Introduction

TRANSCRIPTION

Segmental Phonemes

The consonants

ء	ʾ	a voiced or voiceless laryngeal plosive
ب	*b*	a voiced bilabial plosive
ت	*t*	a voiceless alveolar plosive
ث	*t̲*	a voiceless dental fricative
	t	a voiceless alveolar plosive
ج	*ž*	a voiced palato-alveolar fricative
ح	*ḥ*	a voiceless laryngeal[1] fricative
خ	*ḫ*	a voiceless post-velar fricative
د	*d*	a voiced alveolar plosive
ذ	*d̲*	a voiced dental fricative
	d	a voiced alveolar plosive
	z	a voiced alveolar fricative
ر	*r*	a voiced alveolar tremulant
ز	*z*	a voiced alveolar fricative
س	*s*	a voiceless alveolar fricative
ش	*š*	a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
ص	*ṣ*	a voiceless alveolar fricative, emphatic
ض	*ḍ*	a voiced dental fricative, emphatic
ط	*ṭ*	a voiceless alveolar plosive, emphatic
ظ	*ẓ*	a voiced dental fricative, emphatic
ع	*ʿ*	a voiced laryngeal fricative
غ	*ġ*	a voiced post-velar fricative
ف	*f*	a voiceless labiodental fricative

[1] A. Denz, ZDMG 114, pp. 232—238, disproves the pharyngeal pronunciation of *ḥ* and ʿ and classifies them as laryngeals.

ق
- *q* a voiceless post-velar plosive
- ' a voiced or voiceless laryngeal plosive
- *g* a voiced post-velar plosive

ك
- *k* a voiceless pre-velar plosive
- *č* a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative beginning with a slight voiceless alveolar plosive (= *ᵗš*)

ل *l* a voiced alveolar lateral

م *m* a voiced bilabial nasal

ن *n* a voiced alveolar nasal

ه *h* a voiceless laryngeal fricative

و *w* a voiced labial semi-vowel (syllabic: *u*)

ى *y* a voiced palatal semi-vowel (syllabic: *i*)

The combinatory variants are not given here, and in the texts and quotations of recordings only the most important variants are marked.[1] As far as possible, terms of the International Phonetic Alphabet (revised to 1947) are used. The transcription of the consonants follows, in general, the custom well-established for the transcription of Arabic.

The vowels

i̇ close front
e half close front
ä half open front
ȧ open front
a open back
å half open back
o half close back
u close back
u̇ close central rounded (midway between *u* and *ü*)
ʉ close central rounded
i̇ close central unrounded

[1] When *b* and *d* are partially assimilated to the following voiceless consonant, they are marked *b̥* and *d̥*. The symbol *η* is used to mark the partial assimilation of *n* to *k*, *q*, or *g*.

There are only three phonemic vowel qualities, *a*, *i* and *u*. The number of their phonetic allophones is indefinite and it seems to me useless to mark more than these eleven allophones, because the qualities change easily even in one word pronounced twice by one speaker. The allophones of each phoneme in different positions cannot be itemized. Most usually *ä*, *ȧ*, *a*, and *å* are allophones of *a; i* and *i̇* of *i; u̇*, *u* and *ʉ* of *u; e* and *o* are often monophthongized diphthongs *ay* and *aw* (vide *infra*, pp. 83 f.).

The reduced close central *ə*, not very frequent in LGal.,[1] belongs to the group marked by *e*. The vowel of the feminine ending is in most cases *ẹ*, but it is marked *e* except when clearly heard as *i*. The vowel of the pronominal suffix of sing. 3. masc. is normally *u*/*ọ*, and is marked *u* if not clearly heard as *ọ* (marked here *o*).

A consonant, irrespective of its quality, is marked in grammatical forms by C, a vowel by V, the radical consonants numbered ($C^1C^2C^3$).

Suprasegmental Phonemes

Quantity

a) The consonants

All phonemically geminated consonants are marked by two consonants, including the cases where they are combinatorily weakened, as often happens in pause or when the geminate is immediately followed by a consonant. Although the phonetic occurrence of geminates in these positions is often denied,[2] they remain in the consciousness of the speaker and have a considerable effect on the stress patterns. Therefore it would be misleading to mark them by simple

[1] Abbreviation used for Lower Galilee in the present study.

[2] Cf. Harrell, ERA, p. 19: »It is also worthwhile to deny explicitly the occurrence of final geminate consonants in ERA . . . final geminate consonants have no phonetic reality but are a convenient fiction for rendering redundant and otherwise unpredictable position of stress and for indicating an almost entirely consistent alternation between final single and medial geminate consonants in the same morpheme in occurrence with and without suffixes.«

consonants. In some words, especially after long vowels and after *n*, half-long consonants (marked by C^C) appear. Occasionally these phonemically simple consonants are combinatorily geminated and marked by CC. Weakened consonants are marked by upscript small consonants.

b) The vowels

There are phonemically only two vowel lengths, long and short. Phonetically their number is indefinite. In the present work they are sketchily divided into five groups:

1. Extra-long vowels (marked by $\hat{\text{V}}\hat{}$) may be realizations of any vowel length, and they pertain only to the sentence, not to an individual word.
2. Long vowels (marked by $\hat{\text{V}}$) are, in most cases, phonemically long vowels in stressed syllables.
3. Half-long vowels (marked by $\bar{\text{V}}$) are realizations of phonemically long vowels in most closed and in some open unstressed syllables.
4. Short vowels (marked by V) are realizations of
— phonemically long vowels in most unstressed open syllables
— phonemically long vowels in stressed syllables followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant, or by the negative afformative -(*i*)*š*
— phonemically short vowels in closed syllables
— phonemically short vowels in stressed open syllables
— phonemically short vowels in some unstressed open syllables
— non-phonemic vowels which have developed into full vowels, with the difference, however, that they normally do not change the stress patterns of the word.
5. Extra-short vowels (marked by small upscript vowels) are mainly non-phonemic vowels developed to alleviate clusters of three or more consonants. Sometimes they are realizations of shortened phonemically short vowels in open unstressed syllables.

In transcription of Cl., the long vowels are marked in the traditional way by a hyphen above the vowel ($\bar{\text{V}}$).

Emphasis

In LGal., as in most Arabic dialects, there are two kinds of emphasis (Ar. *tafḫīm*), as the retraction, a prominent characteristic of the Semitic languages, is traditionally called.[1] One is phonemically distinctive, the other phonemically non-distinctive. Both kinds are here marked by a dot under the emphatic consonant (except *ḥ*). The former group consists of three consonants: *ṣ*, *ṭ* and *ḍ*, the last one including two Cl. phonemes *ḍ* and *ẓ*. These consonants are emphatic *natura*. All the other consonants as well as vowels are subject to emphasis *positione*, but their emphasis is phonemically non-distinctive. Theoretically minimal pairs may be found showing phonemic contrasts in this group, too, but if we impose the condition that a minimal pair must be constant[2], the existence of any such pairs is doubtful[3]. Therefore, the notation of emphasis *positione* is purely phonetic. Because the minimum domain of emphasis is a consonant plus an adjacent vowel,[4] no special notation for the emphasis of the vowels is necessary.

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[1] For emphasis in Syro-Palestinian dialects, vide: Mattsson, Études, pp. 18—32, Cantineau, Palmyre I, pp. 37—42, id., Ḥōrân, pp. 85—88, Blanc, Studies, pp. 52f. and passim pp. 53—73, and Ferguson, Language 30, pp. 564—570.

[2] Cantineau, Word 12, p. 122, contra Ferguson, Language 30, pp. 564—570.

[3] Ferguson, loco cit., finds, besides the above-mentioned cases, minimal pairs for *r*/*ṛ*, *l*/*ḷ*, *b*/*ḅ*, *m*/*ṃ*, and *n*/*ṇ*, which are all rejected by Cantineau, Word 12, p. 122. Blanc has noted no minimal pairs for *r*/*ṛ* and *n*/*ṇ* in the dialect of the Druzes of Western Galilee and Mt. Carmel, but he gives them for *b*/*ḅ* (*bâ̂bä* 'its (fem.) door' /*ḅâḅa* 'father (voc.)', Studies, p. 54), for *l*/*ḷ* (*walla* 'or' / *waḷḷa* 'by God', p. 62) and for *m*/*ṃ* (*yamma* 'or' / *yaṃṃa* 'mother (voc.)', p. 55). In LGal., the consonant of the feminine suffix *-hä* or *-ʰä* is audible: *bâ̂bhä* (cf. Text No. 4, footnote 1), the word 'or' is *willà* or *wellà*; *yàmmà* does not occur in my recordings, but even if it is used, it does not contrast with voc. 'mother', which is pronounced *yyàṃṃa*, *yyâ̂ṃa*, *ʸyâ̂ṃṃa*, or *ʸyâ̂ṃa*. For *b*/*ḅ* Blanc gives one more minimal pair, *kälbäk* 'your dog' and *kälḅaḳ* 'astrakhan hat', p. 54, where a loan word is used as the other part of the pair.

[4] Harrell, ERA, p. 27.

Juncture

The junctural phenomena have not been adequately studied for introducing an appropriate transcription system, but because of their great importance their notation cannot be wholly neglected.

Words having no word stress are joined to the following, or, sometimes, to the preceding word by a hyphen (-), which is used only to mark morphological divisions inside the stress unit called 'mot phonétique' by CANTINEAU (Ḥâmma, p. 103) and 'microsegment' by HARRELL (C. F. Hockett's term, Harrell, ERA, p. 6). The hyphens are marked regardless of syllabic division. The definite article is always joined, in the transcription, to the following word.

A pause longer than the usual space between two consequent words is marked by the symbol §[1], which is used only in cases where the semantic symbols of incomplete utterance (,), complete utterance (.), suspended utterance (. . .), interrogation (?), or exclamation (!) are not used. Colons (:) and quotation marks (» and ') are used for convenience.

Accent

Stress (loudness) is the only kind of accent playing some part in the structure of isolated LGal. words. It is rather strong and regular, and in most cases no hesitation is found in its use[2]. In the transcription

[1] The symbol § is used for Blanc's § § (indicating an external open juncture, Studies, p. 24) where the blank space normally left between symbols is not sufficient to indicate a short break in connected speech.

[2] Stress is not mentioned by the Arab grammarians. Its phonemic status is not stabilized. The stress patterns in Arabic dialects show considerable variations. In the Syro-Palestinian area the stress is louder and more regular in Palestinian than in the Syrian dialects. As a token of this may be regarded the tendency for long vowels to become reduced in unstressed syllables, noted for the Jerusalem area by Bauer (Pal., p. 17) and Ben Zeev (p. 4), in Galilee by Blanc (Studies, pp. 30 and 44f.), and with some hesitation for Damascus by Bergsträsser (Dam., p. 30), but not noted for Kfar ᶜAbîda in Lebanon (Feghali, Kfar, p. 109), for Palmyra and for Ḥōrân (Cantineau, Palmyre I, p. 103; id., Ḥōrân, p. 183).

all the long vowels in stressed syllables are marked by $\hat{V}$, while an acute ($\acute{V}$) is used to indicate the place of the word stress where it is not easily discernible according to the familiar rules[1]. The secondary stress as well as the tone (pitch)[2] are not marked.

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN ARABIC

The character of Palestine as the Holy Land has left its mark on the study of the local Arabic dialect which, as the southernmost member, belongs to the wider group of dialects known as Syro-(Libano-) Palestinian. The vast majority of the literature so far published is of an ethnographic or folkloric nature, often aimed at throwing light upon life in Biblical times. Consequently, the main interest lies on factual information, and the linguistic point of view is often overlooked. The language of the texts is, as a rule, highly stylized, and rather far from the everyday vernacular.

Connected with this kind of literature are the collections of proverbs published by L. Einsler (1896), L. Bauer (1898), E. Baumann (1916), and Saʿīd ʿAbbūd (1933). To the same group belong, from the viewpoint of language, the riddles published by E. Ruoff (1933), the calendar of *fellaḥîn* collected by T. Canaan (1913), and the ethnographic texts of H. H. Spoer and E. N. Ḥaddād (1914, 1926, 1927, 1928). The most artistic form of dialect is represented by the folk songs published by G. Dalman (1901), E. Littmann (1904), S. Linder (1931, 1952 and 1955) and A. Saarisalo (1932). The best material for linguistic study among this literature is H. Schmidt's and P. Kahle's collection of folk stories in two large volumes (1918 and 1930), besides which a folk tale (Jäger und Prinzessin) published by E. Littmann (1923) is of considerable linguistic value.

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[1] The rules given by Blanc (Studies, p. 28): 1. Stress falls on the last doubly closed syllable; 2. in the absence of any such, it falls on the last simply closed syllable, provided it is not final; 3. in the absence of any such, it falls on the first open syllable. The most noteworthy exceptions are caused by the anaptyctic vowels, the loss of *-h* (sing. 3. masc. suffix) and the reduction of final -$\hat{V}$ʾ to -V.

[2] The only marking of tone in the transcription is $\hat{V}\hat{}$.

Some grammars of Palestinian Arabic have been written, most of them containing a selection of texts. L. BAUER's good »Das palästinische Arabisch. Die Dialekte des Städters und des Fellachen» (1898) makes a clear distinction between the dialect of the capital and that of the *fellaḥîn* of the surrounding countryside, having occasional references to the dialect of Samaria and 'the North'. »Der vulgärarabische Dialekt von Jerusalem», published by M. LÖHR (1905) was not on a level with Bauer's book, and was received with severe criticism by A. BARTHÉLEMY (in JA 10, VIII, pp. 197—258, 1906). G. R. DRIVER's »Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine» (1925) is a compilation of much material, but is so arranged that the distinguishing of peculiarities of certain areas is either doubtful or impossible. The two textbooks by Y. KAPLIWATZKY (1941—44) and Y. BEN ZEEV (1949) are excellent manuals of colloquial Palestinian Arabic, with good transcription in Hebrew characters. Especially noteworthy are Ben Zeev's texts in their naturalness and faithfulness to the everyday vernacular.

The Galilean dialect has long remained almost unstudied. In 1901 W. CHRISTIE published some short texts with grammatical comments, often inaccurate and erroneous, particularly as far as the vowels are concerned. The localities from which these dialect specimens are given, are: *ᵉž-Žîš* (Christie, No. 1), *ᵉl-Bärriyye* (2), *Kofᵉr Yàsîf* (3), *Šfa ᶜAmer* (4), *ᶜArṛâbye* (5), *Ṭurᶜân* (6), *Ṣaffûrye* (7), and *Yâfà* (*t en-Ṇâṣre*) (8). The well-known »Sprachatlas» by G. BERGSTRÄSSER (1915) contains sample tests made in some Galilean localities, too: *ᵉl-Ġabä* (Sprachatlas, No. 28), *Ḥeʸfà* (30), *ᵉn-Ṇâṣre* (31), *ᵉr-Râme* (33), *Ṣafàd* (34), *ᶜÊʸn ez-Zetûn* (35), *Ṭabariyyà* (34), and *Ḥiṭṭîn* (37). The most recent study on Galilean Arabic is the American-style book by H. BLANC (1953), a modern linguistic description of the dialect spoken by the Druze population of Western Galilee and Mt. Carmel. He has a fresh approach to many phonetic and phonemic problems of the dialect based on carefully collected first-hand material. Passages of the recordings are published as a selection of texts, narrative in character.

THE PROBLEM

The preservation, reduction and loss of short vowels in unstressed open syllables and the formation of new non-phonemic vowels are an important feature distinguishing the Arabic dialects, and they form a prominent criterion in the geographical division of dialects. Bergsträsser (Sprachatlas, pp. 194f., Karte 39, Tafel LIX) draws a line from the south-western corner of Lebanon to the northern end of Lake Tiberias and continuing further eastwards. In the dialect of the *ḥaḍaṛ* and *fellâḥ* population living to the north of this line, *a* is lost, or at least strongly reduced, in unstressed open syllables, while on the southern side it is usually preserved. On both sides, *i* and *u* are lost in that position.[1] The southern dialects are called by Cantineau (Nomades I, p. 49) »parlers différentiels», and the northern ones »parlers indifférentiels». The dialect of Galilean Druzes stands, at least as regards the forms *qatîl* etc., midway between these (Blanc, Studies, p. 35). As Galilee, on the other hand, belongs to the same dialect group as Southern Lebanon (»S1»; Cantineau, Remarques, p. 84), it is likely that LGal., too, represents an intermediate stage between »parlers différentiels» and »parlers indifférentiels».[2]

The loss of vowels leads to formation of consonant clusters, which have, as in Semitic languages generally, a tendency to be dissolved by new vowels, at first extra-short, then full vowels. The development of such vowels, particularly if their position is different from that of the 'original' ones, is an unmistakable proof of the perfection

[1] The positions of the three vowels are, however, not indisputably comparable, since Bergsträsser's test words were *ṯālâṯe* (for *a*), *ωâḥide* (for *i*) and *duğâğe* (for *u*!).

[2] A difference similar to CaC̄iC/(i)CCiC is that between CaC̄VC and the general Egyptian form C^{ə}CV̄C. In the western part of the Egyptian province of Šarqiyya (between Nile Delta and Suez Canal) both CiC̄VC and CaC̄VC are pronounced C^{ə}CV̄C, e.g.: *k^{ə}tâb*, *ḥ^{ə}mâr*, *m^{ə}sâl*, *b^{ə}lâd*, *b^{ə}tâ^{ᶜ}*; *k^{ə}tîr*, *k^{ə}bîr*, *f^{ə}ṭûr*, *s^{ə}ḥûr*, *^{ᶜə}zûma*, but in the eastern part a difference is made between the loss of *i* and *a*: *ʾiktâb*, *ʾiḥmâr*, *ʾimsâl*, *ʾiblâd*, but: *katîr*, *kabîr*, *faṭûr*, *saḥûr*, *^{ᶜ}azûma* (Abul-Fadl, p. 209).

of the vowel loss. When such a new vowel begins a word, it is most properly called a *prothetic* vowel; in medial position the term *anaptyctic* vowel will be used here[1]. Two kinds of anaptyctic vowels occur: *medial anaptyxis* in three-consonant clusters inside a word, and *final anaptyxis* in two-consonant final clusters followed by silence or a word beginning with a consonant.

These new vowels, observable in all the Semitic languages, have caused much confusion. BROCKELMANN devoted a separate chapter to the problem in his GvG (I, pp. 209—219), but it remained a collection of scattered comparative material without any hint to a closer connection between the given examples. The phenomenon was much clarified by SPEISER (AJSL 42, pp. 145—169) who applied the principle of sonority to the investigation of the problem which he approached from a purely phonetic angle and with a comparative method. The starting point of his study was the theory, and data were collected from a comparative material to support this theory, i.e. the study was aimed at seeing whether the theoretical prerequisites were borne out by facts.

A contrasting method is to take only one local dialect, to make an inventory of its anaptyctic and prothetic vowels, and only after a detailed synchronic description to draw diachronic conclusions. If the hypothesis that LGal. represents an intermediate stage in the reduction of short vowels in open unstressed syllables is found to be correct, it should be an exceptionally favourable object for vowel study, because the process towards the vowel loss is expected to be active.

On the synchronic level, the main problems are:

1. Which consonant clusters are or are not alleviated by anaptyctic or prothetic vowels in LGal.?
2. How are the new vowels located in the clusters?
3. What is the quantity and quality of anaptyxis and prothesis in different positions?

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[1] Often both of them are called *epenthetic* vowels, which is etymologically inaccurate and should be used of *anaptyctic* vowels only. Similarly, the *prothetic* vowels are often called *prosthetic*, a term which etymologically includes both *prothetic* and *anaptyctic* vowels.

4. Is the use of anaptyctic and prothetic vowels different in other dialects, especially in the adjacent areas, and what are the most important differences?

The problems of the diachronic study are:

1. Which factors contribute to the development of anaptyctic and prothetic vowels?

2. How are the quantity and quality of these vowels determined?

3. To what degree are the results of the diachronic study valid in other dialects?

These questions are common to the study of both anaptyctic and prothetic vowels, but the problems concerning the prothesis are to such a degree associated with the preservation or loss of the short vowel of the open unstressed initial syllable, that they cannot be solved without a detailed study of these syllables. The matter under consideration will then necessarily be in the first place the formation of initial consonant clusters, while the question of the prothetic vowel itself only arises later.

THE METHOD

Collecting the material

To collect material for this study I made two journeys to Lower Galilee, one from the beginning of June to the end of September 1961, the other from the middle of May to the middle of July 1963. The locale and the dialect spoken there were known to me from a previous stay in the area, where I lived as a guest in farmer families, mostly in *Ṭuṛᶜân*, from October 1959 to August 1960. Therefore it was a pleasant task for me to begin my work in a village where I felt myself cordially welcome, and where no suspicion was felt as to the purpose of my activities. From *Ṭuṛᶜân* I made, alone or accompanied by some of my Arab comrades there, several trips to the neighboring towns and villages. Everywhere I was treated with generous hospitality; I was given meals and sleeping accommodations, always without any compensation. During these visits people of all ages and both sexes, the majority of them young men, where asked to speak on any sub-

ject to be recorded.[1] If the purpose of the recordings was asked, it was explained that the material was being collected for further self-instruction in colloquial Arabic in Finland, where no other means existed.

Usually the work was begun by listening to entertaining passages from earlier recordings, where as plain colloquial language as possible was used. Feeling that nothing extraordinary was wanted, the people relaxed, and consciousness of the microphone disturbed the speaker much less than I had imagined, sometimes even so little that a heated dispute blazed up. Most of the recordings dealt with familiar topics, such as daily work and village problems; jokes and funny stories were told, and accounts of excursions and memorable incidents given. Obviously the plainest colloquial language is used in conversation, but even in narrative style or in longer monologues the naturalness of the language cannot be denied, except in some instances, in spite of considerable differences especially in syntax and in choice of words. The decipherment of lively conversations so as to give reliable continuous transcriptions of more than a few lines is often not possible because of verbal accumulations resulting from the quick exchange of words. Nevertheless they are good material for dialect study.

The duration of the recordings ranges from 45 to two or three minutes. The minimum number of speakers from each locality is five, but usually there are more. A total of 245 persons were recorded.

Analysis of the material

In order to make an inventory of the actual resources of the prothetic and anaptyctic vowels in the dialect, I began the analysis of the recordings with a cursory listening. During this I noted down all clusters of three or more consonants with the possibly occurring prothetic and anaptyctic vowels. A pause was numbered as one consonant. Passages which could not be heard clearly were omitted.

[1] The recordings were made on a portable tape recorder Butoba MT 5.

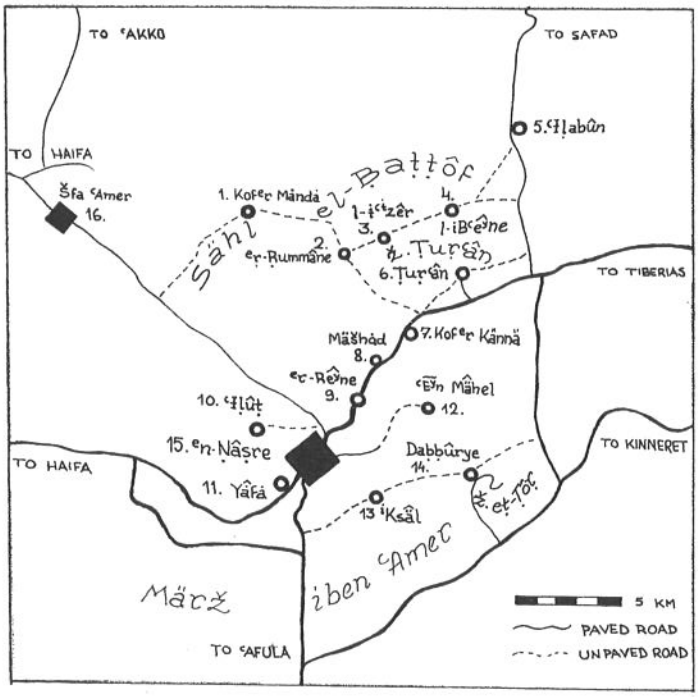
After a lapse of four months I repeated the same procedure independently of the earlier notes. When the two lists were compared, differences were found in about four per cent of cases recorded, most of them arising from my hesitation as to whether to mark a short or an extra-short vowel. Other difficulties arose from the alternatives extra-short vowel vs. zero and initial laryngeal plosive (*hamza*) vs. zero. All these passages were checked by repeated listening.

Because I wanted to avoid errors arising from theoretical preconceptions, I only now began to arrange the material. It soon appeared that the most appropriate arrangement was according to morphological division. Inside the given morphological groups the material was then subjected to further analysis from the phonetic and phonemic point of view, and thereafter other factors contributing to the phenomenon could be investigated in separate cases.

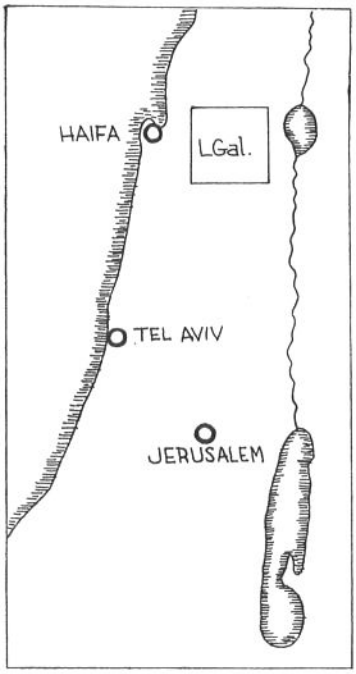
In the course of the work the synchronic description of the present stage in the development of prothetic and anaptyctic vowels was always regarded as the primary aim, and the diachronic conclusions were made on the basis of this cross section. Comparative material from other Arabic dialects, especially from the adjacent areas, was then introduced separately.

THE AREA

The localities where the recordings were made are indicated in the map (p. 20). Their names are given transcribed according to the local pronunciation in post-pausal forms. The names in brackets are those used by the Survey of Palestine (1:100,000 Palestine, Sheet 2 Haifa, Sheet 3 Safad and Sheet 5 Nazareth). In order to make the references to my recordings shorter I use numbers 1 to 16, so that the villages around *Sähl el-Ḇaṭṭôf* have numbers 1 to 5, the villages of the hill-country of Lower Galilee have numbers 6 to 11, those located in the northern end of *Märž iben ᶜAmer* (Yisreel Valley), including *ᶜE͡yn Mâhel*, which dialectally belongs to this group, 12 to 14, while the two towns of the area are numbered 15 and 16.



Map of the Area



LGal. = Lower Galilee

No.	Name of locality [1]		Religion	No. of inhabitants [2]	Recorded tape in feet
1.	*Kofᵉr Màndà*	(Kafr Manda)	Moslem	2 060	1 400
2.	*ᵉṛ-Ṛummâne*	(Rummana)	Moslem	120	500
3.	*l-Iᶜⁱzêr/ᵉl-ᶜUzêr*	(ᶜUzeir)	Moslem	350	200
4.	*l-iBᶜe͡yne*	(Buᶜeina)	Moslem	750	600
5.	*ᶜḤabûn*	(ᶜEilabun)	Christian	1 100	1 500
6.	*Ṭuṛᶜân*	(Turᶜan)	Moslem and Christian	2 200	2 650
7.	*Kofᵉr Kännä*	(Kafr Kanna)	Moslem and Christian	3 530	600
8.	*Mäšhàd*	(Mash-had)	Moslem	1 265	300
9.	*ᵉr-Re͡yne*	(ar-Reina)	Moslem and Christian	2 740	650
10.	*ᶜḤlût*	(ᶜIlut)	Moslem	1 170	600
11.	*Yåfà*	(Yafa)	Moslem and Christian	2 370	600
12.	*ᶜE͡yn Mâhel*	(ᶜEin Mahil)	Moslem	1 800	900
13.	*ᵗKsâl*	(Iksal)	Moslem	2 000	600
14.	*Daḅḅûrye*	(Dabburiya)	Moslem	1 840	1 200
15.	*ᵉn-Ṇâṣre*	(Nazareth)	Christian and Moslem (and Jewish)	25 000	1 900
16.	*Šfa ᶜAmer*	(Shafa ᶜAmr)	Christian, Moslem and Druze	7 000	650

[1] The names given by SWP (Vol. I, 1881, pp. 271—280, 362—364) are Kefr Manda (200 inhabitants 1852), Rummâneh (70), El ᶜAzeir (150), El Baᶜîneh (200), ᶜAilbûn (100), Tôrᶜân (300; if the Arabic orthography *tūrᶜān* is correct, the vowel of the unstressed syllable is shortened, and the initial *t* has become *positione* emphatic due to the following *-ṛᶜ-*), Kefr Kenna (400), El Mesh-hed (300), Er Reineh (500), ᶜAilût (180/1859), Yâfa (600/1859), ᶜAin Mâhil (200), Iksâl (400), Debûrieh (200), En Nâsirah (Socin: 5660, Levin: 5935, Guérin: 4950), Shefa ᶜAmr (2500). The laryngeal ᶜ has been marked by *ʾA* and *à*.

[2] The figures mentioned in the list were given me by the *muḫtâṛ*s of the villages.

STYLE VARIATIONS

The two language forms of the Arabic diglossia[1] are the literary Arabic, called in LGal. (*luġa*) *fuṣḥa*, and the dialect, (*luġa*) *ᶜāmmiyye*. Between these a whole spectrum of style variations exists,[2] but only the different types of the *ᶜāmmiyye* occurring in my recordings will be discussed here. It is possible to distinguish three main varieties, which cannot be divided by sharp lines:

1. Relaxed *plain colloquial*, the dialect spoken normally in familiar conversation at home and with comrades, where most formal standards are neglected.

2. *Koineized colloquial*, plain colloquial with some levelling devices. Typical of this variation is the emerging of the new sphere of ideas brought by the change in the social structure and the widening of horizons due to modern traffic, the radio, newspapers and schools. This change is most easily observable in vocabulary, characterized by abstract conceptions, social and political terms and journalistic idioms. These borrowings from the *fuṣḥa* usually maintain their literary form, thus influencing the phonetic structure of the dialect. The proportion of substantives and infinitive verbal forms is growing at the expense of finite verbs. Many of these features have been adopted into everyday usage. Naturally this is the language of the educated, but nobody can remain uninfluenced by it. Because this variation is considered 'higher' than the plain colloquial, the uneducated, too, sometimes attempt to elevate their speech to this higher level in situations where the need of making a favourable impression is felt. The result is often a failure because of inability to use words and formulae borrowed from the *fuṣḥa* properly. Consequently, the expressions are inexact, the presentation hesitant, and the sentences ill-constructed, with frequent anacolutha.

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[1] Problems of Arabic dichotomy are most recently discussed by Ferguson in Word 15, pp. 325—340 (1959).

[2] The main variations are given by Blanc, Style Variations in Spoken Arabic, p. 85: 1. »plain colloquial», 2. »koineized colloquial», 3. »semi-literary» or »elevated» colloquial, 4. »modified classical», and 5. »standard classical.»

3. *Artistic colloquial*, the dialect used in narrative style. The traditional quality of the popular storyteller's art stands in the way of immediate borrowings from the modern *fuṣḥa*, but in spite of sticking to dialectal forms, this style differs essentially from the plain colloquial, most strikingly in its schematic composition, its pithy descriptive verbal sentence structure, its rapid procession from one close-up situation to another, dramatic interruptions or short rhetorical questions to arouse the listeners' attention before the most important events, which are often described in breviloquent exchange of words.

The style of most of the speakers I recorded is nearer to the plain than the koineized colloquial of the educated. Some mildly formal features have been incorporated into everyday speech so closely that they can no longer be considered borrowings from the *fuṣḥa*, but have become inseparable elements of the modern plain colloquial language.

DIALECT DIFFERENCES IN LOWER GALILEE

Since Christie no study on the dialect spoken by the Moslem and Christian population has been published, but scattered information can be gathered from Bergsträsser's Sprachatlas and the studies on neighboring areas. The most distinguished phonetic criterion for making divisions of dialect inside this area is the pronunciation of the classical phonemes *q*, *ṯ* and *ḏ*.

As for *q*, Christie states (p. 98), that the laryngeal plosive (*hamza*) for *q* is frequent near the towns and on the seacoast, and (p. 111) that the Christians pronounce *hamza* instead of *q*. However his texts show in the whole area *q* with some scattered inconsistent *hamza*s. Bergsträsser (Sprachatlas, Karte 4, Tafel XXIV) attributes in this area ' for Haifa, Tiberias and Safed, *k* for Nazareth, and *ḳ* for the Galilean villages. The issue was re-introduced by Blanc (Studies, pp. 68—70), because the classical pronunciation of *q* is regarded as a rule-of-thumb sign for recognizing a Druze. The Moslems and Christians in the area described by him, except for a few older people and the villagers of Kababir, pronounce it ' while the Druzes except for those

in Kofᵉr Yasīf and a large proportion of those in Yirka, and individuals in four other villages, pronounce it *q*. According to Blanc it is axiomatic that the Druzes say *qâl* while the Christians say *'alli*, *'ultillu*, the Nazareth people and those south of Haifa *kalli*, *kultillu*. He continues by stating that this corresponds to CANTINEAU's classification (nomades: *g*, parlers S1: *q*, parlers S1': ', parlers S2: *k*)[1]. According to Cantineau's map (Remarques, p. 84) the whole of Galilee belongs to S1, while NAKHLA (p. 8) attributes *q* in the Libano-Syrian dialect only for Druzes and some Bedouins.

Thus the situation concerning the dialect of the Moslem and Christian population of Galilee is obscure. This is a natural consequence of the complicated state of affairs. Nowhere in LGal. less than two varieties were registered, sometimes even in one person's speech. This is most probably caused by a levelling tendency, most noticeable in *g*-speakers (cf. Text No. 8). If the effects of this tendency are ignored, the following division may be made, bearing in mind, however, that it is based on subjective observation.

1. *q*, the voiceless post-velar plosive, occurs almost exclusively in the small Moslem villages of *Sähl el-Baṭṭôf* (2, 3 and 4), very often in the nearby Christian village of *ᶜḤabûn* (5), and among both the Moslem and Christian population of *Ṭuṛᶜân* (6), more rarely in other villages (1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).

2. ', the voiced or voiceless laryngeal plosive, occurs very often in *Šfa ᶜAmer*, sometimes in *ᵉn-Ṇâṣre*, rarely in 7, 9, 11, and 5, very rarely elsewhere. Most Christians in LGal. do not use ' for *q*, but as far as I have noticed, the *hamza*-speakers are Christians. Furthermore, this pronunciation seems to be more usual among women.

3. *g*, the voiced post-velar plosive, is often heard in the villages east of *ᵉn-Ṇâṣre* (12, 13 and 14), mostly used by old people and women.

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[1] Cf. Cleveland's classification (BASOR 171, p. 57) of Jordanian dialects: I *yigûl*, II *bəgûl*, III *bəkûl*, IV *bəʾûl*. The *bəkûl*-speakers are those living around Jerusalem and northward in Central Palestine. Bīr-Zêt belongs to this dialect area where Schmidt and Kahle (passim) give *biḳûl*. Littmann, Volksp., p. 10, gives for Jerusalem *buʾûl* (*biʾûl*).

It occurs in all other positions in a word except before and after a voiceless consonant, and as final in pause where its allophone is *q*.

4. The most usual pronunciation for *q* in LGal. is that which has been marked *k* by most authors. However, I believe that BAUER is fairly correct when he states in the short introductory chapter of his Wörterbuch (p. XIV), that *q* in Nazareth is »ein Mittelding zwischen *g* und *k*, näher dem *k*». The difference between this sound and *k* is not easily discernible, if there is any phonetic and not only psychological difference between two different phonemes. As after the other post-velars *ḫ* and *ġ*, after *q*, too, with all its allophones, the feminine ending is *-a* in most cases. This fact suggests that some difference really exists, although it does not necessarily imply the emphasis *positione* of the phoneme *q* (= *ḳ*)[1]. Thus it seems safest to transcribe this sound by *q* until objective data are at disposal, even if transcription of two perceptibly different allophones by one symbol must be admitted to be unsatisfactory.

The voiceless dental fricative *ṯ* is usually preserved by *q*-speakers (Group 1)[2] while the *hamza*-speakers and some *q*-speakers (Group 4), especially in *ᵉn-Ṉâṣre*, pronounce it as the plosive *t*. The most usual pronunciation in the villages of LGal. is between *ṯ* and *t*, i.e. *t* with only slight frictional noise, but its use is very inconsistent so that the same speaker may say sometimes *ṯälâṯi* and sometimes *tälâti*. In geminates the plosive pronunciation is most common. Here, too, a difficult choice in transcription must be made, and I have come, after hesitation, to transcribe *t* only in cases where I heard no friction. In the same way the voiced dental fricative *ḏ* often loses part of its friction, and usually in *Šfa ᶜAmer* and often in *ᵉn-Ṉâṣre* it is pro-

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[1] Thus Blanc, Studies, p. 69, notwithstanding Cantineau's assumption (Ḥōrân, p. 127, Palmyre I, pp. 40ff., Nomades I, p. 39).

[2] Cf. Blanc's groups (Studies, p. 70f.): *ṯqil* for virtually all Druzes, *tʾil* for *Šfa ᶜAmer* etc., *tqil* (rare, possibly pronounced for affectation), and *ṯʾil*, the middle stage between non-urbanized and urbanized speakers, perhaps an evidence that *q* becomes ʾ before the dental fricatives become plosives or sibilants.

nounced *d* except in some words, where it is *z* (e.g. *'izä* and *kizeb*, sometimes *kideb*)[1].

The three villages *ⁱKsâl*, *ᶜĒʸn Mâhel* and *Dabbûrye* are situated at the northern end of the dialect area to which all the countryside of Palestine belongs, except Galilee and a big part of the central mountains approximately between Jenîn, eṭ-Ṭayyibe and the river Jordan[2]. In these villages palatalized pronunciation *č* of the phoneme *k* is very often heard, particularly in the speech of women and old people.

As for vowels, a fronting tendency of *u* to *u̇* is common, especially in *Šfa ᶜAmer*, *ᵉn-Nâṣre* and *Yåfȧ*, sometimes elsewhere, and then mostly in the speech of women. It is fairly distinct e.g. in *ku̇l(l)-yôm* and *ku̇nⁱt*[3].

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1 Bergsträsser's Sprachatlas (Karte 1, Tafel XXI) shows *d* for Nazareth.

2 According to Bergsträsser (Sprachatlas, Karte 3, Tafel XXIII).

3 Cf. Blanc (Studies, p. 40): »There is a characteristic fronted (i.e. centralized) allophone in the lower high position which always contrasts with *i*; it occurs near non-retracted pre-palatals, esp. *r*: *lujni* [*lijnĭ*] (*j* = *ž*) 'committee', *rujmi* [*rijmĭ*] 'stone heap', *ḥurmi* [*ḥirmĭ*] or [*ḥórmĭ*] 'woman'.» Cf. Feghali, Kfar, p. 100, footnote 2.