mal fi-l-qarye, huwa, fi naqs 'inna kbîr fi-l-madrasi, huwa naqs el-guraf. ba'dên ibnūki lâzim ikûn fi la-'annu basma' min ba'ad el-m'allimîn 'innu fi tullâb buq'udu 'ala kull bank 'arba' tullâb ḥamis tullâb. u-hâda 'iši miš imliâḥ. u-ba'dên fi basma' 'innu fi bnūki mkassara w-ba'dên buq'udu 'ala 'aqall min bnūki.*

18. F. *tayyib 'issa 'inte râyak ya šêḥ šâleḥ.*

S. *walla 'ana miš ma'a yûsef, la-'annu miš tarîqa 'innu bass šaḥb el-milik, la-'annu byûžed 'es-sâ'a 'indi miṭik, 'amma ba'dên, ba'd išwayy ma yširš 'indi miṭik, 'aww ma 'indiš ulād maṭalan. baqtariḥḥa 'ala miṭel ma gâl ḥalîl: kull nafar yidfa' illi 'alé, la-'annu 'ana râyeh maṭalan yawman mâ 'akûn 'ili wlād w-ili 'ihwe w-ili . . . ya'ni raḥ a'allimhin fi-l-mustaqbal. fa-tarîq el-milik, bis-wâš ya'ni 'innu bass el-mallakîn. ba'dên 'iši tâni. baqtariḥ 'innu hinni lli mutaqqafîn hōna yqûmu fi hamm la-ha-l-'iši w-šažž'u n-nâs.*

19. M. *tayyib, 'ana ma'ak ya sayyid šâleḥ. wa-lâkin el-mutaqqafîn 'inna 'issa qlâl u-bass fazz waḥad, buntšu 'ala râshum.*

20. F. *ya žamâ'a, 'issa fi muškali kbîre. 'eḥna qā'edîn hōn u-šayfîn duḥḥân iklîr wên ma kân. fi nâs biqûlu 'innu šurb ed-duḥḥân ḥarâm u-fi nâs bi'ār-ḍūhin. fa-mîn biḥebb yiddi ra'yu fi hayy el-muškali? 'in'šûf yûsef bi-l-'awwal.*

21. Y. *'ana zalami baqûl 'innu d-duḥḥân ḥarâm. 'awwal 'iši muḍârr<sup>1</sup> la-l-zi-sem. ba'dên nahsar min-dûn naksab. w-ana baqûl hêk.*

22. M. *'ana mir\_raqiy bikûn gâlaṭ 'innu ḥarâm. bass makrûḥ kureh ya'ni, kân izrâ'etu wulla šurbu. u-hayy naşş ya'ni, 'ida byizra', byizra' 'asâs 'innu 'ayyaš 'a'yâbu, miš ḥarâm. kamân illi bišrab biṭammen bâtu w-hû za'elân, hêka. mlîḥ ed-duḥḥân, miš baṭṭâl.*

23. H. *hâda mazbûṭ, u-ma ḥadâš bigsib wâḥad 'innu ydahḥen gaşban 'annu.*

<sup>1</sup> Probably a contamination of *muḍirr* and *dârr*.

*u-bikún háda min zyádet iqtisadiyyát en-nás bidd<sup>2</sup>é yá-hi badál ma . . . balki 'ardu bitgállis jér duhhán, bidd<sup>2</sup>é minha, bistafid minha. u-ba<sup>c</sup>dén háda d-duh<sup>h</sup>hán kéf! illáqi ka-za<sup>c</sup>lán wáhad bikayyif <sup>c</sup>ala sigára.*

24. *B. yá-hi bitqulli kéf háda d-duh<sup>h</sup>hán, lákin fi ba<sup>c</sup>ad en-nás illaqihin ma<sup>c</sup>h<sup>i</sup>n-niš qirš illi yóklu fi w-bifa<sup>c</sup>ddlu innu wladu ybátu bi-l-žú<sup>c</sup> biddún 'akel u-rúh yištri <sup>c</sup>ilbet duhhán fi. lákin kéf tannu, kéf bitqulli, háda wáhad imát m-el-žú<sup>c</sup>? háda 'iši biširš háda.*

25. *F. nihtim hadit ed-duh<sup>h</sup>hán. 'ana šayf miš hami n-niqás hawlu. 'ana nafsi badah<sup>h</sup>hen u-háda šaleh bidah<sup>h</sup>haniš ya<sup>c</sup>ni, w-yúsef bidah<sup>h</sup>haniš u-lákin ya<sup>c</sup>ni laww nóhud minláqi tis<sup>c</sup>in fi-l-miyye mn-en-nás bidah<sup>h</sup>hanu ma<sup>c</sup>a innu l-miyye fi-l-miyye biqúlu miš imlîh.*

26. *F. 'issa fi muškali fa<sup>c</sup>lan nawb li-l-madrasi ya<sup>c</sup>ni. 'ahamm sabab — sme<sup>c</sup>t wahad ya<sup>c</sup>ni biqúl, yumken <sup>c</sup>umar, biqúl innu 'ahamm sabab — la-'inhi-fád mustáwa t-ta<sup>c</sup>lím hú <sup>c</sup>adam <sup>c</sup>arb el-'atfál. u-bižúz el-'ustád muštafa fi dár el-mu<sup>c</sup>allimîn bigdar yanfina fikra, šahîh willa la'?*

27. *M. 'ana min ra'iy u-<sup>h</sup>asab tazáríb el-basíta lli <sup>c</sup>indi bass, <sup>h</sup>asab ma ta<sup>c</sup>al-lamná hna fi-d-dawra <sup>c</sup>ala innu l-qišás mamnú<sup>c</sup>. lês? la-'annu l-qišás bi<sup>c</sup>allim et-tálib <sup>c</sup>ala innu ma yit<sup>c</sup>allámš 'iši 'abadan, wa-la ykún fi 'ayya <sup>c</sup>amalim má 'illa fi-l-qišás.*

28. *S. fi dáhira w-fi ya<sup>c</sup>ni farq bèn et-ta<sup>c</sup>lím fi zaman intidáb u-ta<sup>c</sup>lím et-yóm. hón et-ta<sup>c</sup>lím fi zaman intidáb kán 'arqa, ya<sup>c</sup>ni kán et-tálim <sup>c</sup>matalan fi-š-saff er-rábi<sup>c</sup> yiktib yigra šu biddak, 'inglîzi yahki <sup>c</sup>ál. lês? bass kánu yúdurbu fi zaman intidáb, ma innu fi-z-zaman el-háder ma fišš <sup>c</sup>arb, baláqi walad bihal-lis et-támin u-ma ba<sup>c</sup>rifš yiktib lá maktúb wa-la ba<sup>c</sup>rif yigra hatta.*

29. *F. šahîh, fi zaman intidáb, 'ana ma<sup>c</sup>ák innu t-ta<sup>c</sup>lím kán 'ahsan išwayy. 'ehna kunna n<sup>t</sup>šúfu. wa-lákin el-<sup>h</sup>aqíqa kán <sup>c</sup>adad et-tulláb qalíl, mi<sup>c</sup>tel ma bta<sup>c</sup>rif, kull wahad ba<sup>c</sup>rif. li-dálik kán et-tálib iháf šahîh min l-im<sup>c</sup>allim hatta ma kanš yurkud fi-l-hára. dayman qá<sup>c</sup>ed yudrus fi-l-bét.*

30. *F. w-issa biddnáš muškali, biddna n<sup>h</sup>arrif nukat 'aww qušaš. marra <sup>c</sup>matalan ištaret kabbút ikbír la-'immi. štarétu b-<sup>c</sup>ešrín lira. u-žit hón qultilha: hud hád kabbút imlîh. 'immi qálátli: hád gáli w-la-lês ištaretu w-biddháš iyyá. qultilha: hád <sup>h</sup>aqqu hamis lirát, lázim tilbas fi, bihimmis, miš gáli lákin imlîh. qálat: 'ida <sup>h</sup>aqqu bass hamis lirát ya<sup>h</sup>lla balbas. ruht <sup>c</sup>ala hēfa, ba<sup>c</sup>d žum<sup>c</sup>a rže<sup>c</sup>t willa hí bitqulli: yamma<sup>1</sup> lawnak<sup>2</sup> idžiblak<sup>3</sup> 'u<sup>h</sup>ra 'arba<sup>c</sup> hamis kababît, bi<sup>c</sup>t el-kabbút ib-seba<sup>c</sup> lirát.*

31. *M. hádi qušaš qrêtha. fi kánu taláte ráhu yšammu hawa bi-nyu york, u-kán mahall manámhin fi <sup>c</sup>amára tis<sup>c</sup>in tábeq. fi yóm m-el-iyyám ráhu yšammu*

<sup>1</sup> The word used in addressing people is often repeated in the answer. Thus, father and mother often begin their answer to children with the words *yába*, *yamma/yumma*.

<sup>2</sup> = law 'innak.

<sup>3</sup> -lak is here *dativus ethicus*.



*hawa fi-l-madīne w-riḡe fi-l-masa, 'aḡa qallhin ṣaḡb el-'utél, 'innu l-kahrab bitwaqqef, fišš 'assanšér, u-hinni sāknîn ib-'aḡar ġurfe, aḡâr ġurfe. kēf biddhin isawwu? 'aww bināmu fi-l-qā'a 'aww biṭla'u maši. 'aḡu ttafaqu t-talāti, tafaqu 'innu 'awwal waḡad 'awwal talatîn tābeq iḡarref nukat, el-tāni ykammit iḡanni w-el-tālī! 'aḡar 'iši yḡarref 'iši muḡzin. tayyib, bada 'awwal waḡad, ḡall inakkīt ta-hallaṣ dōru. 'aḡa t-tāni, ṣār iḡanni 'aww iši ya'ni, hallaṣ talatîn, bada t-tālī! willa biqúl: insīt el-muflāḡ taḡet.*

*Translation of text a.*

1. F. Good evening, gentlemen. We now have a great problem in the village; actually we can say there are two problems. For one thing there is no road to the village, I mean there is no paved road by which cars might come during winter, and there are no water pipes to the houses. There is a roadbed, it is true, but it should be paved, and there is much water, but there are not yet any water pipes to the houses. Now we want to see which is more important; the people are disputing a lot over the question which is more important for us to make first, the road or the water pipes, and we want to see which is in fact, or which is really more important. Šāleḡ, for instance, what's your opinion?

2. S. My opinion is that water is more important. Why? That's because the house is always first whitewashed from inside and not from outside. Further, water is a vital condition for every individual, because no human being can live without water, no human being and no animal, there is no difference.

3. F. Well then, Muṣṭafa for instance, what do you say?

M. In my opinion we ought to begin with the road, of course, because the road is a good thing for the whole village. It is of great use for the village, greater than water, because there is water, but there is no road. For instance we can fetch water, but as for the road, it does not exist at all. For instance during the time of bad roads it is impossible to have any contact with any other locality.

4. F. Yūsef did not hear the beginning of the conversation. Let's see what he thinks.

M. Say what you think, speak by all means! Which is better? Why, what do you think?

Y. The two things are good, aren't they? Whether it is water or road, it will be useful for the life in the village.

F. But we want to know which is more important.

5. U. No, I agree with Mr. Muṣṭafa. The road is the same as the veins for

the body. The road is the veins for the village. Let us suppose, for instance, that somebody should fall ill in wintertime. He would fall ill and die on the way while people are carrying him on a litter. But when there is a road, he can be taken to hospital as quickly as possible, and the illness may be cured.

6. H. I think water is more important for us than the road. You know that no man can live without water; no animal, no man, in fact no living being on the earth. You see that it is difficult for every family, that for instance one's wife or daughter or sister must go to the spring and carry water several times every day. This is difficult indeed. We must do everything we can to get water pipes to our houses. The road is then a thing second on the list.

7. F. To begin with, don't laugh at me, gentlemen. I don't agree with anybody. I mean that neither the water nor the road is important. This is only a problem which people have made. To begin with, we are living, and although this Kofr Manda is — without any exaggeration — maybe more than one thousand years old, we have been living without water pipes in our houses and without a road. But now, what's going on? Should we now bring stones and pave the road, tire ourselves out and perspire, and then bring water pipes and bury them in the ground and get exhausted? Why should we do all this, what for? We've been living and getting on as it is now, haven't we?

8. M. Şâleḥ!

S. No no, let Brahîm speak.

M. That's right, Mr. Brahîm, please.

B. There is one thing that I want to emphasize. The better project is that which will sooner be of use to the people.

9. M. I think the road is the best one. Perhaps it will, yes, it will certainly contribute to the economy of the village, because it will be easier to transport all the products outside the village both in winter and summer time. The affairs of the village will also become easier in every way. You, please.

10. S. Mr. Faḍl certainly did not speak in earnest. It is utterly impossible that the village should be left as it is. Then there is a point which I'd like to say to ʿUmar. ʿUmar said that the road is the veins of the village. If the road is the veins, the water project is the heart in this system of blood vessels, and the veins do not run without the heart. Besides, someone spoke about the increase of output. But as regards water, the irrigation system is generally used, and when we get the irrigation we shall instantly increase the output. It is true that the road is very important, but the water project is more important.

11. F. Master, the things you are speaking about are mere fancies. But in fact it would be better to have neither road nor water project. Why that? Now I shall in just a few words prove that it is better not to have those, and

if someone wants to make objections, just say no, but he must also prove his claim. Why should we now make a road? Instead of bringing stones and building a road we must bring stones and use them to build houses. Just imagine what will happen if we every day cut a piece of the mountain and bring stones. After a million years we'll not have any stones left. Let's save all these stones, let's not make a road.

12. Let's now proceed to talk about the water project. Now the people can bring water and drink, but not without trouble. If we now set about to mount water pipes, everybody will begin to bathe three times a day and let the water run. Finally, the water may run out and we'll come to a sad end with the affair. But we are living and going along well as it is. Why should we now take so much trouble on ourselves?

13. U. it is really ridiculous to say what he said that we'll have no stones left. One need only look to the north to find that the whole mountain is of stone, nothing but stone. Now I'll consider the question which of the two should be given preference, the road or the water project. I think the water project is now about to be realized; however that may be, we now have drinking water, but as for the road, at the present everything is isolated here in wintertime.

14. F. Mr. Şâleḥ, you are working for this important thing. Is it possible to get the pipes soon? I don't know; what do you think, will it be before the election or after that?

15. S. Really we don't know when. For the time being we have no money, and now we are going to collect about twenty or fifty pounds apiece, you see, and after having collected this sum of money we'll buy the pipes. Besides, we've been informed that the pipes will before long go up about twenty per cent in price. If only we had money, we would buy them. Then Mr. ʿUmar said that the point always turns back to the same question, that about the water project and the road. The road is always passable, although in winter time maybe it is muddy for a couple of weeks, but at other times it doesn't stop the traffic. But the need of water is constant.

16. F. Now, gentlemen, after having heard many opinions we want to see what this small child thinks who doesn't know anything. What's your name?

Z. Zakiyye.

F. Zakiyye? Tell me, Zakiyye, which is better to have first, the road or the water. Tell, Zakiyye, is your home far from the spring or near it?

Z. Near.

F. Well, do you go to school?

Z. Yes.

F. Is there water in the school?

Z. No.

F. What's the name of your teacher?

Z. Salwa.

F. Salwa? Salwa or Salma? Well, which is better, water or road?

17. F. There are people who say that we should put up a library. Then there are people who say for instance that we ought to set up a kindergarten. There are also people who say that we need desks. If we, for instance, collect money, how should the collection be done?

Y. I think it should be collected according to the landed property instead of taking money, for instance, per child or per person.

F. Mr. Halil!

H. I think we should proceed gradually. In the first place we must have the charge of the school. I think that what Yûsef said is wrong. We must collect the money according to . . . there are people who don't have any landed property or any possessions at all, you see. The majority, not even the majority, you can say forty or fifty per cent, have landed property; there are maybe two hundred private farms. We must collect the money according to the number of individuals, per capita. In addition, there is one more thing in the village that we must do in the first place. There is a serious shortage in the school, and that's the shortage of classrooms. Besides, desks are also needed. Some teachers have told me that there are four or five pupils sitting at every desk. This is not good. I've also heard that desks are broken, and then they have to sit at fewer and fewer desks.

18. F. Well now, Mr. Şâleḥ, what do you think?

S. I cannot agree with Yûsef. It is not a proper way to collect the money only from landowners. For instance, I now have a farm, but after a while it may be that I'll not have it, or maybe I'll have no children. I propose it should be done just like Halil said: Everybody ought to pay his share. For instance I'll one day have children or brothers or . . . I mean I'll put them to school in the future. It is not fair to collect the money only from the landowners. Further, I propose that those people here who are educated, should take charge of these things and should encourage the people.

19. M. Well, I agree with you, Mr. Şâleḥ. But now there are only few educated people in the village, and wait till one of them speaks up, people lose their senses.

20. F. Now, gentlemen, there is a great problem. We sit here and see lots of tobacco growing everywhere. Some people say that smoking is a bad thing, and some people contradict them. Who wants now to offer his opinion in this problem? Let's first see what Yûsef says.

21. Y. I'm one of those who say tobacco is a bad thing. To begin with, it is injurious for the body. Besides, we only lose, we don't gain anything. This is what I say.

22. M. According to my opinion it is wrong to say it is a bad thing. It is only hated, as well its cultivation as smoking. It is noteworthy that if somebody grows it, he grows it in order to support his family. It's not a bad thing. Then, one can by smoking calm his mind when in bad humour, you see. Tobacco is good, not bad.

23. H. That's right. Moreover, no one is compelled by anybody to smoke against his will. Tobacco also improves the economy of the people instead of . . . perhaps only tobacco thrives in someone's soil. He gets his income from it, he benefits from it. And then, how wonderful is tobacco! You can see that when someone is in bad humour, he can quiet himself with a cigarette.

24. B. You told me, my chum, how wonderful tobacco is, but you should know that some people don't have money enough to eat, but they think it better to let their children go to bed hungry without food if only they themselves may go to buy a box of tobacco with the money. How is it possible to say as you do? Can we let somebody starve? No, this is a thing which cannot go on.

25. F. Let's close the discussion about tobacco. I see that the debate about it is not heated. I smoke myself, Şâleḥ doesn't smoke, that's true, and Yûsef also doesn't smoke, but we can say that ninety per cent of people smoke although everybody says that's not good.

26. F. Now we have a real problem concerning the school. I've heard someone say, maybe ʿUmar, that the most important reason for the fall of the level of learning is that it is not allowed to slap children. Perhaps Mr. Muş-ṭafa who is studying at the Teachers' College can offer us an opinion. Is this true or not?

27. M. On the ground of my slight experience and what we have learned on the course, my opinion is that chastising must be forbidden. Why so? Chastising teaches the pupil not to learn anything at all, by no means except by chastisement.

28. S. It is apparent that there is a difference between the learning of the mandatory time and the learning of today. The learning here was on a higher level in the time of the mandate. For instance, a pupil of the fourth class could write and read perfectly; he also spoke English well. Why this? In the time of the mandate the teachers used to slap pupils, but because nowadays it is forbidden to slap them, it is not unusual to find a boy who has finished the eighth class without being able to write a letter, not even to read.

29. F. That's true. I agree with you, that the learning was a little better. We have seen it. But as a matter of fact, the number of pupils was small as you know, everyone knows. Therefore the pupil actually used to be afraid of the teacher so that he did not run about in the village streets, but was always sitting and studying at home.

30. F. Now let's not discuss any problem. Let's tell jokes or stories. For instance, I once bought a long robe for my mother. I bought it for twenty pounds. When I came here, I said to her, 'Take this good robe.' Mother said to me, 'This is expensive. Why did you buy this?' She didn't want to have it. I said to her, 'This cost me five pounds, you must put it on, no matter, it is not expensive, but good.' She said, 'If it cost only five pounds, all right, I'll put it on.' I then went to Haifa. However it was, when I came back after a week, she said to me, 'My son, could you bring me four or five robes more. I sold the robe for seven pounds.'

31. M. This is a joke which I've read. Once there were three men who made a trip to New York. Their lodgings were in a ninety-storey building. One day they made a trip in the city. When they came back in the evening, the porter of the hotel told them that the electricity was off; the lift didn't work. Their lodgings were in the topmost room, you see. What could they do? They had either to sleep down in the lounge or to climb the stairs on foot. Now those three men decided that the first man would tell jokes for the first thirty storeys, the second would then be singing, and lastly the third man would tell something tragic. Well, the first man began and kept on telling jokes until his turn was over. Now the second man started singing or doing something else. When he at last got clear of those thirty storeys, the third man began. He said, 'I forgot the key down there.'

*Text b. Šfa eAmr.*

The text is part of an interview taped in the Office of Social Welfare. The speaker, a social functionary, Christian, aged 25, here begins a comprehensive account of his work and of the problems in the development of the town and the neighbouring villages. The situation is rather formal, but the speaker is a fluent talker: the tempo does not change even in the most formal passages, but keeps steadily as high as about 130—135 phonetic words per minute.

1. *raḥ aḥarrifku šwayy ean šuḡli 'illi minnu ba'tāš u-ba'ed ma 'aḥalliš šareḥ ean hāda š-šugul, raḥ aḥarrifku šwayy ean illi ba'malu fi wa't farāḡi. ṭab'an 'ana 'ibn ešfa eamer, u-l-ḥukūme eayyanatni ka-muwaẓẓaf fi dā'irt eš-šu'ūn el-'ištima'eiyje fi mantiqat šfa eamer, miš eāmīl 'ištimā'i mu'ahhal, wa-lākin ka-sekretēr fi maktab eš-šu'ūn el-'ištima'eiyje, wa-fi nafs el-waqt ka-eāmīl 'ištimā'i ḡēr mu'ahhal.*

2. *'ahamm šī fi eamalna huww el-'ihtimām bi-mašākīl en-nās u-musā'adāt-hin fi ḥall qaḍayāhin el-muḥtilfe. šfa eamer madīne mu'tāraf fihā min eahd el-'atrāk, lamma kānu miḥtallīn falašīn. 'istamarat ka-madīne fi eahd el-'inti-dāb wa-ma zāl mu'tāraf fihā ḥatta l-yōm ka-madīne. eadad sukkān el-balad*

*el-yóm ma yuqárib seba<sup>t</sup> aláf, en-nisf minhin masihiyjín w-en-nisf el-áhar munqásim bi-t-tasáwi bayn el-<sup>l</sup>aslám w-ed-durúz.*

3. *fí mantiqat šfa <sup>o</sup>amer talattá<sup>e</sup>šer qabíle badawiyje, muntatirín fí <sup>o</sup>amáki l-muhtálife fawq el-šibál, qisem minhin đall yaskun el-<sup>h</sup>iyam, qisem táni . . . <sup>o</sup>áhar <sup>o</sup>ibtáda fí <sup>o</sup>iqámít mabáni min hažar wa-batón. hawlá<sup>i</sup> l-badew yuwáži-hún el-yawm muškila wa-<sup>h</sup>iya muškilat el-<sup>o</sup>amár la-<sup>o</sup>innu l-<sup>h</sup>ukúme mu<sup>o</sup>áriđa fí <sup>o</sup>iqámít mabáni bidún ruhaš rasíme minha, w-fí qisem minhin šar báni ba<sup>o</sup>ađ el-buyút min ġér ruħša, el-<sup>o</sup>amer alláđi sa-yusabbib ša<sup>o</sup>ubát li-bānín háđiđi l-buyút. wa-l-yawm (— <sup>o</sup>ámmi!) w-el-yóm mit ammalín, bižarrbu <sup>o</sup>innhin yižidu ħall la-<sup>h</sup>ádi l-muškali.*

4. *halla' raḥ ḥarrifku <sup>o</sup>an tarkíb el-maktab. neḥna fí maktab fí mantiqat šfa <sup>o</sup>amer ništġil muwazzaf illi hú <sup>o</sup>ana, u-mažmú<sup>e</sup>t banát, waḥde minhin ibtišt-ġil imfattše, waḥde <sup>o</sup>ámle <sup>o</sup>ižtima<sup>o</sup>iyje la-mantiqat tamra, waḥde <sup>o</sup>ámle <sup>o</sup>ižtima<sup>o</sup>iyje la-mantiqat šfa <sup>o</sup>amer. et-tálte lli <sup>o</sup>inna qabel muddi tarkat la-<sup>o</sup>annhá žáhā talab <sup>o</sup>innha trúḥ <sup>o</sup>ala dawrit iš'ún <sup>o</sup>ižtima<sup>o</sup>iyje li-takmílet ma<sup>o</sup>lumátha, ḥatta tirža<sup>e</sup> <sup>o</sup>ámle <sup>o</sup>ižtima<sup>o</sup>iyje mu'ahhale w-tiḥdim fí manṭaqiṭha illi hí mantiqat sahnín <sup>o</sup>arrábye dér ḥanna.*

5. *fakkarna <sup>o</sup>inna nis<sup>o</sup>a fí taqaddum el-mar'a. <sup>o</sup>iza žína n'ullhin: waddúha <sup>o</sup>a-l-madrasi, ṭayyib, biwaddúha <sup>o</sup>a-š-saff el-<sup>o</sup>awwal et-táni, <sup>o</sup>aktar <sup>o</sup>iši ma waššlu la-t-támin, la-<sup>o</sup>annu miš fí kull el-qura fí madáris <sup>o</sup>anawiyje. ṭayyib, ḥallšat et-támin u-ba<sup>o</sup>dén? ma tirža<sup>e</sup> <sup>o</sup>a-l-bét idžib iwlad u-trabbi fihin.*

6. *<sup>o</sup>in'ullhin: waddúha <sup>o</sup>a-madáris <sup>o</sup>anawiyje la-barra, ba<sup>o</sup>d fí <sup>o</sup>indhin <sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>dá muta<sup>o</sup>aššibín bi-balúš: walla ma biddnáš nib<sup>o</sup>at bintna tsib, trúḥ iddawwer šabáb u-tiktib makatib imḥabbe, neḥna biddnáš hék <sup>o</sup>iši. neḥna biddna banátna yiṭla<sup>o</sup>u banát rakzát murabbayát.*

7. *fakkarna <sup>o</sup>innu ništaḥ nawádi. kán el-<sup>o</sup>itirád m-il-mašáyeḥ <sup>o</sup>innu: <sup>o</sup>e, en-nádi háda maḥall falat, el-bint ibtiflet fí, šu n-nádi háda? háda min naḥye diniyye <sup>o</sup>eḥna ma mní<sup>o</sup>taqel. fa-žarrabna nlá<sup>o</sup>i fatwa. fataḥna nawádi, ma sammenáš nawádi, sammenáha marákiz taqáfye, markaz taqáfi, bass <sup>o</sup>iši basít židdan.*

8. *neḥna bdína ma<sup>o</sup>a l-wužha naḥki ma<sup>o</sup>a n-nás u-fahhimhin <sup>o</sup>innu l-bint hí nušš el-mužtáma<sup>o</sup>a, w-neḥna hóna žayyín ins<sup>o</sup>é<sup>o</sup>edku <sup>o</sup>innku titqaddamu, šúfu kíf el-qura lli ḥawaléna, šúfu hadóla n-nás <sup>o</sup>am bižu min <sup>o</sup>oróppa w-min <sup>o</sup>amérka w-min eš-šarq u-min el-ġarb, kíf mužtamá<sup>o</sup>hin ráqi, s-sabab fí kullu <sup>o</sup>innu niswánhin mi<sup>o</sup>allmát. šúfu kíf el-bint <sup>o</sup>indhin <sup>o</sup>am btiwazzaf idžib mašári <sup>o</sup>a-l-bét, ibtirfa<sup>o</sup> mustáwa l-ma<sup>o</sup>iše. lēš neḥna banátna bištġlúš <sup>o</sup>a-ha-š-šakel, la-<sup>o</sup>annu banátna miš mi<sup>o</sup>allmát.*

9. *ṭab<sup>o</sup>an, fataḥna n-nádi, kánat muškali <sup>o</sup>innu mán byištġil fí-n-nádi ydarrib el-banát la-<sup>o</sup>annu mu<sup>o</sup>azam el-banát miš mi<sup>o</sup>allmát, u-ma fišš waḥde lli tlá<sup>o</sup>i mulá<sup>o</sup>ime li-š-šujul. fakkarna <sup>o</sup>inna nžib min <sup>o</sup>arqa balad <sup>o</sup>arabiyye fí-d-dawli lli hí madínet en-násre, fattašna <sup>o</sup>ala binit, wažadna fatá ta<sup>o</sup>rīban talatín*

*min ʿúmūrhā, u-hādi l-bīnīt ʾiẓat bidyat tištġil, tāhud maʿāš šahri, ʾiši basūt bi-l-marra, bass hidme la-ʾahl el-balad hayy, tāhud mīt lira.*

10. *bidyat itʿallimhin, bi-l-ʾawwal hiyyāta w-tiṭrīz, ʿala ʾasās ʾinnu ma kanš fi banāt kifāye, kānu ʿešrīn talatīn binīt. šwayy išwayy šār ibayyin ʾinnu l-banāt illi biẓu ʿa-n-nādi miš rahāt isību wa-lākin rāḥāt tivʿallamu ʿādāt iẓdāde. fa-tšaẓ-ẓaʿu ʾahl el-balad u-šāru yibʿatu banāthin. kitir ʿadad el-banāt. ʾiẓat el-bīnt hādi lli ʿayyannāha w-istašārat el-ʿāmel l-iẓtimaʿiyye hunāk šu tsāwi.*

11. *fa-fakkarna ʾinnu nqassimhin la-firaʾ bi-mōẓab el-ʾaʿmār. el-fatayāt illi ʾazġar min ḥamsa w-ʿešrīn firʾa w-el-fatayāt illi bēn ḥamsa w-ʿešrīn u-ḥamsa w-talatīn firʾa, u-kull el-ʿadad mn-el-fatayāt fi sinn imʿayyane ykūnu firaʾ, yitʿallamu kullhin sawa, el-ʾišya lli bḥebbu, zayy ma biddhin, l-iqra w-et-tiṭrīz u-l-ehyāta w-el-ʾiši lli biḥtaẓū fi kull bēt, ʾilli biḥtaẓū ka-banāt w-illi biḥtaẓū ka-niswān fi-l-mustaʾbal.*

*Translation of text b.*

1. I'll tell you something about my professional work, and after finishing the exposition of this work, I'll tell you something about what I do in my free time. Well, I'm a native of Šfa ʿAmr. The Government gave me the post of a functionary at the Social Welfare Board in the District of Šfa ʿAmr, not as a permanent functionary but as the secretary of the Office of Social Welfare, and at the same time as a temporary social functionary.

2. The most important thing in our work is to take care of the difficulties of the people and to help them to find a solution to their different problems. Šfa ʿAmr has been a corporate town since the time when the Turks were in possession of Palestine. In the time of the mandate it remained a town, and it has preserved its status as a corporate town until this day. The number of inhabitants of the locality is approximately seven thousand; one half of them are Christians and the other half is divided equally between Moslems and Druzes.

3. In the District of Šfa ʿAmr there are thirteen Bedouin clans scattered in different places on the mountains. Part of them are still living in tents, but another part has started building houses of stone and concrete. Those Bedouins are now met by a problem. The problem concerns the building. The Government does not approve of the building of houses without legal licences given by it. Now part of them have already built some houses without a licence, and this is a thing which is going to cause difficulties for those who have built these houses. And nowadays (— Speak colloquial!) we hope people will try to find a solution for this problem.

4. Now I'll tell you about the organization of the office. We who are work-



ing in the office of the District of Šfa ʿAmr are a functionary — that's me — and a group of girls. One of them is working as a social inspector, one is a social employee in the District of Ṭamra, and one a social employee in the District of Šfa ʿAmr. The third employee in our office left some time ago. She got an invitation to go to a course of social affairs, you see, in order to complete her knowledge, and to come back as a permanent social employee and to serve in her own district, the District of Saḥnīn, ʿArrābye and Dēr Ḥanna.

5. We intended to contribute to the development of women. If we say to the people, 'Send your daughter to the school', well then, they send her to the first and to the second class, but the highest class they send her to is the eighth class, because not every village has a secondary school. Very well, but after having finished the eighth class, what then? She just goes home, bears children and nurses them.

6. If we say to the people, 'Send her to secondary schools outside the village', there are still fanatic opposers who don't accept this but say, 'Heavens, we don't want to send our daughter to grow to be defiled, to hang around boys and to write love letters, no, we don't want this. We want our daughters to grow to be decent and well-bred girls.'

7. Now we intended to set up clubs. The old people reacted like this: 'Why, the club is a demoralizing place. The girls will be demoralized there. Why such a club? On religious grounds we do not accept this.' Now we tried to find a solution. When we set up clubs, we did not call them clubs, but we called them culture centres. Well, it was a culture centre, although a very modest one.

8. We began purposely to speak to people trying to explain to them that the girls make one half of the society, and we are here to help you to make progress. Just look how life is in the villages around us. Look how high is the society of those people who have come from Europe and America, both from east and west. The reason for all this is that their women are educated. Look how the girls among them have jobs to earn money for the home, how they raise the standard of living. Why don't our girls work like this? That's because our girls are not educated.

9. Well, when we set up the club, we had a problem how to find someone to work in the club and teach the girls. The majority of the girls are uneducated, and thus there was nobody who could be regarded assui table for the job. We decided to bring one from the most advanced Arab locality in the country, i.e. from the town of Nazareth. We looked for a girl and we found a young woman about thirty years of age. This girl came and started working by the month. The work was very simple indeed, but it served the people of the town, and she got one hundred pounds monthly.

10. She now started teaching them, at first sewing and embroidery, because there were not enough girls — there were twenty or thirty girls. By and by it turned out that the girls who had come to the club were not growing to be defiled, but they were beginning to learn new customs. The people of the town were now encouraged, and they began to send their daughters to the club. The number of girls began to grow. Now the girl whom we had employed came to consult the social employee as to what she should do.

11. We now chose to divide them into groups according to age. The girls who were younger than twenty-five formed one group, the girls between twenty-five and thirty formed one group, and all the girls who were in a given age formed groups in order to learn together things that they liked, just as they wanted, reading, embroidery, sewing, and other things needed in every home, things which they need as girls and which they will need as women in the future.

*Text c. Kofr Kanna.*

This text was taped in the crypt of the Franciscan church at Kofr Kanna, regarded by some scholars as the scene of Jesus' first miracle.<sup>1</sup> The speaker is the sexton of the church, aged 40. The situation is somewhat formal although there are only two listeners, but the speaker rattles off his lesson from memory relatively fluently. However, both at the beginning and in the end of the account he is apparently a little constrained. The tempo is about 110–115 phonetic words per minute except in the accidental stammerings. The language is elevated to a semi-literary level, not so much because of the speaker's education as of the formal situation.

1. *háda l-maḥall hōn maḥall ʿurs qána l-ḡalíl. fi háda l-maḥall ʿaḡa l-masīḡ min ʿalfēn sini la-l-ʿurs, ḡaflet ʿurs. bi-ḡuḡúru ḡaflet el-ʿurs bārak sirr ez-zawāḡ u-bi-zāt el-waḡt kamān ʿimil ʿuḡḡúbe l-ʿúla, ʿawwal ʿaḡḡbe, ʿimilha lamman ḡawwal ma ʿíla ḡamr. háda makān muḡaddas, naḡnu bi-knīse ḡayfet el-laḡín u-mawḡudín hōn fi-l-maḡāra, fi-l-qism el-ʿawwal min bēt el-ʿurs. fi háda l-maḡall masīḡ ḡawwal ma ʿíla ḡamr. fa-ʿinna hōn ḡarra, ya-ʿni ḡarra qadīme, naḡḡa ʿan el-ḡirār el-ʿadīme ʿilli kánat mawḡúde.*

<sup>1</sup> This identification is in all probability erroneous; the authentic site of Cana of Galilee is most likely Hirbet Qana at the northern edge of Sahl el-Baḡḡōf, 9 km NNW of Kofr Kanna, *vide* CLEMENS KOPP, *Die heiligen Stätten der Evangelien*. Regensburg 1959, pp. 184–195; G. DALMAN, *Orte und Wege Jesu*. Gütersloh 1930, pp. 108–114; ALBRECHT ALT, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* 1–3. München 1953–59; Vol. 2, p. 446. The excavations have revealed nothing to indicate that the crypt of the Franciscan church at Kofr Kanna could have belonged to an ancient Christian church, but there seems to have been a synagogue about 500 A.D., *vide* E. L. SUKENIK, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*. London 1934; p. 122.

2. *u-ba<sup>c</sup>dên fôq fî madħal l-iknîse, qabel ma l-waħad yinzal <sup>c</sup>a-l-muġára, fî <sup>c</sup>inna baqiyye . . . el-báqi min knîse bizanġiyye, fî 'arġiyyet fusayfusá', moza'ík, maktúb bi-luġa 'aramiyye. 'illi katabha, kúnt yúsef ṭabariyya, w-hádi l-kitábe turżimat 'ila sabe<sup>c</sup> luġát, u-fî nasha maħtúta <sup>c</sup>a-l-hêt, tarżamatha fi-l-luġa l-<sup>c</sup>arabiyye: ziker li-rażul et-taqi yúsef 'iben tanhúm 'iben búta w-'awládu, şān'în hádi l-lawħa. takún lahum el-baraka. 'āmîn.*

3. *háda kúnt yúsef ṭabariyya kán yahúdi rtadd la-d-dîn el-masíhi. ba<sup>c</sup>d irtidádu la-d-dîn el-masíhi ħabb yuškur 'alla ta'ála <sup>c</sup>ala 'ihtidá'u la-d-dîn el-ħaqq. ba<sup>c</sup>dên ṭalab min qustantín yibni knîse w-bana <sup>c</sup>iddet kanáyis fi žamí<sup>c</sup> makán muqaddasi fi-l-žalíl, u-waħade m-el-kanáyis taba<sup>c</sup>u banáha fi-l-makán háda, maħall el-<sup>c</sup>urs. ba<sup>c</sup>dên, minšán ihallid ez-zikra . . . u'žúbe l-'úla, katab lóħa fi-l-luġa l-<sup>c</sup>aramiyye minšán háda.*

4. *'issa 'eħna hón fi mauqi<sup>c</sup> el-emġára. el-emġára, hón fi <sup>c</sup>inna birwáz biššir <sup>c</sup>an ħaflet el-<sup>c</sup>urs. lamma l-<sup>c</sup>adra 'álat la-l-masíh: laysa <sup>c</sup>indhum ħamr, ṭalbat minnu ya<sup>c</sup>mal <sup>c</sup>ažibe, 'innahu l-masíh i'ulla: má lí wa-laki ya 'imra'a, lam ta'ti sá<sup>c</sup>ati ba<sup>c</sup>d. la-žiht el-yamín mn-eš-šúra yfaržina lamma l-ħaddamín bi-mallu žrár mayy, 'aħadu l-mayy mn-el-bír.*

5. *ba<sup>c</sup>dên hón <sup>c</sup>inna l-maħall illi kán maħtúṭ sitt ižrár, sitt ižrár min ħažar kánat maħtúṭa ħasab taħír el-yahúdi minšán iġasslu l-ayde. ba<sup>c</sup>dên hón fi <sup>c</sup>inna š-šahra l-ħaqiqiyye maħall ma kán masíh iġassil 'idé mitel ma . . . <sup>c</sup>ala mawżab šar'at músa la-'ann kán el-<sup>c</sup>áde muttába<sup>c</sup>at l-ibláđ 'abel ma yištirku fi ħaflet <sup>c</sup>urs 'aww išuffu ħawál tawlet el-'akel taba<sup>c</sup> el-<sup>c</sup>urs, kán lázim kull šaħs iġassil 'idé w-ižré w-ba<sup>c</sup>dên itláqu. kamán el-masíh kán iġassil 'idé w-ižré.*

6. *ba<sup>c</sup>dên hón maħall ma wuđa<sup>c</sup>at el-'ažrár, fi žarra ṭibq el-'ašel la-l-ižrár el-qadíme. ba<sup>c</sup>dên fi ħaykal 'iqbálna, l-ħaykal taba<sup>c</sup> el-makán muqaddas háda, 'a<sup>c</sup>fiya min qibel katolík 'almánya. hadól kánu mitel nider, 'a<sup>c</sup>tú katolík 'almánya, la-ha-l-makán háda minšán ihalldu ziker u'žúbe l-'úla. min žiht el-yamín fi l-bír el-qadím maħall ma kánu l-ħaddamín imallu mayy mišán ihawwelha 'ila ħamer. fi fô' madħal el-bír kitábe bi-luġa latinuyye bit'ál: 'imla'u l-'ažážín má', min žiha t-tánye: istáqu l-má' u-náwilu la-ra'ís el-mu'taka. ya<sup>c</sup>ni lamman 'ažu l-ħaddamín, 'aħadu min inbíd i(ž-?)ždíd u-ħattú . . . 'addamú la-šaħb el-<sup>c</sup>urs.*

7. *ba<sup>c</sup>dên fi <sup>c</sup>inna šubbakén biħwi 'a<sup>c</sup>mide tnên mn-el-ħafriyyát el-qadíme lli bišširu <sup>c</sup>an makán muqaddas 'uww-'a<sup>c</sup>midet kaníset qustantín u-hiláne min žíl er-rábi<sup>c</sup>.*

8. *ba<sup>c</sup>dên, žuwwa fi l-bír ħunák maħall ma fi kitábe bi-luġa latinuyye bit'ál: 'imla'u l-'ažážín ma'. 'ažu l-ħaddamín žuwwa w-mallu mayy min ha-l-bír; el-bír kán ya<sup>c</sup>ni yaħfuz . . . imyáh illi kánat tinzal fi zamán eš-šita la-zaman eš-šéf. minšán háda kánu yista<sup>c</sup>milúha minšán ħaflet el-<sup>c</sup>urs.*

9. *ba<sup>c</sup>dên fi žuwwa hón, bifút en-nás, lamma bizúru, fi šahra qadíme bitššir <sup>c</sup>ala mauqi<sup>c</sup> el-ħaqíqi taba<sup>c</sup> bêl el-<sup>c</sup>urs, la-'anna ħayy kán el-'asás el-ħaqíqi taba<sup>c</sup>*

bêt el-*urs*. mišân hâda, lamma l-masîh miši hôn, 'âmu n-nâs minšân ihalldu z-zikra hayy, hâfazû *çala ş-şahra ka-še'* muqaddas u-banu hawalêha binâ', talat kanâyis, knîse l-ûla talat miyy u-*hamss* u-*ešrîn* ba'd el-masîh, banûha l-bizantiyyîn, u-hadamûha l-furs sint sitt miyye w-*tnâçš*, ba'dên l-iknîse t-tânye, banûha ş-şalibiyî'n 'alf tis<sup>a</sup> w-tis<sup>e</sup>in, hadamha bibars sultân maşer, ba'dên knîse t-tâlte l-fransisiyye, banâha b-*žil tâsi<sup>e</sup>* *çaçer hûri* 'ižidyus gaysler min madînat salzbur fi-n-namsa.

10. u-lamman habb 'innu ya<sup>a</sup>mal ha-l-iknîse, ittaba<sup>a</sup> nafs el-handasi 'aww er-rasme taba<sup>a</sup> el-*knîse* l-katadra'iyya . . . salzbur fi-n-namsa. minšân hâda l-iknîse l-hâlîyye lli mawžude 'issa taba<sup>a</sup>t ež-*žil et-tâsi<sup>e</sup>* *çaçar*, mabniyye la-nasha taba<sup>a</sup>t katadrê' salzbur fi-n-namsa.

11. u-fi hâda l-makân muqaddas kamân hâda bisammû maħall w-*çûbe* l-ûla, w-minha l-maħall et-tâni, mazâr maryam, maryam el-*çadrâ'*, sultânat en-ni<sup>a</sup>am la-'annha 'awwal talbat mn-el-masîh ya<sup>a</sup>mal 'awwal *çazibe*. minšân hâda hî kânat wâsiyat en-ni<sup>a</sup>am, u-kull insân bigdar yahşul *ça-n-ni<sup>a</sup>am* bi-tarîqet miryam el-*çadrâ'*, la-'ann hî l-wahîde lli . . . el-maržic<sup>e</sup> el-wahîd minšân talab en-ni<sup>a</sup>am m-el-masîh.

12. fa-*izan* . . . ba'dên la-fôq *çinna mathaf zğîr biħwi baqâye* . . . l-*ħafriyyât* illi \*\*\*<sup>1</sup> sant 'alf taman miyye w-sittîn min qibel hûri 'ižidyus gaysler, biħwi ra's *çamûd* min knîse bizantiyye ma<sup>a</sup> *çamûd* min ež-*žil et-tâni* w-kursi *çamûd* maħtût fi-l-*arđ*, m-el-*žil er-râbi<sup>e</sup>*, talat miyy u-*hamss* u-*ešrîn* ba'd el-masîh. u-ba'dên fi *çumle qadîme* min zaman makabyî'n mi'at sini qabl el-masîh ħatta zaman 'atrâk. ba'dên fi bi-l-*ħazâyin* mawžud *çiddet* . . . qu<sup>a</sup>ta<sup>a</sup> qadîme min ma-*şâbiħ* ez-zêl u-qdâħ min zamân el-*çurs*, u-kazâz min zamân finiqiyyîn u-fi bi-l-mathaf mawžude moza'ik 'aww qu<sup>a</sup>ta<sup>a</sup> m-el-*arđ* fusayfusâ' illi kânat mawžude fi-l-kanâyis el-qadîme, 'el-ûla w-et-tânye, bizantiyye w-eş-şalibiyye.

13. ba'dên fi *çinna* l-haykal l-ikbîr, bišîr bi-ma 'annu l-masîh hôn bârak sirr ez-zawâž bi-*ħudûru š-šahsi*. fa-*izan* l-iknîse . . . *ta'ifet el-latîn* 'aww knîset el-'abâ' l-*efransiskân* fi kofer kannu ta'îna rumûz ez-zawâž bi-tlat şucar. žihl eš-šamâl, zawâž el-'awwal 'âdam u-*ħawwa*, zawâž et-tâni *pubya w-sâra*, w-zawâž et-tâlît *çurs qâna* l-*žalil*.

14. u-d-dalâle *çala* 'innu kân el- . . . ġurfet el-'akel kânat fôq, lamma l-masîh 'âl: 'istaqu l-ma' u-nâwlu la-ra'is el-mu'taka, lamman šîrb el-*çarîs* . . . el-*ħamr* (ež-?)ždîde, ma kanš ya<sup>a</sup>rif mnên 'ažat fa-y'ûl — da<sup>a</sup> ra'is el-mu'taka — en-nâs 'awwal bit'addem ħamra l-imnîha, ba'dên, lamman biskaru, ba'tûhum šu ma kân. la-'annu ma kanš ya<sup>a</sup>rif mnên 'ažat hâ'i l-*ħamra*, minšân hâda, d-dalâle *çala hayy* . . . fi ya<sup>a</sup>ni 'išâra tâmmi *çala* 'innu l- . . . ħaflet el-'akel kânat fô'. fa-*izan* hôn bass ġurfet taħîr maħall ma-ħna mawžudîn.

15. u-fô' maħall ħaflet el-*çurs* fi birwâz el-haykal l-ikbîr, bifaržic<sup>e</sup> ħaflet el-*çurs*

<sup>1</sup> One word missing because of uncertain audition.

kámle, la-'ann el-ḥafle kánat fô', minšán háda. u-háda l-birwáz rasamu waḥad fannán belžiki 'ám 'alf taman miyye waḥad u-tamanín. ba'édén, b-zát el-waqt, fi 'inna l-haykal, 'aža hadiyye min qibel waḥad muḥsin 'ismu kolombo min madínat miláno 'ám 'alf tesa' miyy u-ḥamsi.

16. w-el-haykal duššin, 'aww karras el-haykal, kárdilál radín tidéski 'illi kán yišḥab furqa kbíre min suwáḥ talyán la-l-bilád muqaddasi. lamman mar'u 'a-l-žalíl, kán ma' . . . ya'ni muḥtašš min qibel el-ḥába biyyus el-'ášer, 'ala 'innu yiži ydaššen kníset kofer kannu. minšán háda huww 'illi báarak el-haykal l-ikbír, u-kán ma' u s-sekretér taba' u yuḥanna . . . monsinyór 'anželo ronkalli 'illi hú l-yóm el-ḥába yuḥanna tálit u-'ešrín, u-háda kán takríst l-ikníse, kán talatín 'aylúl 'ám 'alf tesa' miyy u-sitti<sup>1</sup>.

17. u-ba'édén fi 'inna haykalén tányín, el-haykal el-yamín la-'ayle muqaddasi, la-'ann masíḥ hón 'assas el-'éle muqaddasi w-báarak bi-ḥuḍúru šaḥšiyyan. ba'édén haykal et-táni birmiz már fransís. l-haykal žiht el-yamín, er-rassám 'illi rasam el-birwáz la-'éle muqaddasi hú waḥad fransáwi 'ismu gregwár labúr, u-t-táni, žiht eš-šamál šúrat fransís, nasha ṭibq el-'ašel la-mōriyyo 'illi hú 'isbáni, sban-yóli, hú rasam el-birwáz háda.

18. ba'édén fi min wara l-ikníse fô' fi timsál qaddís bartelmáwus, 'aḥad talmíz el-masíḥ et-ṭná'š. u-háda bartelmáwus kán 'áš hunák, u-maḥall ma kán taht et-tíne, maḥall ma kán el-bét taba' u, ṭawwal 'issa la-kníse 'aww ma'bad izjír, kamán fi 'ayd l-ifransiskán la-'ennhin hinni mas'ulín 'an ḥirás el-'amáki muqaddasi u-hinni bimattlu l-'álam el-masíḥi muddet tesa' mít sini la-ḥadd el-yóm, u-hinni bišrufu 'a-ḥirás 'amáki muqaddasi.

19. ba'édén, biḥla' 'a-barra l-wáḥad, bišúf i'bálu, fa-'inna kníst er-rúm 'ortodoks 'illi mabniyye fi sant 'alf u-ḥams miyy u-ḥamss u-'ešrín. lamma kán mam-ná' la-qibel masaḥiyiyyín 'innu yiḥḍaru yšallu hón la-'annu kánat el-maḥall ethawwal la-žámi'. ba'édén, fi-l-furša hayy, istaḡnamu l-masaḥiyiyyín el-furša, 'ittahadu 'amlu 'ittiḥád w-ittifáq támam u-banu kníse muštarake minšán išallu ma'a ba'ad, 'aywá, l-muqábil 'ilna.

20. ba'édén fi 'inna kníse 'ismu kníst er-rúm katolík, u-hayy banáha monsinyór ḥakím sint 'alf u-tesa' miyy u-seba' u-talatín. u-ba'édén fi 'inna l-'én, 'én el-'adra, maḥall ma kán el-'adra tistaqi ma', u-mišán itmalli l-'ižrár lamma kánat itsá'id fi ḥidmet el-bét. u-b-mawžab tariḥ el-qadím min zaman bizantiyyiyyín kán mabni kníse fawq el-'én, 'isma kaníset el-'adrá' maryam. u-hayy el- . . . 'ahammíyyet el-qarye t-ta'riḥiyye.

21. 'amma l-'álam masíḥi yúžed 'arba' kanáyis, kanístén li-fransiskán, kaníse li-rúm 'ortodoks u-kaníse li-rúm katolík. wa-'adad sukkán qána l-žalíl yunáseb 'arba' aláf u-ḥamis mít šaḥš, minhin 'alf u-ḥamis miyye masaḥiyiyyín, wa-l-'alfén 'aww talatt aláf 'illi baqín, muslimín.

<sup>1</sup> In fact this was one year earlier.

*Translation of text c.*

1. This place is the site of the wedding at Cana of Galilee. Christ came to this place two thousand years ago to attend the wedding, the marriage feast. By his presence at the marriage feast he consecrated the sacrament of marriage, and at the same time he also performed the first miracle — the first miracle which he performed — when water was turned into wine. This is a holy place; we are in the church of the Latin Church. We are here in the crypt, in the first part of the house where the wedding was celebrated. In this place Christ turned water into wine. Here we have a waterpot, an old waterpot, a copy of the old waterpots which were here.

2. Then, upstairs in the entrance of the church, before one descends to the crypt, there we have a remnant from a Byzantine church. There is a part of a mosaic floor bearing an Aramaic script. The man who wrote the script was Count Yūsef (Yōseh) of Tiberias, and this script is translated into seven languages. There is a copy put on the wall, and its translation in Arabic is as follows: 'Honoured be the memory of Yōseh, a pious man, son of Tanhūm, son of Būta, and of his sons, who made this mosaic. May it be a blessing for them. Amen.'

3. This Count Yūsef of Tiberias was a Jew who was converted to Christianity. After his conversion to Christianity he wanted to praise God the Highest for guiding him to the true faith. Now he asked Constantine for permission to build a church. He built several churches, at every holy place in Galilee, and one of the churches he built at this site, the site of the wedding. Then, in order to perpetuate the memory of the first miracle, he wrote a script in the Aramaic language.

4. Now we are here at the site of the crypt of that church. Here in the crypt we have an altarpiece portraying the marriage feast. When the Virgin said to Christ, 'They have no wine', when she asked him to perform a miracle, then Christ said to her, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come.' Then, on the right hand in the picture we see that when the servants filled the waterpots with water, they took the water from the cistern.

5. Then we have here the place where there were six waterpots. There were six waterpots of stone for the purifying of the Jews, that they might wash their hands. Then we have here the original rock on the place where Christ washed his hands according to the canon of the Mosaic law; it was the habit observed in the country that everyone had to wash his hands and feet before they took part in a marriage feast or gathered around the wedding dinner, and only after that they gathered. Also Christ used to wash his hands and feet.

6. Then, here at the place where the waterpots were, there is a waterpot, an accurate copy of the old waterpots. Then, there is an altar in front of us, the altar of this holy place, and gifts given by Roman Catholics from Germany to this place — these were like votive offerings and were given by Roman Catholics from Germany — in order to perpetuate the memory of the first miracle. On the right hand there is the old cistern, the place where the servants took water for Christ to turn it into wine. Above the entrance of the cistern there is a script in Latin, reading, 'Fill the waterpots with water', and on the other side: 'Draw out now and bear unto the governor of the feast.' When the servants now took new wine and put it . . . they set it before the ruler of the marriage feast.

7. Then we have two display cases exhibiting two columns from the archaeological excavations which show that this is a holy place, columns of the church of Constantine and Helena from the fourth century.

8. Then, the cistern is inside the place where there is the script in Latin reading, 'Fill the waterpots with water'. The servants came in and took water from the cistern. The cistern gathered the rain water during the winter for the summer time, you see. Therefore they used the cistern when they needed water in the marriage feast.

9. Then here farther in, the place where people come in when they visit, there is part of an old rock foundation which shows the authentic site of the house where the marriage was celebrated. This was the ground of the house where the marriage was celebrated, you see. Therefore, because Christ had walked here, in order to perpetuate the memory of this event, people cherished the rock foundation as a holy thing and built buildings around it. These were three churches, the first church in 325 A.D., built by the Byzantines and destroyed in 612; then the second church built by the Crusaders, destroyed by Baybars, Sultan of Egypt, and then the third one, the Franciscan church, built in the 19th century by a priest Oegidius Geissler of the town of Salzburg in Austria.

10. When he wanted to build this church he followed the same architecture, or the design of the Cathedral of Salzburg in Austria. Therefore the existing church, from the 19th century, is built as a copy of the Cathedral of Salzburg in Austria.

11. On this holy site — this is called the site of the first miracle — there is also another place, the Chapel of Mary, the Virgin Mary, the Princess of Grace, because she was the first to ask Christ to perform the first miracle. Therefore she became the mediatrix of grace, and every man can receive grace through the Virgin Mary, because she is the only one who . . . the only helper when one asks Christ for grace.

12. And further . . . then we have upstairs a small museum which exhibits

findings from the excavations which were carried out in 1860 by Father Oegidius Geissler. It shows a capital of a column from a Byzantine church with a column from the second century, and a pedestal of a column standing (in situ) on the ground, from the fourth century, 325 A.D. Then there are ancient coins from Maccabean times a hundred years B.C., up to the time of the Turks. Then there are in cases several fragments of ancient oil lamps and cups from the time of the wedding, as well as glasses from Phoenician times. In the museum there is also a fragment of a mosaic pavement which has been in the old churches, the first and the second one, the Byzantine and that of the Crusaders.

13. Then we have the great altar which commemorates the event that Christ here consecrated the sacrament of marriage by his personal presence. Further, the Latin church, i.e. the church of the Franciscan Fathers in Kofr Kanna, symbolizes the marriage in three pictures: on the left there is the first marriage, that of Adam and Eve, the second marriage is that of Tobiah and Sarah, and the third one the wedding at Cana of Galilee.

14. The fact which shows that the dining room was upstairs is this: When Christ said, 'Draw out now and bear unto the governor of the feast', when the bridegroom drank from the new wine, he did not know where it came from and said . . . he called the governor of the feast (and said), 'People usually serve the good wine first, and only later, when people get drunk, one gives them anything at all.' Because he did not know where this wine came from, this indicates . . . this is actually tenable evidence that the place where the wedding dinner took place was upstairs. Thus the place where we are now is only the room where the purifying took place.

15. Upstairs, at the place of the marriage feast, there is the altarpiece of the great altar, portraying the whole marriage feast, because the feast took place upstairs. This altarpiece was painted by a Belgian artist in 1881. Then, at the same time (when we go upstairs) there is an altar presented by a benefactor called Colombo, of Milan, in 1905.

16. The altar was dedicated or consecrated by Cardinal Radini Tedeschi who led a great group of Italian tourists to the Holy Land. When they passed by Galilee he had with him . . . he had a special commission from Pope Pius X to come and dedicate the church of Kofr Kanna. Therefore it was he who consecrated the great altar, and he had with him his secretary John, Mgr. Angelo Roncalli, who is now the Pope John XXIII. This consecration of the church took place on 30th September 1906.

17. Then we have two further altars. The right-hand altar is that of the Holy Family, because Christ here founded the Holy Family and consecrated it by his personal presence. Then the other altar represents St. Francis. The painter who painted the altarpiece representing the Holy Family for the



right-hand altar was a Frenchman called Gregoire Laborde (?), and the other, the left-hand side, the portrait of St. Francis, is a copy of the original painting by Murillo who was Spanish, a Spaniard. He painted this altarpiece.

18. Then in the rear of the church, above the entrance, there is a picture of St. Bartholomew, one of the twelve disciples of Christ. This Bartholomew lived there (he indicates the direction), and the place where he was sitting under the fig-tree, the site of his home, has now been turned into a church or a small chapel. That is also possessed by the Franciscans, because they have charge of the holy places. They have represented the Christians here for nine hundred years until this day, and they have had charge of the holy places.

19. Then, when you go out of the church and look in front of you, there is the Greek Orthodox church which was built in 1925. While it was forbidden to the Christians to come here to pray, because the site had been changed into a mosque, in that situation the Christians seized the opportunity: they made a union, a full covenant, and built a common church where they could pray together. Well, that is there opposite us.

20. Then there is here a church called the Greek Catholic church. It was built by Mgr. Ḥakīm in 1937. Then there is here a spring, the Spring of the Virgin, the place where the Virgin scooped water to fill the waterpots when she was helping in the housework. On the ground of ancient history from the Byzantine period he built a church above the spring, called the Church of the Virgin Mary. — This is the most important part of the history of the village.

21. As regards the Christians, there are four churches: the Franciscans have two churches, the Greek Orthodox one, and the Greek Catholics one. The number of inhabitants in Cana of Galilee is about four thousand and five hundred; of them, one thousand five hundred are Christians, and the rest, those two or three thousand, are Moslems.

## Phonetics and Phonemics

### 1. PROSODY

a) *Quantity*. The vowel and consonant lengths are essentially dialectal in every speaker. Only rarely is dialectally short vowel of an unstressed syllable lengthened, e.g. *la-ʿannah* *šāhā* *b4*, *fīhā*  $2 \times b2$ , *ʿumurhā* *b9*, *mašābīḥ* *c12*. All these words are pronounced in the context rather distinctly, with exceptional care.

b) *Juncture*. The junctural phenomena are very difficult to describe, but

one clearly discernible feature can be mentioned. As a whole the texts show a form of the colloquial where the pronunciation is slightly more careful than in the relaxed everyday colloquial. Thus it is only natural that more open junctures appear, and, as a result, the frequency of initial glottal stops (*hamza*) tends to grow. It should be kept in mind that the published dialectal texts are usually 'edited' as regards the actual pronunciation of the initial *hamza*, and thus its relative frequency cannot be compared in literature.

c) *Accent*. There are two main groups of words where the stress is often pushed forward from its dialectal position, firstly, in the imperfect, imperative and participle of the verbal forms VII and VIII, e.g. *ibtindáfi*<sup>c</sup> a8, *baqtáriḥ* a18, *tittáṣil* a3, *istáqu* c6, *munqásim* b2, *mi'etázal* a13, *mu'etáraf* 2 × b2, and *muttába*<sup>c</sup>at c5, and, secondly, in the nouns where the final *hamza* and the long vowel of the last syllable are restored, e.g. *biná'* c9, *'adrá'* 2 × c11, 2 × c20, *'abá'* c13, *fusayfusá'* c2, c12. The feature is, however, inconsistent in both groups, and the dialectal forms are just as frequent, e.g. *btištǧil* a14, *mništri* a15, *yištri* a24, *ništǧil* b4, *ibtištǧil* b4, *tištǧil* b9, *byištǧil* b9, *tistaqi* c20, *'istaqu* c14 (although occurring in a Biblical quotation); *šita* a13, a15, c8, *'adra* c4, c20. If the classicized and the dialectal forms are compared, one sees that the words commonly used in the colloquial retain their dialectal forms, but those which are neither learned borrowings or otherwise less frequently used in the vernacular are more disposed to take non-dialectal forms. This observation leads to the conclusion that the change of accent in the cases described is largely connected with the lexicon.

## 2. CONSONANTS

a) *Hamza*. In addition to the cases mentioned above, *hamza* is sometimes restored in words where it is absent in the dialect, e.g. *ma'* a2, 2 × c1, c14, c20, *má'* 2 × c6, *ra'yak* a1, *ra'yi* a2, *ra'iy* a3, a17, a22, a27, *ra'yu* a20, *râ'i* a16 (apparently a contamination of the Cl. *ra'y-* and the dialectal *rây*), *'arâ'i* a16, *mar'a* b5, *ka-še'* c9, *mi'at* c12, *ra's* c12, *ta'riḥiyye* c20. Most of these also occur without *hamza*: *mayy(i)* passim, *râyü* a4, *râyak* a4, a18, (*i*)š*i* passim, *müyye*, *mât* passim, *tariḥ* c20. In some words only forms without *hamza* can be found: *dayman* 3 × a15, a29, *šayf* a15, a25, *râyeh* a18, *'ayšín* a7, 2 × a12, *kanâyis* 2 × c3, c9, c12, c21, *ḥêṭ* c2, *bîr* c4, 2 × c6, 3 × c8, *'êle* 2 × c17, *'ayle* c17. Besides, *hamza* is pronounced in literary borrowings such as *dâ'irt eš-šü'ün el-'ištima*<sup>c</sup>*yye* b1, *mu'ahhal* 2 × b1, *mu'ahhale* b4, *mulá'ime* b9, *moza'ik* c2, c12, *katadré'* c10, *katadra'yya* c10, *'ihtidá'u* c3, *tá'ifet* c13 (but *ṭayfet* c1), and in Biblical quotations: *'imra'a* c4, *ta'ti* c4, *'imla'u* c6, c8, *ra'is el-mu'taka* c6, 2 × c14 (though *muttaká'* in Jn ii. 8,9). Thus, only a few cases show a corrected

form of colloquial phonemics; most frequently hamza has found its way into the colloquial along with a lexical item.

b) *Interdentals*. As regards the dialectal pronunciation of *tā'* and *dāl* in the area described, matters are very complicated. The speakers of texts *b* and *c* pronounce these consonants as plosives *t* and *d*, but in Kofr Manda the situation is different. It may be misleading to describe *tā'* and *dāl* here with the same symbol as for example in the dialect spoken by the Druzes in Western Galilee, where they are interdentals<sup>1</sup>, but I feel it also incorrect to simplify the facts by using the symbols *t* and *d* when the pronunciation is not clearly plosive. Therefore *ṭ* and *ḍ* are in most cases used in text *a*. Because the observation of the possible variation between the dialectal and borrowed or corrected forms is here too arbitrary, I prefer to cite instances of this variation found only in texts *b* and *c*. In text *b* six (eight) indisputable instances of this kind occur: *muntatirîn* *b3*, *allādī* *b3*, *hādīhi* *b3*, *tanawīyye* *b5*, *b6*, *taqāfi* *b7*, *taqāfyē* *b7*, and *'iza* *b5*, in text *c* five (eleven): *timsāl* *c18*, *zikra* *c3*, *c9*, *ziker* *c2*, *c6*, *zāt* *c1*, *c15*, *fa-'izan* *c12*, *c13*, *c14*, and *talmīz* *c18*. Here again one can see that no classicizing tendency seems to appear in this respect in genuine dialectal words; the classicizing pronunciation is here always associated with a lexical borrowing.

The same is also true of the consonants *dād* and *zā'*, both in Kofr Manda normally represented by *ḍ*, in the dialect of the speakers of texts *b* and *c* by *ḍ*. The pronunciation *z* occurs in literary borrowings, e.g. *muwazzaf* *b1*, *b4*, *btūwazzaf* *b8*, *yahfuz* *c8*, *hāfazū* *c9*, and in the dialectal word *mazbūṭ* *a10*, *a13*, *a23*, where *z* corresponds to the classical *dād*, and is probably an older borrowing influenced by Turkish<sup>1</sup>.

c) *Qāf*. In the Lower Galilean area there are many variations of the pronunciation of *qāf*<sup>2</sup>. The speakers of texts *b* and *c* pronounce *qāf* dialectally as ' in most words; the variant used by the speakers of text *a* is a voiceless post-velar plosive, and not a uvular *q*; after hesitation between *q* and *ḳ* I have transcribed this sound by *q*, although this is not quite satisfactory.<sup>3</sup> Thus the classicizing tendency is distinctly seen only in texts *b* and *c*, where *q* seems to be a little more frequent than '. In a noticeable proportion of the

<sup>1</sup> 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. 70f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. BARTHÉLEMY, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français, Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*. Paris 1935–54; s.v. *zbf̣*.

<sup>3</sup> HEIKKI PALVA, *Lower Galilean Arabic. An Analysis of Its Anaptyctic and Prothetic Vowels with Sample Texts*. — *Studia Orientalia* XXXII, Helsinki 1965; pp. 23–25.

<sup>4</sup> I rejected *ḳ* mainly because this notation would suggest emphasis; for the same reason, *ḥ* should also have been replaced by another symbol, but for practical reasons *ḥ* is here retained.

cases a division between dialectal words using *ʾ* and literary borrowings using *q* is clear-cut: *manṭiqa(t)* b1, b3, 4×b4, *manṭaqiṭha* b4, *qaḍayāhin* b2, *yuqārīb* b2, *munqāsīm* b2, *qabīle* b3, *ʾiqāmit* 2×b3, *taqaddum* b5, *titqaddamu* b8, *mnī<sup>ʿ</sup>taqel* b7, *qāna* c1, c13, c21, *taqi* c2, *ḥaqq* c3, *ḥaqiqiyye* c5, *ḥaqīqi* c9, *qustan-ṭīn* c3, c7, *qibel* c6, c12, c15, c16, c19, *mauqi<sup>ʿ</sup>* c4, c9, *ṭarīqet* c11, *finiqiyyīn* c12, *quṭa<sup>ʿ</sup>* c12, *ʾistaqu* c14, *istāqu* c6, *tistaqi* c20, *furqa* c16, *qaddīs* 2×c18, *muqaddas* c passim, *muqābil* c19, *ittifāq* c19, but on the other hand *ʾālat* c4, *yʾulla* c4, *bitʾul* c6, c8, *nʾullhīn* b5, *ʾinʾullhīn* b6, *yʾul* c14, *ʾāl* c14, *ʾāmu* c9, *marʾu* c16, *nlāʾi* b7, *tlāʾi* b9, *biʾbalūš* b6, *firʾa* 3×b11, *firaʾ* b11, (*hallaʾ* b4).

There are, however, instances where this division is not applicable, e.g. *fōq* c2, c12, c14, *fawq* b3, c20, but *fōʾ* c6, c14, 2×c15, c18, *waqt* b1, c1, c15, but *waʾt* b1, *ʾiqbālna* c6, but *iʾbālu* c19, *qabl* c12, *qabel* b4, c2, but *ʾabel* c5, *taʾrīban* b9, *ʾaddamū* c6, *bitʾaddem* c14, *qism* c1, *qisem* b3, *nqassimhīn* b11, *mustaʾbal* b11, *l-iqra* b11, *baqiyye* c2, *bāqi* c2, *baqāye* c12, *baqīn* c21, *qadīm* c6, c20, *qadīme* c1, c6, c7, c9, 2×c12, but *ʾadīme* c1, *īllāqu* c5, *šarq* b8, *qdāh* c12, *qarye* c20, *qura* b5, b8. At least in some, probably a majority, of the last-named cases it is appropriate to speak of a restoration of *q* for the dialectal *ʾ*, but some remain ambiguous. As a whole, the pronunciation of *qāf* is to a considerable degree tied to the dialectal or literary lexical items.

d) *Other deviations from the dialectal consonants.* The combinations of consonants are restored in the two words *wiṣh* a6 and *niṣf* 2×b2 (but *nusṣ* b8), dialectally *wiṣš* and *nusṣ*. The etymological *ʿ* is restored once: *ʾes-sāʿa* a18 for *ʾissa*, but the vowel of the stressed syllable remains short. Here it is difficult to judge whether these cases are to be regarded as restorations by a phonemic modification or as lexical loans. The former alternative seems more likely; otherwise more classical forms (*waḡh/waṣh* and *es-sāʿa/al-ʾān*) might have been expected.

### 3. VOWELS

As a rule the etymological *i* and *u* are lost in the local dialect in unstressed open syllables, while *a* has been lost almost exclusively in words where it has first been regressively assimilated to the long *i* of the following syllable, provided that the allophone of the phoneme *a* has been front (*ä*). The question of the preservation of the dialectal zero-forms and the replacement of the dialectal zero by a classical vowel seems at the first glance chaotic. In text *a* only few vowel 'corrections' occur: *ḥiṣāra* a13 (but *ḥiṣāra* a13), *bitigla* a15; such instances as *ʾumūrha* a9, *murūr* a15, *niqāš* a25, *qišāš* 3×a27, *dār el-mu-ʿallimīn* a26 are borrowed words, and thus the deviation from the dialectal phonology is not due to a phonemic change. Texts *b* and *c* are stylistically

farther from the plain colloquial, and thus more short vowels in positions where the dialect has zero might be expected. Actually they are more frequent, but most of the instances occur in borrowed words, e.g. *turẓīmat* c2, *li-* b3, b4, c2, 3×c21, *nāwīlu* c6, 'a<sup>e</sup>*mīde* c7, *ḥīrās* 2×c18, *ihtimām* b2, 'intīdāb 2×a28, a29, b2, *i'tīrād* b7, *inhīfād* a26, *irtīdādu* c3, 'ihtīdā'u c3, *wāsiyat* c11, *ḥukūme* b1, b3, *muwazzaf* b1, b4, *šuwān* b1, *mu'ahhal* 2×b1, *mu'ahhale* b4, *musā'a-dathīn* b2, *mu'ārīḍa* b3, *muntatīrīn* b3, *murabbayāt* b6, *muta'aṣṣībīn* b6, *mulā'ime* b9, *muhimme* a7, *ḥuḍūru* c1, c13, c17, *muqaddas* c passim, *rumūz* c13, *muqābil* c19. There are unexpectedly few cases of a distinct vowel restoration: *šībāl* b3, *kifāye* b10, *ḥiyāta* b10, *kitābe* c2, c6, c8, *yista<sup>e</sup>milūha* c8, *bilād* c16, *muslimīn* c21, *durūz* b2, *buyūt* 2×b3, and *muǰāra* c2 (probably 'corrected' form of the dialectal *emǰāra* 2×c4; cl. *majāra* c1).

Though the last-mentioned instances are few enough to show that the replacement of the dialectal zero by *i* or *u* in genuine dialectal words is not a feature characteristic of the elevated colloquial as reflected by these texts, the treatment of *a* vs. zero is still more illustrative. The only dialectal word where *a* is restored is *kanīse* 2×c21, *kanīstēn* c21, both occurring in highly classicized passages, *kanīset* c20 in a name of a church, and the same form in c7 rather similarly used. Everywhere else the word retains its dialectal form. On the other hand, no restoration occurs in *inbīd* c6, *šīdīd* c6, (i)šīdīde b10, c14, *ikbīr* a30, c13, c16, *kbīre* c16, (i)zǧīr c12, c18, *zǧīre* a16, and (i)mlīḥ a22, a25, a30, (i)mlīaḥ a8, a17, *imnūḥa* c14.

There are some instances of vowel correction in closed syllables, e.g. *mad-rasi* a17, a26, b5 for *midrasi* 2×a16, a17, particularly often in the broken plural pattern 'aqtāl for the dialectal qṭāl: 'amlāk 2×a17, 'atfāl a26, 'aslām b2, 'atrāk b2, c12, 'a<sup>e</sup>dā b6, 'a<sup>e</sup>mār b11, 'ašrār c6 (but šīrār c1, 'ižrār c6, c20, ižrār 2×c5, žrār c4), and 'awlād a17, 'awlādu c2 (but ulād a18, wlādu a24, iwlad b5). Although the occurrences are not frequent and unambiguous enough to draw certain conclusions, we are obviously faced, at least to some extent, with a phonemic modification of dialectal words, and a morphological restoration of the pattern 'aqtāl.

#### 4. DIPHTHONGS

The restoration of the etymological diphthongs *aw* and *ay* in dialectal words seems to imply a stylistic level deviating from the dialect considerably. In these texts only a few such instances are to be found: *bayn* b2 (but *bēn* a28), *fawq* b3, c20 (but *fōq* c12, c14, *fō'* c14, c15, c18), *yawm* 2×b3 (but *yōm* b3, c16, c18), *lawḥa* c2 (but *lōḥa* c3), *mawṣab* c5, c20 (hypercorrect for *mōṣab* b11; cl. *mūṣīb*), while such cases as *dawli* b9, *dawra* a27, *dawrit* b4, *nawb* a26,

*ḥawlu* a25, *yawman* a18, *ḥayri* a3, *ʾaylūl* c16, *laysa* c4, *ḥaykal* c passim, *ʾayd* c18, *ʾayde* c5, *ladaynā* a13, and *mawqīʿ* c4, c9 can in their contexts be regarded as literary borrowings, maybe also *fusayfusāʾ* c2, c12 (dial. *fsēfse*). Elsewhere the dialectal forms are retained, even *ḥēt* c2 and *ʿēle* 2×c17, *ʿayle* c17, and naturally *kīf* 3×b8, which has an 'urban' form has here a higher prestige than *kēf* used in the adjacent villages. The correction of monophthongized diphthongs is undoubtedly one of the most distinguishing features appearing when the level of speech is elevated to a level felt by the natives to represent *fushā* rather than *ʿāmmīyye*. Typically, a young man sitting in the same room when text *b* was being recorded, injected the remark *ʿāmmi!* b3 when the speaker after some other classicisms said *wa-l-yawm*; this young man had earlier been informed that I was recording colloquial language.

There are two groups of monophthongized diphthongs which are never restored in the present texts, firstly the vowel of the dual ending, e.g. *muškil-tên* a1, *ḡihalên* a4, *mīlên* a17, *līrtên* a17, *ʾalfên* c1, c21, *ʾidê w-i-ḡrê* c5, *šubba-kên* c7, *tnên* c7, *ḥaykalên* c17, *kanīstên* c21, and secondly, the perfect forms of the verba tertiae *yāʾ* (or *hamza*), and the dialectal forms of the verba mediae geminatae, e.g. *maddêna* a12, *ištarêna* a15, *lammêna* a17, (*i*)štarêt(u) 3×a30, *qrêtha* a31, *sammenāš* b7, and *sammenâha* b7. These examples indicate that there is a significant difference of stability between the phonemic, lexical and morphological categories. The lexicon is most disposed to accept new elements; the dialectal forms can also be phonemically modified (*yôm/yawm*, *bên/bayn*), although not as easily as the lexicon, but here too the morphological structure is solid enough to prevent the phonemic modification (*ḥaykalên*, *maddêna*).

## Morphology

### 1. SUBSTANTIVES AND ADJECTIVES

In the present texts there are two occurrences of *ʾiʿrāb*, one in the formal lines of the teachers' college student: *fī ʾayya ʿamalim mā* a27, but here the *ʾiʿrāb* cannot be said to have any morphological function; it only forms a part of a borrowed group of words comparable to a single borrowed word. The other instance is a temporal accusative: *yawman mā ʾakūn* a18, which belongs to the same category since the words following the accusative are inseparably connected with it.

The restoration of the broken plural *qtāl* to *ʾaqtāl* by a phonemic modification can be regarded as a morphological 'correction'. On the other hand, it is difficult to find any explanation for the fact that *qtāl* from *qitāl* (or *qutāl*)

is almost always retained, but probably the material of the present texts is insufficient to give a reliable picture of the actual situation.

Occasionally the feminine ending is also 'corrected' to *-a(t)*, e.g. *ḥamsa* 3×b11 for *ḥamsi*, *musā'adāthīn* b2, *muškila* b3, *muškilat* b3 for *muškali* b3, *katadra'iyya* c10 for *katadra'iyye*, *madīnat* c9, *madīnet* b9, *taržamātha* c2 for *taržamītha*. The forms are mostly dialectal, however, even in borrowed words, e.g. *manṭaqītha* b4, *dawrit* b4, *dā'irt* b1. The two last-mentioned instances are illustrative of the difference between the lexicon and morphology of the dialect in regard to their disposition to become classicized. The borrowed lexical items retain their phonemic forms without assimilating to the dialect, but the feminine morpheme is still dialectal.

## 2. PRONOUNS

a) *Personal pronouns and suffixes*. The local dialectal forms of the personal pronouns are as a rule retained with only a few exceptions. As regards the 3. pers. sing., besides *hū*, *huww(e)*, *hī*, *hiyy(e)*, also *huwa* 2×a17 and *hiya* b3 occur; 2. pers. sing. appears only in the forms *'inte*, *'int* and *'inti*, 1. pers. sing. *'ana*, 3. pers. pl. *hinni*, 2. pers. pl. *'intu*, but in 1. pers. pl. the classical form *naḥnu* c1 and the 'Syrian' *neḥna* b4, b6, b8 also occur besides the local dialectal *'eḥna* b7, *-ḥna* a27, c14. The classical forms *huwa* and *hiya* are here used as copulae emphasizing the subject of the nominal clause. The only occurrence of *naḥnu* comes in the first, strained, sentences of the speaker of text c; the form *neḥna* belongs, according to BERGSTRÄSSER<sup>1</sup>, to the dialect area north of the river Litani, but he gives this form also for Safed. The speaker of text b uses both *neḥna* b4, b6, b8 and *'eḥna* b7; in my other recordings from Šfa cAmr both forms appear, although *'eḥna* is more common.

Similarly, the personal suffixes are almost exclusively dialectal. The only true classicism in the colloquial passages is *rāshum* a19; *lahum* c2 is part of a literary quotation, *'indhum* c4, *lī* c4 and *laki* c4 appear in Biblical quotations from Jn ii. 3,4, *'indhum* used for the Biblical *lahum*. In c14 the speaker after some confusion cites the Biblical text in colloquial, but uses a 'corrected' suffix: *ba'ūhum*.

b) *Demonstrative pronouns*. The texts show some instances of classicisms: *lī-dālik* a29 (for *'a-šān hāḍa* or *min-šān hāḍa/hêk*), *hādīhi* b3 (for *hā'i*, *hayy*), and *hawlā'i* b3 (for *hadōl* c6), the two latter occurring in one of the most classicized passages of the texts. Elsewhere the dialectal forms are retained, including some instances of *ha-*, e.g. *ha-t-ta'ab* a12, *ha-l-'iši* a18, *'a-ha-š-*

<sup>1</sup> G. BERGSTRÄSSER, Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina. — ZDPV 38 (1915), pp. 153–260; p. 36, Map 14.

*šakel* b8, *ha-l-iknîse* c10, *la-ha-l-makân háda* c6. Of these only the first occurs when the speaker is imitating the language of the uneducated old people of his village, the other cases appear in relaxed plain colloquial, although in a slightly formal context.

c) *Relative pronouns*. The dialectal relative pronoun (ʾi)lli is a form generally 'approved' in different variations of style, apparently because it or its near cognates are used all over the Arabic world. Thus it is natural that it is retained in the present texts. There is, however, one instance of *alládī* in the highly classicized passage b3.

d) *Indefinite pronouns*. In the present texts classicisms are very few, only *'ayy* a2, a3 and *bi-'ayya wasîle* a13. Their introduction into the colloquial is of a purely lexical, not grammatical nature, the latter instance being a literary phrase borrowed similarly as separate words.

e) *Interrogative pronouns*. There are no instances of corrections or literary borrowings, but all the interrogative pronouns are dialectal. The only exception *mâ* c4 is a part of a Biblical quotation (Jn ii. 4).

### 3. NUMERALS

It is well-known that even in reading a written standard classical Arabic text the simple colloquial numeral system is often used<sup>1</sup>. Here the only forms deviating from the local dialect are *hamsa* 3 × b11 and *mî'at* c12. The classical feminine form of *'awwal* occurs a few times, but only twice incorporated in the text in an unconstrained manner (*'el-'ûla* c12 and *knîse l-'ûla* c9). Elsewhere it forms part of a borrowed combination of words: *daraše 'ûla* 2 × a17, *'u'zûbe l-'ûla* c1, c3, c6, c11 side by side with the dialectal *'awwal* *'a'zûbe* c1, c11.

### 4. PARTICLES

a) *Conjunctions*. Typically of the colloquial of the educated, quite a number of classical conjunctions are found in the present texts, and many of these conjunctions have already become incorporated with the plain colloquial to such a degree that the separating of classicisms from the genuine dialect is often arbitrary. Thus, *fa-* passim, is not unknown in the dialect, but because there it almost exclusively belongs to the artistic colloquial, it can

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RICHARD S. HARRELL, *A Linguistic Analysis of Egyptian Radio Arabic*. — Contributions to Arabic Linguistics, ed. Charles A. Ferguson. Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs III, Cambridge, Mass. 1960, pp. 1–77; pp. 49–54.



here be regarded as a classicism. Similarly, *la-'ann-* passim, is commonly used in the everyday vernacular, although usually in a more dialectal form *la-'innu*, which has almost superseded the 'genuine dialectal' *lēšinnu*. Probably *la-'innu* must also be considered as a dialectal form; at any rate *la-'annu* is a form corrected through a phonemic modification of *la-'innu* while *la-* has remained dialectal. The more 'correct' form *li-'annu* occurs only  $2 \times a5$ .

It is also very difficult to say if *lâkin*  $a1, a11, a13, 2 \times a24, a30$  is a learned borrowing or not; on the other hand *wa-lâkin*  $a15, a19, a29, b1, b10$  (but *u-lâkin*  $a25$ ) is undoubtedly a classical loan. Likewise, *'ida*  $a9, a10, a13, a17, a22, a30$  is very commonly used in colloquial, but must be regarded as a learned borrowing. This is seen most distinctly in the urban pronunciation *'iza*  $b5$ . The word *ḥatta* occurs once ( $b4$ ) as a final conjunction; elsewhere the dialectal *ta-* is used (e.g. in  $a4, a6$ ). As for the classical *wa-*, which is a very easily adopted classicism, it is not favoured in the present texts. Besides the dialectal use in *wa-la*  $a$  passim, and the above-mentioned cases in *wa-lâkin*, it appears only in  $b1, b2, 3 \times b3$ , in a Biblical quotation in  $c4$ , and twice in  $c21$ , which all belong to the most classicized passages of the texts. It is possible that the frequent use of *wa-* is more characteristic of the classicizing efforts of an educated speaker than of the relaxed colloquial of the educated.

b) *Prepositions*. As a whole the use of prepositions is here dialectal. Thus, *la-* has been replaced by *'ila* only in  $a13, c1, c2, c6$ , all relatively formal passages, and by *li-* in  $c2$  (in a literary quotation),  $a5$  (*li-'annu*),  $c4$  (in a Biblical quotation),  $3 \times c21$  (in a formal passage), and  $b4$  used with a borrowed word (*li-takmâlet*). The use of the preposition *b(i)-* is a little more extensive than in the dialect where it has partly been superseded by *fi*; a curious 'correction' is  $bî$   $a10, 3 \times a17$  for *fi* 'there is'. The dialect has also influenced a Biblical quotation: *laysa 'indhum* (Jn ii. 3 *lahum*) *ḥamr*  $c4$ . There are also a few occurrences of *ka-*,  $3 \times b1, 2 \times b2, 2 \times b11$ , and  $c9$ , mostly connected with other lexical loans.

c) *Adverbs*. The adverbs formed with the accusative suffix are especially prone to incorporation with the colloquial. In these texts they are quite frequent, and only two instances cannot appropriately be classified as literary borrowings, viz. *'abadan*  $a27$  and *dayman*  $3 \times a15$ . Such adverbs as *maṭalan*  $a$  passim and *taqrîban*  $a15, ta'rîban$   $b9$ , a little less *fa'lan*  $a1, a26$ , have also become very usual in everyday colloquial. Yet the words *ḥaqqan*  $a1, 'awwalan$   $a1, 'iddan$   $b7, gāṣban$   $cannu$   $a23, ṭab'an$   $a3, b1, b9$ , and *šaḥṣiyyan*  $c17$  are distinct classicisms. The accusative suffix is probably not a living morpheme in the present texts, since it is here never attached to a dialectal word to form an adverb after the classical pattern. Therefore classical Arabic has here not influenced the morphology of the dialect, but the influence remains

purely lexical<sup>1</sup>. In *a11* there is a striking example of the use of such classicisms in the language of the uneducated: *el-fa<sup>c</sup>lan*, appearing in the lines where the ideas of the old uneducated people are ridiculed.

## 5. VERBS

The personal suffixes of the perfect are never corrected in these texts. The only 'correction' to be found in the whole active perfect inflection concerns the reflexive prefix, but even this occurs only once: *ta<sup>c</sup>allamnâ a27*. It should also be noted that this is not definitely a classicism, because *c* often seems to resist the analogic change of *ta-* into *it-* in the reflexive verbal forms<sup>2</sup>.

The perfect of *verba mediae geminatae* in verbal form I is inflected dialectally, i.e. like *verba tertiae yā'* in verbal form II, e.g. *sammenâha b7*, *sammenâš b7*, *lammêna a17*, *maddêna a12*. In the other perfect forms one certain classicism is found, the two passives *turžimat c2* and *duššin c16*.

In the imperfect the dialectal modal system deviates sharply from the classical, so sharply that this must be regarded as one of the most distinct features which separate the dialect from the classical language. Since this difference is substantially structural, it is natural that the departure from the dialectal system is extremely difficult; it implies a transition into the classical modal system which cannot be attained through easy lexical borrowings or slight phonemic modifications. To be sure, the non-dialectal imperfect forms are very rare in the present texts. The most formal of them is *yuwāšihûn b3*, but it must be noted here that also another instance, *sa-yusabbib b3*, appears in the same highly classicized passage. Elsewhere only three instances can be found, *yûžed c21*, used without *b-*, but phonetically dialectal, *yunâseb c21*, and *yûqârib b2*, both apparent literary borrowings. The form *takûn c2* is part of a literary quotation.

In some cases the imperfect forms are 'corrected' through a phonemic modification, e.g. *naḥsar a21* for *niḥsar*, *naksab a21* for *niksib*, *yižidu b3* for *yûž(e)du* or, better, *ylâ'u*, *yaskun b3* for *yuskun*, and *yaḥṣul c11* for *yihṣal*. The imperfect forms of *'akal* and *'ahad* occur in their dialectal forms *yôklu a24* and *nôhud a25*, whereas it is uncertain whether *tâhud 2 × b9* is a 'corrected' form or a genuine dialectal form sporadically found in Šfa <sup>c</sup>Amr like *neḥna*.

In other respects the morphological system of the dialect is wholly retained. The only slight exception is the restoration of the sing. 3. pers. masc. prefix

<sup>1</sup> BLANC, *Style Variations*, p. 102, comes to another conclusion: 'In semi-educated and educated speakers, they (viz. the adverbs formed with *-an*) probably constitute a productive form class, and this is certainly true of semiliterary style.'

<sup>2</sup> PALVA, *Lower Galilean Arabic*, p. 73; cf. e.g. *ta<sup>c</sup>dl*.

in the imperfect, but not in its classical form: *byûžed* a18 (for the local *fî*), *byizra<sup>c</sup>* 2×a22 (for *bizra<sup>c</sup>*), and *byištjil* b9 (for *bištjil*).

Among the dialectal forms the following are here noteworthy. The future is expressed by *raḥ* plus imperfect without *b-*: *raḥ a<sup>c</sup>allimhin* a18, immediately before 'corrected' to *râyeḥ . . . 'akûn* (and not to a classical future), *raḥ ḥarrifku* b4, *raḥ aḥarrifku* 2×b1, *râḥât ti<sup>c</sup>allamu* b10, *miš râḥât isîbub* 10. In a24 a form characteristic of relaxed everyday colloquial is found: *u-râḥ yištri*, where *râḥ* is an imperfect form without a personal prefix, and thus can be used for any person. Another example occurs, surprisingly enough, in b8: *nehna bdîna . . . nahki . . . u-fahhimhin*. The indicative mood is always, with the exception of the few above-mentioned cases, expressed by the *b*-imperfect, and the other moods by the imperfect without *b-*.

## Syntax

### 1. ARTICLE

In Syro-Palestinian Arabic studies rather little attention has been drawn to the use of article. There is a special case of attributive phrases where the noun is left without the article although the adjective attribute has it. According to BAUER this happens sometimes when the noun is a proper noun of an appellative character, e.g. *ḫuds eš-šerîf, 'ên il-bêḏa; sent el-mâḏye, 'âm n-awwal*<sup>1</sup>. Although this is general usage in the Syro-Palestinian dialects, it has usually been ignored in grammatical presentations. GROTZFELD's short characterization of these cases seems to be very much to the point. He divides them into two main groups according to the meaning of the adjective attribute: 1. Cases where the attribute has a differentiating value, e.g. *baṭṭîḥ el-'aḥ-ḏar, baṭṭîḥ el-'ašfar, sâ' el-'atî', bâb eš-šar'i, našš et-tâni*; and 2. Cases where the attribute denotes contrary concepts such as new — old, big — small, e.g. *rġîf et-tari, rġîf el-yâbes, sânt eš-žâye, sânt el-mâḏye*, when the noun is construed as if followed by a genitive.<sup>2</sup>

Instances of the first-mentioned category are also quite frequent here, especially when the attribute is a numeral, e.g. *'u<sup>c</sup>žûbe l-'ûla* c1, c3, c6, c11 (although the construction in other respects is classical; cf. *'awwal 'ažîbe* c1, c11), *žîha t-tânye* c6, *knîse l-'ûla* c9, *knîse t-tâlte* c9, *haykal et-tâni* c17, *zawâž el-'awwal, zawâž et-tâni, zawâž et-tâlît* c13; *tažarîb el-basîṭa* a27, *mawqi<sup>c</sup> el-ḥaqîqi* c9. The usage is, however, inconsistent: *l-maḥall et-tâni* c11, *l-iknîse*

<sup>1</sup> LEONHARD BAUER, *Das palästinische Arabisch. Die Dialekte des Städtlers und des Fellachen*. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1910; p. 103 f.

<sup>2</sup> HEINZ GROTZFELD, *Syrisch-arabische Grammatik (Dialekt von Damaskus)*. — *Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie VIII*. Wiesbaden 1965; p. 93.

*t-tánye* c9. In *žil er-rábi<sup>c</sup>* c7 the construction is the same, but not of a differentiating value; the cases with the article, *m-el-žil er-rábi<sup>c</sup>* c12, *ež-žil et-tási<sup>c</sup>* c<sup>a</sup>šer c10, are here too few to permit any definite conclusion on the general dialectal usage. My other recordings show that the use of the article is optional: if the attribute has a differentiating value, the article is usually dropped, elsewhere it is used, but as a rule omitted if the presentation is in form of a list.

The absence of the article in the cases described is by no means a rule of general application but only optional. Thus it is unnecessary to suppose that the use of article in *l-iknise l-hāliyye* c10, *(e)l-haykal l-ikbūr* c13, c16, *el-haykal el-yamīn* c17, and *el-‘ālam el-masīhi* c18 is due to 'correction'.

There are also a few strange instances, where the article of the adjective attribute is for some reason left out, viz. *l-bilād muqaddasi* c16, *el-‘ēle muqaddasi* c17, *el-‘amāki muqaddasi* c18, *el-makān muqaddas* c6, *fī hāda l-makān muqaddas* c11, and *l-‘ālam masīhi* c21. In hesitating and stammering speech such 'mistakes' are common, but these passages are quite fluent. Another explanation that might be thought of is that the phrases are treated as well-established concepts equivalent to proper nouns. This is also suggested by the cases where similar phrases are used without the article, e.g. *‘ayle muqaddasi* c17, *‘amāki muqaddasi* c18.

The liberal use of the article in the dialect makes it impossible to draw conclusions on possible 'corrections' of the colloquial.

## 2. PERIPHRASTIC GENITIVE

The replacement of the *‘idāfa*-annexion by a periphrastic expression with *taba<sup>c</sup>* is not as frequent in the rural dialect in the area described as in the urban form of the colloquial. This is also reflected in these texts; *taba<sup>c</sup>* occurs only in text c, but there very often: *m-el-kanāyis taba<sup>c</sup>* c3, *ṭawlet el-‘akel taba<sup>c</sup>* c5, *l-haykal taba<sup>c</sup>* *el-makān* c6, *mawqi<sup>c</sup>* *el-ḥaqīqi taba<sup>c</sup>* *bêt el-‘urs* c9, *el-‘asās el-ḥaqīqi taba<sup>c</sup>* *bêt el-‘urs* c9, *er-rasme taba<sup>c</sup>* *el-knise* c10, *l-iknise . . . taba<sup>c</sup>* *ež-žil et-tási<sup>c</sup>* c<sup>a</sup>šar c10, *nasha taba<sup>c</sup>* *at katadrê salzbur* c10, *s-sekretêr taba<sup>c</sup>* c16, and *el-bêt taba<sup>c</sup>* c18. In most of these cases it is very difficult to 'correct' the construction; of the last two, only *el-bêt taba<sup>c</sup>* could be replaced by *bêtu*, but *sekretêru* would sound quite strange. The speaker does not avoid the dialectal periphrastic expression. There is scarcely a single clear instance of such a correction because cases like *knist er-rûm ortodoks* c19 and *knist er-rûm katolík* c20 are genuinely dialectal. The anacoluthon as regards the use of the article, e.g. *el- . . . ‘ahammīyyet el-qarye* c20, *ez-zikra . . . ‘u<sup>c</sup>žûbe l-‘ūla* c3, is, however, most probably due to a change of the dialectal genitive construction.

## 3. NEGATION

The negation system seems to be one of the most unalienable features of the dialect. In the negation *ma . . . -š*, the negative affirmative is here the essential negative morpheme. In these texts there are about as many cases of *ma . . . -š* as of mere *-š*: *ma-lháš a1*, *ma fišš a1*, *a6*, *a28*, *b9*, *ma smi<sup>c</sup>š a4*, *ma ḥakáš a10*, *ma ykunš a11*, *ma-lhinniš a17*, *ma <sup>c</sup>indiš a18*, *ma yširš a18*, *ma ḥadáš a23*, *ma yil<sup>c</sup>allámš a27*, *ma ba<sup>c</sup>riřš a28*, *ma kanš a29*, *b10*, *c14*, *ma biddnáš b6*, *ma sammenáš b7*; without *ma*: *tiğdárš a3*, *tiḍḥakúš a7*, *biddnáš a7*, *a30*, *biširš a10*, *a24*, *bimšiš a10*, *bittammiš a11*, *a13*, *ba<sup>c</sup>riřš a14*, *biqtá<sup>c</sup>š a15*, *fišš a15*, *a31*, *biswáš a18*, *ba<sup>c</sup>riřš a16*, *bitğalliš a23*, *ma<sup>c</sup>hinniš a24*, *bidahháníš 2 × a25*, *biddháš a30*, *bihimmiš a30*, *bi'balúš b6*, *biddnáš b6*, *bištiğlúš b8*.

It is virtually impossible to find any difference between these two groups as regards the stylistic varieties. Apparently the latter group is, however, 'felt' by the educated to be more vulgar. This may be seen, although not unquestionably, in the fact that the negations without *ma* are relatively more frequently used in passages which are less classicized in other respects as well. Only a couple of cases are found where a dialectal negation is replaced by a classical one, viz. *lam ta'ti c4* and *laysa c4*, but these are both intended to be word-for-word quotations from the Bible. It is interesting to observe that as soon as a quotation is made more freely, the dialectal negation appears: *ma kanš ya<sup>c</sup>riř 2 × c14* for *lam yakun ya<sup>c</sup>lamu Jn ii. 9*.

The other dialectal negations (*la'*, *la . . . wa-la*, *miš*, *baláš*) are also retained. The only classicizing device is the use of *ğêr*: *ğêr mu'ahhal b1* for the dialectal *miš*, but a comparison with *miš <sup>c</sup>âmil 'ižtimâ<sup>c</sup>i mu'ahhal b1* shows that *ğêr* here is not a classical negation but part of a borrowed terminus technicus. As such it is not a grammatical but a lexical loan.

## 4. AGREEMENT

The adjective attribute of a broken plural may in the local dialect be in either a plural or a sing. fem. form. The pronouncedly dialectal agreement occurs here only exceptionally: *'a<sup>c</sup>dá muta<sup>c</sup>aššibîn b6* (although phonemically 'corrected'). Elsewhere sing. fem. is used. It is, however, difficult to say if the agreement is 'corrected' in such cases as *ruḥaš rasîme b3*, *tažarîb el-basîṭa a27*, *marákiz taqáfye b7*, *<sup>c</sup>umle qadîme c12*, *quṭa<sup>c</sup> qadîme c12*, *iš'ân 'ižtimâ<sup>c</sup>iyye b4*, *eš-šuwân el-'ižtimâ<sup>c</sup>iyye 2 × b1*, *qaḍayâhin el-muḥtîlfe b2*, *madâris tanawiyye b5*, *b6*. Some of these cases are clearly questions of a lexical borrowing, and in the rest of the instances the same presumption is tempting.

The adjective attribute of a dual form is dialectally either a plural or sing.

fem. In *e17* the construction is dialectal: *haykalén tányín*, in *a4* the non-educated speaker tries to correct the form of the predicate of the nominal sentence which normally has the same agreement as the adjective attribute, but the result is a contamination: *el-žihatén imlâha*.

## Lexicon

### 1. LITERARY BORROWINGS

The lexicon is undoubtedly the area where the colloquial language of the educated is most influenced by Classical Arabic. One need only think of the many recent revolutionary changes affecting both the material and the intellectual culture, to realize how radically they must be reflected in the language, not so much in the grammatical structure, but first and foremost in the world of concepts. New words must be created, and old words must be given new meanings. A noticeable part of the new concepts required are of an abstract nature and can appropriately be rendered by infinitive and participial forms. These actually form a large proportion of the modern lexical items, and consequently also of the colloquial of the educated. Morphologically these words are accommodated to the dialect, but phonemically they generally retain their classical forms largely unchanged, or at least are not wholly assimilated in the dialect. In this respect they can be compared with the old classical borrowings which have lived encased in the dialect without being assimilated, e.g. *l-ḥamd(u l)illá(hi)* (and not, say, *l-ḥamed la-lla* or *la-a'lla*), *bi-smi lláhi* (and not *b-isem 'a'lla*), *a'lláhu 'akbar* (and not *'a'lla 'akbar wâhad*). Although these are more effectively protected against external influence, they show, how stubbornly the borrowed words and phrases can resist the assimilation to their linguistic environment.

Most of the literary borrowings in the present texts are words having no equivalent in the dialect. Such are e.g. *mu'ahhal* 2×b1, *mu'ahhale* b4, *muwaz-zaf* b1, b4, *mutaqqafîn* a18, a19, *mulá'ime* b9, *mu'áriḍa* b3, *mustáwa* a26, b8, *mužtáma'a* b8, *murúr* a15, *nawb* a26, *ḥawlu* a25, *niqáš* a25, *qišáš* 3×a27, *musâ'adáthin* b2, *'izayán* a13, *taqaddum* b5, *tasáwi* b2, *inḥifáḍ* a26, *'intidáb* 2×a28, a29, b2, *ihtimám* b2, *i'círâḍ* b7, *tanawiyye* b5, b6, *taqáfye* b7, *taqáfi* b7, *mawqîc* 16, *mu'azam* b9. Some of these words also appear in the dialect, but when they are used their dialectal forms, they are not modern termini technici. Thus, e.g. 'a teacher' is (*i*)*m'allim*, but 'a teachers' college' is *dâr el-mu'allimîn* a26, 'a turn, circuit' is *dôra*, but 'a course of instruction' is *dawra* a27, 'a state, a country' is either *dôle* (genuine dialectal) or *dawli* (a literary borrowing, but rather well established in the colloquial), but in

the accurate technical sense 'a state, the state' is (*d-*) *dawli* (e.g. in *b9*). A parallel feature is the difference between dialectal and borrowed words in cases where the morphological patterns are different, e.g. *tarkīb* 'organization' *b4*, *tadrīž* gradation *a17*, but *tīṭrīz* 'embroidery' *b10*, *b11*.

Sometimes entire modern phrases are borrowed in a more or less non-dialectal form, e.g. *bi-n-nisbe la-kull šaḥṣ* *a2*, *b-aqrab waqet mumken* *a5*, *biddi 'albet el-šumla l-qašīre* *a11*, *bi-'ayya wasīle* *a13*, *fi-l-waqt el-hâḍer* *a15*, *l-ba'ad el-gâlib* *a17*, *la-'inhīfâd mustâwa t-ta'lim* *a26*, *fi 'ayya 'amalim\_mâ* *a27*, *ma'ca l-wuḣha* *b8*.

The dialectal words are occasionally corrected by a phonemic modification, but are surprisingly seldom replaced by non-dialectal words. This is certainly due to the fact that all the speakers are from the same dialect area, and no levelling is necessary. In addition to the cases already mentioned above, some other replacements occur, e.g. *ladaynâ* *a13* for *'inna*, *fa-'izan* *c12*, *c13*, *c14* used for *ba'edên* in order to have some variety in the monotonous presentation, and *baḍinn* *a6*, *a9*, which is extraordinarily popular in the colloquial of the educated, here used for *bafakker/baftkir*.

## 2. DIALECTAL WORDS

Dialectal words are freely used by all the speakers, even in passages where the classicizing tendency is most striking. Thus such verbs as *râḥ*, *šâf*, *žâb*, *fât*, as well as the pseudoverb *bidd-*, are commonly used, and similarly the dialectal forms of *'aža* (but *žâhâ* *b4*) and *ġidir*. Further, the verb 'to give' occurs in both forms used in the local dialect: *yantīna* *a26*, *'a'ū* *c6*, *ta'ūna* *c13*, *ba'ūhum* *c14*. Although the dialectal nominal forms are easier to correct or to replace by classical words, they are very common, e.g. *'idê w-ižrê*  $2 \times c5$ , *zalami* *a21*, *(i)zġir* *c12*, *c18*, *izġire* *a16*, *'azġar* *b11*, *nêra* *a15*, *imnīha* *c14*, *(i)mlīah* *a8*, *a17*, *(i)mlīh* *a22*, *a25*, *a30*, *'iši/šī* passim, *el-'iši* *b11*, *ha-l-'iši* *a18*, *(i)šwayy* *a18*, *a29*, *šwayy išwayy* *b10*, *mayy(i)* passim, *šu*, *šū* passim, and *'êš* *a7*, *a14*. Dialectal particles are also common, e.g. *bass* passim, *bižūz* *a5*, *a9*, *a26*, *balki* *a23*, *ba'edên* passim, *hêk* *a7*,  $2 \times a12$ , *a21*, *b6*, *hêka* *a15*, *a22*, *kamân* *a2*, *a10*, *a22*, *c5*, *c18*, *'issa* a passim, *c18*, *halla'* *b4*, *hôn* passim, *hóna* *a18*, *b8*; the word *fī* in the sense 'there is' occurs very frequently, but sporadically the rather more formal *mawšūd* passim, or *yūzed* *c21*, *byūzed* *a18* are used.

Broadly speaking, the nucleus of the dialectal lexicon is retained; the deviations are due to slight modifications, and only seldom are the dialectal words replaced by literary borrowings. These are rather a supplement of technical terms necessary to modern communication.

## Fluctuation of style

Texts *b* and *c* are monologues, in text *a* eight speakers join in the discussion. It is easy to find some stylistic variation between the different speakers in text *a*, e.g. the relaxed style of F, the slightly more formal language of S and M, and the somewhat constrained style of Y, who tries to elevate his language to a level with the others. But there is also noticeable variation in the language of one speaker. Thus, in text *b* the few first lines are plain colloquial, but when the technical terms *l-ḥukúme*, *ka-muwazzaf*, *dá'irt eš-šuw'ún el-'ižbi-ma'iyje* etc. then follow in close succession, the speaker is led to elevate his style. The classicisms seem to act as stimuli: when the purely lexical borrowings are frequent or when their use for some reason or other implies special effort, the whole dialectal context is influenced, i.e. the borrowed lexical items may also have indirect influence on the phonology and grammar of the new environment where they have been transplanted. For instance in the passage in question the style is gradually elevated, probably because of the plentiful literary borrowings, until the speaker in *b3* actually passes from the dialect to a modified classical language.

The correlation of subject and style is most clearly noticeable at the end of text *a* where the speakers finish their discussion on actual problems and start telling jokes. The language of *a30* and *a31* is conspicuously relaxed, abounding with colloquialisms avoided in formal style, e.g. *ḥud* for *ḥudi*, *la-léš*, *bihimmiš*, *yalla balbas*, *rže't willa hî bitqulli*, *yamma*, *lawnak idžiblak*, *willa biqûl*. There is another instance where a style considered as vulgar occurs in a context of elevated colloquial: the passages where the speakers are imitating both the ideas and the language of the uneducated old people, e.g. *a7*, *a12*, and *b6*. These passages are a kind of (vulgar) plain colloquial quotations in elevated colloquial; parallel but more conspicuous cases are the literary quotations in text *c*. The Biblical quotations are intended to be word-for-word citations; similarly the translation of the Aramaic mosaic inscription, but the longer passage Jn ii. 9f. (*c14*) is exceptionally cited in the colloquial.

## Summary

The most unambiguous result of the analysis is that a great majority of the classicisms in the 'elevated' colloquial are lexical, or at least indirectly due to lexical loans. This is only natural, because modern concepts usually have no equivalents in the dialect but must be borrowed from literary language. Phonemically, the borrowed words are assimilated to their dialectal environment only slightly, if not all, remaining as a rule in a modified clas-



sical form. A borrowing may also consist of a longer section than one word. These borrowed groups of words may be strikingly classical: there are even cases of *'i'arāb*. The dialectal words are seldom replaced by literary items. This is probably a feature characteristic of the 'elevated' colloquial when the speakers are from one dialect area, especially as regards high frequency dialectal words such as are used in a limited area.

The corrections of the dialect are almost exclusively slight phonemic modifications, but these are by far most usual in substantives, adjectives and participles, most uncommon in pronouns, numerals, and in particular in finite verbal forms. As for the particles, some cases are doubtless learned borrowings, but often it is difficult to say whether the forms deviating from the dialect should be regarded as borrowings or as dialectal forms corrected through a phonemic modification. This distribution shows incontestably that the difference between the classical language and the colloquial remains greatest in the areas where the structural gap is widest.

This also holds good for the syntactic structures peculiar to the dialect; it is most clearly noticeable in the negations and possibly in the use of the article, less clearly in the genitive structure and agreement.

As a whole the result indicates that the interference of the classical language is of a relatively superficial nature even when the classicisms and corrections are frequent. Actually the range of style variation of Arabic does not evenly cover the space between the standard classical language and the dialect, but between the 'modified classical' and the 'elevated' colloquial there is a structural gap hard to cross. No doubt the 'elevated' colloquial is making the road smoother for a modern Arabic koine, at least for some kind of pan-Arabic colloquial, possibly also for a future form of literary Arabic, but the result of the present study leads to a certain scepticism as to the possibility of such developments in a predictable space of time.

