

3. Notes on the Language of the Narratives

In the stylistic analysis of the narratives and poems, following symbols for different style varieties and stylistic features are used:

- S = the dialect of es-Salt and the surrounding villages
S-marker = an S feature missing in the neighbouring Bedouin dialects and thus a typologically distinctive local sedentary feature
B = Bedouin dialects spoken in the Balqa and its immediate neighbourhood. Most of the tribes relevant to this study speak dialects of the so-called Syro-Mesopotamian group (Cantineau's Group C); here the term cannot be used very strictly, since many features are borrowed from the dialect of the Bani Šaxar, too, which stands near the Šammari type (Cantineau's Group B).
B-marker = a B feature missing in S and thus a typologically distinctive Bedouin feature
K = a koine feature, in this case used of borrowings from sedentary dialects
F = a *fušā* feature borrowed from Standard Arabic (Written Arabic, Literary Arabic)

In references to sections of the present texts, the forms occurring in dialogue are indicated by D written after the number of the section.

3.1. Phonetics and phonemics

3.1.1. Consonants

The phonemic system of consonants in the genuine dialect of the narrator (S) does not substantially differ from its counterpart in the neighbouring Bedouin dialects (B). The only clear-cut difference bears upon the reflex of *qāf* which in S is /g/ whereas B has two for the most part combinatorily conditioned reflexes, viz. /g/ and /ǧ/ [d₃], the latter of which occurs in proximity to front vowels (/i/, /e/, front allophone of /a/) and is phonetically identical with the local reflex of *ǧīm*.¹ Therefore one might expect that the affricated reflex of *qāf* would be used by the narrator as a most effective means of giving the narratives an unmistakable Bedouin character. However, this is actually not the case in the present narratives in which only two occurrences of the affricated reflex are to be found: *ṭarīǧ* 'way' III 18D (2x) and *ʔalla la yǧirbak* 'may God not bring you here' XIV 36D. The reason for the use of affrication here is obvious: both instances occur in direct discourse with a Bedouin as the speaker. Furthermore, the latter

¹ Among the neighbouring tribes the dialect of the Bani Šaxar is the only exception in this respect: there the affricated variant is ǧ [dz], PALVA, Bani Šaxar, p. 114 (among the Fāyiz sub-tribe ǧ is used); id., Classification, p. 7f.

instance is a Form IV verb borrowed as such from Bedouin dialects. Everywhere else the invariant /g/ reflex is used; perhaps unexpectedly, even such a typical Bedouin lexical item as *šigg* 'tent', 'the men's compartment of a tent', is pronounced without affrication, II 13, XV 13.

In the realization of the two reflexes of *kāf* no differences are to be found between S and B.² However, this is true only as far as the purely linguistic systems of the conservative forms of the genuine dialects are concerned; observation of the factual usage of the vernacular reveals great socio-culturally conditioned differences between S and B in the distribution and frequency of the affricated and non-affricated reflexes. In S the affricated /č/ reflex is a recessive variant in the idiolects of male adults and is often replaced by /k/ by other groups of speakers as well, in the town of es-Salt in particular.³ In this respect the narratives rather consistently follow the pattern common to both B and the older type of S. There are, of course, several exceptions to this pattern, the most striking cases being the use of the non-affricated reflex in *kilmētən* 'some words' XIV 14 (cf. *čilimtən* 'some verses' V 7, VI 4, IX 2, 24), *ʔagullik* 'I'll tell you (sing. fem.)' XIV 32D, *ʔilik* 'to you (sing. fem.)' XIV 34D (cf. *ʔilič* XIV 32D), *hək hək* 'like this' VII 19 (cf. S-form *hēc* III 36, XII 4, XIV 21 (2x), 24; whereas no occurrence of the marked B-form *hič* is found), *ħaka l-ħaki hāda* 'he spoke like that' XIV 5 (cf. XV *ħača* 25), *rikb il-faras l-imliħa* (K-coloured S-form) XV 21, *kīr* 'much' I 1, XIV 13. The lack of affrication of /k/ in *w-aħa nākis* 'he started back' XV 13 would appear as an exception, too, but also in B the /k/ of this typical B item often lacks affrication.⁴

Some of these cases can be interpreted as called forth by situations in which the narrator is more or less parenthetically explaining certain details to his audience among whom at least Father Bišāra and the present writer did not normally use the /č/ reflex. Such cases of momentary shifting from narrative style to vernacular conversation are obviously *hək hək* and *ħaka l-ħaki hāda*, probably also *kīr* in I 1. On the other hand, in four cases the reflex of *kāf* as the result of root analogy is /č/: *yaħču* 'they (pl. masc.) speak' III 10 (cf. *yaħku* XIV 5) and *ħačulo* 'they speak to him' XIV 14, *tirčab* 'you (sg. masc.) mount' XV 18, *tirčabha* 'you (sg. masc.) mount it' XV 18. These forms are actually alien to the phonemic system of both S and B; the only dialect to whose influence such forms could be attributed is conservative rural Central Palestinian.⁵ However, in this stylistic context such an influence is improbable; more plausibly they can be regarded as hypercorrect B-forms. Correspondingly, *čān* 'he was' XV 13 probably is a hypercorrect B-form. Both in S and B the non-affricated variant has been restituted by root analogy in the 3rd persons of the perfect (*čān, čānu* etc. > *kān, kānu* etc., cf. *ykūn, ykūnu, kunt, kuntu* etc.), whereas the phonetically-con-

² Here, again, the dialect of the Bani Šaxar with its affricated č [ts] variant is an exception, PALVA, Bani Šaxar, p. 114; id., Classification, pp. 8-10.

³ PALVA, Koineization, p. 22; BERGSTRÄSSER, Sprachatlas, p. 185f., Map 3; cf. CLEVELAND, Southern Palestine, p. 44, n. 3.

⁴ E.g., PALVA, 'Ağarma, Text 5, 34, 35.

⁵ BERGSTRÄSSER, Sprachatlas, Map 3; BAUER, Pal., p. 4; CLEVELAND, Classification, p. 58; id., Southern Palestine, p. 44f.; PALVA, Classification, p. 9f.

ditioned affrication has been preserved in the conjunction *čān* 'if' XV 8, which has lost its etymological association with the verb *kān*.

3.1.2. Vowels

As far as the phonemic system of vowels and their allophonic distribution is concerned, the present narratives do not display any substantial divergences from S. There admittedly are cases in which vowels different from S occur, but since they are Bedouin items, or items intimately associated with Bedouin life, the /-a/ allomorph can be regarded as morpho-phonemically or lexically rather than phonemically conditioned. Such instances are, e.g., the final /a/ in *madda(h)* VI 2 (cf. *midde* II 3, XII 4), *zēna* II 7, XV 3 (2x), 20, *gīza* VII 16, *mazyūna* VII 6 (but *mazyūne* I 1, XV 2), *qahīya* II, 1, XI 5, *ta'īla* XI 5, *gašīda* VII 20, XII 5 (but *gašīde* III 37 (3x), 38, VIII 4 (2x), XI 6), *šība* XIV 31, *xīša* XIV 21, *dīra* XV 6 (2x), 15, *sīra* XV 11 (2x).⁶ In genuine S the phonetically-conditioned binary system of feminine markers would in these instances involve use of the front allomorph /-e/, and, though some neighbouring Bedouin dialects share this feature, the narrator pronounces the items with a stylistic B-marker.⁷ In some cases the /-a/ allomorph is used in words which can be regarded as neutral in their relation to the sedentary vs. Bedouin sphere of life: *il-lēla* III 8D, XIV 35D (2x) (cf. *il-lēle* X 5, XI 29, XIV 36, *lēle* XV 26 (2x), 27), *fāyda* II 11d, *mayyta* II 26, *tōša* XV 9, 11, *radīya* XV 19.

Another group of items in which vowels in the narratives differ from S are those displaying /i/ in the initial syllable, in contradistinction to /a/ in S. Apart from a typical B item such as *nizīl* II 5, there are several B substantives which occur in S as well, viz. *đibīḥa* XI 29, XIV 22 (2x), 23, *đibāyih* III 3, *minsaf* XIV 7 (4x), 14, *minzalhum* VI 1, *mičāno* XIV 11 (2x), *gimā'a* XV 13 (2x). These B-forms are well known to most S speakers and thus can readily be substituted for the local counterparts *đabīḥa*, *mansaf* etc. Sometimes also adjectives are pronounced in B manner: *čibīr* VII 1, *čibīre* VII 2, *girīb* X 6 (but the distinct B-form *grayyib* does not occur), instead of S *kbīr/čbīr*, *garīb*.

One of the most frequently occurring deviations from S is the consistent use of the back allophone [a:] instead of the local Salṭi front allophone [æ:] in the verb *gāi*.

3.1.3. Syllable structure

The syllable patterns $C_1VC_2aC_3V-$ \rightarrow $C_1C_2VC_3V-$ and $-aXC-$ \rightarrow $-XaC-$ (if X is /x/, /ǧ/, /ḥ/, /ʕ/, or /h/), characteristic of both the North Arabian dialects and the Bedouin dialects spoken in Sinai, the Negev and Arabia Petraea,⁸ are of common

⁶ *nōba* III 33d, IV 7, VI 2, XV 6, 8, and *ḥurma* I 1 (2x), XIV 15 (2x), 19, 21, 32 (2x), XV 25, 29 (2x), 34 do not belong to the same category, since /b/ and /m/ in them are velarized.

⁷ CANTINEAU, *Nomades I*, pp. 14f. and 24 (Cantineau's Group C, i.e., the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-raising tribes).

⁸ CANTINEAU, *Nomades I*, pp. 61-66, II, pp. 164-170; PALVA, 'Aḡārma, p. 24; id., *Classification*, p. 10f.; id., *Ḥwēṭāt*, p. 297; ROSENHOUSE, *Bedouin Arabic*, p. 13; cf. JOHNSTONE, *Eastern*

occurrence in the narratives. In the following instances the notation for a synchronic process (\rightarrow or \leftarrow) is used, which only implies that in Bedouin dialects the process as a rule is synchronic, whereas in the present context it is more appropriate to regard the B-forms as stylistically-conditioned substitutions for equivalent S-forms.

$C_1VC_2aC_3V- \rightarrow C_1C_2VC_3V-$

- ibdūwi** 'Bedouin' II 1, VII 1, XV 3, 4 \leftarrow **badawi** S, but **bfdawi** III 21
ha-z-zlima 'a (certain) man', 'this man' II 13D, 15D \leftarrow **ha-z-zalama**, S **zalame** IV 13 (2x), 14, VII 11D, XIV 24, 42, **zlimto** XI 3, but **zflimto** *ibid.*, **zlimitak** X 13D, **zlimitku** XI 6D, (i)**zlimitkum** X 3D (2x)
wlidi 'my son' XIV 12D \leftarrow **waladi** (S 'ibni), **wlido** X 6D
fruso 'his mare' VII 14 \leftarrow **faraso** S
rfaga 'comrades' III 2 (2x) \leftarrow **rifaga**
gšara 'neighbours' XIV 22D \leftarrow **gušara**
gšima 'totally ignorant (pl.)' XIV 8D \leftarrow **gušama**
ḥsini 'member of the Bani Ḥasan' XI 1 \leftarrow **ḥasani**
rgubti 'my neck' VII 7D (2x) \leftarrow **ragaba** + t + i, but **ragbati** I 4D (2x), (i)**rgubto** 'his neck' III 29D, VII 7D, IX 19, XIV 10D, but **ragbato** I 6, **rgubitha** 'her neck' VII 5
Igaḥāt 'pregnant she-camels' XIV 32D,34D \leftarrow **lagahāt**
isnōtēn 'two years' VII 16 \leftarrow **sanātēn**, but **santēn** III 23, 25, XI 3, 5, **sanōtēn** VII 15

Also the B-form **xaḍa** 'to take' can—at least partly—be explained as the result of the $C_1VC_2aC_3V- \rightarrow C_1C_2VC_3V-$ development, although no longer on the synchronic level. In North Arabian Bedouin dialects,⁹ the originally synchronic development $\text{ʔaxaḍu} \rightarrow \text{*ʔaxaḍu} \rightarrow \text{xaḍu}$ called forth a new C_3y root $xḍy$, and the forms **xaḍa** V 5, **xaḍāh** V 5, **xaḍāha** VII 3, **xaḍāhum** V 4, and **xaḍāhin** V 7 are based upon the lexicalized root $xḍy$.

$-aXC- \rightarrow -XaC-/aXaC-$

- ghawa** 'coffee' III 22, **g^{ah}hawa** XV 2, 4 (2x), **gahawa** II 11 (3x), 3 (3x), IV 11D (2x), VII 8, 9, 14, XIV 19, 20, 21 \leftarrow **gahwa** S = II 5, III 15, 16, 24, 27, XIII 6 (2x)
halna 'our family' IX 23D (but: **widdna halna**) \leftarrow $\text{*ʔhalna} \leftarrow \text{ʔahlna}$; **ʔahalak** 'your family' III 34D (2x), **ʔahl-** S = **ʔahli** IV 15, **1-ahli** IV 15, **1-ahlo** IV 16, **1-ahəl** IX 23, **lā-hali** XV 8 'to my people', **ya-hal il-xēl ya-hal il-xēl** 'horsemen, alarm!'

Arabian, pp. 3-9; BLANC, Negev, p. 121; the development $-aXC- \rightarrow -XaC-$ is coined by BLANC as the 'gahāwah syndrome', Negev, pp. 125-127.

⁹ CANTINEAU, Nomades I, p. 87, II, pp. 192-194; PROCHAZKA, Saudi Arabian Dialects, p. 62f.; ABOUD, The Verb, p. 487: 'a very common alternative to the perfect ʔakal , ʔaxaḍ are the forms **kala**, **xaḍa**, which are conjugated like final weak verbs'.

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- yħači 'he speaks' IV 11 (2x), 14 ← yħči S = III 10, IV 11 (in the phrase *la yħči wala yisči*), tħači 'she speaks' I 3 ← taħči S = I 3, 7 (2x), taħčiṣ I 7; naħči XIV 10, yaħku XIV 5, yaħču III 10
ma yxafa 'it is hidden' XIV 3D ← ma yaxfa (ya-! obviously used as a borrowed B phrase) (cf. yixfa S IV 13)
in'ağāto 'his sheep' XV 7 ← na'gāto

In addition to the above-mentioned cases in which S-forms are used side by side with B-forms, plain S-forms often occur without B-variants, e.g. *waraga* 'a sheet of paper' IV 15D, 'ašara 'ten' III 15, IV 3, 10, *karami* 'my generosity' XIV 49D, *karamo* 'his generosity' XIV 14, 49D, *marato* 'his wife' XIV 27, *marati* 'my wife' XIV 49D (*marti* *ibid.*); *sahle* 'a plain' I 4, 5, VIII 3, XIV 6, *zahret* 'the best of (cstr.)' III 10, 18 (cf. *zaharitha* III 10), *wa'da* 'prescribed time' III 36, *ma'za* 'a goat' VIII 2. Although these instances follow the syllable structure of S, they cannot be defined as distinct S-markers. This is true of the 'gahāwa syndrome' in particular, since the -aXC- → -(a)XaC- rule in B is not mechanically followed. Therefore, even if the syllable structure of the following instances goes by S patterns, it cannot be characterized as markedly 'non-B'; rather, it is stylistically neutral: 'aḥsan 'better' XIV 5, za'lān 'angry' VIII 2, X 9 (2x), ta'ifla 'evening entertainment' XI 5, *mahlūbāt* 'shorn animals' XIV 18D, ya'mil 'he does' VII 19, na'mil 'we do' XIV 15D, ya'rif 'he knows' II 15, taḥši 'she stuffs' XIV 26 (2x), 27 (2x), ya'ti 'he gives' XIV 1 (4x) and other forms of 'a'ta *passim*, taḡṣiḥum 'it overcomes them' VI 2.

It thus appears that the narrator often, but not consistently, uses syllable patterns characteristic of B. However, in dialogues B-forms are clearly predominant; even the sultan speaks Bedouin dialect: *wiṣ 'intu?* III 15.

3.2. Morphology

3.2.1. Personal pronouns

The independent personal pronouns used in the present narratives deviate from S in two persons only, viz. in the 2nd p. sing. masc., where (ʔ)int is used (II 5D, III 5D, 33D, IV 12D (2x), 14D, V 7D, VII 15D, IX 21D, X 5D, XIII 4D, XIV 21D, 35D, XV 7D, 17D, 33D), negated *mant* (III 33D, V 7D) or *lant* (VII 10D), and in the 1st p. plur., where *ḥinna* occurs in several passages (VI 3D (2x), VII 10D (3x), IX 23D, XIV 10D, XV 11D). Since these forms do not occur in genuine S, they can safely be labelled as stylistic B-markers. On the other hand, 'iḥna (III 16D, 17D, IV 14 (2x), VII 10D, VIII 1D, 2D, XIII 2 (4x), XIV 14D, 20D) admittedly is an S form but still not a distinct S-marker, because it is used in the Bedouin dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian type, thus being of common occurrence in Bedouin dialects of the

area.¹⁰ However, in the language of the narratives it is best interpreted as a form which the narrator uses when not imitating B but switching to a levelled variant of local dialect, for example in the parenthetic section included in IV 14: *ʔissāʔ ʔihna miṭil ḡonson hāḡa yaʔni yismaʔ bī^h w-iḡna hōn*. The only exclusively S-dialect form in the narratives is *ʔinte* VII 16D, XIV 40D, XV 17, 20, 34 (2x); the most frequently occurring B-form in the adjacent area is *ʔint*, but when a disyllabic B-variant occurs, it is *ʔinta*.¹¹

In the other persons there is actually no opportunity to Bedouinize the pronouns, since the B- and S-forms are practically identical. In the 2nd p. plur. masc. (*ʔintu*) is used (III 15D, XIV 4D, 8D, 9D, 43D) except once (*ʔintum* III 4D). The last-mentioned case must actually be regarded as a B-form, since it is alien to S, whereas *ʔintu*, which occurs in S as well as in the dialects of the neighbouring sheep-raising tribes,¹² is stylistically neutral.

As far as the pronominal suffixes in the dialects of the neighbouring Bedouin tribes are concerned, the form for the 2nd p. plur. masc. in them is *-kum*; this form appears, perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, in the present narratives in one passage only, viz. (i) *zlimitkum* 'the man you are looking for' X 3D (2x). Elsewhere the S form *-ku* is regularly used: II 26, VIII 8D, IX 23D (2x), XI 6, 29 (2x), XIII 4D, XIV 10D, 14D, 18D, 21D, 49D (2x), even in the conspicuous lexical B-marker *wišiddku* 'what do you want?' XIV 3D (2x), cf. the genuine S *baddku* (passim). If the older types of B are used as a model, *wišiddku* has to be considered a hybrid form (B lexical item + S pronominal suffix). However, as a matter of fact, *-ku* has spread as a K-form and has already become integrated in the Bedouin dialects of the area;¹³ therefore it can no longer be regarded as a distinct S-marker. The 2nd p. plur. fem. suffix *-čin* IX 3D (2x) is stylistically neutral, since it is the genuine form both in B¹⁴ and in the conservative type of S. The sporadically audible *-h/-^h* in the suffix of the 3rd p. sing. masc. could often be considered a pausal phenomenon, but its frequent occurrence in non-pausal position suggests that it should preferably be looked upon as a consciously used B-marker.¹⁵

3.2.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The narrator uses S-forms of the demonstrative pronouns: 'this' sing. masc. *hāḡa* II 4 and passim, in the shorter form—most often in combination with a preceding concretizing article *ha-l*—*hāḡ* II 10 (*ha-r-rigḡal hāḡ*) and passim; sing. fem. *hāḡi* II 5 and passim, in the shorter form *hāy* (the use corresponds to that of the masc. short form:) VII 5 (3x), XIV 8D, 26, *hayy* III 15 (2x), IV 5, XV 21, 22; plur. c. *hāḡōla*

¹⁰ CANTINEAU, *Nomades I*, p. 70 (Group C).

¹¹ CANTINEAU, *Nomades I*, p. 70, II, p. 173; PALVA, 'Aḡārma, p. 26.

¹² CANTINEAU, *Nomades I*, p. 70.

¹³ PALVA, 'Aḡārma, p. 28.

¹⁴ CANTINEAU, *Nomades I*, p. 72 (transcribed *-čenⁿ* although not stressed); PALVA, 'Aḡārma, p. 27.

¹⁵ Most Bedouin dialects of the adjacent area have the variants *-Co/-o^h* and *V-h/-^h*, CANTINEAU, *Nomades I*, pp. 71 and 76; PALVA, 'Aḡārma, p. 27f.; id., *Bani Šaxar*, p. 120f.

III 4 and passim, *haḡōl* I 5, II 5, VI 3, XIII 3, XIV 9, 18D, XV 1, 28; 'that' sing. masc. *haḡāka* II 8, X 6D, XIII 5, XV 24 *haḡāk* IV 7, 10D, X 5 & XIV 36 (*haḡāk il-īle*), XIV 29 (2x), 40, 48, XV 9; sing. fem. *haḡīče* I 7, II 14 (2x), XIV 43, 48, XV 15, *haḡīk* XI 29, *haḡīc* II 6, IV 8, VII 1, 8 (3x), 12, X 1, XIV 6, XV 18; plur. c. *haḡōlāka* VIII 16, XII 4, XIII 8, XV 23, *haḡōlāk* III 6, 10, XV 26, 32. The most common difference displayed by B is the frequent velarization of the pronoun (*hāḡa* etc.); in addition, some divergent forms occur in B (e.g. BŞ: *haḡōlinē* etc.) but these are not found in the present narratives. It may also be mentioned that the narrator does not use the relatively frequent S 'pseudo-construct state' *haḡīcēt-*; cf. *haḡīc ig-ḡiha* II 6D, *haḡīc id-dīra* XV 15.

3.2.3. The concretizer *ha-(l-)*

The concretizer *ha-l-* belongs to the salient features of narrative style in Greater Syria,¹⁶ and it occurs in the present narratives more than 140 times. Most often it does not functionally differ from the definite article, e.g. *ha-l-ʿurbān ʿilli ḡawalēh* 'the Bedouin who were in his company' II 2, *minu ha-z-zlima ʿalli baʿdo nāym b-haḡāk?* 'who's the man still sleeping over there?' II 13D, *ʿilhum ʿibyār [...] w-ha-l-ibyār imxaḡḡaḡāt* 'they had wells, and the wells belonged to different people' XII 1. Sometimes the concretizer may add a depicting shade usual in narration, e.g. *balidd ʿala ha-d-dinya* 'I'm just watching what's going on around' I 2D. The definite article is an integral part of the concretizer, which implies that when the concretizer is used to introduce a new, in the context previously unknown subject, the definite article loses its function, e.g. *yōmin ladd winn ha-l-ḡayye* 'when he looked around, he caught sight of a snake' I 4, *yōm [...] winn ha-l-bēt ib-ha-t-tarīg* 'when [...], they saw that there was a tent there, pitched by the wayside' III 7, *wāḡadin ḡarāri ʿilo ha-n-nwēgāt* 'a man from the ḡarārāt had some she-camels' V 1. This indicates that the concretizer neutralizes the contrast *marked definiteness (article + noun) vs. unmarkedness (zero + noun)*.¹⁷ The neutralization can be illustrated by the following example: *ḡābu ha-l-xarbūš w-banat il-ḡurma ha-l-xarbūš wara ha-l-bēt* 'they had brought with them a poor tent, and the woman pitched it (= the poor tent) behind the (sheikh's) tent' XIV 19. Normally the neutralization does not give cause for misunderstanding, but in a few contexts an unambiguous undefined form may be needed. In the present narratives one such exceptional case is found, where the concretizing *ha-* appears without article: *ya-raḡil imnēn ʿint? ḡāl min ha-d-dīre ha-ḡēf* 'I come from hereabouts, I'm just a guest' XV 5-6D.

That the concretizer has lost its etymological demonstrative value is evident from

¹⁶ For Syria, see for example the texts in LEWIN, Hama, and for Palestine SCHMIDT & KAHLE, *Volkserzählungen*, both of which abound in *ha-l-* concretizers. In Jordanian Bedouin texts they are rather frequent, too (PALVA, *Ḥesbān*), whereas in the Peninsular Bedouin texts they seem to be less frequent, cf. INGHAM, *Dḡafīr*, and SOWAYAN, *Arabian Narrative*.

¹⁷ It was pointed out by BLAU in his analysis of the use of the same concretizer in the Central Palestinian narratives from *Bīr Zēt*, published by KAHLE & SCHMIDT, that *hal-* may functionally be equivalent of *il-* as well as zero article, BLAU, *Syntax*, pp. 19-25.

the use of the combinations of *ha-l-* and a demonstrative pronoun,¹⁸ e.g. *ha-r-riggāl hād* II 10, XV 9, *ha-l-bēt hād* III 8D, *ha-l-xabar hād* III 37, *ha-r-riggāl haḏāk* IV 10, *ha-l-byūt haḏōla* X 6, *ha-s-šakil hāda* X 11, *ha-s-šagle hād* XIV 2, *ha-l-urbān hāy* XIV 8D, *ha-r-riggāl hāda* XIV 15, *ha-l-mahlūbāt haḏōl* XIV 18D, *ha-l-ibdūwi hād* XV 5D, *ha-d-dīra hādi* XV 6, *ha-ḏ-ḏēf hāda lli ḡā* XV 9.

Occasionally the concretizer is used with a local name, which is clear evidence of its non-demonstrative character: *ha-l-lubban* X 1; *ha-l-fāyiz* XI 3 and *ha-s-šiwābka* IX 2 are collective tribal names and therefore not exactly parallel cases.

3.2.4. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronoun 'who?' is *man/min*, *manhū*, *minī*, etc.¹⁹ in both S and B. The forms occurring in the present narratives: *min* II 15D, XIV 24D, XV 5, *man* IV 4D, *minu* II 13, *minhu* III 19D, *manhū* XIV 30D, thus are stylistically neutral. Used with the preposition *l-* there, however, is a noticeable difference between S and B: in S the form is *ʔil-man/ʔil-min* 'whose?', whereas in B the preposition is often placed after the pronoun. Thus the forms *il-min* X 6D (2x), XIV 18D and *li-min* IX 23D are stylistically neutral, while *minhīlo* II 5D, III 9D, *minhūlo* III 8D, *minhillo* X 6D, XIV 18D are distinct B-markers.

In the narratives there also are a couple of occurrences of the markedly sedentary form *mīn* XIV 5, 8D, which could be pointed out as a distinct non-B marker. However, it is not a genuine S form either, but it occurs commonly in both dialects as a progressing K feature.²⁰

The Bedouin counterparts of the local interrogative pronouns *sū/ʔēs* 'what?' (*ʔēs* I 2D (2x), *sū* III 13D (3x), III 36, XIV 26, 27, 39) belong to the best-known and most readily used B-markers in narrative style. Accordingly, *wiš/wuš* is by far the most frequent form for 'what?' in the present narratives: II 11D, III 11D, 15D, 31D (3x), 32D (2x), 33D, VI 1, 3D, VII 9D (2x), IX 20D, X 6D, XII 4D (2x), XIV 11D, 14D, 16D, 38D, XV 5 (3x), 7 (2x), 8, 11, 17, 28 (2x). It also appears in the phrase *wišidd- + suff. pron.*: *wišiddak* 'what do you want?' XIV 43D, *wišdak* (contracted from *wišiddak* <— *wiš widdak*) III 4D, *wišiddku* XIV 9D (2x), *wišiddēin* IX 23D, *wišiddna* III 4D, all of which naturally are distinct B-markers. Conspicuous B-markers are *wišinhū* 'what is it?' XIV 12D and *wušinhu hād* 'what's this?' III 31D, forms characteristic of the dialects of the camel-raising tribes, in the adjacent areas only used by the Bani Šaxar.²¹

Taking the noticeably frequent use of distinct B-markers into consideration, the few cases in which their local counterparts are used must be regarded as stylistic S-

¹⁸ This combination occurs in a vast area, not only in Northern Arabian and the Syro-Palestinian dialects but in North Africa as well, ROSENHOUSE, ZDMG, p. 251f. and references there. Rosenhouse assumes that the productive use of *ha-(l-)* without a demonstrative meaning as well as of the combination *ha-l- + demonstrative pronoun* can be attributed to the influence of Bedouin dialects.

¹⁹ PALVA, Bani Šaxar, p. 122f.; cf. SCHMIDT&KAHLE, Volkserzählungen, I, p. 67* *manu*.

²⁰ PALVA, 'Aḡārma, p. 30.

²¹ PALVA, Bani Šaxar, p. 123.

markers. In this respect the style is relatively consistent: S interrogative pronouns occur in stylistically B-marked contexts only once: *šu hāḡ? ḡāl lā tiḡbahūn hāḡa* 'What's going on? Don't kill them!' III 13D (3x). In the remaining cases the context is stylistically S-marked: *ʿala ʿeš bitliddi* 'what are you looking at?' I 2D (2x), *ʿiḡ-biddak minhum* 'what do you want of them?' III 17D. This stylistic choice is, of course, most natural when the listeners are addressed: *šu bihimmu minno* 'what did they care about him?' III 36, *hāḡa šu bumluk hāḡa* 'what did this man own?' XIV 39, *hāḡi šū xaḡat maḡḡa?* 'what had she taken with her?' XIV 26, *u-ma-driš šu biddo ysawwi* 'and he didn't know what to do' XIV 27.

The adjectival interrogative pronoun *ʿayy-* 'which?' occurs in the present narratives in one passage only, and then in B-form: *min ʿayyāt ʿarab? min ʿayyāt diḡe? w-min ayyāt u-min ayyāt* 'Of which tribe? From which district? And so on and so on.' II 5D. Here the whole context is clearly B-marked. The form *ʿayyāt* admittedly occurs in the local vernacular dialect as well, but obviously as a B-borrowing, whereas the genuine local forms are invariable *ʿayy*, *ʿayya*.

3.2.5. Relative pronouns

Somewhat unexpectedly, the distinct B-marker *ʿalli* occurs in the present narratives nine times only: II 13D, XI 5D, 6, XIV 9D, 38D, XV 5D, 9 (2x), 12, predominantly in direct discourse. There are a couple of additional cases in which the initial vowel of the pronoun is not unambiguously /a/ but which nevertheless must be interpreted as B-markers. One is a phrase characteristic of Bedouin narrative style: *ḡāl hāḡa lli ḡāk* 'look, this is what happened' VII 10D, XIV 35D, and the contexts of the other two instances are B-coloured, too: *ḡallo^h int yalli ṭalabt il-ʿadwān?* 'He said, Look, was it you who called the ʿAdwān?' IX 21D, and *ʿixs yalli ma yindara mnēn ašlak* XIV 40D 'Shame on you whose descent cannot be known!'; in both instances *yalli* is unmistakably a vocative form. In the remaining cases, the S-form (ʿi)lli is used, even in direct discourse in B-coloured contexts, e.g. VII 15D, 16D. The form *halli* (XI 6, XV 15) is stylistically neutral: both B and S use the relative pronoun with the concretizer *ha-*. In an expression of courtesy characteristic of Bedouin narrative style, *min* is used as a relative pronoun: *šarwa min ʿindi* 'as good as those with me here' IV 13.

3.2.6. Nominal morphology

The *tanwīn*, which in a generalized form still occurs in certain positions in the dialects of the camel-breeding North Arabian tribes (Šammari and ʿAnazi dialect types) as well as in Bedouin poetry of the North Arabian type, appears—rather unexpectedly, since it would be a means readily available in order to Bedouinize the narrative—only five times in the present prose texts. The reason might be that the Bedouin dialects of the neighbouring area, with the exception of the dialect of the Bani Šaxar, do not make use

of *tanwīn*.²² These five instances are: *wāḥadin šarāri* 'a man from the Šarārāt' V 1, *fi wāḥadin 'ind 'ibin gēf šāni* 'in Ibn Gēf's camp there was a blacksmith' VII 6, *wlēdin ḥilw* 'he was a pleasant young man' VII 14, *w-aṭla'lo bētin hināka* 'and he had pitched a tent for him there' VII 16, *fi wāḥadin hināka* 'there was a man there' XII 5. In the three first-mentioned cases the *tanwīn* is used according to the rules for optional nunation in the dialects of the Šammari and 'Anazi types,²³ but the last two instances probably are correct B-forms as well.²⁴ The *tanwīn* in the interrogative pronoun *wišinhu/wušinhu* has of course not been borrowed as a separate morpheme, but as an integral part of the pronoun.

The phonetic conditioning of the sing. fem. st. abs. allomorphs /-a/ and /-e/ in S is in the narratives sporadically abandoned, and the back allomorph is used instead of the front allomorph of S. As mentioned above, this occurs most consistently in typical Bedouin lexical items such as *zēna*, *xīša*, *ta'īlā*, but usually the conscious Bedouinizing tendency calls forth some fluctuation, e.g. *lēla* and *lēle*, *mazyūna* and *mazyūne*, *fāyda* and *fāyde*, *gašīda* and *gašīde*. However, in st. cstr. and pron. the forms follow consistently the S pattern, e.g. *sālfet* X 10, *zahret* III 5D, 10, 18D, 'išbet II 9, *sālfitna* XIV 10D, *zaharitha* III 10, *salāmitku* XI 29, *xēmītha* II 10, *rīḥitha* XV 19 (2x), *sīrto* XIV 49D, *ḥurmto* XIV 20, XV 28, 29, *ṭalābto* XI 4, *dīrto* XV 13, without any tendency towards 'trochaic' syllable pattern.

Other noticeable features in the nominal morphology of the narratives are the frequent cases in which B patterns with a raised vowel in the initial syllable are followed: *nizīl* II 5, *gīrb* X 4 (but *garībīnhum* VI 1), *minzālhum* VI 1, *minsaf* XIV 7 (4x), *mičāno* XIV 11D (2x), *ḍibāyih* XIV 1, *wisāyid* XIV 26, as well as the use of diminutive forms characteristic of B: *wlēd* VII 13, 14, XII 2, 'umēmi XIV 25D (2x), *nwēgāt* V 1, *rmēkāt* VII 10D (2x), *m'ezāt* IV 3, *hwayyin* X 8, *zgayyir* VII 1. The diminutive forms might here be regarded as lexical borrowings from B rather than being called forth by imitation of morphological patterns of the B type.

3.2.7. Numerals

The numerals used in the narratives occur regularly in their local Salṭi forms. Thus—like in other sedentary dialects of the Syrian area—the numerals 3 to 10 are followed by -t when the numeral immediately precedes the quantified noun if this is a broken plural beginning with a vowel phoneme. This remnant of older feminine belongs phonetically to the quantified noun, e.g. *sit-tuṣhur* I 3, *tis'a tuṣhur* XV 28, 29, 'ašar *tīyām* II 10 (2x), 12, *xams sit-tīyām* III 36. No B-forms without the connective /t/ are

²² PALVA, Bani Šaxar, p. 130f. (in the text one line has been dropped: p. 131, add between lines 4 and 5: 'in an indefinite noun followed by a clause: *wāḥdin yigulūlu^h farwa^h* 'a man called Farwa', (d). In the same context, l. 6, the instance should be read 'ana nāšim alla w-nūšīk 'I pray to God and to you'. CANTINEAU gives only one example of *tanwīn* in the Bedouin dialects he studies in Nomades I: *ḥalīlān šejir* 'much cattle', heard among the 'Umūr, p. 102.

²³ BLAU, Emergence, pp. 167-212 and references there.

²⁴ Cf. ABOUD, Najdi, pp. 10 and 13; MONTAGNE, Contes X 10 *čema gerben* 'ala jēt elbīr, XI 7f. *g^yāyen* 'allyah, X 3 *ana mg^yīren* 'aleiç, WETZSTEIN, Zeltlager, p. 11, l. 1 *ḥārmēn* 'alayya.

found; *sabi*ʿ *ʔaman iṣxāṣ ʿaṣr iṣxāṣ* III 6D is no exception, since the broken plural of *ṣaxṣ* in S is *iṣxāṣ*, and the initial /i/ is only a non-phonemic prothetic vowel. In the numerals 11 to 19, the S construction (-iṣ in st. abs. -ṣar in st. cstr.) is used: *ʔnaʿṣar sane* XV 8, *xamṣtaʿṣar yōm* III 7, 34 (2x). The only instances of B-markers among the numerals are the two cases of st. cstr. without /-ar/: *xamistāʿiṣ yōm* V 2D and *ʔibin ʔamanʔāʿiṣ sabaʿʔāʿiṣ sane* VII 13. The cardinal numerals bigger than 10 furnished with the definite article function as ordinal numerals both in S and B: *nhār il-xamistāʿiṣ*²⁵ III 36. In the construction *il-ʿiṣrīn yōm* V 4 (2x) the ordinal numeral is exceptionally placed before its substantive, obviously in order to give it special emphasis.

3.2.8. The verb

The only major difference between S and B in the perfect of Form I lies in the vowel pattern, in which CiCaC- in B corresponds to the S pattern CaCaC-, when C₁ is not *mufaxxam* (pharyngealized) or C₂ is not /l/, /n/, or /r/.²⁶ This B feature is, however, not very frequent in the present texts. As expected, the vowel patterns are not conceived as a consistent structural system, but they are looked upon as associated with certain lexical items. Consequently, the B vowel pattern is usually borrowed together with B words and phrases: *lifa* 'he came' III 28D (2x), IV IV 5, XV 9, *ḡizāk alla* 'may God reward you' III 3D, *nikast* 'I came back' XV 12 (2x). This indicates that the phonetic shapes of genuine items of the speaker's idiolect are not modified in order to imitate B. The only exception in this respect is the verb *ḡabaḥ*, which in III 20 (2x) occurs in the S-form *ḡabaḥo* but in II 4, III 3 and XV 34 (2x)—significantly, in the context of Bedouin hospitality—in B-forms *ḡibaḥūlo*, *ḡibaḥilhum* *ḡibāyih* and *ḡibaḥto*.

In S, the C₁ʔ verbs *ʔaxaḡ* and *ʔakal* are strong in the perfect, whereas in B they have developed into C₃y verbs *xaxa* and *kala*.²⁷ In the present narratives B-forms are used, but not consistently: *xaxa* V 5, VII 4, *xaxāha* VII 3, *xaxāh* V 5, *xaxāhin* V 7, *xaxāhum* V 4, *xaxat* XIV 26 (2x), *xaxēto* III 33D, *xaxū*^h XI 29, *kala* XIV 25D, but also *axaḡ* III 14, *axaḡha* III 10, 18, *ʔakalo* III 20 (2x).

The gender distinction in plural is both an S and a B feature. Therefore the forms *ḡāmin* XIII 4, *ṣawwaṣin* XIII 4, and *gaʿdin igargarin* XIV 25 are stylistically neutral. Having said *ʔin-niswān iḥayyaru* XIII 4 the narrator immediately corrects the subject: *il-ʔizlām iḥayyaru*. However, in the same passage he first uses a feminine predicate (*ḡāmin in-niswān ʿalēhum*) but continues with a masculine predicate (*ḡālu*), which—if not a slip of tongue—is a K-form of sedentary type.

In the imperfect there is a major contrast between S, which has short personal

²⁵ See footnote to Text III 36.

²⁶ PALVA, ʿAḡārma, p. 31.

²⁷ All the Bedouin dialects studied by CANTINEAU, *Nomades* I, p. 87, and II, p. 192f., inflect these verbs in the perfect of Form I as C₁y verbs (*xaxa*, *kala* etc.); PALVA, *Bani Ṣaxar*, p. 127; id., ʿAḡārma, p. 37.

morphemes in the 2nd p. sing. fem., 2nd p. plur. masc. and 3rd p. plur. masc. (t-...-i, t-...-u, y-...-u), and B, which has longer forms with a final -n (t-...-īn, t-...-ūn, y-...-ūn). In this respect, the typological distinction between the two dialect types has recently been partially levelled as a result of a koineizing tendency which favours shorter n-less forms.²⁸ In the present texts imperfect forms have been Bedouinized by this marker seven times only: *lā tiḡbahūn* 'don't slaughter' III 13D, *yigībūn* 'they bring' IX 19, *yirīdūn yāklūn* 'they want to eat' IX 19, *yōxdūn* 'they take' IX 19, *yibxatūn* 'they are lucky' IX 20D, *yigibrūnhum* 'they bury them' XV 16. Among these, *yōxdūn* is a hypocorrect B-form, since the vowel of the initial syllable is S /ō/ instead of B /ā/. One obvious hypercorrect B-form also occurs, viz. *nikirmūno* 'we give him a worthy welcome (Form IV)' III 29D. It is characteristic of the use of these B-forms that they occur exclusively in passages with exceptionally heavy Bedouinization.

Another potential B-marker, the imperfect preformative vowel /a/, which occurs in Form I act. in the 'Anazi and Šammari Bedouin dialects and is a common feature in the present poems, does not belong to the stylistic Bedouinizing repertory of the narrator. Although it is used in the adjacent area by the Bani Šaxar²⁹ and thus is a rather well-known B feature, it occurs here a few times only: *yamraḡ* 'he fell ill' VII 18 (2x), *yahruḡ* 'he talks' XV 1, *tagšīhum* 'it overcame them' VI 2.

The typologically most conspicuous distinctive feature in the verbal morphology of the sedentary and Bedouin dialects in the Greater Syrian area is the use of the b-afformative with the imperfect as a morpheme for indicative non-past in the sedentary dialects, and its absence in the Bedouin dialects.³⁰ In the present narratives the b-imperfect has not been systematically avoided; rather, it has been used quite freely, and then always according to S. Even if the distribution of the two types of indicative non-past imperfect forms in the narratives does not follow any clear-cut pattern, it is not completely occasional, however. When the narrator addresses the audience, giving parenthetical explanations, he as a rule switches to sedentary b-imperfect forms, e.g. II 4, where the addressing *ya-būna* is followed by a passage in S, containing a series of seven b-imperfects. In II 5 the narrative continues without b-imperfects up to II 10; from then on, b-imperfects are avoided in direct discourse only: *wiṣ trīd* II 11D, *'arīd 'ašūfič* II 11D, *min ya'rif* II 15D. Another illustrative example of the distribution is text III. The introductory passage III 1-2, where the narrator provides the listeners with some background information, he uses S style, including nine indicative non-past forms rendered by the b-imperfect. Thereafter he shifts the style to mainly B, which implies only a sporadic use of the b-imperfect: *bigdar* III 12 and *bugūlūlo* III 19D, *bigzu* III 22, *bimši*, *binhaḡ*, *bigḡab*, *bōxuḡ* III 25, and *šu bihimmu minno* III 36; among these the last one is a clearly parenthetical remark, and the passage III 25 is a humorous description which often calls forth the use of plain colloquial style. Text XI

²⁸ See PALVA, 'Aḡārma, p. 33.

²⁹ PALVA, Bani Šaxar, p. 125; /i/ in the imperfect preformative is a passive marker.

³⁰ The Bedouin dialects spoken in the Negev and Sinai freely use the b-imperfect, BLANC, Negev, p. 139; it also occurs sporadically in Southern Jordan, BANI YASIN & OWENS, Bduul, p. 216; PALVA, North West Arabian, pp. 158-160, regards the last-mentioned as a probably recent K-form.

displays a similar stylistic pattern: the introductory passage abounds in b-imperfects, which then disappear, only to occur as the introductory word *bugūl* 'he says' XI 6 to the following poem. In texts IV, V, VI, VII, and IX the narrator consistently follows B patterns of the imperfect, the exceptions being *biktib* 'ād ... *biṭamminhum* ... *bigūl* IV 16, *bugūl ha-š-šilimīn gašīd* V 7, and *biḡḡig* VII 11. The last-mentioned form is part of a well-known saying, and the two remaining cases occur in phrases marking a transition from narrative to poem. In texts VIII, XII and XIII b-imperfects are relatively frequent; text XIV starts with imperfect forms of the B type, but the latter half contains several S-forms of which at least *bikūn* XIV 23, *bitkūn* XIV 24, *biḡi* XIV 29, *bumluk* XIV 39, perhaps also *bōḡa* 'o XIV 30, can be regarded as belonging to parenthetical comments. Text XV mainly follows the B-type forms, with a few exceptions: *btillaḡig* XV 22, *bḡursu* XV 28D (2x), and *ibturguḡ* XV 32.

The verbs *ʔaxaḡ/xaḡa* and *ʔakal/kala* are inflected inconsistently in the imperfect, too, yet most often according to the S pattern: *bōxuḡ* 'he takes' III 1 (2x), 25, *bōxḡo* 'he takes it' III 1, *yōxuḡ* III 21, XI 1, *yōxḡu* XIII 1, *bōxḡu* X 11, XIII 6, *nōxuḡ* VIII 1, *ʔōxuḡha* II 2d, *btōklū^h* IV 10D. The B pattern occurs only sporadically: *yāxuḡ* XI 5, *yāxḡu* IX 22, *yāklūn* IX 19.

Among the weak verbs only the C_{3y} type displays unmistakable B-markers: in Form I *yigiz* 'he raids' V 2 (in a markedly Bedouinizing passage), and in Form II *tfaḡḡ* 'she pours out' XIV 29, used instead of the S counterparts *yigzi* and *tfaḡḡi*. In the C_{2w} verbs Bedouin dialects often have *i* in the close syllable in the perfect, most commonly known from *gilt* 'I said' etc., instead of *u* in S. This B form, however, occurs once only, XV 5D, while the narrator as a rule uses S forms.

The verb 'to come' most often appears in its common S forms: (ʔ)*aḡa* I 5,6 and passim, (ʔ)*iḡa* I 5, IV 5, V 6, whereas the B-type form *ḡā/ḡa* occurs more seldom, and then in contexts displaying other B-markers, especially in texts VII and XV: *ḡa* VII 5, *ḡā* VII 12,13 (2x), XV 9 (2x),15,20, *ḡāh* VII 17 (2x),20 (2x), *ḡāk* VII 10, XIV 35, *ḡū* XV 9 (2x). When the personal morphemes begin with a consonant, the S and B forms are usually identical (*ḡit*, *ḡīna*, *ḡītu* etc.). The imperfect forms as a rule follow the long-vocalic S pattern *yīḡi*, *tīḡi* etc.: II 1,4 (3x), III 21 (2x) and passim, whereas the short-vocalic B forms are few: *yīḡi* II 8, XV 13, *ʔaḡi* V 3D. In addition there are some cases where the phonemic length of the initial syllable remains ambiguous: *yīḡ^h* II 1, XIV 8, *yīḡī* IV 2, VII 14, *yīḡūlo* IV 4, *aḡīli* XV 6D, *tīḡīthum* VI 2.

Analogous to the imperfect inflection, the final /-n/ is sometimes added to the imperative as well: *sallmūn* 'greet (pl. masc.)' III 3D, *kirmūno* 'give (pl. masc.)him a worthy welcome' III 29D, *ḡuṭṭūnhum* 'put (pl. masc.) them' III 29D. This kind of hyper-Bedouinization does not occur elsewhere in the present narratives, but is rather common in other similar contexts, e.g., in the narratives preceding Nimr ibn al-ʿAdwān's poems.³¹

³¹ Examples from SPOER&HADDAD, Nimr: imperat. *rūḡūn* 278:5; perf. *ḡāṭūn* 274:15, 277:12, 277:14, 277:18, 278:2, *llfōnahum* 275:22, *llḡūnu* 278:5, *wanhabōn* ibid. The form *ʔelbesūn*, by DEN HEYER called 'le plus énigmatique ... l'inaccompli employé avec le sens d'un accompli', Khafsé, Text II 7 and p. 61 n. 1, judging from the context, probably is a perfect form used with -n. Since the stylistic context is not of the character that calls for hyper-bedouinization, it may be regarded as a variant due to

The participle forms used in the narratives follow the S pattern, which is identical with B and deviates in a few respects from most sedentary dialects of the Syro-Palestinian area. The most important trait common to S and B is the CāCC pattern of the active participle of the C₃ = C₂ verbs: *ḥāṭṭ* X 7, *mādd* IV 5, *zāmm* XIV 24, *dābb* IV 7, which in Syro-Palestinian sedentary dialects display the CāCiC pattern. Another peculiarity typical of both S and B is the lengthening of the vowel in the sing. fem. participles when followed by a suffixed pronoun: *ṣayfīliṣ* I 2.

3.2.9. Adverbs

The demonstrative adverb for 'here' in the present narratives is as a rule rendered by the S-form *hōn*: I 3 and passim; *hōna* XIII 2, XIV 20d, 43. The form *hān*, which occurs a few times: III 26D, XIV 26D (3x), XV 9, is a B-form but not a distinct B-marker because it by no means is alien to the local dialect. Besides, it is typical of the dialects of the peasants of Central and Southern Palestine as well.³² On the other hand, distinct B-markers also exist, even though they are not typical of the Syro-Mesopotamian group of Bedouin dialects spoken in the neighbourhood. Such exclusive B-forms are *b-hāḡa* and *b-haḡāk*, in the adjacent area attested for the Bani Ṣaxar.³³ There is only one instance of both of them in the present narratives, both significantly occurring in direct discourse in a B-coloured context: *xallik ib-hāḡa* 'stay here' VII 15D, *minu ha-z-zlima ʿalli baʿdo nāym b-haḡāk?* 'who's the man still sleeping over there?' II 13D. Instead of the latter, the stylistically neutral *hināk(a)* is used (I 3, II, 4 and passim), sometimes in a shorter form (i) *hnāk* (**hināk/hunāk*) VIII 16, XI 3 (2x).

Contrary to what might be expected, the characteristic B-form *hīc* 'in this way' does not occur in the present narratives at all. Instead of it, the genuine older local *hēc* (III 36, XII 4, XIV 21 (2x), 24) and the slightly koineized current local form *hēc* (VII 16) are used, the last-mentioned variant parenthetically, when addressing the listeners. 'So-and-so' is regularly rendered with the stylistically neutral *kaḡa kaḡa* II 9, III 31D, XIV 14D, 15, 49D.

The interrogative adverbs *wēn* 'where?' II 4, IV 4D, 5, 8, VI 2D, VII 12, X 3D, 4, 8 (5x), XV 13, 15, and (ʿi) *mnēn* 'from where?' II 5D, VII 15D (2x), X 5D, XIV 21D, 40D, XV 23 (2x) are stylistically neutral; once the narrator uses a deviating form

imperfect analogy. The form *gālūn* in DALMAN, *Diwan*, p. 252, l. 15, is comparable with *gālūn* etc. in SPOER&HADDAD, whereas similar forms in medieval Christian Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic texts are hypercorrections due to Classicizing aspirations, BLAU, *Christian Arabic*, p. 146, n. 11, and references there.

³² BERGSTRÄSSER, *Sprachatlas*, Map 25; BAUER, *Pal.*, p. 90; CLEVELAND, *Classification*, p. 62; PALVA, *Classification*, Criterion (i); id., *Karak*, p. 236.

³³ PALVA, *Bani Ṣaxar*, p. 132f. (side by side with *hān*, *hanāk*); in other dialects of the Šammari type, MONTAGNE, *Contes*, XII, 3. Corresponding forms are also to be found in the Bedouin dialects spoken in Sinai and the Negev, STEWART, *Sinai Bedouin Law*, 2, 15.100, 27.2, 28.16, 69.216 (fi *hāḡa*), 28.17, 59.54 (fi *haḡāk*), side by side with *hniy*, *hniyān*, *hniyāniy*, *hniyyih* ('here'), and *hnuh* ('there'); BLANC, *Negev*, p. 146 (fi *hāḡa* side by side with *hniy*, *hniyyih*, *hniyānih*). They are used by the Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ʿAṣīye as well, PALVA, *Ḥwēṭāt*, p. 304f. (fi *hāḡa*, fi *haḡāk*, with the variants *b-hāḡa*, *b-haḡāk*, *hān* and *hanāk*, which might be K-forms).

int min ʔən ʔint IV 14D, which is nothing but an accentuated realization of the Bedouin idiom int immən int IV 12D 'where are you from?'

The word for 'now' occurs once only, in a form which is common to S and B: *hassa* V 7D. The form ʔissa^c IV 14 occurs in a parenthetic explanation for the listeners and seems to be called forth by koineizing tendency;³⁴ ʔissa^c XV 33 is used in a slightly different meaning 'now, this very moment', and is difficult to explain as anything but a genuine S form.

There are only three occurrences of the interrogative adverb for 'how?', which each time is rendered by *ʕef* I 4D, III 29D, XV 3. The absence of the well-known B forms *wislən* and *ʕlən* from the narratives might be mere coincidence. However, although *ʕef* is an S-form, it is also used in the neighbouring Bedouin dialects side by side with the marked B-forms.³⁵ Thus the form is stylistically neutral in its relation to S and B, but at the same time markedly different from the levelled type of the local vernacular.

Among the adverbs there are four unmistakable F-forms, all frequently occurring in all kinds of colloquial speech deviating from the simplest plain colloquial, viz. *faʕlan* 'really' II 16, *ʕabʕan* 'of course' XIII 8, *ʕiddan* 'very' XIV 15, *maʕḡānan* 'free of charge' III 24 (6x). The first-mentioned three items occur in passages which can be regarded as parenthetic explanations; as to the fourth, the narrator explicitly refers to a written text. The form *dāyman* 'always' III 1, VI 1 (*dayman*), IX 1, 19, XIV 20 belongs to the same category of words but, being an older borrowing from F,³⁶ it has become better integrated in S. The same is true of ʔabadan 'never', 'at all', 'sure' VIII 16; however, two interesting shorter forms also occur, viz. ʔabdan XIV 35D³⁷ and the regular *tanwīn*-less ʔabad II 9D, both of which plausibly result from the narrator's Bedouinizing tendency.

The adverbs *biḡi* 'about', 'approximately' II 9, III 15D, 31, XV 24 (*biḡi* XIV 29) and *balʕi* 'perhaps' are common S items,³⁸ whereas *ʕād* 'now, then' I 7 (2x), IV 16, IX 24, XIV 43, and *kūd* 'only', 'perhaps' VII 11, XV 5 are marked B-forms, although occurring in S as well.

3.2.10. Presentatives

A narrator has at his disposal different ways to draw the listeners' attention to certain incidents and developments in his narratives. Many of these are extralinguistic, such as gesticulation, mimics, speech tempo and volume, and pauses, means of expression which are difficult or impossible to indicate in a transcription. Only the places of

³⁴ The form is either a contamination of the local *hassa*^c and the Palestinian ʔissa (used in Northern Palestine and Southern Lebanon as well as in Jerusalem, side by side with other forms), or an approximation of some form used in Syria, BERGSTRÄSSER, Sprachatlas, Map 27; BAUER, Pal., p. 91; BARTHÉLEMY, Dict., p. 8 s.v. ʔs^c; PALVA, Classification, p. 13f.

³⁵ PALVA, ʕAḡārma, p. 39; id., Bani ʕaxar, p. 132.

³⁶ PALVA, ʕAḡārma, p. 47.

³⁷ Cf. the Ḥwēti forms ʔabda and ʔabdan, PALVA, Ḥwēti, p. 305.

³⁸ However, freely used by Bedouin of the adjacent area, PALVA, ʕAḡārma, p. 39, and id., Bani ʕaxar, p. 133.

pauses between breath groups, indicated by dashes, give a slight idea about changes in the rhythm of narration in different contexts. One of the linguistic means to draw attention is the use of presentatives.³⁹

The presentatives used here are mainly of Bedouin type, three of them etymologically associated with the verb 'to see'. One is *har'ī*, the imperative of the B variant *ra'ā* of *ra'ā*, with a prefixed interjection:⁴⁰ *ya-šēx har'ī bī fundug hōn* 'look, sheikh, there is an inn here' III 26D, *har'ū mawgūd b-il-fundug l-iflāni* 'look, he's in that and that inn' III 28D, *walla har'u* 'well, look, he's there' IV 4D. The presentative is inflected like the imperative of Form IV, and occasionally it takes a pronominal suffix (*har'ū*).⁴¹ In two passages another presentative occurs, obviously formed of the Form IV imperative of *ra'ā* in an exactly parallel way:⁴² *hari wēn izlimitkum 'ind iflān* 'Look, the man you are looking for is living with So-and-So' X 3D, *hari b-il-xarbūš walla lagētha* 'Look, I have found her! She's there in the poor tent.' XIV 34D.

A further presentative derived from *ra'ā* is the old imperfect form *tara*:⁴³ *tarāku kasbānīn* 'Look, it's you who have won the victory' IX 23D, *tara hī lli tiṭla'ak* 'look, that's the horse which can take you off' XV 18D.

A presentative particle derived from the plural of *ʔaṭar* is *ṭari-*: *yōminno ɢarab 'ala l-bāb — hī winnha ṭarītha bāgye tittanna bī* 'when he knocked at the doorcloth, she was there waiting for him' II 10. Here the presentative—as well as the pronoun *hī*—seems to be somewhat redundant, as the particle *winnha* actually conveys the same meaning. Yet there might be a shade which *ṭari-* adds, viz. 'actually'. Different varieties of this particle occur in both Bedouin and sedentary dialects,⁴⁴ but in this case the structure, the feminine morpheme /t/ + pronominal suffix, calls special attention. *** Illustrative of the great diversity of this particle, a form displaying /t/ instead of /t/ also occurs: *ʔin nikast 'alēk tarīk ta'ṭīni yyā* 'if I come back to you, you must give it to me' XV 12D. This might be interpreted either as a borrowing from urban Syrian/Palestinian or as a contamination of *ṭari-* and *tara*.

³⁹ A comprehensive study in presentative constructions in Arabic is Chapter IV (pp. 54-101) of BLOCH, *Syntax and Semantics*.

⁴⁰ This is the plausible etymology, given by FISCHER, Dem., p. 193f. Varieties of this presentative have been attested for different Bedouin dialects in a large area; it also occurs in a poem written down by DALMAN on the top of Ġabal Ōṣa' near es-Salṭ: *har'ī kūbān 'ala-dār* 'siehe da, der Taugenichts im Haus', Diwan, p. 32, no. 3. The form has been attested for Palestinian villagers in the Jerusalem area as well, BAUER, Pal., p. 74; cf. BERGSTRÄSSER, *Sprachatlas*, §74. I would believe that in these dialects it is a Bedouin loanword.

⁴¹ A similar use of pronominal suffixes has been reported from Central Palestinian villages, BAUER, Pal., p. 74.

⁴² For the imperative *ʔarī*, see FISCHER, Dem., p. 193.

⁴³ See comparative material, see FISCHER, Dem., pp. 195-197. For the use of *tara*, *tar*, *taru* in Šammari Bedouin narratives, see SOWAYAN, *Arabian Narrative*, Gl., p. 251f.

⁴⁴ For references, see FISCHER, Dem., p. 197f. In Šammari narratives, several varieties of the particle occur: *aṭir*, *aṭāri*, *ṭāri*, *aṭari*, and *ṭari*, which take a pronominal suffix if not followed by the subject directly, SOWAYAN, *Arabian Narrative*, Gl., p. 244.

3.2.11. Conjunctions

The adversative conjunction *lākin* mainly occurs in stylistically neutral passages in which the narrator is explaining the implications of some details: IV 13, VIII 2, X 2, XI 2, XI 4, XII 4, XIV 3D, 20 (2x), 25, 27, XV 1.

The temporal conjunctions *yōm* I 2 and *passim*, *yōm-ma* I 5, *yōminn-* I 6 and *passim*, are identical in S and B; *yōmin* I 4, III 35, IX 19, XV 17 (2x) is more characteristic of Bedouin narrative style.⁴⁵ 'Until' is in both S and B rendered by *lama* II 4, 5, 12, III 16, V 4, X 4, XIV 2, 13, 43, XV 13 and *lamann-* IV 8, V 3D, XIV 6, 29; only in I 3 (3x) it is used as a final conjunction. Also *lammin* I 5D is stylistically neutral in its relation to S and B. The same holds true of the final conjunctions *ḥatta* III 23d, *la-ḥatta* III 24, VIII 1, and *ta-* V 5, XIV 14D.

The conditional conjunctions *ʔin* XIII 7, XIV 5, 31D (2x), 38 (3x), XV 12 and *čān* III 34D, 15D, XV 8 (*čānni* VII 15D, *čānha* I 4D (2x)), as well as *laww* XIV 10D, *lawinnha* XIV 32D are stylistically neutral; on the other hand, *ʔiḡa* VII 5, XIII 5, XIV 4D (2x) can be regarded as a K-form. The B-form *la*, which is very common in poetry, occurs in prose in one passage only: *la šār* 'should it' XIV 11D (2x).

Among the conjunctions formed with relative *mā* only two display different stylistic variants: *bāʔad-ma* II 6, III 4, *bāʔid-ma* VII 14 'after' is both S and K, whereas *ʔūgum-ma* II 6, VI 2, 3, 4, IX 2 is both a genuine older S⁴⁶ and a B-form; *mēta-ma* I 4D, XV 18 is a rather restricted local trait, an S-marker, the distinct B counterpart being *mita-ma* XI 2.⁴⁷

3.3. Syntax

3.3.1. Negations

The local dialect makes use of bipartite negations *ma ...-š* and a markedly local S-form *ʔa...-š*. The originally affirmative *-š* is here always optional, and the negative particle *ma/mā* cannot be omitted as is the case in Palestinian dialects. It seems that the optional *-š* has still preserved some of its original affective value. This negative affirmative does not occur in Bedouin dialects except as a recent K-borrowing.⁴⁸ In the present narratives the negation system mainly follows the patterns of the narrator's idiolect. Thus, there are several cases of forms which can be regarded as S-markers: *ma tismáʔš* 'she didn't hear/listen' III 3, *ma taḥčīš* 'she didn't speak' III 7, *ma ḡāš* 'he didn't come' III 23, *ma ʔaddātiš* '(if) it will not muster' XIII 2, *ma margatišš* 'she had not passed by' XIV 28, *ma šāfhāš* 'he didn't see her' XIV 29, *madriš* 'I don't (/he didn't?) know' XIV 27, *ma gaṭáʔiš* 'he didn't stop' XIV 39, *ma šāfušš* 'he hadn't seen

⁴⁵ Cf., however, BAUER, Pal., p. 127, Anm. 5: F(ellachi) *yōmin*.

⁴⁶ BAUER, Pal., p. 127, Anm. 6; SCHMIDT&KAHLE, *Volkserzählungen*, 39,5, 50,11, 52,13, 130,10; BLAU, *Syntax*, p. 238c.

⁴⁷ PALVA, *ʔAḡārma*, p. 39; id., *Bani Šaxar*, p. 132.

⁴⁸ PALVA, *ʔAḡārma*, p. 42.

him' XIV 36, *ma lagetūš* 'you didn't find' XIV 4D, *ma ʔalaʕūš* 'they could not...' XIV 13. It is significant that the affective negation is most frequent in the humorous, lively stories I and XIV but almost absent in the rest of the narratives. In two cases, *ma yidriš* XV 26 and *ma-driš* 'he didn't know (at all)' XV 32, the affective negation has been used in combination with a B-coloured verb, whereas ʔana ma ʔadri 'I don't know' XV 33D, ʔint(e) ma tidri 'you don't know' XV 33D, 34D, *ma tidri* id. III33D, VII 10D, *ma yidri* 'he doesn't know' VII 18, and *ma yidru* 'they don't know' IV 15D are B-forms both syntactically and lexically.

There are two special cases in which the local dialect allows dropping or shortening of the negative particle, viz. ʔabiš 'there isn't' XIV 31, and *biddnāš* 'we'll not' XIV 43. The former is a very distinct local trait, whereas *ma fišš* I 1, 3 is its K equivalent; in addition to these, the B-form occurs, too: *mā fi* II 2 (4x) and XIV 7, XV 30 (2x) and passim. On the other hand, *biddnāš* is a K-form borrowed from Palestinian dialects. Also *maʕlešš* 'never mind' III 19D is a characteristic K-form, synonymous with the B-form *wuš ʕalē* XIV 14D, 16D, 38D, XV 8.

Since the negative constructions of B are identical with the S negations without -š, there are no distinct B-markers in the present narratives other than the low frequency of bipartite negations in texts II-XIII. Another 'negative B-marker' is the total absence of the S-type nominal negation *miš/muš*; instead of it, there are B-type negations like *mahu* III 15 (2x), VII 6, 20D, X 9.

3.3.2. Analytic genitive

Salṭi, like all the sedentary dialects of the Greater Syrian dialect area, makes use of analytic genitive constructions, the most commonly used genitive exponent being *tabaʕ*.⁴⁹ Characteristically of the stylistic aspirations, this exponent does not occur in the present narratives, and analytic genitive constructions are as a rule avoided. The only occurrence is *šār I-imʕazzib ḥaggo* 'he became his servant' VII 14, in which the exponent *ḥagg* is a conspicuous stylistic B-marker.

3.3.3. Existential statements ('there is...')

In existential statements ('there is...') two different prepositions are used in different dialects spoken in the Greater Syrian area. In a majority of dialects the preposition is *fi*: it is used in all Bedouin dialects⁵⁰ as well as most sedentary dialects.⁵¹ The

⁴⁹ For the use of analytic genitive in Syrian, Lebanon and Palestine, see EKSELL HARNING, *Analytic Genitive*, pp. 49-66.

⁵⁰ In the Bedouin dialects of the adjacent area, the use of *fi* is often restricted to the existential function, CANTINEAU, *Nomades I*, p. 109; PALVA, ʕAğārma, p. 40, id., *Bani Šaxar*, p. 134. In this respect the North Arabian Bedouin dialects differ sharply from the Bedouin dialects spoken in Arabia Petraea, the Negev and Sinai, which make use of *fi* side by side with *b-*, in the same functions, PALVA, *Ḥwējāt*, p. 306.

⁵¹ The only major exception is the dialect of Palmyra, in which the preposition *fi* does not occur even in the existential function, CANTINEAU, *Palmyre I*, p. 228. Also in Ḥōrān *fi* tends to disappear and to be supplanted by *b-*: *bī(h)*, *ma bīš*, CANTINEAU, *Ḥōrān*, p. 397f.

genuine S-form is *bī* 'there is, there are', negated *ʔabīš*,⁵² while the corresponding B-forms are *fī* and *mā fī*. These stylistic varieties are distributed rather evenly without any apparent regularity; the only noticeable feature is the avoidance of the doubly S-marked form *ʔabīš*, which occurs only once, in a humorous passage (XIV 31). Otherwise the B-marked negative form is always (15 times) used. The K-form *ma fišš*, well known as a Palestinian and Lower Egyptian feature, occurs twice in an S-coloured stylistic context, I 1 and I 3.

3.3.4. Some syntactic features of narrative style

A syntactic feature typical of narrative style is the use of the verb *ʔaḡa/ʔiḡa* as an auxiliary modifying the active participle of verbs of motion. The construction is equivalent of the perfect, viz. it denotes past time, but it is a descriptive way to stress the ingressivity of the action.⁵³ Such instances are *w-aḡu māddīn* III 12, *w-aḡu māšīn* III 16, *ʔaḡu migfīn* III 20, *w-iḡa mādd* IV 5, *w-aḡa dābb* IV 7, *ʔaḡu rāddīn* VI 4, *yiḡi mīnhizim* VII 12, *w-iḡu nāksīn* XIV 54, *w-iḡu ḡāšdīn* XIV 16, *w-aḡa muṭlib* XIV 28, *w-aḡa fāyit* XV 4, *w-aḡa rāyih* XV 12, *čan yiḡi dāmir* XV 13, *w-aḡa nākis* XV 13.

Another stylistically interesting syntactic structure associated with the same verb is the use of *ḡāk* in a schematic way, as in VII 10D and XIV 35D: *ḡāl ḡāḡa lli ḡāk* 'he said, 'this is what happened''. Here the verb has lost its denotation 'to come', and the pronominal suffix is used in the function of the ethic dative.⁵⁴

The descriptive imperative is a feature frequently used in Bedouin narrative style, and also the present narrator makes use of it. Its function is approximately the same as that of the historical present, but it is often more vivid and actualizing, e.g. *w-gūm il-ʿadwān u-yiksibu bani šaxar — w-yāxḡu l-banāt — w-ḡammlūhin ʿa-l-baʿrīn — w-gōṭru bīhin* 'The ʿAdwān won a victory over the Bani Šaxar, and they took the girls as captives. They seated them on camelback and went away with them.' IX 22. Here the descriptive imperative *gūm* is followed by the historical present forms *yiksibu* and *yāxḡu*, which again are followed by the descriptive imperatives *ḡammlūhin* and *gōṭru*. Sometimes the descriptive imperative is an extremely brevilouquent, and therefore very dramatic, way to describe a course of events, e.g. *ḡaḡōla ḡōm u-ḡaḡōla ḡōm šāfu baʿaḡhum mḡarrič il-baʿaḡ ʔiḡbah* 'when the two hostile bands saw each other, they

⁵² The reason for dropping the initial /m/ is probably dissimilation before another bilabial (before *bidd-*/*badd-* and the *b-*imperfect) FÉGHALI, Kfar ʿAbīda, p. 81; GROTZFELD, Handbuch, p. 186; by analogy, the feature has spread to other phrases, BLAU, Syntax, p. 194f.; cf. *ma fišš* > *ʔa fišš*, ABU-HAIDAR, Baskinta, p. 110. BAUER, Pal., p. 122f., points out that /m/ is often dropped in prohibitive before two consonants and in negated interrogative sentences.

⁵³ For the same feature in Palestinian narratives, see BLAU, Syntax, p. 130. Blau regards the verb *ʔaḡa* as an expletive (Füllwort), which simply renders the active participle a past time function; cf. also PALVA, *jāk*, pp. 57-59.

⁵⁴ This feature has been discussed by SOWAYAN, Arabian Narrative, pp. 51-55, who calls the suffix 'the -k of courtesy', pointing out that *ḡa* is the only verb to which this -k can be suffixed directly, while with other verbs it is suffixed to the preposition *l-*. It is to be noticed that, contrary to the ethic dative, the suffix is invariable. Instances of the use of *ḡāk* in different Bedouin dialects are presented in PALVA, *jāk*.

set upon each other and started killing' IX 21. The remaining instances of this form are to be found in I 3, X 2,7, XV 5,20,22.⁵⁵

As to the narrative technique, a vivid construction of temporal clause readily used by the present narrator is *yōm/yōmin/yōminno ... winn-* 'when ..., look', e.g. *yōminno ʔaḡa [...] winno* I 6, *yōminno simiʿ [...] winnoh* V 2, *yōm šaf [...] winn* VII 4. Among these clauses, those with the Bedouin verb *ladd* 'to look' as the predicate seem to belong to the narrator's favourite repertory, e.g. *yōmin ladd winn ha-l-ḥayye* 'he caught sight of a snake' I 4, *yōminno ladd winn il-bēt rāḥil* 'he found that the tent was gone' II 8, *ladd ladd ladd yōmin ladd winno wāḥad [...] mārig* 'In his desperation he tried to catch sight of someone. Then he saw a man [...] passing by.' III 35, *yōm laddu winn faras idyāb — gālṭa ʿalēhum mn-iš-šʿib* 'right then they saw Dīyāb's mare approaching them from the mountain pass' IX 21; further instances are IV 13, XIV 6,7, XV 2,3,17.

3.4. Lexicon

Among the lexical items one is of special interest, since it belongs to the core vocabulary and has three distinct style varieties: S *badd-*, B *widd-* and K *bidd-*. The B variety, which in this connection can be coined as a stylistic B-marker, occurs 35 times (of which 6 in *wišidd-*), while the S variety, which is a striking S-marker, occurs 25 times. On the other hand, the koineizing *bidd-*, which is the form most commonly used in sedentary dialects of the Greater Syrian area,⁵⁶ occurs 11 times. The distribution of the forms does not seem to follow regular patterns. Sometimes the use of the S and K forms runs parallel with the *b-*imperfect, as in texts I and VIII, and, correspondingly, an S-form occurs only once in text VII, which also has only one occurrence of the *b-*imperfect. However, such a stylistic correspondence is not regular. Thus, text II abounds in *b-*imperfects but does not contain any *badd-* or *bidd-* forms.

The conscious stylistic ambition is occasionally mirrored by replacement of an S item by its B equivalent as the result of self-correction: *ʔil-marra* — *ʔin-nōba ṭ-ṭānye* IV 7; cf. *nōba* VI 2, XV 6, 8 and *nōbāt* XIV 40 (2x), XV 8, but *marra* III 20, XIV 39 (3x).

A means used by the narrator to create a lexical Bedouin colouring is to choose typical B verbs such as *ṭabb* 'to arrive' II 5, III 18D, IX 19, *lifā* 'to come' III 28D (2x), IV 5, XV 9, *ladd* 'to look' I 1 and passim, *gōṭar* 'to leave' XII 3D, XV 16, *sōlaf* 'to talk, narrate' III 1, IV 1, XV 34, *dōḥaḡ* 'to go' XV 8D, *rād* 'to want' II 7D and passim, *ḥawa* 'to love' II 1, *yabi* (imperf. only) II 11D (*ma-bi* 2x), well-known B substantives such as *maṭabb* 'place' I 5D (cf. S *maḥall* I 6), *dīra* '(tribal) area' XV 6 (2x), XV 13, 15, or adjectives such as *zēn* 'good', 'beautiful' II 7D, VII 14, 15D (2x), 16D, XIV 20, XV 3 (2x), 20, adverbs such as *ʿād* 'now, then' I 7 (2x), IV 16,

⁵⁵ This feature has been discussed in PALVA, *Descriptive Imperative*, and id., *Further Notes*. After the publication of these two papers, much new material has been made available, especially by SOWAYAN, *Arabian Narrative*, pp. 46-50.

⁵⁶ BERGSTRÄSSER, *Sprachatlas*, Map 20, reports *badd-*, *bādd-*, *bedd-* for Lebanon and Northwestern Syria, *bedd-* for the area of es-Saṭ, and *bidd-* for the remaining sedentary dialects.

IX 24, XIV 43, *wukād* 'sure' VII 7D, or *kūd* 'perhaps' XV 5D, stock phrases such as *ma bī xīāf* 'I'm all right' II 8D (2x), 9D, XIV 31D, or *wuš* 'alé 'never mind' XIV 14D, 16D, 38D, XV 8D, B addressings like *ya-(n-)nišāma* 'you brave (young) men' III 59, XII 3D, XV 11D, or *gaww ha-r-riḡḡāl* 'strength to you, man' XV 4D.

There are negative lexical B-markers as well, the most important being the avoidance of *baga* as copula, a feature typical of S.

3.5. Conclusion

The stylistic ideal of the present narratives is the Bedouin narrative style, which the narrator strives to reach by various means. The Bedouinizing tendency does not, however, follow a uniform pattern through the narratives, but the choice of style is to a noticeable degree determined by the context. Generally speaking, three different types of contexts can be discerned which exert influence on the linguistic structure, choice of words and phraseology, viz. (a) straight narrative, which is characterized by conventional use of stock expressions (narrative syntax) and moderate Bedouinization of phonology and morphology, (b) direct discourse, which often tends to imitate Bedouin speech, and (c) more or less parenthetical, explanatory passages, which the narrator marks as "extra-textual" by using vernacular local dialect, at times with some levelling devices. In (a) some further variation is caused by the specific cultural and geographical settings of the individual narratives.

Among typologically distinctive Bedouin features the narrator makes only marginal use of the phonetically-conditioned *g/ḡ* variation, perhaps because the affricated variant might create confusion rather than enhance the Bedouin touch of the narratives. On the other hand, syllable structure typical of Bedouin dialects is relatively often used, probably as a Bedouin lexical variant or part of a borrowed Bedouin item, and not as a systematic synchronic process. Similarly, the occasional raising of /a/ in the initial syllable can scarcely be explained as a purely phonetic phenomenon, but rather as a use of a phonetically different Bedouin lexical variant instead of its local equivalent, e.g. *ḡibīḥa* vs. *ḡabīḥa* or *minsaf* vs. *mansaf*. This is even more apparent in verbs, in which typical Bedouin items such as *nikas* or *lifa* display /i/ in the initial syllable, whereas stylistically neutral verbs have not been Bedouinized by using the CiCaC- pattern.

In the imperfect inflection, the long affirmatives *-īn* and *-ūn*, characteristic of the Bedouin dialects of the neighbourhood, are used only sporadically, while a few hypercorrect forms with a final /n/ in the imperfect and imperative are found. On the other hand, the markedly sedentary *b*-imperfect occurs frequently. In spite of its relatively irregular distribution, a basic pattern can be discerned: it is freely used in parenthetical remarks and introductory sections, but avoided in straight narrative passages and direct discourse.

Some distinct Bedouin features seem to belong to the stock repertory of the narrator, e.g. *wiš/wuš*, ²*int*, negated *mant*, and *widd-*, whereas other B-markers such as *hič* and *wušlōn* do not occur at all, and *b-hāḡa* and ²*alli* as well as *tanwīn* have

been sparingly used. A few distinctly non-Bedouin sedentary dialect traits have been carefully avoided, viz. the nominal negation *miš/muš*, the use of *baga* as copula, and the analytic genitive constructions using the exponent *tabaʿ*. Interference from Literary Arabic is restricted to a few adverbs (*faʿlan*, *tabʿan*, *ḡiddan*, *maḡḡānan*), which only occur parenthetically and can in this context most appropriately be regarded as K-forms. In addition to sporadic phonetic and morphological Bedouin elements, the language has been Bedouinized by using well-known items of Bedouin vocabulary. Syntactic features such as the descriptive imperative and the constructions *yōm ... winn-* and *ḡā + active participle* occasionally occur in the vernacular speech of the Bedouin, but in this context they are used as stylistic traits associated with the traditional artistic language of Bedouin oral narrative.

In the stylistic scale of Arabic, the language of the present narratives cannot be placed anywhere between Plain Colloquial and Literary Arabic (Classical Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic). In this case the two poles are *local vernacular dialect* and *the language of Bedouin oral narrative style*, or, put in a more general way, Plain Colloquial and a variety of Artistic Colloquial Arabic. The style fluctuates between these two poles, not at random, but following an approximate general pattern: in straight narration and in direct discourse its ideal is the traditional language of Bedouin narrative, which involves suppression of certain local vernacular traits and the use of a number of Bedouin dialect features and stylistic conventions of Bedouin narrative, whereas in parenthetical explanatory passages everyday vernacular language is used. The stylistic range thus resembles that of the so-called Educated Spoken Arabic, which, depending on the degree of formality, fluctuates in a wide area between Modern Standard Arabic and Plain Colloquial. However, the fluctuation between the language of Bedouin oral narrative style and the local vernacular is a phenomenon which only implies variation between two different forms of colloquial Arabic ('Low Arabic') and not between two structurally different types of Arabic ('Low Arabic' and 'High Arabic'). Therefore the proportion of stylistically neutral elements in the present narratives is considerably higher than in mixed-style varieties ranging between the Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic levels.

In the sphere of traditional popular culture, the language of Bedouin oral narrative constitutes an artistic language in its own right. Such as it is used by Bedouin narrators, it differs from the vernacular speech almost exclusively in syntax and phraseology, but among speakers of sedentary dialects it has the status of a special artistic language, essentially divergent from the vernacular speech in several morpho-honemic and lexical respects as well.