

## Texts

### Text No. 1. *Kofər Mändä*. Artistic colloquial.

Five young men are telling anecdotes by turns. The story told by a teacher (Moslem, 22/12 + 2<sup>1</sup>) is local colloquial in pronunciation, but a literary origin is palpable. Some mildly formal devices occur. The tempo is c. 110 phonetic words per minute.

*min hədd u-ʾānā zǧīr, ʾāšūf dukkāne kbīre fi-l-qarye maqsōme la-qismēn. hī kāyn āselhā dukkāne dāhīr, wādeh yá<sup>ca</sup>nī, ʾinnhā kân dukkāne wāhāde, lākin maqsōme la-qismēn. u-fihā ʾihwe tñēn, yá<sup>ca</sup>nī § fi-nāha ʾāhu u-hādāk el-āhu t-tāni. wāhād kân yihtaşş yá<sup>ca</sup>nī fi-bēc al-hilwayāt u-t-tāni fi-bēc al-hāžiyyāt el-mānzeliyye. u-mā-kūntiş ütsā el wa-lā ʾāstagrīb lā-ʾennu qismēn, dukkāntēn, žāmb bācādhīn, ʾillā marra min marrát. marra min marrát žūt āştri ʾibri min cīnd ill cīndu hāžiyyāt mānzeliyye, fā . . . žūt cāla l- . . . nāhu l-yāmīn, futit žuwwa, mā šuft el-bāyi<sup>ca</sup>, şahb ed-dukkān miş hināk. fā- . . . tāllācīt, ed-dukkāne maqsōme bāss yá<sup>ca</sup>nī bē-žīdār, sin<sup>es</sup>le<sup>2</sup> zǧīre, fā- . . . tražžēt šāhib el- § dukkān et-tāni, ʾilli hū yá<sup>ca</sup>nī ʾāhū lā-l-awwālāni, ʾinnu yīži bīcīnī ʾibar lā-ʾimmi lā-ʾenni musta<sup>ca</sup>žil. fā . . . šār ittālla<sup>3</sup> cālāyyi b-ğadab, bē-za<sup>ca</sup>al. itražžētū kāmān marra. barđu mā-simī<sup>c</sup>ş wa-lā kilme, biddúş. fā-ʾānā ruht, ʾānā bācārif wēn māhāll el-ʾibar w-ānā wācī yá<sup>ca</sup>nī § emʾammīn hāli, futit raʾšan<sup>4</sup>, hādā u-ʾānā zǧīr yá<sup>ca</sup>nī, w-aḥatt § ʾibri, fihā ʾibar iktīr u-žibt et-tāmān illi bācāri<sup>f</sup>fu qaddēş, u-futt cīnd el- . . . nāhye t-tāni u-hattētū la-şahb ed-dukkāne, qullillu: »tā-yīžī<sup>5</sup> ʾahūk, ta<sup>ca</sup>ntiyyā.»<sup>6</sup> lākin mā kunt aḥuttu w-illā ʾāžū u-ṭaradni u-rāmā l-maşāri waray.*

<sup>1</sup> Age 22 / school 12 + 2 years.

<sup>2</sup> The first *l* dissimilated into *n*.

<sup>3</sup> Final *c* dropped before an initial *c*.

When I was a small boy there was in the village a big shop, which I knew well. This shop was divided into two parts, but it was obvious that it was originally one shop which was, however, divided into two parts. There were two brothers, one in this part and the other in that part. One specialized in selling sweets and the other in selling household necessities. I never came to think and never considered it unusual that there were two parts, two shops, side by side, until one day. One day I came to buy a needle from the man who had household necessities. I came to the right-hand side of the shop and stepped in, but I didn't see the seller. The shopkeeper was not there. I looked around, and because the shop was divided only by a low wall, I asked the shopkeeper of the other shop, who was the brother of the first-mentioned, to come and sell me needles for my mother, because I was in a hurry. But he looked at me angrily. I asked him once more. But he pretended not to hear a word; he didn't want to. So because I knew where to find the needles, and because I was familiar with where things were kept, I went directly by myself — I was a little

<sup>4</sup> Literate.

<sup>5</sup> *tā* < *ḥattā*; cf. Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *ta: ta-yidji* '(attends) qu'il vienne'.

<sup>6</sup> In LGal. the radicals *nty* 'to give' are more common than *ty*. Here both *n* and *c* appear in one word. According to Landberg, *Jeder tut* (pp. 88f.), *ʔantā* is a contamination of *ʔaʕtā* and *ʔandā*. Bergsträsser notes *antā* for *ʕn-Nāṣre*, *Ṣaffūrye*, *ʔAṣṣābye*, *ʕl-Bārriyye*, *er-Rāme*, and *ʕĒʔn ez-Zetūn*; *aʕtā* for the rest of Galilee (Sprachatlas, Karte 34, Tafel LIV). The alternation *n/c* was already reported by Wallin: »In diesem Zeitworte wird das *c* von allen Beduinen der inneren Wüste und von den Bewohnern *ʕIrāks* immer und unveränderlich mit einem *n* verwechselt in allen Formen wo dieser Buchstabe keinen Vokal hat» (ZDMG 9, p. 5).

istağrabt židdān mā-dām ihwe, fā-ruḥit lā-žāddi u-sā'altu: »šu qusšet hādōl et-tnēn?» fā-qalli: »hā'i l-mes'āli bādāt min zāmān zāmān. hādōl el-ihwe, Ḥāsān wa-Ḥsēn, kānu māšhurīn š miš bāss fi-hā'i l-bālād, li-hāriž li-hā'i l- š qarye, bi-l-istiḡāme w-il-āmāne u-ḥuṣn es-sīre, kānu nās tyāb u-mlāḥ ma'a kull en-nās, u-kāmān ma'a ḥā'ād. wālākin min qabel ešrīn sini š ḥādātāt ḥāy l-ḥātte.<sup>7</sup> lāmmā 'āžū Ḥāsān eadd el-ḡasāri 'illi bāqye hādāk el-yōm, ḥasāb et-tāsžil, laqāḥā nāqsa eāšar lirāt. fā-'istağrab iktīr wēn rāḥat el-eāšar lirāt, u-rāḥ ra'san yithimm aḥū eḤsēn u-hinni kānu fi-d-dukāne lli wārīn<sup>8</sup> ean aḥūhin u-sāknīn fihū t-tnēn. fā- . . . lāmmā ttāḥāmu quddām en-nās, šār eḤsēn ibāḥdel aḥū, tē'at minnu, 'aw ḡasba eannu, kilḡāt ḡāsye, 'illi quddām en-nās Ḥāsān ma-ḡidīrš yistāḥmīlhā, fā-dār bēnḥin niḡāš ḥāmi w-intāḥā bi-l-ḥāki lli miš nāfi<sup>ca</sup> u-lawlā kān mawžūd nās, kān rāḥ iṣīr akṭar min ḥēk, yā<sup>ca</sup>nī bi-d-ḡarb. u-min yomiyyéthā yā<sup>ca</sup>nī gabel ešrīn sinī» — qabel-mā 'awlād ānā mā'ālān — »ihṭālfu u-qassāmu d-dukāne.»

fā-sāyyithā<sup>9</sup> lāmmā sā'alt žāddi u-kānu nās ḥināk fā-sū'altu: »min ešrīn sini biddāk itqūl innḥin mithāsmīn u-qāsmīn<sup>10</sup> ed-dukāne la-ḡismēn?» qallīn: »fā'ālān,<sup>11</sup> min ešrīn sini š u-t-tnēn lā bāḥku ḥā'ādḥin wa-lā bittālla<sup>cu</sup> ḥā'ādḥin u-lā-ḥāttū kull sini birfa<sup>cu</sup> l-židār illi bēnḥin, 'illi ḡāsem el- š dukāne lā-dukāntēn, akṭar w-akṭar.» u-ḡālu lā-žāddi, ḡalūlu: »šu rāyāk emnišlahḥīn mā'ālān?» natṭ wāḥād emn-illi ḡā'idīn, eḥtyār, ḡāl: »ānā 'issa musta<sup>ca</sup>idd ašleḥḥīn š ba<sup>ca</sup>d el-ḥurub min ešrīn

<sup>7</sup> = ḥādita, after loss of short *i* and mutual assimilation of *d*l.

<sup>8</sup> wārīn is a distinct resultative: they had inherited, and they still had it as inheritance. Cf. Wild, ZDMG 114 (pp. 239—254). This function of active participle is called *perfectum praesentis* by Blau (p. 68), *parfait duratif* by Feghali (Syntax, pp. 90—113), and *resultatif-duratif* by el-Hajjé (p. 57).

<sup>9</sup> = sā'iyéthā. The loss of *c* may be due to its position precedent to the strong stress caused by the pronominal suffix *-hā*.

<sup>10</sup> qāsmīn is a resultative similar to wārīn. It is interesting to compare this form with *min yomiyyéthā . . . ihṭālfu u-qassāmu d-dukāne*. The momentary aspect of the perfect forms is clear, but the preposition *min* shows that they are at the same time used in durative function. In the next sentence *min ešrīn sini u-t-tnēn lā bāḥku* the main aspect is durative, but the sense implies also the momentary aspect (*min*).

<sup>11</sup> Literate.

boy at that time, you see — and I took a needle — there were many needles. I took the price which I knew, and went to the other part and gave it to the shopkeeper, saying to him: »When your brother comes, give this to him.« But in the moment that I put the money down he turned me out and threw the money after me.

I was very astonished, because they were brothers, and I went to my grandfather and asked him: »What's the trouble with these two?« He answered: »This affair began long ago. These two brothers Ḥasan and Ḥsên were well-known not only in this place, but also outside this village for their uprightness, honesty and good behaviour. They were on very good terms with all people as well as with each other. But twenty years ago the following event took place: On that day, Ḥasan counted up the money which was left that day, but when he checked the book-keeping, he found that ten pounds was missing. He wondered very much where that ten pounds might have gone, and he began directly to accuse his brother Ḥsên, because they were running that shop, which they had inherited from their father, and were living there together. And so, when they accused each other in public, and Ḥsên uttered bad words about his brother, malicious rumours were, although against his (Ḥsên's) will, put in circulation, which Ḥasan could not just let pass by in public. A severe dispute began between them, and it led to bad words, and unless there were people about, even more than that would have happened, in other words they would have fallen to blows. Since that day twenty years ago — before I, for instance, was born — »this disagreement has still continued and the shop has been divided into two parts.«

But when on that occasion I asked my grandfather, the people who were listening asked him: »Do you mean that they have been on bad terms for twenty years and have kept the shop divided into two parts?« He said to them: »Exactly, for these twenty years the two haven't spoken to one another or faced each other, and every year they even raise the wall between them, which divides the shop into two shops, more and more.« Then they asked my grandfather: »What do you think, could we try to reconcile them?« Now one of those who were sitting there, an old man, said: »I'm ready right now to reconcile



sini, lä- 'innhin ihwe, yá<sup>ca</sup>nī šaqiqên § min imm w-aḥwe.» fä-itráhanu: »tiǵdárš tišlahḥin, ḥáwalu nās iktír.» háḍā l-ehṭyár kân šáter u-qát: »'aná baǵdar ašlehḥin.» itráhanu kāmân wáḥad innu yóḥud <sup>c</sup>išrín líra 'idū bišlahḥin. qallu: »tayyib, 'aná ray<sup>u</sup>eh.»

rāḥ háḍ l-ehṭyár ra'šan <sup>ca</sup>-d-ḍukkâne, waqqaf, fât u-waqqaf bi-n-  
nuṣṣ <sup>ca</sup>ind el-šidâr illi bišsil el- . . . ḍukkântên u-nâdâ <sup>ca</sup>-l-ihwe t-tnên  
u-waqqaf hék § yá<sup>ca</sup>nī háše<sup>ca</sup> zäyy id-ḍalíl, u-qall<sup>h</sup>in lá-t-tnên, qall<sup>h</sup>in:  
»'aná mi'ássif iktír iktír <sup>ca</sup>ala 'éš <sup>ca</sup>amilt<sup>u</sup>12 zāmân ucw . . . ḍāmîri  
kân i'ännibni u-miš gâder13 äḥmil, 'inni maṛra § min <sup>c</sup>išrín sini §  
futit u-mâ-lâqêtiš ḥadâ ḥônâ u-sarâqt § <sup>ca</sup>šar liṛât u-bâ<sup>ca</sup>du ḍāmîri  
bi'ännibni u-miš gâder äḥmil hä-l-žärime, u-li-ḍälík issa bâzi 'astahṭi  
ḥâli w-aṛažžálku14 yyâ.» fá-'atâḥin u-ḥatṭhin. qalûlu: »lâ», u-miš <sup>ca</sup>ârif  
éš. fâ-t-tnên illi kânū mithāmlîn <sup>ca</sup>ala ḥâ<sup>ca</sup>ḍhin iktír, ša<sup>ca</sup>aru bi-n-  
nâdām ma<sup>ca</sup> ḥâ<sup>ca</sup>ḍhin lä-'inn<sup>h</sup>in kânū yittihmu ḥâ<sup>ca</sup>ḍhin bân ḥin  
w-âḥar u-säyyithā mā šâfu ḥâlhin illâ15 ḥâžāmu <sup>ca</sup>ala ḥâ<sup>ca</sup>ḍhin u-tšáfahu  
u-ḥawwâsu ḥâ<sup>ca</sup>ḍhin, u-rižā<sup>ca</sup>u 'aqāmu16 l-ḥâžiz, u-rižā<sup>ca</sup>at ḍukkâne  
wahâde § u-bêt wáḥed.

Text No. 2. *eṛ-Rummâne*. Artistic colloquial.

Two farmers (Moslems, 27/6 and 25/5) are talking. The elder one considers it better to tell stories than to chat for the recording. After the younger man has refused, he himself starts telling about <sup>c</sup>Umar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb, the great caliph (634—644 AD.) idolized by Moslem writers for his piety, justice and patriarchal simplicity. As a result of the speaker's effort to use classical forms and expressions, the style becomes clumsy and uneven, and the choice of words often fails. In the first two stories the tempo is c. 130 words per minute, in the third it is only c. 100 words per minute.

a) (Cf. al-Mustaṭraf II, 185) maṛra smi<sup>c</sup>tlāk<sup>1</sup> hék quṣṣa <sup>ca</sup>an <sup>c</sup>Umar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb. fi-l-<sup>ca</sup>šer tāba<sup>ca</sup>u lämmä kân yint<sup>u</sup>ābeh<sup>2</sup> ila r-rā<sup>c</sup>iyye, kân idūr

<sup>12</sup> The loss of *h* has caused a partly gemination of *t*.

<sup>13</sup> *ğ* occurs in this word for Cl. *q* in all forms (in perfect: *ma-ğidirš iqum*, recorded from <sup>c</sup>Ḥabân), but *qadar* 'approximately' (Blanc, Studies, p. 69). Cf.

them, because twenty years of quarrelling is a long time for two brothers from one mother and father.» They made a bet and said: »You may never reconcile them. Many people have tried.» But this old man was clever and said: »I can reconcile them.» Someone promised to give him twenty pounds if he could reconcile them. He said: »Well, I'll go.»

This old man went directly to the shop, entered it and stopped in the middle of the shop where the wall divided the two shops. He called the two brothers and standing there submissively, as if feeling guilty, he said to them: »I'm very very sorry for something that I did long ago, and my conscience has been reproving me, and I cannot go on with it any more. It's twenty years ago that I stepped in here and didn't find anybody around. So I stole ten pounds. Since then my conscience has been reproving me, and I cannot bear this burden. That's why I've come now to apologize to you and to pay the money back.» Now he took the money and gave it to them. They said to him: »Oh no!» and so on. Now these two, who had been on very bad terms with each other, regretted that they had accused one another from time to time. Right away they ran towards each other, shook hands and embraced each other. Then they removed the wall, and once again there was only one shop and one home.

a) I would like to tell you a story about °Umar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb that I once heard. In his time, when he was taking care for his sub-

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Bergsträsser, Sprachatlas, Karte 37; Cantineau, Ḥōrān, p. 127, Atlas, p. 38. Landberg, Jeder tut, p. 45: *ġ* for *q* occurs in this word only in imperfect, both in Syria and in Egypt.

<sup>14</sup> *c* is here dropped before (*i*)*lku*.

<sup>15</sup> *mā šāfu illā* is an expression of a sudden, unexpected change in the course of events in narrative style. Cf. Blau, p. 245; *infra*, Text No. 8, footnote 15.

<sup>16</sup> Literate; in colloquial, the prefix 'a- of stem IV is dropped before stressed syllable: *qām*, imperf. *iqim*. The word 'aḥāl (stem IV), *supra*, line 12, is a learned borrowing.

<sup>1</sup> *Datious ethicus*.

<sup>2</sup> The speaker begins with a literately stressed form *yint'ábeh* and continues with the dialectally stressed *yintbeh*.

bên er-râciyye bi-l-lél u-yintbeh<sup>2</sup> ilä n-näs kēf el-<sup>ca</sup>yše tabahha<sup>3</sup>, 'inhä ya<sup>ca</sup>nī mlîhâ 'aw miš imlîhâ cala šân yintbêlhâ<sup>4</sup> tāmâm. marra min marrât § näfäd § u-simîcî § hürme bta<sup>ca</sup>ḥi bêt šîcîr<sup>5</sup> § bitqûl: »wa-laclâ mahâfâtu llâhi lâ-kânâ yûžed fi žânîbî ražul fi-s-sârîr.« <sup>c</sup>Umar simîcî bêt eš-šîcîr u-rawwa<sup>6</sup> cala l-mârkâz tâba<sup>ca</sup>u w-tâni yôm sâžžâl u-damağ el-mahâll, u-tâni yôm ba<sup>ca</sup>at el-<sup>ca</sup>askar illi tâht idu, žâbu l-hürme lä-yis'älu šu s-säbâb innu yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî tännâ § häkät küdü w-küdü. <sup>ca</sup>n eš-šîcîr illi naqtatu, fehém innu žózhâ fi-l-mu<sup>ca</sup>askar, fi-l-žêš. ba<sup>ca</sup>at lâ-bintu sâ'alhâ, qallâ l-hürme mätlân qaddêš bitğîb <sup>ca</sup>n žózhâ, tigdar tâstağîca yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî bälâ, qâlâtlu: »aktar šî yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî šah<sup>ca</sup>rên.« qallâ: »'idâ ma 'aktar?« qâlâtlu: »tâlâti.« qallâ: »'idâ 'aktar?« qâlâtlu: »arḥa<sup>ca</sup>.« qallâ: »'idâ dât?« qâlâtlu: »hamsi.« qallâ: »'idâ dât?« qâlâtlu: »aktar min sitt uš<sup>h</sup>ur el-hürme harâm ikún žózhâ b<sup>ca</sup>id <sup>ca</sup>n<sup>h</sup>â.« hâlân <sup>c</sup>Umar imn<sup>7</sup> el-Hattâb a<sup>ca</sup>ta 'awâmru fi-l-<sup>ca</sup>askar tâba<sup>ca</sup>u lä-l-q<sup>i</sup>yât<sup>8</sup> el-žêš u-qallum<sup>9</sup> § cala 'innu mâmrâ<sup>ca</sup> žundi stännâ<sup>10</sup> tülätt uš<sup>h</sup>ur fi-l-žêš, lä-'annu hädâ 'iši yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî bikún § ižḥâf cala l-zawže tâba<sup>ca</sup>u fi-l-bêt, lä-'annhâ yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî tigdarš tistännâ bälâ, bälâ l-ižimâ<sup>ca</sup> fi.

b) (Cf. at-Tabarî, Ta'rîḥ ar-rusul wa-l-mulük I, 2743—2744) u-ba<sup>ca</sup>dên fi qussa lânye <sup>ca</sup>annu. kân mâriq fi-l-lél, wižid ulâd yibku § u-marra, lâqa hürme hâtta test u-fi h<sup>i</sup>žâr § u-biğli u-befâkker innhâ biğlîlhin äkel, l-iwlâd i<sup>ca</sup>yytu. 'äžâ, lâmmâ wižd eṭ-test, mârâq cala l-hürme, tarah el-waq<sup>11</sup> calêhâ, raddât calê, qallhâ: »mâdâ § t<sup>ca</sup>sâwîn?«<sup>12</sup> qâlâtlu: »šöfet <sup>ca</sup>ênâk, 'id târà mâ yûžed<sup>13</sup> fi-t-test.« wižid innu fi h<sup>i</sup>žâr.

<sup>2</sup> *ch* > *hh*, mutual assimilation.

<sup>4</sup> *C*<sup>3</sup> = *h* is dropped from the three-consonant cluster *hlh* (*yintbêlhâ*), and the vowel is lengthened.

<sup>5</sup> In al-Mustatraf the metre is *at-tawîl*.

<sup>6</sup> *h* in final position often disappears before an initial *c*. Cf. Bergsträsser, *Dam.*, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> A partly assimilation of *b* to *n*. Cf. the careful pronunciation in the beginning of the story.

<sup>8</sup> = Cl. *qiyâdati*, after loss of *a* in the open unstressed medial syllable and a regressive assimilation of *d* into *t*.

<sup>9</sup> Due to the speaker's effort to elevate his language above the *câmmiyye*, where the form is *qallhîn*.

<sup>10</sup> Imperfect.

jects, he used to wander around during the night and to see how his people lived, whether their life was good or bad, in order to get well acquainted with their life. Once he came upon a woman and heard her reciting a verse of a poem saying: »If only I did not fear God, I would have a man beside me in my bed.» Hearing this verse ʿUmar returned to his headquarters, and the next day he noted down the description of the place, and the next day he sent his soldiers to bring the woman in order to ask what was the reason why she said thus and thus. From the poem which she had recited he understood that her husband was in the field, in military service. Now he sent for his daughter and asked her for how long a married woman can be away from her husband, for how long she can manage without him. She answered: »Generally it is two months.» He said to her: »Is it possible to be more?» She said: »Three.» He asked: »Could it be more?» She answered: »Four.» He asked: »And not more?» She answered: »Five.» He asked: »If it is more than that?» She said to him: »It is against the law of God that a man be away from his wife more than six months.» Now ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb immediately gave orders to the headquarters of his army saying that it is forbidden that a soldier stay in the army for more than three months, because more than that will be injustice to his wife at home, because she cannot be away from him, without meeting him.

b) Then there is another story about him. When he was walking at night, he perceived children crying, and when he went there he found a woman who was boiling stones in a pot. He thought that she was making food for the crying children. Now, when he found the pot, he approached the woman, greeted her, and she returned his greeting. He asked her: »What art thou doing?» She said: »What you can see now if you look what there is in the pot.» He found that what was there was stones. He asked her: »Why so?» She said: »This comes from ʿUmar's injustice. I'm trying to play a trick on the children to make

<sup>11</sup> 'He threw the time', i.e. he said 'good evening'; an epic form of oblique narration.

<sup>12</sup> A contamination of the Cl. *mādā taf'alīn(a)* and the dialectal *šu būsawwi*.

<sup>13</sup> 'Classical'.

qall<sup>h</sup>á: »lēs hēk?» qālátlu: »hādū min dūlum<sup>e</sup> ʕṬmar. 'anā qá'ad<sup>14</sup> aḏḥak<sup>e</sup> a-l-ulād dāḥek<sup>e</sup> ala šān ānāyym<sup>h</sup>um.»<sup>15</sup> lāmmū ʕirf el-quṣṣa hēk, hū rāḥ u-žāb šwāl ʕt-ṭḥīn wa-s-sāmen u-t-tāmer<sup>e</sup> ala dahru. 'āžā, u-raḥul<sup>16</sup> kāmān, w-āžā la-ʕand el-ḥurme u-lāqa l-ulād, bá'adin yitbāku u-hī miš ʕarfe 'innu ʕṬmar ibn el-Ḥattāb, šarāt tāḥki ʕalē: »'Alla yudḥum<sup>e</sup> ʕṬmar, 'Alla kādā w-kādā», tāḥki kalām ḥattāl u-hū ʕṬmar ib-šahšūtu. lāmmū žāb ʕt-ṭḥīn u-s-sāmen hū qa'ad yā'āmūl<sup>e</sup> ʕašīde, ʕind el-ʕarab bisāmmāhā ʕašīde, fi-t-ṭest, qa'ad ihurr<sup>h</sup>ā wa-ḥatt sāmen u-yinfuḥ u-kān ed-duḥhān yitnāter min bēn ša'ar lāḥe<sup>y</sup>tu.<sup>17</sup> la-ḥattā 'innu stāwa kull iši, qallā: »'éq'adi wlād». lāmmū 'éq'ad<sup>18</sup> l-iwlād, qa'ad hū ylaqqem u-yi'ʕam l-iwlād tā-ḥattā šib<sup>e</sup>u l-iwlād u-mbaṣtu u-hī šib<sup>e</sup>at u-mbaṣtat u-rākkázilḥā šwāl ʕṭḥīn u-sāmnāt u-kull iši u-qāl<sup>h</sup>á: »lēs inti bitāžīš tāḥki la-ʕṬmar?» qālátlu: »miš kull wāḥad illi biḡdar yitwāta § 'aw yāḥki la-ʕṬmar yá'ani<sup>1</sup> 'idā kān faḡir aw ḡani, kull insān ilu § nāfs w-ilu kārāme w-ilu l-ḥādīt ḡime, fā-fi māyyit<sup>19</sup> mn-il-žā'ca, biḥābbiṣ yá'ani<sup>1</sup> yiḏḥar ʕala žāru aw ʕala l-ḥākim tāba<sup>e</sup>u. wāžib ʕala l-ḥākim § 'innu yettšil<sup>20</sup> fi-kull bālād u-bālādḥā fi-r-rā'iyye ʕala šān § yik<sup>e</sup>t . . . tāsif<sup>20</sup> kēf mā'āšt en-nās, wa-'idā hī mā'āšit<sup>h</sup>ā mlīḥā, hī mnīḥā bitkūn, u-mā'āšit<sup>h</sup>ā miš innīḥā, ʕala šān yittāla<sup>ca20</sup> u-halli mā'āšit<sup>h</sup>ā mnīḥā. u-lāmmū bet . . . tāsēl<sup>20</sup> yá'ani<sup>1</sup>», qālátlu, »ʕṬmar immn el-Ḥattāb fi-r-rā'iyye u-b<sup>t</sup>šūf kēf ʕayšit<sup>h</sup>ā u-biḥāssen ʕayšit<sup>h</sup>ā u-bit<sup>e</sup>am zāyy hēk zāyy el-ulād, fā-bitkūn hādū min-nō<sup>21</sup> ʕadālye, miš min-nō<sup>e</sup> al- § dūlum.»

u-lāmmū ʕirfatu 'innu ʕṬmar, u-lāḥadat 'innu ʕṬmar, istaḥtat nāfs<sup>h</sup>ā, qa'adāt innu § tit<sup>e</sup>atta b-ḥāṭru tāmām. wa-qām ʕṬmar le-ʕād, lāmmū rawweḥ ṭāni yóm, ba'áṭil<sup>h</sup>ā u-rākkázilḥā ma'ás šah<sup>re</sup>y,<sup>22</sup> 'illi tistáfīd hiyy u-wlād<sup>h</sup>ā u-ykūnu miš ib-māḥāl ižā'ca, māžā'ca, u-ykūnu b-māḥāl yá'ani<sup>1</sup> b-ḥālāt innīḥā zāyy en-nās, ʕayšīn yôklu yišrabu ynāmu, kull § mā yilzām 'il<sup>h</sup>in ma'ca ḡōca mbāšir illi mawžūd fi-d-dawle.

<sup>14</sup> The feminine ending is dropped before the initial *a*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *supra*, footnote 9; dialectally 'ānāyym<sup>h</sup>in.

<sup>16</sup> 'Classical'.

<sup>17</sup> This descriptive passage occurs both in aṭ-Ṭabarī (I, 2744) and in al-Mustatraf (II, 105; = Text No. 2c).

<sup>18</sup> = 'éq'adet; the dropping of the feminine ending is due to stammering.

<sup>19</sup> Active participle of stem I in the meaning 'being at the point of'.

them sleep.» When ʿUmar learnt it he went away and came back with a sack of flour, butter and dates on his back. He now came to the woman, and the husband too. There he found that the children were still crying. She still didn't recognize that he was ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb, and so she began to accuse him: »God have revenge on ʿUmar, God make him this and that.» She said bad words about him, although he was ʿUmar himself. When he had brought the flour and the butter, ʿUmar began to make *ʿaṣīde* in the pot — the Bedouins call it *ʿaṣīde*. He first mixed them, and then poured butter on the mixture. Now and then he blew on the fire, and the smoke penetrated through his beard. When everything was ready, he said to her: »Set the children to eat.» When she had set them to eat, he began to feed them until they were satisfied, and she, too, was satisfied and happy. Then he let her have the sack of flour and everything, and asked her: »Why don't you go and complain to ʿUmar?» She said: »Not everybody is able to humiliate himself or talk to ʿUmar, whether he is poor or rich; no one who has his own pride and dignity likes to show his condition to his neighbour or to his ruler even if he were about to die of hunger. It is the duty of the ruler himself to visit every single place among his subjects and to find out how the people are living, and if their life is good, then it is all right, but if their life is bad, he should look into it and make their life better. When ʿUmar», she said to him, »meets his subjects and sees how their life is, he will improve their life and feed them just as you did with these children. That will be justice and not injustice.»

When she recognized then that he was ʿUmar, she found that he was ʿUmar, she recognized her fault and started to apologize to him. Then ʿUmar left the house, but the next day he sent her and bestowed upon her a monthly subsidy which she and her children might live with so that they might avoid famine and live just as well as others, supplied with all necessary things and all the other facilities that the state can give them.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *supra*, footnote 2; difficulties in 'classicization'.

<sup>21</sup> The final *e* dropped before an initial *e*.

<sup>22</sup> Diphthongization of final *i* in pre-pausal prolongation; cf. Text No. 5, footnote 8.

c) (Cf. al-Mustatraf II, 105) *u-ba<sup>ca</sup>dên fî quşşa kãmân tânye*, *°Umar inn el-Hattâb. kân imurr § fi-l-lêl, simi<sup>ci</sup> hurme bişî<sup>ch</sup> halaṭ* *°ala bêl ša°ar žamb § qarye wah<sup>a</sup>du, wižid er-ražel, šahb el-bêt, wâqif* *fi-maqdam el-bêt u-mâsik el-hâbel, hâbel bêl eš-ša°ar, hême. tarah es-salâm °alê § u-qallu: »šu bi-l-hurme, bešayyeh mâ-bešayyeh?»<sup>23</sup> qallu: »walla l-hurme, yâ-šêh, bidd<sup>h</sup>a tôđa<sup>ca</sup> u-mâ-fiš hâdâ hawwalîhâ, w-ânâ hayrân u-garîb ânâ min hâ<sup>i</sup> l-bälâd u-mâ-bâ<sup>ca</sup>rifiš hâdâ hôn.» qallu: »stannâni laḥḍa žgîre, 'issa bâžî.» râh žâb zawžtu<sup>24</sup> °Umar inn el-Hattâb u-žâb el-°uddi l-kâmle li-l-hurme °ala šân bass tôđa<sup>ca</sup>, ṭa<sup>ca</sup>amîhâ. w-âžâ . . . u-fâtât § zôžit °Umar ibn el-Hattâb, 'afâkker innhâ 'isemhâ yimk<sup>ken</sup> § Hadîge<sup>25</sup>, u-fâtât lâ-hinâk lâ-°and el-hurme, hú qa°ad °and er-ražel. lümmâ 'ôđa°at el-hurme, qälâtlu: »büšrâk, yâ-'âmîr el-mu'minân, 'ôđa°at walâd.» °irfu šahb el-bêt, 'innu °Umar inn el-Hattâb, u-qâm hižîl minnu u-m-el-hüyâ, râh libis el-aṛḍ u-fâzzâ<sup>26</sup> °alê u-qa°ad § yâ°anî § yil°atta b-hâṭru, yista°ađim el-mäs'âlî 'illi hú 'âžâ u-ṣaratu °ala šân § yôđa°a ṣaratu ma . . . °a-šân el-hurme zäyyhâ zäyyhâ § fi 'il<sup>h</sup>ü sinhâ fursâ 'innhâ, 'illi biğdar, tettşel fîhâ bi-môžâbet el-weldât, 'illi môžâbe n-niswân, yâ°ani ržâl biğdarâš hâđîk eš-šâgle yiştiglühâ 'illâ môžâbe n-niswân. fâ-qâm er-ražel, hâđâ l-°arab el-büdäwi u-šâr iqûl la-°Umar inn el-Hattâb:» mitšâkkerâk tämâm u-hâđâ min nô° al-°adâlîye u-r-rahme u-r-rafyê § w-er-ruqu<sup>27</sup> u-min nô° al-wiždân wa-t-teqa wa-d-dîn», lâ-'âheri.*

Text No. 3. *l-I<sup>ci</sup>zêr*. Plain colloquial.

A farmer (Moslem, 40/6) is trying to induce a worker (Moslem, 30/—) to tell a story about his life, but with poor results. The sluggish conversation has a tempo of only 110 words per minute, but the slowness is due to long pauses before new questions. The language is, with few exceptions, careless vernacular.

<sup>23</sup> The personal prefixes *t-* are scarcely audible. — °Umar is not sure about what he has heard; cf. *iğarrib mâ-yğarrib* 'he didn't know whether to approach or not', *yimši mâ-yimši* 'whether to go away or not' (both examples from *Tuṛ°ân*), *bisîr mâ bisîr* (*s* for *ş*, Bauer, Pal. p. 172, 'geht es oder nicht').



c) Then there is still another story about ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb. While he was passing by at night alone he heard a woman crying. He turned off to a tent on the outskirts of a village and found the man, the master, standing in front of the tent and grasping the cord of the tent. He greeted him and asked him: »What's the matter with the woman, crying like that?» He said: »Sir, this woman is about to give birth, but nobody can take care of her. I don't know what to do because I'm a stranger in this district, and I don't know anybody here.» He said: »Will you wait for a little while, I'll soon be back.» Now ʿUmar left the man and came back with his wife and all the necessary things to help the woman and to feed her just after the childbirth. Now ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb's wife, I think her name was Ḥadīġa, stepped in to the woman. He stayed with the man. When the woman had given the birth ʿUmar's wife said: »O Prince of the Believers, good news for you! She has given birth to a son.» Now the man knew that he was ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb, and he was ashamed for him and was shy, and he bowed down in fear of him and began to apologize to him because he thought very highly of his coming and bringing his wife to assist the man's wife in childbirth. He thought that it was a chance for his wife, because Ḥadīġa was a woman like his wife, and as such she could deal with her in case of childbirth which is a task for women — I mean that men cannot carry out this task — it is women's business. Now the man, the Bedouin, began to say to ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb: »Thank you very much, this is justice, mercy, sympathy, and good manners, this is fellow-feeling, piety, and faith», and the like.

<sup>24</sup> When speaking of ʿUmar's wife, the speaker changes the dialectal *šōze* for the 'classical' *zawže*.

<sup>25</sup> The speaker uses *ġ* for dialectal *š*. ʿUmar's wife was ʾUmm Kulṭūm.

<sup>26</sup> The final *e* is dropped before an initial *e*.

<sup>27</sup> Pronounced with a strong emphasis, which is considered 'better'; cf. Blanc, *Studies*, p. 63, and his reference to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *al-ʾAyyām*, 2nd ed., p. 61 and *passim*, where *fahm al-qāʾāt wa-r-rāʾāt* is often attributed to persons with some pretensions to learning. The change *ruqīy > ruqū* is called ʾ*išmām*, a phenomenon of velarization.



- šu 'ismák 'inti?  
 — 'Aḥmād cAbdalla.  
 — qawwa ḥissák, lâzim . . . qawwa ḥissák yâ-ḥi. 'Aḥmād cAbdalla?  
 — 'Aḥmād cAbdalla.  
 — 'aywá, šú, wên el-yôm mtištǧil?  
 — Ṭaḥariyyá.<sup>1</sup>  
 — Ṭaḥariyyá?<sup>1</sup>  
 — ṇacam.  
 — zämân ilák Ṭaḥariyyá?<sup>1</sup>  
 — ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an ili yá<sup>ca</sup>nî š taqdîr fî šahaṛ.  
 — u-qabl eš-šahaṛ mü<sup>l</sup>lân š es-sini häy wu-l-cám u- . . . el-eyyâm  
 illi maḍat, wên kunt tit<sup>c</sup>áta šuǧul?  
 — ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an, el-eyyâm illi maḍat yá<sup>ca</sup>nî š sákânit bi-šfa cAmeṛ.  
 — šu kunt tištǧil fi-šfa cAmeṛ?  
 — ma<sup>ca</sup> l-gänäm.  
 — ma<sup>ca</sup> l-gänäm?  
 — ṇacam.  
 — 'issa qulli, biddi 'äs' ülák hék suâlât.  
 — ṭaḍḍal.  
 — mân arḥaḥ lä-l-gäni, el-ḥaqaṛ aww el-gänäm aww el-má<sup>c</sup>áz?  
 — ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an el-gänäm w-el-ḥaqaṛ š lä-l-gäney<sup>2</sup> arḥaḥ.  
 — šu s-säbâb š 'innu lä-l-gäni 'arḥaḥ?  
 — ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an yá<sup>ca</sup>nî lä-l-gäni, b<sup>y</sup>iǧdar yištri šecîr, biǧdar yištri mawâkel.  
 — ṭayyib, mân 'aḥsân kämân lä-l-faqîr, má<sup>c</sup>ázâ w-illa l-ḥaqaṛ?  
 — ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an, el-canze lä-l-faqîr 'aḥsân.  
 — léš? šu s-säbâb?  
 — es-säbâb yá<sup>ca</sup>nî, má-biḥsáriš caléhá 'iši šéle.  
 — 'é btókel yá<sup>ca</sup>nî?  
 — 'é btókel yá<sup>ca</sup>nî? mn-illi 'Alla bit<sup>l</sup>cu mn-el-arḍ.  
 — bâss imn-el-arḍ w-ella fî sažar ebtókel aww . . . ?  
 — ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an, yá<sup>ca</sup>nî sažar, 'Alla bit<sup>l</sup>cu.  
 — hék?

<sup>1</sup> In brief vernacular prepositions are often omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Diphthongization of final *i*, here not pre-pausal (cf. Text No. 5, footnote 8), but the speaker prolongs the vowel in the same manner.

- What's your name?  
— Aḥmad ʿAbdalla.  
— Speak up! You must speak up, my friend. — Aḥmad ʿAbdalla?  
— Aḥmad ʿAbdalla.  
— I see. What . . . where do you work at the present?  
— In Tiberias.  
— In Tiberias?  
— Yes.  
— Have you been in Tiberias for long?  
— Well, I've been there almost one month.  
— And before this month, I mean this year and last year and the days before, where have you been working?  
— Well, before that time I was living in Šfa ʿAmer.  
— What were you doing in Šfa ʿAmer?  
— With the sheep.  
— With the sheep?  
— Yes.  
— Now tell me, I want to ask you questions.  
— Go ahead.  
— Which are more profitable for a rich man, cows or sheep or goats?  
— Of course, sheep and cows are more profitable for a rich man.  
— What's the reason? Why are they more profitable for a rich man?  
— Of course, because a rich man can buy barley, he can buy fodder.  
— Well, which is better for a poor man, then, goats or cows?  
— Of course, goats are better for a poor man.  
— Why? What's the reason?  
— The reason is — I mean — he doesn't have to pay anything to keep them.  
— What do they eat, then?  
— What do they eat then? They eat what God creates out of the earth.  
— Is that only grass, or are there shrubs which they eat or . . . ?  
— Of course there are shrubs. God creates them, too.  
— Is that so?

- ma<sup>ca</sup>lûm.
- u-qulli kãm sini w-inti madêt hayâtak ma<sup>ca</sup> l-gänäm?
- 'änâ sarâhit ma<sup>ca</sup> l-gänäm bi-Šfa eAmeṣ tesa<sup>ca</sup> s<sup>i</sup>nîn u-tesa<sup>ca</sup>t üšhür.
- 'iläk el-gänäm w-illâ . . . ?
- lä', e<sup>l</sup>-gänäm la-wahad durzi.
- šu 'ismu?
- 'ismu Näkäd.
- Näkäd?
- Näkäd.
- u-ba<sup>ca</sup>ad et-tesa<sup>ca</sup> s<sup>i</sup>nîn hallâšit es-srâh?
- taḫa<sup>ca</sup>an ba<sup>ca</sup>ad et-tesa<sup>ca</sup> s<sup>i</sup>nîn hallâšit u-rawwâhit.
- yá<sup>ca</sup>nî stamarrêt fi-l-<sup>e</sup>amel?
- stamarrêt fi-l-<sup>e</sup>amel.
- w-issâ ḫāliyyân nirza<sup>ca</sup> la-qušša hurrafiiyye. l-awwal Ṭaḫariyyâ. šu btâhüd ma<sup>ca</sup>âš Ṭaḫariyyâ?<sup>1</sup>
- bôhüd ma<sup>ca</sup>âš Ṭaḫariyyâ tãmân lirât u-nuṣṣ.
- tãmâny u-nuṣṣ . . . wâfir iläk minhîn w-illâ fî mḫassa?
- yá<sup>ca</sup>nî fî mawâfir minhîn š lä-ḫadd seba<sup>ca</sup> lirât.
- bitqûl inti 'ahatt tãmân<sup>y</sup> u-nuṣṣ. lîra u-nuṣṣ wên bitrûḫ ḫäðîk?
- bitrûḫ lä-l-bâš, bitrûḫ 'âkel,<sup>1</sup> bitrûḫ duhhân,<sup>1</sup> hêk.
- yá<sup>ca</sup>nî lîra u-nuṣṣ bâss äžär el-bâš?
- bâss äžär el-bâš š lîra u-nuṣṣ.
- u-berûḫ minnak yümken tälüt lirât 'âkel?<sup>1</sup>
- u-berûḫ tälüt lirât 'âkel,<sup>1</sup> taḫa<sup>ca</sup>an.
- yá<sup>ca</sup>nî bišfâlâk ḫâwala 'arḫa<sup>ca</sup> lirât?
- yá<sup>ca</sup>nî ḫâwala 'arḫa<sup>ca</sup> lirât, tälâti w-nuṣṣ, hêk.
- u-bikâffu eêltak?<sup>1</sup> 'ä-käm naṣar eindâk?
- fî eindi 'arḫa<sup>ca</sup> anḫâr.
- u-yümken bikfiš ḫäðâ eêltak<sup>1</sup> w-ellâ bikfi?
- taḫa<sup>ca</sup>an bikfiš eêlti,<sup>1</sup> kãmân yá<sup>ca</sup>nî bäkûn mälhûf.
- yá<sup>ca</sup>nî mälhûf min nô<sup>ca</sup> mašâri?
- min nô<sup>ca</sup> mašâri, ma<sup>ca</sup>lûm.
- mâddi?
- mâddi, 'â.

— Of course.

— Now tell me how many years of your life have you spent with the sheep?

— I've been a shepherd in Šfa ʿAmer for nine years and nine months.

— Were the sheep yours or . . . ?

— No, the sheep belonged to a Druze.

— What's his name?

— His name is Nakad.

— Nakad?

— Nakad.

— And after those nine years, did you finish your work as a shepherd?

— Of course, after those nine years I finished and left.

— Did you go on working, then?

— Yes, I went on working.

— And now let's come back to our story. Let's take Tiberias first. How much do you earn in Tiberias?

— I earn eight pounds and a half in Tiberias.

— Eight and a half . . . do you save from this or are you short of money?

— Well, I can have up to seven pounds left over.

— You said, you got eight and a half. What do you do with the one and a half?

— It goes on bus fares, it goes on food, it goes on cigarettes, just like that.

— Do you mean just the bus fares cost one pound and a half?

— Just the bus ticket is one pound and a half.

— And you spend maybe three pounds on food, don't you?

— And I spend three pounds on food, of course.

— Then you'll have about four pounds net.

— Yes, about four pounds, three and a half or so.

— And is that enough for your family? How many are you?

— There's four of us.

— And perhaps that isn't enough for your family, or is it?

- *u-qulli, btä<sup>ca</sup>rif tigrä u-tiktib aww . . . ?*  
 — *lä', mä-ta<sup>ca</sup>llamtis̄.*  
 — *lés? šu s-säbäb?*  
 — *es-säbäb yä<sup>ca</sup>nī, qillit e<sup>ca</sup>lūmi, 'eyyām qabel yä<sup>ca</sup>nī ġēr e<sup>ca</sup>n el-eyyām*  
*häy.*  
 — *yä<sup>ca</sup>nī qabel mä-kānis̄ fī mädāris?*  
 — *ma<sup>ca</sup>lūm qabel mä-kānis̄-fi mädā<sup>ca</sup>ris,<sup>3</sup> mä-kānis̄ fī § m<sup>ca</sup>llmī<sup>n</sup>,<sup>3</sup>*  
*mä-kānis̄ yä<sup>ca</sup>nī tqāqā<sup>ca</sup>dum.<sup>4</sup>*  
 — *yä<sup>ca</sup>nī 'innu . . . 'int qaddēs e<sup>ca</sup>mrak issa betfäkker?*  
 — *'anā fī e<sup>ca</sup>mri tälätin sini.*  
 — *'ā . . . yä<sup>ca</sup>nī 'inti wulidit bi-Briṭānyā zāmān?*  
 — *ma<sup>ca</sup>lūm e<sup>ca</sup>Briṭānyā.<sup>5</sup>*  
 — *yä<sup>ca</sup>nī tälätin, bikūn . . . ḥawwala . . . sint yä<sup>ca</sup>nī ḥamss<sup>6</sup> u-e<sup>ca</sup>šrīn*  
*hék, w-illā lä'?*  
 — *yä<sup>ca</sup>nī hék, bi-l-ḥamsi<sup>6</sup> w-e<sup>ca</sup>šrīn . . .*  
 — *bi-t-tälätin . . .*  
 — *bi-t-tälätin, 'ā, hék.*  
 — *qulli, fī e<sup>ca</sup>ndāk hék quṣṣa, kunt māšī 'intl<sup>6</sup> u-šāḥib, 'aw šuft iši*  
*mā<sup>ca</sup>lān w-inti<sup>6</sup> bi-Šfa e<sup>ca</sup>Amer uw-inti sāreh, waḥeš tin<sup>ca</sup>hžem e<sup>ca</sup>-l-mä<sup>ca</sup>zā*  
*'aw hék?*  
 — *ṭaba<sup>ca</sup>n anā whūs šufit iktīr.*  
 — *šū hī min nō<sup>ca</sup> al-wuhūs?*  
 — *'ismu dīb.*  
 — *šū hī min nō<sup>ca</sup> al-wuhūs? dīb?*  
 — *'ā.*  
 — *bókel el-e<sup>ca</sup>nze uw . . . ?*

<sup>3</sup> The speaker prolongs the vowels of the stressed syllables as if beginning a long list.

<sup>4</sup> The infinitive of stem V is here, as in most cases, a loan from *fuṣḥa*, and is usually pronounced by the uneducated with emphasis or even with regressive assimilation of the first two vowels to the last (*u*); cf. Abul-Fadl, p. 286: *tuhussun, tu<sup>ca</sup>uhhud, tukubbur*.

<sup>5</sup> The preposition is either omitted or assimilated into *m*.

<sup>6</sup> The last vowel of *ḥamsi* and *'inti* is dropped, and *s/t* is doubled before an initial vowel, esp. the particle *u-*, when the juncture is close.

- Of course it is not enough for my family, and I'm always in need.
- Do you mean you're in need of money?
- Of money, of course.
- Financially?
- Financially.
- Now tell me, do you know to read and write or . . . ?
- No, I haven't learnt.
- Why? What's the reason?
- The reason is that I never went to school. Those days were different from nowadays.
- Do you mean there weren't any schools before?
- Of course there weren't any schools, any teachers before, I mean there was no progress.
- Then, how old do you think you are now?
- I'm thirty years old.
- Then that means that you were born during the British time, doesn't it?
- Of course it was during the British time.
- Well . . . thirty, that means . . . about . . . in the year twenty-five or thereabouts, doesn't it?
- Yes, about then, twenty-five . . .
- . . . thirty . . .
- . . . thirty, yes, about.
- Tell me, have you any stories about what happened when you were with a friend of yours, or did you see anything, for example a wild beast attacking a goat while you were shepherding in Šfa ʿAmer, or anything like that?
- Of course I've often seen wild beasts.
- What sort of wild beasts?
- It's called a wolf.
- What sort of wild beasts? Wolf?
- Yes.
- Does it eat goats and . . . ?
- Of course, it catches a goat by the throat, and as soon as it's caught it by the throat it's practically dead, and then the shepherd

— *ma<sup>ca</sup>lām bimsik el-<sup>c</sup>anze mer-ṛāqbāthā, mā-bimsikhā mer-ṛāqbāthā 'illa hālṣa, bīzī ṛā<sup>c</sup>ī buq<sup>c</sup>ud iṣayyāh <sup>c</sup>alē: »stānnā stānnā stānnā!» bifākk el-<sup>c</sup>anze minnu, bifākk el-ḡānāme minnu, hēk.*

— *kēf hālṣa bitkūn?*

— *hī bitkūn hālṣa yā<sup>ca</sup>nī mēkel<sup>7</sup> ṛāqbāthā.*

— *māyyte w-ellā?*

— *ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an yā<sup>ca</sup>nī, 'iḡ-kān er-ṛā<sup>c</sup>ī bā<sup>c</sup>īd, bitmūt, w-iḡ-kān er-ṛā<sup>c</sup>ī qar'ib, biḡdar yā<sup>ca</sup>nī § yishāb es-sikkīne w-yiḡbāḡhā,<sup>8</sup> ḡattā yā<sup>ca</sup>nī ta<sup>c</sup>awwādū 'arḡa<sup>ca</sup> ḡamis liṛāt, ḡattā yōkūllā, ḡattā hēk.*

— *yā<sup>ca</sup>nī 'illi biḡbāḡhā, bōkēlhā hūw u-<sup>c</sup>ēltu 'aw bibi<sup>c</sup>a?*

— *ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an yā<sup>ca</sup>nī, bōkēlhā hūw u-<sup>c</sup>ēltu, biwaddi lā-ḡāru, bibi<sup>c</sup>a minhā, hēk.*

— *fiṣ <sup>c</sup>iṇḡāk qusṣa ḡēr hēk māṭ<sup>ā</sup>lān int<sup>6</sup> u-ṣāḡāb, 'iṣi hēk, maṛṛat <sup>c</sup>alēk ḡurṛafiyye min iḡtyariyye qadīme <sup>c</sup>a-zāmān Turkiyya 'iṣi hēk māṭ<sup>ā</sup>lān iḡlān . . . ?*

— *ṭaba<sup>c</sup>an ānā ḡādā lā', mā-fiṣ <sup>c</sup>iṇḡi minnu, yā<sup>ca</sup>nī ma-baḡdar yā<sup>ca</sup>nī 'aqullāk, yā<sup>ca</sup>nī baḡdar eḡarṛaf ānā w-el-<sup>c</sup>ammāl w-eḡnā ṛayḡhīn w-eḡnā mṛawḡhīn, 'ānā baqullu: »qaddēs 'ḡtōḡud?» u-ḡādā<sup>kā</sup>: »qaddēs?» yā<sup>ca</sup>nī aktar min hēk fiṣṣ.*

— *hēk?*

— *hēk.*

— *'iṣsa fiṣṣ <sup>c</sup>iṇḡāk ḡēr hēk?*

— *lā', mā-fiṣṣ.*

Text No. 4. *l-iB<sup>c</sup>ēyne*. Plain colloquial.

A farmer (Moslem, 50/—) tells of a nightmare, and his wife (Moslem, 42/—) gives her own account of the same incident. Both speak in expressive dialect, the wife wholly entering into the spirit of that night. The tempo is c. 120 words per minute.

a) *'ānā nāim § bi-l-ḡurfe ḡay lli hōn, ḡassēt bi-l-ḡālem innhīn fātu <sup>c</sup>alāyyi tṇēn 'ḡ-ṣāḡṣiyye yā<sup>ca</sup>nī ḡēr zāyyi zāyyhīn, ḡēr zāyyi l-imn āḡāmīn yā<sup>ca</sup>nī 'iswad b-iswad, yā<sup>ca</sup>nī ṭūṭ il-b<sup>c</sup>n āḡāmīn, 'āmmā yā<sup>ca</sup>nī l-ḡilqa tābaḡḡhīn<sup>1</sup> ṣīn<sup>c</sup>a, w-ānā mfātḡeḡ u-ṣāyḡ miskūni wāḡad min iḡri, mn-*

starts crying out (threatening): »Wait! Wait! Wait!« He may snatch the goat or the sheep from it, this way.

— What do you mean that it's practically dead?

— I mean it's practically dead because it's already torn its throat.

— Is it dead or . . . ?

— Of course, I mean, if the shepherd is far away, it's dead already, but if the shepherd is nearby, he can take his knife and slaughter it, because for this he may get four or five pounds for it, or he can eat it, something like that.

— Does he slaughter it and eat it with his family or does he sell it?

— Of course, he may eat it with his family, he may give his neighbor, he may sell some of it, something like that.

— Haven't you any other stories, for example about what happened to you and a friend or something like that? Have you happened to hear any ancient story told you by old people about the Turkish time, something like that, for example that somebody has done this and that . . . ?

— Of course I haven't anything like that, I mean I can tell you, I may talk with the workers on our way to and from work. I ask one of them: »How much do you get?« and he asks: »How much?« Except for this I've nothing to tell.

— Is that so?

— Yes, that's so.

— And now, don't you have anything else?

— No, I haven't.

a) I was sleeping here in this room, and I dreamed that two fell upon me in shape different from mine. They were not like human beings, I mean they were black, black all over. They were as tall as

<sup>7</sup> Active participle of *ʔkl*, stem I; cf. Barthélemy, *Dict.*, s.v.

<sup>8</sup> *ḥh* > *ḥḥ*, progressive assimilation. — The animal must be slaughtered to be edible, Cor. 5, 4.

<sup>1</sup> *ch* > *ḥḥ*, mutual assimilation. In most cases the consonant of the suffixes *-ha* and *-hin* is preserved, while it has usually disappeared from *-(h)u*, as is clearly shown by the forms *tābahḥa*, *tāba'u* (Text No. 2a), and *tābahḥin*.



*ižreyyi, u-wāḥad m<sup>4</sup>n-ideyyi, lāk<sup>k</sup>in aṭṭalla calēhin, 'āšūf rāšhin yilḥam bi-s-saqef. ḥa<sup>ca</sup>dēn § 'anā daḡaṭūni ḥamālūni, biddhin idibbūni, šuft el-arḡ inšaqqat aṭṭalla<sup>ca</sup> hēk, mā-šufilhāš qarār, el-arḡ. 'ihšru fiyyi biddhin idibbūni ḥ-hā-š-šaqq hād, 'anā šurt ašayyūh, araḡreḡ hēk, eḷti<sup>2</sup> nāyme 'eb-bāb el-maḥall sim<sup>ca</sup>atni u-fakkarat innu fātu calāyyi nās biddhin yá<sup>ca</sup>nī yḡurbūni 'aw yá<sup>ca</sup>nī yā<sup>ca</sup>mālu ma<sup>ca</sup>ay iši. nādhāt<sup>3</sup> calāyyi tā-tsamma<sup>ca</sup> šōthā, lākin ma-ḡdarš arudd calēhā, 'anā šōthā sām<sup>ca</sup>u, lākin ma-ḡdarš arudd calēhā. ḥa<sup>ca</sup>dēn dāf<sup>ca</sup>at el-bāb bi-quww u-fātāt. fātāt, šārat itsāmmi calāyyi u- § tudkur isem 'Allā yá<sup>ca</sup>nī u-tšahḥi fiyyi. qālat, sá<sup>ca</sup>éthā lāmmā fātāt calāyyi yá<sup>ca</sup>nī bitqulli: »šuftāk § kī- 'ännāk cābed iswad», yá<sup>ca</sup>nī.*

b) 'anā nāime, 'arā'ī<sup>4</sup> ḥā-z-zā<sup>ca</sup>āq § irāḡreḡ: »a<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>ā<sup>ca</sup>» irāḡreḡ, qult: »wēn hāḡa?» yá<sup>ca</sup>nī<sup>5</sup> estānnēt, ba<sup>ca</sup>dēn fāzzēt, mā-žānīš wa<sup>ca</sup>i, fāzzēt fātaht el-bāb, futit w-illā ḥā nāym emfānžer<sup>5</sup> cūyūnu hēk § fāteḥ limmu.» »Eḥmād-Eḥmād-Eḥmād-Eḥmād!» fāzz, fāttaḥ: »mālīk?» qultu: »mālīk?» qāl: »mālīš, šu mālīni?»<sup>6</sup> qultu: »šū šāyf? šu mālīk?» qāl: »šuft e<sup>ca</sup>tnēn āžu calāyyi yá<sup>ca</sup>nī ḥ-šūra yá<sup>ca</sup>nī 'illi thawwef u-biddhin imiskūni u-ydibbūni hēk ib-ḥofre w-ānā bāšidd cād la-waḡa minhin, biddi 'aržā<sup>ca</sup> la-waḡa u-hinni yidīfsu biyyi la-quddām, 'anā zā<sup>ca</sup>āq<sup>7</sup> tānni 'aržā<sup>ca</sup> la-waḡa u-ma<sup>ca</sup>āḡš imkenni 'inni § 'aražžā<sup>ca</sup>8 ḥāli la-waḡa. barāḡreḡ hēk u-maḥnūq mn-el-ḥōf lā-ydibbūni bi-qalḥ el-hāḡa.»<sup>9</sup> šāru ḥāttīnu ca-l-ḥeffe u-biddhin idāllū lā-tāḡet.

<sup>2</sup> = *mar(a)ti*; cf. Abul-Fadl, p. 142, footnote 5; Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. 'at; 'yāli 'ma femme'.

<sup>3</sup> = *nādāt*; cf. Blanc, Studies, p. 72; p. 104: *nādāhli*; Barthélemy, Dict. *nadah* 'v. peu usité'.

<sup>4</sup> The audition was attested by el-Juneidi, who had heard the same expression used by some Jordanian Bedouins in the sense 'is dimly visible to me'. The grammatical form might be act. perf. of stem IV plus suff. of sing. 1. -i for-ni.

<sup>5</sup> Formed of *finžân* 'cup'; dissimilation *n > r*. Barthélemy, Dict.: *fandjar* 'ēneh 'ouvrir de grands yeux, écarquiller les yeux', par dissim. de \**faddjar* 'écarter'; *fandjan* v. intr. 'gobeleter, godailler, vider des petits verres', dén. du *fandjān*.

<sup>6</sup> As a result of folk etymology *māl-i* is sometimes distinguished from *mā-li* by using the suffix -ni.

<sup>7</sup> The personal ending -t is dropped before the initial t.

men, but they were awful in appearance. I was startled, and I saw that they caught hold of me, one of my leg . . . my legs, and the other of my hands, but when I looked at them, I saw their heads were scraping the ceiling. Then they grasped hold of me and carried me in order to throw me down. I saw the earth cleaving apart, I looked there, but I couldn't see its bottom, the ground. They cornered me and were going to throw me down into this cleft. Then I started shouting, growling. My wife was sleeping on the porch of the house, and she heard me and thought that men had fallen upon me and were going to beat me or do something to me. She called me so that I could hear her voice, but I couldn't answer her. I heard her voice, but I couldn't answer her. Then she jerked the door loud and came in. She came in and started saying '*bismillâhi*' for me and calling God's name and wishing my health. She told me that when she had come in to me she said: »I saw that you were just like a black man.«

b) I was sleeping and I heard through the dream this voice growling: »ahahaha«, growling. I thought: »Where is that?« I waited a moment, then I jumped up, but I wasn't clear what it was all about. I jumped up, opened the door, and went in. He was sleeping with his eyes wide open and his mouth agape. »Aḥmad-Aḥmad-Aḥmad-Aḥmad!« He was startled and opened (his eyes): »What's the matter?« I said: »What's the matter with you?« He said: »Nothing is wrong with me. What's going on?« I asked him: »What do you see? What's the matter with you?« He said: »I saw two setting upon me. They were awe-inspiring in appearance and they wanted to catch me and throw me into a pit. I strained backwards to get rid of them. I tried to move backwards, but they were pushing me forwards. I tried groaning to move backwards, but it was impossible to drag myself backwards. I was growling and choking for fear that they would throw me into the pit.« They were just holding him on the edge and were going to lower him down.

<sup>8</sup> *ch* > *ḥḥ*, regressive assimilation.

<sup>9</sup> A curious use of the demonstrative pronoun *hādā* with an article; probably a kind of anacoluthon. *d* is emphatic *ḍ* throughout the story.

*stánnà tã-tráħan ʿád, šár iharrif hä-l-hurráfa. ʿaná ħofit, ʿaná qult: »kinnu,» mä-kânät ħaramiyye wáqethá, ʿaná qult: »kinnu fât ʿalé ħádá u-qatalú qalb el-maħall,» ʿaná, yomínnu ħarrafni qult: »ħalaş, ħilem háđ.» háđa min l-iktâb, lés innu qabel šárat maʿa nâs iktâr yáʿanî ʿinnu yšúfu ʿiši fi há-l-iktâb illi ħawwaf yáʿanî el-mağârbe<sup>10</sup> hadól, qálu hadól: »kutb el-mağârbe biħawwef.» ʿahattu ʿaná şubeħ u-dábbétu fi-l-bîr.*

Text No. 5. ʿĤabún. Plain colloquial.

Fourteen men are sitting in a room in the mood for telling stories. Spirits are running high, and the presence of the microphone is forgotten. A farmer (Greek Orthodox, 53/—) tells with lively gesticulation about a trick he has played in Nazareth. In spite of the dramatic abruptness of the vivid narration, with relatively long pauses, the tempo is fast, c. 135 words per minute. Owing to the naturalness of presentation there are considerable changes in intensity.

*wa-lláhi l-ʿalim, ʿaná ruħt ʿala n-Nâşre maʿiš ħabar iši. ʿázä Lábîb eš-sofêr, qalli: »taʿál, biddák mítel-ma ʿaqullák täħki?» qultu: »ššú?» qál: »biddná náʿämäl dâħki ʿala ʿAbd el-ʿAfîf.» qultu: »ʿaná ʿAbd el-ʿAfîf mäliš ħulfe fi.» qalli: »ʿinte miş šuġlak.» »šu biddná näʿämäl?» qalli: »ʿinte bitqúl: ʿaná nîéták ħamis lirát', başîr áđžádäl áná wiyyâk: ʿʿinte tanîni lîra u-ħtuħub ħamis lirát', bäsš mä-täħkiş wa-lâ kilme ʿarabi ʿábädän, kullu ħäki türki.» ʿázét áná u-nîétu lîra u-ʿlâbtu l-ħamis lirát. el-ħâş mälyân min ed-Dêr,<sup>1</sup> min ʿĤabún, m<sup>n</sup>el-küll yämm, zâħim lä-l-bâb. ʿtîʿi ʿal-ħâş w-anîétu lîra u-ʿlâbtu ħamis lirát. ʿl-ʿálâm qáʿide sâkte. füzz Lábîb qallu: »yâ ʿAbed, rawwaħ žäyy!» qallu: »šu s-sîre?» qallu: »fi zälâmi mä-ħädü fâħim ʿa-luġtu wa-lâ ħädü báʿärifu, miş min häi l-bilâd šéle šéle.» ʿl-ʿAbed<sup>2</sup> ʿázä, qallu.<sup>3</sup> »éş biddák?» qultu: »šüşîlema.»<sup>4</sup> bähkiş wa-lâ kilme ʿarabi ʿábädän. fâħ Lábîb, qallu: »biddu . . . tálîbni ħamis lirát w-anîáni lîra.» qallu:*

<sup>10</sup> The *muğrabi*'s are well-known for their interest in witchcraft; cf. e.g. Abul-Fadl, p. 29, footnote 5.

He waited for a while until he recovered himself, and then he began to tell this story. I was afraid, I thought: »As if« — because there were robbers at that time — I thought: »Just as if somebody had come in to him and they had killed him in the house.« When he had told me I thought: »It's over, this was only a dream.« It came from that book, because before that many people had seen in that book something that inspired fear, I mean those (books of the) Muğrabis. They had said: »The books of the Muğrabis inspire fear.« In the morning I took it and threw it into the pit.

By the all-knowing God, I went to Nazareth, with nothing special in mind. There the driver Labīb came up to me and said: »Listen, you must say what I tell you to say.« I asked him: »What?« He said: »We'll play a joke on °Abd el-°Affif.« I said to him: »I have nothing against °Abd el-°Affif.« He said to me: »Don't you worry about that.« »What shall we do?« He said to me: »You say: 'I gave you five pounds'. We start arguing with each other and I say: 'You give me one pound and ask me for five pounds.' But don't speak a single word of Arabic, you must speak all the time in Turkish.«

Well, I gave him one pound and asked him for those five pounds. The bus was full, from ed-Dêr, from °Eilabûn, from everywhere, crowded up to the door. I stepped into the bus, gave him one pound, and asked him for five pounds. Everybody kept quiet. Then Labīb said: »°Abd, come here!« He asked him: »What's the matter?« Labīb said to him: »There's a chap there — nobody understands his language, and nobody knows him. He isn't from this country at all.« °Abd came up to me and said: »What do you want?« I said to him: »Šuššilema.« I didn't speak a single word of Arabic. Then Labīb said to him: »He's asking me for five pounds and he only gave me one pound.« He said to him: »Look, my friend, make sure, perhaps he has given

<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> The latter part of the compound personal and place names is often dropped and the definite article is used except in addressing. *ed-Dêr* = Dêr Ḥanna, a village northwest of °Eilabûn.

<sup>3</sup> Logic implies *qalli*.

<sup>4</sup> Obviously 'Turkish' of his own making.

»yā-hī, dawwar, bälki minṭik hamis līrāt.» qallu: »hiyyāhā līra, ba<sup>c</sup>édhā, ba<sup>c</sup>édhā fi-īdi, hiyyāhā.» qallu: »yā 'āhi, huḍ lirtak w-irkab wemma biddāk.» qu'llu: »lō.»<sup>5</sup> hādā mištāq tanni 'āhki kilme, 'ānā mā-kūntiš āhki. 'āzā qāl Lābīb: »wā-hyāt abūk, wā-hyāt el-Māsī<sup>e</sup>ḥ, mā-btā<sup>cā</sup>rīfu?» u-qallu: »wā-llāhi yā režžāl, 'b-zāmāni mā-šuftu.» dār <sup>c</sup>ala l-bāš mālyān. el-āslām iqullu: »wā-hyāt <sup>e</sup>Mḥammād, u-n-nuṣṣrāni biqullu: »wā-hyāt el-Māsī<sup>e</sup>ḥ.» yiqullu l-meslīm: »wā-Muḥammād zāmāni mā šuftu, u-n-nuṣṣrāni iqullu: »wā-l-Māsī<sup>e</sup>ḥ zāmāni mā šuftu.» eyy. ḥa<sup>cā</sup>dén ānā, yā <sup>c</sup>Ábed,<sup>6</sup> biddu ytaqqīhā šwayy <sup>c</sup>alāyyi, turt <sup>c</sup>alé. turt <sup>c</sup>alé, fatt, nizil mn-el-bāš.<sup>7</sup> »yā buliš yā buliš!» lāqā, yis' ālu: »mālāk?» qallu: »fi zālāmi mitsällil, mā hādā <sup>c</sup>arfu mnén wa-lā hādā fāhim <sup>c</sup>a-luḡtu u-buḷubnā mašāri mā-hādnāš.» 'āzā hū, <sup>e</sup>l-bulīš, 'āzā māhmā <sup>c</sup>ala 'innu mitsällil. 'āzā, qāl: »'ēš fī? 'ḥtiḡdar tāhki <sup>c</sup>arabe?»<sup>8</sup> ya<sup>cā</sup>nī Lābīb <sup>c</sup>irif sā<sup>c</sup>éthū 'innhā židdiyye. šafan w-illi bi-l-bāš šafanu, w-anā ndahalt, ma-<sup>cā</sup>dnāš<sup>9</sup> nā<sup>cā</sup>rīf šu biddnā nsāwi, li-'ānnhā šārat židdiyye yā<sup>cā</sup>nī. 'ānā mā-žā bi-fikri qullu: »hādā Lābīb 'nsībnā u-hādā Mūsā l-Hūri žārnā, u-hādā l-<sup>c</sup>Abed zālāmi muqtil.» l-<sup>c</sup>Abed qa<sup>cā</sup>d se<sup>c</sup>atén, bāhkiš wa-lā kilme <sup>c</sup>arabi u-yḥallef illi fi-l-bāš. »mā-mnā<sup>cā</sup>rīfūš», 'e, »dīnāk?»<sup>10</sup>, »btāhki <sup>c</sup>arabe?» 'āzā l-bulīš qallu: »yā<sup>cā</sup>nī 'ehnā meshara?» el-bulīš saḥab ḥālu řāḥ u-hū dār hék yāhki <sup>c</sup>ala Lābīb. qallu Lābīb: »yā <sup>c</sup>Abed, ḥāy ulād <sup>c</sup>Ḥabūn, lā-tā<sup>cā</sup>lāqš ma<sup>cā</sup>ahā.»

<sup>5</sup> Either 'Turkish', or Hebrew negation used just to show that the speaker does not understand Arabic.

<sup>6</sup> I understood that the narrator was here correcting the subject, but Mr. el-Juneidi explains that the speaker addresses the listeners at the moment when the course of events is changing.

<sup>7</sup> *Breviloquentia* typical of the narrative style.

<sup>8</sup> Diphthongization of final *i* in pre-pausal prolongation. This is the clearest occurrence in my recordings of the phenomenon discussed by Blanc, *Studies*, pp. 50–52 and 121f., Fleisch, *Zahlé*, pp. 85–87 and Cantineau, *Palmyre I*, p. 72; id., *Nomades I*, p. 47, II, p. 151.

<sup>9</sup> The auxiliary verb *ēad* is used here as a particle in the same manner as *ma-ma<sup>cā</sup>nāš*, *ma-<sup>c</sup>innāš* 'we have not'. Cf. Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, p. 211 and Karte 28; Bauer, *Pal.*: *mī <sup>c</sup>adš äğä*; *min émta mī <sup>c</sup>udtiš hunāk?* (p. 122); Barthélemy, *Dict.*: *mā <sup>c</sup>ād 'ādja*; *mā <sup>c</sup>adt <sup>c</sup>amri 'arūḥ* (s.v. *ēwd*); Grotzfeld, *Grammatik*: *ma <sup>c</sup>ād* 'meist in dieser Form starr gebraucht, seltener mit durch-

you five pounds.» Labīb answered: »Here it is, one pound. It's still in my hand, here, look!» He said to me: »Look, my friend, take your pound and go wherever you want to.» I said to him: »Lô». He did all he could to make me say something, but I didn't speak. Then he said to Labīb: »By your father, by Christ, don't you know him?» He answered: »Listen, man, by God I've never seen him.» He asked everyone in the crowded bus one by one. The Moslems said to him: »By Muḥammad», and the Christians said to him: »By Christ». The Moslems said to him: »By Muḥammad I have never seen him», and the Christians said to him: »By Christ I have never seen him.» Then, then, my friend, he wanted to make it a bit difficult for me, and I got angry with him. I got angry with him, he jumped out of the bus and started calling the police. A policeman came and asked him: »What's the matter?» He said to him: »There's an infiltrator; nobody knows where he's from, and nobody understands his language, and he's asking us for money which we haven't got.» The policeman got all het up because there was an infiltrator. He came and asked: »What's going on? Well, can you speak Arabic?» Only now Labīb understood that the situation was getting serious. He was worried, and those who were in the bus were watching carefully, but I was confused. We didn't know what to do, because the situation had grown sort of serious. I just said the first words that came into my head: »This is Labīb, our relative, and this is Mūsa el-Hūri, our neighbour, and this man here is °Abd, the troublemaker.» For hours and hours °Abd sat there, but I didn't speak Arabic, not a single word, and he asked the people of the bus to swear. — »We don't know him.» — »By your creed?» — »Do you speak Arabic?» — Now the policeman asked him: »Are you playing a game with us?». The policeman went away and °Abd began to say hard things about Labīb. Labīb said to him: »Look, °Abd, these are children of °Eilabūn, don't try to interfere in their affairs.»

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konjugiertem *°ad* wie *ma °adu lobsu* ' (p. 74); *infra*, Text No. 9: *mā °adu yḥallu*.

<sup>10</sup> A shorter form for *'b(i)-dīnāk u-b(i)-yāmīnāk'*. For swearing manners in Galilee, cf. Ashkenazi, pp. 83—85.

Text No. 6. *Turcân*. Koineized colloquial.

A plasterer (Greek Orthodox, 20/9) tells me how he left school and started working. The presence of the microphone makes him choose his words with exceptional care (cf. the §:s), and many journalistic idioms characterize the story. However, the naturalness is fairly well preserved. The tempo is relatively slow, c. 105 words per minute.

*el-äsbâb illi 'arġamâtni 'inni 'ät'allâm häi ş-šana<sup>ca</sup>, 'awwal iši, 'aná el-walad l-ekbîr <sup>e</sup>innâ<sup>1</sup> fi-l-bêt. <sup>e</sup>äylytnâ bil'allif min eĥdâ<sup>e</sup>eşer nafar. w-eĥnâ ĥamis şubyân u-'arba<sup>ca</sup> bânât. bën el-ĥamis şubyân el-walâd l-ekbîr anâ, u-fi ĥawât tintên, bânât tintên, 'akbâr minni 'anâ. wahadi m<sup>e</sup>allme w-illi kânât el-waĥîde lli tiştġil w-anâ kunt ät'allâm fi-midrast el-ma<sup>ca</sup>madâniyye bi-n-Nâşre. ta'allâmt lâ-ĥattâ ş-şaff et-tâsi<sup>ca</sup>, w-el-<sup>k</sup>imk<sup>k</sup>üniyyü mä-kântiş etsa<sup>e</sup>édni 'inni 'änhi, fä-kunt murġam 'inni 'ätrik el-midrasi w-aŋa<sup>ca</sup> 'äştġil, u-b-häi l-munâs<sup>e</sup>äbi kunt äştġil ĥawwâla <sup>e</sup>aşar se<sup>e</sup>ât aww eĥdâ<sup>e</sup>eşer se<sup>ca</sup> fi-l-<sup>e</sup>âmil<sup>2</sup> w-<sup>u</sup>ĥud yomiyye lîra u-nuşş, ma<sup>ca</sup> l-<sup>e</sup>ilem el-<sup>e</sup>âmil kân yûĥud tāmân liġât fi-l-yôm. ĥal ĥaĥĥêt bi-küll ĥâdâ l-waqt, ĥattâ 'inni 'anûl yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî şäġle aw şana<sup>ca</sup>, miĥne idawiyye, 'illi 'aġdar a<sup>e</sup>iş minhä, wa-l-ĥamdullâ baqûl inni 'ili taqrîban ĥawwâla 'arba<sup>ca</sup> snîn bâştġil fihâ 'aww 'aqall min arba<sup>ca</sup> snîn, u-laġêthâ yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî quddâmi, ma<sup>ca</sup> l-<sup>e</sup>ilem innu yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî miş şana<sup>ca</sup> ma<sup>ca</sup>tamad ealêhâ fi-nadar häy, imk<sup>k</sup>en fi-nadar il-ġêr itkûn iši tâni. u-bärzu 'innu l-awdâ<sup>ca</sup> tiĥassân ĥâşşa biyyi 'anâ u-tşîr aĥsân min ĥêkâ u-l-wâĥad ilâqi quddâmu mustaqbâl 'illi yiġdar yâ<sup>e</sup>iş fi. 'iştġalt sini w-nuşş fi-lîra w-nuşş kunt uĥud yomiyye, yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî kunt aĥaşşel fi-ş-şahaġ taqrîban ĥamsîn lîra. 'ammâ kunt uĥud el-ĥamsîn lîra w-a<sup>ca</sup>ŋihin lâ-'aĥûy. kunt 'älâqihin mitel älf lîra, ma<sup>ca</sup> l-<sup>e</sup>ilem lâ-ĥâdd issa 'anâ kāmân bâştġil u-qaddêş bâżîb? lälût miyy u-ĥamsîn, 'arba<sup>ca</sup> mât lîra bi-ş-şahaġ mäŋlân. ŧawâle ĥa<sup>ca</sup>ŋihin lâ-l-ĥâba, ya<sup>ca</sup>nî ma-biġqâlş iši 'äbädân w-anâ miş . . . baġdarş aġuddlo žmîlo 'illi şarafu <sup>e</sup>aleyyi. bädalln<sup>e</sup><sup>3</sup> mädyânlo 'ili l-'äbäd, u-bärzu lâ-wälidêy yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî fi-kull tawfiq<sup>a</sup> yâ<sup>e</sup>işu ma<sup>ca</sup>ana u-'äiş*

<sup>1</sup> = *eindnâ*.

<sup>2</sup> As a daily paid worker. The active participle is, in this idiom, used to mean the labourer's work, too.



The reasons which forced me to learn this profession: first of all I'm the eldest son in our family. We are a family of eleven. We are five boys and four girls. Among the five boys I'm the eldest, and two sisters — two girls — are older than me. One of them is a teacher, and she was the only one that was working while I was at the Baptist School in Nazareth. I stayed at school until I reached the ninth class, but because my family could not help me to finish school, I was forced to leave and go to work. In those circumstances I worked as a labourer for ten or eleven hours daily and got one and a half pounds a day, although a labourer's salary was eight pounds a day. But I sacrificed all this time to obtain a professional trade, a handicraft that I might live by. Thank God I can say that for four years or almost four years I have worked in that trade which lay on my way, so to say, but although it isn't the sort of job you can depend on, in my opinion, maybe someone else might think differently. I hope circumstances will improve, especially for me, and that they will become better than they are now, and that one will be able to look forward to a better future to live in.

I worked for one and a half years and was paid one and a half pounds a day; that means I earned about fifty pounds a month. But these fifty pounds I gave my father. To me, they were like thousand pounds. As you know, I'm still working, and how much do I get? About three hundred and fifty, four hundred pounds a month. I give them directly to Father, I mean I never leave any for myself. Still, I cannot repay his favours to me and what he has spent on me. I regard myself as remaining indebted to him for ever, and I pray that

<sup>3</sup> The accusative suffix of sing. 1. suffixed to an intransitive verb seems problematic. Because the sense of the word in the context is clearly 'I feel that I remain', the form might be understood as an *accusativus ethicus*. In Accadian, acc. suffixes may be appended to intr. verbs as a sort of *dativus ethicus*: *libbī ana amārika iṣṣīḥanni* 'my heart was delighted (burst out laughing) when I saw you' (vide Aro, St. Or. XX, p. 55, XXII, p. 93), *šīrī ul ṭābanni* 'I did not feel well' (ibid.). The accusative suffix may also be used here analogously with *ḥallik*, *ḥallinā*; cf. Bauer, Wbch, p. 62 *dallak* od. *ḥallik* (= lass dich) *maṭraḥak*.

<sup>4</sup> Literate; in colloquial used only as a personal name pronounced *Tuṭfiq*; cf. *supra*, p. 83, footnote 1.



anà bi-l-aktar ma<sup>c</sup>ahin, yifrahu finä lä-'ännu 'ilhin ealénä tá<sup>c</sup>ab ekbîr,  
 rabbûnâ u-eallâmânâ, u-bälumîš e'āilîti<sup>5</sup> w-afrād e'āilîti lä-'änni 'anâ  
 mâ-kämmälîš, ma<sup>c</sup>a l-eilem anâ nedmân ikbîr, ktîr lês mâ-'äkämmîlîš,  
 bäss bälûm u-d-<sup>r</sup>drûf illi dâgat<sup>6</sup> wûžuhnâ 'ehná, bi-l-aḥašš el-e'āyîli lä-  
 'ännu kunnâ e'ele kbîre, eḥdâešer nâfer u-mâ-känš 'äyy mu<sup>c</sup>él 'ilnâ  
 siwa 'uḥti yá<sup>c</sup>anî el-kbîre 'illi kânât el-m<sup>u</sup>eallme u-fi-l-waqt illi bidyât  
 it<sup>c</sup>allem fî kunnâ ḥarḍu mindaqîn u-fi-l-waqt illi ta<sup>c</sup>allâmit sint<sup>c</sup>ên,  
 kâmân fî kunnâ mindaqîn u-kunnâ murjamîn 'innâ niḥla<sup>c</sup>a l-midrasi,  
 lawlâ fadel mä<sup>t</sup>älän židdi, hû 'el-waḥîd illi 'arġam wâlîdey, 'innhâ  
 tibqa tkämmîl ta<sup>c</sup>alîm u-mîš lä-'ännu wâlîdî mä<sup>t</sup>älän birġabš i<sup>c</sup>eallimhâ.  
 e'indu el-hâdâf el-waḥîd innu y<sup>c</sup>eallim el-binîṭ qabel eš-šubi, u-lä-'ännu  
 l-'awdâ<sup>c</sup>a mä-kântîš etsâ<sup>c</sup>adu yá<sup>c</sup>anî mîtel-mâ biqûlu »l-îd qašîre w-el-e<sup>c</sup>ên  
 bašîre.« w-illâ kân yi<sup>c</sup>i<sup>c</sup>mîl aktar min hêkâ u-lâ-ḥâdd issa § 'ana  
 musta<sup>c</sup>idd ämšî bi-nâfs el-âhdâf 'illi § qâm fîhâ 'abûy wa-lâ-ḥâdd  
 ḥâdâ l-waqt qaym fîhâ, w-inni 'asâ<sup>c</sup>id kull uḥûti<sup>5</sup> qaddêš baġdar,  
 mesta<sup>c</sup>idd e<sup>c</sup>a-ta<sup>c</sup>alîmhîn, 'ašraf ealêhîn, ḥattâ 'innu yqûl: »anâ mä<sup>t</sup>älän  
 biddîš ät<sup>c</sup>eallâm«, 'aw yinhi l-midrasi u-yit<sup>c</sup>allem äyyâ tâḥarrfâ biddu  
 yyâhâ, ḥattâ yüm<sup>k</sup>en anûl ḥâ<sup>c</sup>âd el-žämîl min 'uḥuti,<sup>5</sup> mâ-âkunš  
 mä<sup>t</sup>älän § el-bân fi-'älsinet ġeri § yil<sup>c</sup>abu fî § 'aw kâ-l-kûra<sup>7</sup> bân §  
 farîq § futbôl § 'aw § qušaš § 'akûn fi-mužtâma<sup>c</sup>a, flân ma<sup>c</sup>eallâmiš  
 'uḥûtu,<sup>5</sup> tîl<sup>8</sup> ean abû u-ba<sup>c</sup>adu šabb ezġîr, u-ybälles iskar u-ya<sup>c</sup>ârbed  
 u-l-ḥamdullâ hâi l-awšâf miš biyyi, u-qulîṭ, 'innu r-risâla 'illi ḥämîlhâ  
 'abûy mesta<sup>c</sup>idd anâ 'ämšî fîhâ ḥättänni ḥây. u-bâḥâwel innu fi-ḥâdâ  
 l-waqt, 'inni 'ä<sup>c</sup>eallâm ta<sup>c</sup>alîm läyle w-anâ 'äštġîl, 'illi ma-'aḥsârš iši  
 tâni 'âbâdân, u-lâzim arudd § kull el-waqt illi qširtu, ma<sup>c</sup>a l-eilem waqt  
 tāmîn maḥḥ ealâyî.

Text No. 7. eḤût. Koineized colloquial.

A clear view of the village opens before our eyes, down in the small valley and on its slopes, as I am sitting with a young teacher (Moslem,

<sup>5</sup> Aspiration to literate pronunciation leads to inconsistency, cf. lines 4 and 5.

<sup>6</sup> Cl. *dâgat*; cf. Barthélemy, Dict., s.v. *dyq*.

<sup>7</sup> = *kura*; cf. *supra*, p. 85, footnote 2; Abul-Fadl, p. 73: *il-kôra*.

<sup>8</sup> Final *e* dropped before an initial *e*.

my parents may live happily with us and especially that I may live with them, too, that they might rejoice to have us with them, because they have worked hard to bring us up and to send us to school. For my part I don't blame my family or any member of it because I didn't finish school, although I regret it very much that I didn't finish, but I blame circumstances which were very difficult for us, especially for the family, because we were a big family, eleven persons, and we had no breadwinner except my eldest sister who was a teacher. That time when she began to teach, we were in trouble, too, and after that during my two years' studies we were also in trouble, and we should have been forced to make her leave school, if my grandfather had not been so good. He was the only one who forced my parents to let her continue her studies although my father, too, was not unwilling to let her continue her studies. His only aim was to let the girl go to school first, and then the boy. It was only because circumstances were not in his favour, as they say: »Eye can see, but the hand is too short«. Otherwise he would have done more than this for us. Up to now I've been ready to follow the same aims that my father believed in, and still believes, and I'll help all my family as much as I can. I'm ready to help them in schooling and to cover their expenses until one of them says: »I don't want to go to school«, or finishes school and learns any profession he would like, and by this I may obtain my family's favours and I'll not be a bit of chewing-gum that others may amuse themselves with, or a football between two teams, or a story to be told anywhere where people meet, that So-and-so didn't help his family in schooling, he left his father while he was still young and began to drink and brawl. Thank God I'm not of that type. I just told you that up to now I've been ready to follow the same course and carry on the 'mission' that my father has undertaken. And at the same time I'll try to go to a night school while I'm working, so I won't suffer any more losses. I must regain all the time which I lost, although precious time has slipped by me.

23/12 + 2) on a veranda. He is showing me his village and telling about it, pointing to the places in question. The language is local colloquial with a considerable number of neoclassicisms in the vocabulary. The average tempo is only 100 words per minute, but in the most lively passages, as p. 150, it is as fast as 180 words per minute.

*biddi 'ahkílák ean § qaryetná eġlút. qaryetná eġlút fihā § 'alf u-miyy u-hams<sup>s</sup>in nāsāmi, fī qisem min sukkân el-bäläd illi 'asliyyîn u-fī qisem § m<sup>n</sup>-el-lāz'in § min Şaffûrye.<sup>1</sup> fī bäläd fi-š-šimäl eala bo<sup>e</sup>d § sitti kilóméter aw seba<sup>ca</sup> kilóméter § 'is<sup>e</sup>mhā Şaffûrye. nüzāhu min hunākū fi-l-ḥarb w-issa sāknîn hōnā fi-l-bäläd, fī ḥawāla mitēn wāḥad. fī-Şaffûrye § bāḥabb aqullāk 'innu hunākū fī qa<sup>ca</sup> § qadīme eala rāš § el-żābel u-mitel-mā qrēnā fi-t-tārīh, 'innu § häy l-bäläd fihā 'āṭār qadīme w-innu kân el-yāḥūd sāknîn fihā fi-z-zümân es-sābiq, zümân zümân. u-kāmân e<sup>s</sup>mi<sup>ct</sup>, 'innu § Şalāḥ ed-Dīn § fi-l-ḥurūb § şalibiyye 'illi qāmat bēn Şalāḥ ed-Dīn u-bēn Rikardūs u- . . . 'aywā . . . mārāq min hōnā, min Şaffûrye. fā-hādōl el-lāz'in 'āzu eala häy l-bäläd u-sākānu fihā. w-il-āglābiyye min sukkân el-bäläd el-asliyyîn § el-bäläd, 'aktar illi kānu sāknîn fihā, kānu ḥawalēn el-e<sup>y</sup>n, lä-'ennu wēmmā kānu yläqu § e<sup>y</sup>n, mayyi yā<sup>ca</sup>nī, minšān yişrabu, kānu hunākū yisiknu w-el-byūt häy 'illi be-ḥadd el-e<sup>y</sup>n, külliyyāthū mābniyye m<sup>n</sup>-at-ṭīn § u-min ḥāzāra, dābeš yā<sup>ca</sup>nī, mišš imlīhā, u-kānu sāknîn hōnā fi-l-wād u-bārīfiš<sup>2</sup> lēš sāknîn fi-l-wād, lēš miš sāknîn māṭ<sup>äl</sup>lān fi-rāš eš-żābel<sup>3</sup> lä-'ennu fī qura klīr min e<sup>a</sup>rab . . . min qura e<sup>a</sup>rabīyye b<sup>e</sup>-rūs ežbāl. 'ammā ḥādōlā 'itnāqqu ḥādā l-wād, bižūz lä-'ennu fī b<sup>e</sup>-ḥadd el-wād hōnā § fī muḡur, u-kānu qabel ya<sup>ct</sup>ānn . . .<sup>4</sup> yehtāmmu bi-l-mawāšī klīr, bi-l-ḥaqar § u-bi-l-mā<sup>ca</sup>zū § u-bi-l-ḡānām. u-fī muḡur hōnā fā-bižūz li-ḥādū s-sābāb kānu yḥuttu häy l-mawāšī fi-qalb el-muḡur ḥuṣūšan fi-'āyyām šāt<sup>a</sup>wiyye. 'ammā fī sābāb et-tāni, lēš māṭ<sup>äl</sup>lān tānnu häy l-qarye § maḥṭūta § fī-wād, fī-żābel, lēš miš maḥṭūta fi-mārē? lēš tānnu § kull el-qura l-e<sup>a</sup>rabīyye 'aww in maqulnāš kullhā, 'āglābhā, 'aktārḥā, maḥṭūta fi-wād. law aḥadnā māṭ<sup>äl</sup>lān § Māšḥād, binlāqūhā fi-tālli, er-Rē<sup>y</sup>ne māṭ<sup>äl</sup>lān kāmān fī-wād, māṭ<sup>äl</sup>lān §*

<sup>1</sup> Şaffûrye, the ancient Tsippori / Sepphoris, was one of the Arab villages destroyed in 1948, now a Jewish settlement called Tsippori.

I would like to talk to you about our village ʿĤlūt. The population of our village ʿĤlūt is one thousand one hundred and fifty. One part of the inhabitants of the village are the original settlers, and the other part are refugees from Şaffūrye. There is a town in the north at a distance of six or seven kilometres, called Şaffūrye. They emigrated from there during the war, and now they live here in this village. There are about two hundred of them. I'd like to tell you that in Şaffūrye there is an old castle on the top of the mountain, and as we have read in history, there are antiquities, and the Jews lived there in the old days, long, long ago. I've heard, too, that Saladin passed this place during the crusaders' wars when Saladin and Richard were fighting each other. Those refugees came to this village and stayed there. The majority of the original settlers of the village, most of its inhabitants, were living around the spring, because wherever people found a spring, water for drinking, they always settled nearby. Those houses which are around the spring are all built of mud-bricks and of stones, rough stones, which are not good.

They settled here in the valley, but I don't know why they settled in the valley, why didn't they settle, for example, on the top of the mountain, because there are many Arab villages situated on tops of mountains. But these people have chosen this valley, perhaps because here there are caves in the side of the valley, and in those days cattle: cows, goats, and sheep, were of a great importance for them. There are caves nearby, and, therefore, they may have taken these cattle into the caves especially in winter time.

But there is another reason why for instance this village is situated in a valley, in the mountains; why was it not built on a plain? Why are all Arab villages — or if not all of them, the majority of them — situated in a valley? If we take Mašhad, for example, we find that it is on a hill, and ar-Reina, for example, also in a valley, for example Sakhnin, 'Arraba, Tamra, 'Ibillin, we find that all these Arab villages

<sup>2</sup> The laryngeal ʿ weakened and dropped.

<sup>3</sup> ʒ is treated as a *šämsi* consonant; cf. the less dialectal pronunciation *el-šäbel*, *supra*, line 7.

<sup>4</sup> A transgressive variant; corrected by the speaker.

*Sahnîn, °Arrâb<sup>i</sup>ye, Taṃṃra, °Jbillîn, binlâqi kull hä-l-qura l-°arabiyye maḥtûta fi-žbâl. šu s-säbâb? lês miš miṭel el-kib<sup>b</sup>utsât mäi<sup>ä</sup>län? 'idä mnittalla<sup>5</sup> °ala °Emeq Izre<sup>e</sup>el, Märž iben °Amer, 'illi hu<sup>w</sup> ism el-°arabi, kânü ysämmühâ qabel Märž iben °Amer, binlâqi Naḥlâl, binlâqi Bêt Še<sup>e</sup>arîm, binlâqi Ramat Dawîd, binlâqi Grât, Sârîd, Mizra<sup>ca</sup>, Bâlfúr<sup>i</sup>ya, kull häy l-kib<sup>b</sup>utsât maḥtûta fi-l-märž. fä-lês tännu l-qura l-°arabiyye °ämle hönâ mäi<sup>ä</sup>län bânye b<sup>e</sup>-rûs izbâl bäynämâ<sup>6</sup> hunâk el-kib<sup>b</sup>utsât bi-l- . . . bi-l-märž? es-säbâb hu<sup>w</sup> innu § l-ähâli, °l-fellaḥîn yá<sup>ca</sup>nî, kânü yehämmü bi-l-mawâši, bi-t-trûš, u-ṭaba<sup>ca</sup>an et-trûš biddhâ muḡur u-biddhâ kāmân § 'aḥrâš minšâm m<sup>i</sup>ḡdar tä<sup>e</sup>š fîhâ, fä-bi-yyâm šät<sup>i</sup>wiyye law bidd<sup>h</sup>in ikânü fi-märž mä-bâ<sup>ca</sup>r<sup>i</sup>fûš 'idrû, wên idrû mn-iš-šitâ, m<sup>i</sup>n-âl-maṭar § 'illi binzâl, bâ<sup>ca</sup>r<sup>i</sup>fûš wên idrû, fä-'anâ baḍinn 'innu hâdä s-säbâb illi ḥallâhin yitnâqqu § häy l- § maḥallât häy § fi-l-wâd, yá<sup>ca</sup>nî y<sup>i</sup>siknu. bäss lämmâ mnittalla<sup>ca</sup> ḥawalênâ, binšuf innu mä-fiš ḡâbât, bäss el-mazbûṭ innu kân fi ḡâbât u-häy l-ḡâbât kânü mawšûde lä-ḥâdd qabel miṭ sini 'aw tāmânîn sini wâ-lâk<sup>k</sup>in kulliyâthâ rāḥat bi-säbâb el-ḥurûb lä-'ennu šâr fi ḥurûb hönâ § iktîr iktîr § u-rāḥat häy l-ḡâbât kullhâ l-ž<sup>ü</sup>yûš § qatta<sup>ca</sup>athâ, miṭel el- . . . el-yôm mäi<sup>ä</sup>län mamnû<sup>ca</sup> waḥad § yiqta<sup>ca</sup> säžar, w-idâ biddu yiqta<sup>ca</sup> säžar mäi<sup>ä</sup>län, lâzim § izib ruḥša min dâ<sup>i</sup> irt el-âḥrâš 'innu biddu yiqta<sup>ca</sup> säžar min maṭraḥ el-°flâni wa-'anâ baḍinn 'innu hâdä s-säbâb illi yá<sup>ca</sup>nî 'äḥel bälädnä 'el-quḍamâ 'itnâqqu § hâdä l- § maṭraḥ § u-säkânü fî.*

'idä mnittalla<sup>ca</sup> minlâqi<sup>7</sup> 'innu fî byût mutafarriqa<sup>8</sup> mäi<sup>ä</sup>län hön fî seba<sup>ca</sup> tāmânye byût, hunâk arba<sup>ca</sup> ḥamssi byût, hunâk kāmân fî hêk, hön kāmân fî hêk, hön kāmân fî hêk. hâdôlä °am búturku l-bäläd u-°am bisiknu fi-hä-l-maḥallât häy lli hinni sâknîn fîhâ. lês? lä-'ennu ḥattalat es-süknâ fi-l-bäläd i<sup>m</sup>liḥâ. lämmâ ykûn wâḥad °ala ḥidâ, 'aḥsân, bîžî 'aḥsân i<sup>s</sup>wayyi wa-lâk<sup>k</sup>in § kāmân § fi 'i<sup>s</sup>i tîni § bâḥibb aqûlu, hú, 'innu billâqi hâdôlä § 'arba<sup>ca</sup> ḥamssi byût min °ä<sup>i</sup>li, min ḥamûle, hâdôlä 'arba<sup>ca</sup> ḥamssi byût min ḥamûle, hâdôlä 'arba<sup>ca</sup> ḥamssi byût

<sup>5</sup> The final ° is dropped before an initial °.

<sup>6</sup> Literate.

<sup>7</sup> A partial assimilation of *b* to *n* in pl. 1. imperf., as usually in this dialect. The *b*'s used *supra*, *passim*, are 'corrected'.

<sup>8</sup> Pronounced as in Cl.

were built in the mountains. What's the reason? Why are they not situated like the *kibbutzîm*, for example? If we have a look at <sup>°</sup>Emeq Yizra<sup>°</sup>êl or *Mürž iben °Amer*, as it was formerly called in Arabic, we find that Naḥalal, Bēt Še<sup>°</sup>arîm, Ramat David, Gevat, Sarid, Mizra<sup>°</sup>a, Balfouriya, all these *kibbutzîm* are situated on the plain. Why, then, are the Arab villages here, for instance, built on the mountain tops while the *kibbutzîm* there are built on the plain? The reason is that cattle breeding was important for the families, I mean the farmers. Naturally these cattle need caves and forests, too, to make it possible for them to live. If they were on the plains in winter time, they couldn't find shelter from the rain, from the rain water which falls. There they cannot find shelter, and I think this is what made them choose these places in the valley to settle in.

If we look around we don't see forests, but the fact is that there were forests and these forests did exist up to one hundred or eighty years ago. However all of them were destroyed as a consequence of wars, because many, many wars have taken place here, and all these forests were cut down by armies, whereas today it is forbidden to cut down trees. If somebody, for example, wants to cut down trees, he must get a licence from the Forest Department allowing him to cut down trees from a named place. I think this was the reason why the earlier inhabitants of our village chose this place and settled there.

If we look around we find that there are scattered houses, for instance here there are seven or eight houses, there, too, there are four or five houses, there, too, the same, here, too, the same, here, too, the same. Those people have left the village and settled in those places where they are living now. Why? Because living in the village is no longer good. When one is living alone it is a little better. But there is something else that I would like to tell you, namely that you will find that those four or five houses belong to one family, to a clan, those four or five houses belong to one clan, those four or five houses to a clan, to a family. What's the reason? Why are they so close to each other? The reason for them being so close to each other is, for one thing, that they want land common to all of them, and they have divided this land and built there. This is one reason. The second

min ḥamāle, min ʿayli. mā<sup>9</sup> s-sābāb? lēš tännhiḡ qṛāb la-ḥáʿad<sup>h</sup>in?  
 es-sābāb innhiḡ qṛāb la-ḥáʿad<sup>h</sup>in, 'awwal ší, lā-'ānnu biddhin aṛḍ §  
 muštárake maʿa báʿad<sup>h</sup>in kulliyāthin, hinni qassamu há i l-ard u-bānu  
 bīhā. hādā s-sābāb. es-sābāb et-tāni: kān § fī qabel mā-kānīs fī 'āmān  
 ikfīr. kān fī sariqāt, wāḥad yusrūq wāḥad bi-l-lél, wāḥad māl<sup>ā</sup>lān §  
 záʿālān u-wāḥad irūḥ § māl<sup>ā</sup>lān ʿa-d-dār, irāzīd ʿalé § 'aw yúqutlu 'aw  
 yúḍurḡbu 'aw hék, fá-kān el-wāḥad, 'idā kān biddu yaʿādīnā, bišúz māl<sup>ā</sup>lān  
 wāḥad yīzi § ʿa-l-ʿadú ṭabaʿu, yīzi ʿalé bi-l-lél u-bidd yúḍurḡbu, tā-ḥattā  
 qaraybu . . . qaraybu . . . yinzáʿu 'ilu, kānu dāymān idallu midžām<sup>ʿ</sup>in  
 maʿa ḥáʿad<sup>h</sup>in, yāʿāmlu mitel yáʿānī kullī waḥade, yáʿānī dāymān  
 mittifqīn maʿa ḥáʿad<sup>h</sup>in, bāss el-yóm ṭabaʿan mā-fiš § yáʿānī sariqāt,  
 mā-fiš qatel, mā-fiš waḥad ihāf et-tāni, el-kull § 'āmān, yáʿānī ḥattaḡu  
 yehtāmmu lā . . . hū-n-nuqta háy. šār el-wāḥad wēn biḡdar ištī 'aṛḍ  
 māl<sup>ā</sup>lān, 'irūḥ, 'ištī 'aṛḍ, yútruk el-bālād, 'iqaddim ṭalab ruḡša, baʿādēn  
 yībni bi-l-aṛḍ háy-lli mištrīhā ždīd. 'idā qultillāk qabel šwayyi, 'innu  
 fī 'ālf u-miyy u-ḥams<sup>ʿ</sup>in nāsāmi fi-l-bālād w-el-mayyi 'issa l-mawžude  
 fi-l-bālād miš ʿam<sup>b</sup>tikfi. 'eḡnā § kunnā § fi-fikra, 'innu nāʿāml  
 mašrúʿa, minwaššel el-mayyi min Maʿālūl lā-l-wād. u-ruḡnā ržāʿānā  
 lā-l-ḥakūmi, ḡušūšan dā irt ez-zrāʿa, u-qālu 'innu »eḡnā mistaʿiddīn  
 insāʿidku u-klīr qurā qālat: 'biddnā nāʿāml', u-ʿemlāt, u-sāʿadāthā<sup>10</sup>,  
 wa-lāk<sup>ʿ</sup>in eḡnā ḡayfīn mā-tāʿāmlūs, 'innku 'intu bāss yáʿānī raḡbanīn,  
 ḡākīn tāmālū,<sup>2</sup> lākin mā-džībūs mašāri.» eḡnā lämnen, . . . lā-'ānnu  
 'eḡnā šāyfiḡ 'inn eḡnā b-ḡāzi bi-l-mayy, žāmāʿānā mašāri, qulnā:  
 »yā-žāmāʿā, mīn biddu ysāhem yidfaʿa mašāri?» qālu: »eḡnā minsāhem».  
 hādā yqúl: »mensāhem», hādā yqúl: »mensāhem», hādā yqúl: »mensāhem».  
 'ānā žīt sāžžālthin § fi-līsta, kātābt § 'āsāmīhin w-aḡadnā min kull  
 wāḥad māt līra, tännā žāmāʿānā § 'iḡnāʿešer 'ālf līra, ḡattenāḡ fi-l-bāḡk  
 u-qulnā lā-l-wuzāret ez-zrāʿa u-lā-l- § žāmāʿā l-mas'ulīn, qulnā: »yā-  
 žāmāʿā, ḡā-l-mašāri 'illi ṭalabtāḡ minnā 'eḡnā žāmāʿānāḡ u-mawžude  
 fi-l-bāḡk, wa-lā-ḡālīk intu kāmān lāzim yáʿānī tāmālū<sup>2</sup> min žihātku.»  
 qālu: »eḡnā kāmān mustaʿiddīn ensāʿidku.» w-eḡnā mnit āmmel, 'innu  
 baʿād šahrēn aw baʿād ṭāllāt ušur<sup>11</sup> aww arbaʿa 'itkūn el-mayyi § yáʿānī

<sup>9</sup> Literate for dialectal šu.

<sup>10</sup> Two words in *oratio obliqua* among *oratio directa*.

<sup>11</sup> *h* is often inaudible in the pl. of this word.



reason: in the old days there was no security. There was robbery, somebody might rob the other at night, somebody, for instance, might become angry with another and might, for instance, go to his house and throw stones at him or assault or beat him and so on. If somebody wanted to visit us, maybe somebody, for instance, came to his enemy, came to him at night and was going to beat him, his relatives might come to his help, and therefore they always kept together, that is, they formed one block, and that means that they were always on good terms with each other. Nowadays there is naturally no robbery, no killing, nobody is afraid of other people, there is full security, I mean that people no longer pay attention to this sort of thing. If somebody now, for instance, is able to buy land somewhere, he just buys it and leaves the village, he applies for a building licence, and then builds a house on the land which he just bought.

As I just mentioned to you, there are one thousand one hundred and fifty people in the village, and the water now available in the village isn't enough. We have been planning to make a project to bring water from Ma<sup>e</sup>lul to the valley. So we contacted the government, especially the Department of Agriculture, and they said: »We are ready to help you, but many villages have said 'we want to build one', and they have built one and got the assistance of the Department, but we are afraid that you won't do it, we mean that you only have wishes, you are just saying that you'll do it, but you won't bring money.» But as we were fully aware of our need for water, we collected the money, and we asked: »Listen! Who wants to take part and pay money?» They said: »We want to take part.» One said: »We want to take part», the other said: »We want to take part», this one said: »We want to take part». So I wrote down their names in a list, and we took from everyone one hundred pounds until we had collected twelve thousand pounds. We put them in the bank and told the Ministry of Agriculture and all who were responsible. We said: »Gentlemen, we have collected this money as you asked us, and now it is in the bank. Therefore you, too, must now act from your side.» They said: »Now we are ready to help you.»

We hope that after two or three months the water will be



wāšla 'ilā l-maḥallāt u-sā'ithā rayḥīn inḵūn maḥṣuṭīn, u-miš raḥ-ikūn fī māšākīl lā-'annu 'aktar el-māšākīl u-waža'ca r-rās 'illi ḥṣīr 'innā, 'āsās m-el-ceyn. niswān bīzu 'ala l-ceyn: »'anā bidd amälli qablik», «lä', 'inti biddik 'tmälli qabli? lä', 'anā bidd amälli qablik.» bitkâḥṣu ma'ca ḥa'adḥin u-law tšuf l-iqtâl, l-iqtâl wuḥîš, bitqâllu ma'ca ḥa'adḥin, bimiskū ḥa'adḥin min ša'arhin, u-ybâhedlu ḥa'adḥin u-hâdä 'iši miš imlîḥ. ba'adên hâdä bîzi biḥza'ca la-ḥaratu, hâdä bîzi biḥza'ca lá-ḥtu, bitqâllu 'izlâm ma'ca ḥa'adḥin u-ba'adên bîrûḥu 'ind el-bolîš u-bîrûḥu š bidfa'eu mašâri lā-l-ḥukûme, u-ktîr iktîr emniḥsaḥ mašâri 'ca-l-ceyn, w-'anā be'akkid 'innu law hâi l-mašâri 'illi ḥsirnâḥa bi-sâbâb el-ceyn bi-t-tošât, law waffarnâ š u-ḥattenâḥa fi-l-bâḥk, kân yümken ma'canā 'iṣrīn 'ulf lîra 'issa fi-l-bâḥk aww aktar, wa-lâkkin kulliyâthâ š rāḥat hêk. 'ammā 'ca-kull ḥâl nit'ämmel 'innu hä-l-mašrû'ca ytemm u-sā'ithâ rayḥīn inḵäyyif u-ḥkūn maḥṣuṭīn.

mā-wâḥad ḥonâ fi-l-bäläd 'illi 'indu šäqfet arḍ be'-ḥadd dâru, wâḥad mätlän, ḥuṣūšan ḥädôlä 'illi š be'ad 'an el-bäläd, kull wâḥad 'indu dünmên aw tälâti, ḥädôl dünmên aw tälâti biḡdar š izraḥḥin š ḥudra, biḡdar izraḥḥin š bändôra, betinžân, biḡdar š kāmân yizra'ca sâzâriyye fihin, biḡdar yá'canî yizra'ca 'äšyâ 'illi yümken isqîḥa fihin. u-sā'ithâ 'en-nâs iqûlu 'innu lâzim ḥu ywarred 'ala Snûba, yôḥud el-mântúž u-ywarred 'ala Snûba, 'innamâ yá'canî bikâffi l-âhel bêtu, yá'canî el-wâḥad lâzim ikūn fī 'indu ḥamḍa be'-ḥadd ed-dâr, lâzim ikūn fī 'indu mätlän sâž'rat eflêfle, lâzim ikūn fī 'indu kāmân š sâž'riyye lāni-lli š bižúz yigdar yizra'ca bortkâny aw mätlän bortkântên, lês lâ', biḡdar yizra'ca ḥudra, ba'adên tinsâš š 'ähämm 'iši, 'innu bišîr fī nadâfi, yá'canî el-bêt illi bā'ed š tälüt mât miter aww arba'ca mât miter 'an el-ceyn, hâdä bilâqâi ša'eb 'ktîr iktîr tannu yžib el-mayyi m-el-ceyn, biddu yistannâ bi-d-dôr u-hêk u-bižúz itkâḥṣu n-niswân ma'ca ḥa'adḥin hêk u-hêk, wa-lâ-dâlik l-iwlâd bikunúš endâf iktîr iktîr mitel yâ bitkūn mayyi bi-d-dâr. mayyi bi-d-dâr, kull yôm el-ulâd biḡdaru tjaṣslu, ba'adên kāmân š bižúz yâmälu<sup>2</sup> š byût mayy, byût ḥariž, bižúz yâmälu<sup>2</sup> ḥämmämât š kāmân, hâdä 'iši mlîḥ u-hâdä bin'add yá'canî š taqaddum, lâmmâ biddu yšîr.

u-mnit'ämmel, 'innu bá'ad-mâ ḥhalles mašrû'ca el-mayy, nâcâ'mäl tašlîḥât ḥonâ bi-l-bäläd. yá'canî š fī šawâri'ca fi-l-bäläd, šawâri'ca

brought to the houses. From that moment we shall be happy and there will be no troubles. That's because most of the troubles and bothers that we have, come from the spring. Women come to the spring: »I want to fill up before you.« — »No, do you want to fill up before me? No, I want to fill up before you.« They begin to tussle with each other, and if you could see the quarrelling, it's wild quarrelling. They fight each other, they pull each other's hair and they call each other's names. This is not good. Then this man takes sides with his wife, the other takes sides with his sister. So the men begin to fight each other, and then they go to the police and must pay money to the government. We lose very much money on the spring. I'm sure that if we could have saved the money we lost because of the spring in controversies and if we had put it in the bank, maybe we would now have twenty thousand pounds or more in the bank, but all of it just went like that. Anyway, we hope that this project will be completed, and from that moment we'll be glad and happy.

Whoever has here in the village a piece of land beside his house, he can, for instance — especially those who are far from the village — everyone who has two or three dunams of land, in those two or three dunams he may plant vegetables, he may plant tomatoes and egg-plants there, he may also plant trees there, I mean he may plant many things that he may water there. Then people may say that one can export to Şnūba, take the product and export it to Şnūba. At least a man must have enough for his own family, and therefore he must have a lemon tree beside his house, he must have for instance pepper-corn, he must have other trees, too, for instance he may plant an orange tree or two, why not, and he may plant vegetables. Then don't forget the most important thing, that it is followed by cleanness. I mean that if a house is three hundred or four hundred metres from the spring, it is very difficult to bring water from the spring. One must wait one's turn and so on, and maybe the women will tussle with each other, and all kinds of things. Therefore the children are not very clean as they'll be if there were water in the house. When there is water in the house, the children can be washed every day. They can also build toilets, privies, they can

*carīda*, *mumk<sup>k</sup>en nā<sup>cā</sup>māl fīhā zifti*. *wa-lāk<sup>k</sup>in baqūl 'innu hādū l-išī miš mumk<sup>k</sup>en itemm 'illā* § *bā<sup>c</sup>ed-mā* § *'ahl el-bälād yittifqu* § *u-yāmū<sup>2</sup>* § *māzlis māhālli*. *hādū l-māzlis māhālli sā<sup>c</sup>īthā* § *bikūn qādir aw ma<sup>c</sup>ā šaḷah<sup>ḥ</sup>y<sup>y</sup>e 'innu ynaddem el-bälād u-yi<sup>z</sup>ma<sup>c</sup>a mašāri min en-nās*, *u-yūnfuq häy l-mašāri* *cala tašlīh el-bälād u-tašlīh mādrasi*, *mā<sup>ā</sup>län*, *bižūz yiftāhu nādi*, *bižūz yiftāhu mā<sup>ā</sup>län* § *fa<sup>c</sup>a l-bōšta kāmān lāzim yiftāhu*, *ba<sup>c</sup>ādēn* § *'ilā 'āhērī<sup>h</sup>i<sup>12</sup> yā<sup>c</sup>nī* *cala taqaddum el-bälād*. *'ammā 'idū bikūn fišš māzlis māhālli*, *fišš wa-lā wāhad min en-nās* § *bihāsseb nāfsu 'innu hū mās'ūl*, *lāzim yā<sup>c</sup>māl*, *fišš wa-lā wāhad*. *biqullāk*: »*ānā mā-dāhḥalnīš*», *'aw hādū*: »*ānā mā-dāhḥalnīš*», »*ānā mā-dāhḥalnīš*» *'idū mā-ykūn māzlis māhālli*, *ma<sup>c</sup>anāthā sā<sup>c</sup>īthā būš<sup>c</sup>aru 'innu hinnī mās'ulīn* *can taqaddum el-bälād w-idū*. *biddhinnīš yā<sup>c</sup>mālu* § *li-mašlāḥat el-bälād*, *sā<sup>c</sup>īthā fi-l-intihabāt illi biddhā tīzi mā<sup>ā</sup>län māzlis el-māhālli*, *besaqtū<sup>h</sup>in āhl el-bälād*, *bā<sup>c</sup>ār<sup>f</sup>u 'innu miš qa<sup>c</sup>ādīn yā<sup>c</sup>mālu l-āhl el-bälād*. *wa-li-hādū s-sūbāb lāmmā yšīr māzlis el-māhālli*, *kull wāhad min a<sup>c</sup>dā rāyeh<sup>h</sup> yištāhed<sup>13</sup>* *bidd idīr bālu mazbūt u-yā<sup>c</sup>māl minšān* § *el-bälād*.

*hādū l-išī 'illi yā<sup>c</sup>nī ḥabbēt aqullu* *can el-bälād*. *ba<sup>c</sup>ādēn bahābb aqullāk* *can . . . el-mādrasi*.<sup>14</sup> *el-mādrasi*, *fi-zāmān el-iṅglīz kân fi bāss la-š-šaff er-rābi<sup>c</sup>a*. *'ānā ḥallašt eš-šaff er-rābi<sup>c</sup>a min hōnā u-ta<sup>c</sup>allāmīt tāmān isnīn bi-n-Nāšre*, *u-lā'ānnu mā-fiš šāri<sup>c</sup>ā*, *kunt kull yōm* § *šubeh arūh māšī se<sup>c</sup>a w-el-<sup>c</sup>ašer rawweh māšī se<sup>c</sup>a*, *mazbūt yā<sup>c</sup>nī*. *qa<sup>c</sup>ādīt tāmān isnīn*, *tānni ḥallašt médrast en-Nāšre*.

*el-mādrasi* § *'iḥassānāt ešwayyi wā-lāk<sup>k</sup>in ihsirnū 'išī* § *min mādrasi*. *šu hū?* *el-mādrasi kánhā<sup>15</sup>* § *f<sup>t</sup>-zāmān int'idāb* § *ḥādīqa 'aḥsān ḥādīqa fi-ḥādā'iq Falāstīn*, *u-masaḥīthā hū-ž-žnēnē<sup>3</sup>* *fi ḥaw<sup>w</sup>ālā tāmānīn dūnūm*. *fīhā* § *bīrēn*, *ba<sup>c</sup>ādēn fīhā* § *dār 'mlīhā*, *kān yūskūnhū mudīr el-mādrasi*, *u-kān fīhā* § *'āsšār fawāki mi<sup>l</sup>el tuffāh*, *mišmiš*, *ebrūmyā*, *ba<sup>c</sup>ādēn kān fi* § *'ineb*, *ba<sup>c</sup>ādēn* § *fi kān zetūn*, *kāmān*, *ba<sup>c</sup>ādēn*

<sup>12</sup> Pronounced approximately as in Cl.; cf. the pronunciation *infra*, p. 154, line 26.

<sup>13</sup> Stressed as in Cl.

<sup>14</sup> The usual dialectal form in LGal. is *midrasi*. Note the gradual transition to it, *infra*, *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> *l* is dropped between *n* and *h*.

build bathrooms, too. This will be good, and this will be regarded as progress when it is done.

We hope that after this water project is completed, we'll do some repairs here in the village. I mean, there are streets in the village, wide streets; we can coat them with asphalt. However I must say that this will not be done unless the villagers come to an agreement and form a local council. This local council will then be able and it will have the authority to organize the village, to collect money from people, and to spend this money on building up the village, repairing the school, for instance, perhaps they will establish a club, they may establish a post office branch, too, and do such things as concern the progress of the village. But if there is no local council, there will be nobody who will consider himself responsible to do something, there will be no one, but everyone will say: »It is not my business«, or this man will say: »It is not my business.« »It is not my business.« But if there is a local council, from that moment they will feel that they are responsible for the progress of the village, and if they will not work for the welfare of the village, then, for instance, in the next election of the local council the villagers will dismiss them because they (= the villagers) know that they are not working for the villagers' interests. Therefore every member of the local council, when it is established, will do his best, attend to things properly, and work for the village.

This is what I wanted to tell you about the village. Now I would like to tell you about the school. During the English mandate there were only four classes in the school. I finished the fourth class here and learnt for eight years in Nazareth, and because there was no road, I had an hour's walk every morning, and in the evening an hour's walk back. This is really true. I was there for eight years until I finished school in Nazareth.

The school has been improved a little, but we have lost something of the school. But what? During the mandate the school had a very good garden, the best garden in Palestine, and its area was about eighty dunams. There were two wells, then there was a good house where the headmaster lived, there were fruit trees, such as apple trees, apricot trees and plum trees, then there was a vineyard, then there

kānu yizra<sup>cu</sup> huḍrawāt § <sup>el</sup>b-šūra dāyme, u-kānāt 'āhlā ḥadīqa mawzūde, u-l-īši-lli mḥallīhā kāmān, 'innu ḥarcalīhā mazrū<sup>ca</sup> § šnōbar § u-sāru, sāru, ḥādū 'īši kāmān imlīh § u-mnaḍdame mlīhā, u-kānu yīžu fī-zāmān <sup>el</sup>l-īnglīz, yīžu <sup>el</sup> . . . nās § min § Falāstīn, yīžu yōhūdu šuwar § 'īlhā bi-l-kām<sup>er</sup>rāt. u-kān § fī § žāž, kānu yrabbu žāž u-kānu yrabbu § nāhel, u-kānāt yā<sup>ca</sup>nī <sup>ca</sup>ḍīme. 'amma § ḥāy l-medrasi rāḥat hēk lā-'annu waqt <sup>el</sup>l-īḥtīlāl § 'āhel bālādū rāhu <sup>ca</sup>n-Nāšre w-āžu hōnā <sup>ca</sup>ṛab. u-kilmet <sup>ca</sup>ṛab eḥnā miṇqūlhā <sup>ca</sup>n <sup>el</sup>l-bed<sup>ew</sup>. bed<sup>ew</sup>, miṇqūl <sup>ca</sup>nḥin <sup>ca</sup>ṛab. <sup>el</sup>l-mazbūt 'innu 'eḥnā kullnā <sup>ca</sup>ṛab, bāss <sup>el</sup>l-bed<sup>ew</sup>, miṇqūl <sup>ca</sup>nḥin, 'eḥnā yā<sup>ca</sup>nī mī<sup>ca</sup>wawdīn iṇqūlhīn <sup>ca</sup>ṛab. ḥādōl l-<sup>ca</sup>ṛab 'āžu hōnā, u-ḥādōl l-<sup>ca</sup>ṛab § bihtāmmūš bi-s-sāžāriyye ktīr, bihtāmmu bi-l-mā<sup>ca</sup>zū, bihtāmmu kāmān § ikūn <sup>ca</sup>ind <sup>el</sup>l-waḥad § qahwi, brīq qahwi, u-ykūn mālān qahwi, ḥalaš. wā-lāk<sup>k</sup>in lā-brīq <sup>el</sup>l-qahwi § šu lāzim? lāzimlu ḥaṭab. 'aktar-ši bihtāmmu bi-l-qahwe sādā, <sup>el</sup>l-qahwe ḥilwe bihtāmmulhāš iktīr iktīr. ṭaba<sup>ca</sup>n lāzīmlu ḥaṭab. wēn aqṛab īši? aqṛab īši bi-l-medrasi, bi-l-ḥadīqa. fū-kānu yīžu <sup>ca</sup>la sāžār <sup>el</sup>l-mišmiš, yiqta<sup>cu</sup>, u-ḥāmlū, sāžā<sup>rat</sup> tuffāḥ kāmān, sāžā<sup>rat</sup> līn, sāžā<sup>rat</sup> ebrūmyā, sāžā<sup>rat</sup> <sup>ca</sup>ineb, tānnu ḥaṭṭal ilā 'atār šēle šēle. u-kān ša<sup>ca</sup>eb <sup>ca</sup>alē <sup>ca</sup>la waḥad ikūn mā-bāriḥāš<sup>2</sup> bāriḥ<sup>2</sup> ḥāy l-midrasi. ša<sup>ca</sup>eb <sup>ca</sup>alē lā-'ennu yā<sup>ca</sup>riḥ innu kān fī sāžāriyye. lēs? lā-'ennu kānu yiq<sup>ca</sup>u 'īši min <sup>el</sup>l-qrām<sup>ye</sup>, yā<sup>ca</sup>nī min nušš <sup>el</sup>l-aṛḍ yiq<sup>ca</sup>u, lā-'ennu l-qurmiyye ḥāy kāmān yā<sup>ca</sup>nī § kānu § iḥuṭṭūhā <sup>ca</sup>la n-nār lā-'ennu <sup>ca</sup>ṛayḥin innu § b-sā<sup>ca</sup> bitwaḥḥa yā<sup>ca</sup>nī mlīhā. 'issa ḥaṭṭal fīhā 'atār midrasi, bāss ānā baqullāk ḍall fī 'āsžār šnōbar ḥāy-lli ḥawāl <sup>el</sup>l-medrasi dāyr min dār. <sup>ca</sup>kull ḥāl nī<sup>ca</sup>mmel innu yīži m<sup>ca</sup>allim yizraḥḥa u-yigḍar yā<sup>ca</sup>nī § isāžžir fīhā, yizra<sup>ca</sup> sāžār tuffāḥ, mišmiš ilā 'āhare. mni<sup>ca</sup>mmel 'innu kāmān <sup>el</sup>l-bālād titqaddem hēkā, wā-lāk<sup>k</sup>in ṭaqāddum<sup>16</sup> mī<sup>ca</sup>tel-mā qultillāk qabl išwayy, titwaqqef § <sup>ca</sup>la wžūd māžlis māḥalli 'illi ḥū ikūn māš'ūl § <sup>ca</sup>n tanḍīm <sup>el</sup>l-bālād u-<sup>ca</sup>n ṭaqāddum<sup>17</sup>hā.

Text No. 8. 'Ksāl. Artistic colloquial.

We are four men spending an evening at a farmer's house. A clerk (Moslem, 25/12) tells three short anecdotes. In the first one there is much hesitation and stammering, but the only reason is

were olive trees, too, then they used to plant vegetables all the time. It was the loveliest garden existing. In the same place, too, there were pines and cypresses planted around it. This was very fine, too, and it was well arranged, and many people used to come from (the other parts of) Palestine during the English time, and they took pictures of it with cameras. There were chickens, they used to raise chickens, they used to keep bees; I mean it was magnificent.

But this school was wasted, because during the occupation the people of our village went to Nazareth, and Arabs came here. This word 'Arab' we use to denote the Bedouins. We call the Bedouins 'Arabs'. As a matter of fact all of us are Arabs, but we are used to call the Bedouins Arabs. Those Arabs came here, and those Arabs don't care much about trees, they care about goats, and they care, too, that one has a coffee pot, and when it is full of coffee, that's all. But what must there be for the coffee pot? There must be firewood. Their main interest is in black coffee; in sweet coffee they are not very interested. Naturally there must be firewood for it. What was the nearest place? The nearest place was the school, the garden. So they came to an apricot tree, cut it and carried it away, apple trees, too, fig trees, plum trees, vines, until there was no trace left at all. It was difficult for someone who didn't know that to recognize this school. It was difficult for him because he knew that there were trees there. Why? Because they used to dig down to the roots, I mean they used to dig under the ground because they used to put these roots, too, into the fire, as they think that they catch fire very quickly. Now there is nothing left of the school (garden). I can tell you that only those pine trees which surround the school are left. Anyhow we hope that a teacher will come who will plant it again, I mean who can plant apple trees, apricot trees and so on there. Also we hope that the village will develop as I said, but as I just told you, this depends on the existence of a local council which will be responsible for organizing the village and for its progress.

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<sup>16</sup> A loan from *fusha*, pronounced dialectally.

<sup>17</sup> The *h* of the suffix exceptionally weakened.

that the speaker has difficulties in recalling the story. Otherwise he narrates quite freely. The pronunciation of *qāf* is inconsistent, because the speaker, whose own language is strongly influenced by *fusha* does not always, in spite of his efforts, remember to use the local dialectal pronunciation (*g*). The tempo is c. 125 words per minute.

a) *fī marra ṣ ṭīḷe ṣ ḏāzi ṣ w-ehṣēni ṣ u-ḏabe<sup>ce</sup>, rāhu bidd<sup>h</sup>in iḥēžžu ṣ*  
*‘ala Mākki. māšu žāmā<sup>cā</sup>, māšu yā<sup>cā</sup>nī ‘awwal yōm u-māšu, yā<sup>cā</sup>nī*  
*bidd<sup>h</sup>in ināmu bi-l-lēl. fātu ‘ala mgāra. qāmat el . . . lli kânāt ḥāžāle*  
*miš žāzi, ḥāžāle w-žāzi w-ḏabe<sup>ce</sup> . . . ḥāžāle w-žāzi w-ehṣēni yā-rābbī.*  
*‘āžū l-ehṣēni ṣ bi-l-lēl žā<sup>cā</sup>, el-mağrib, biddu yit<sup>c</sup>ašša, qāl: »biddnā*  
*nōkel eš-žāzi.» ‘āžū lā-ž-žāzi: »eṭṭa<sup>1</sup> ‘a-ḥarra!» w-ākālhā. kāmân es-sā<sup>2</sup>*  
*ṭnā<sup>cē</sup>š fi-l-lēl mā<sup>l</sup>lān se<sup>cā</sup> tintēn kāmân žā<sup>cā</sup> kāmân marra, qal lā-l-*  
*ḥāžāle: »biddi ḏkālīk.» gālātlu: »qabel-mā tōkelni, ḥallīni ‘atṭa<sup>cā</sup> ṣ*  
*‘ātsāhed ‘āšuf ed-dinyā.» ‘āžāt el-žāzi . . . el-ḥāžāle, ṭīḷat, u-l-ehṣēni*  
*waggaf iqbālhā, u-ṭārat u-nhāzmāt. māšū l-wāwi l-hālu, l-ehṣēni. ‘āžū*  
*lāga, mīn lāga? ḏabe<sup>ce</sup>. ṭaḥā<sup>cā</sup>an eḏ-ḏabe<sup>ce</sup> bikūn ‘aduwwu l-lādūd lā-ḥṣēni.*  
*»wēn yā-ḥuww . . . ?»<sup>3</sup> qallu: »wallā māšīn ‘ala ḥāžž, timši ma<sup>cā</sup>anā?»*  
*qallu: »bāmši.» māšu t-ṭnēn, lākin eḏ-ḏabe<sup>ce</sup> biddu yōkel l-ehṣēni fā-biddu*  
*yīthallaš minnu, l-ehṣēni. ‘āžū ‘ala ḥṣān, qālūlu: »šu ‘ismāk?» el-ehṣān,*  
*lā’, el . . . ḏabe<sup>ce</sup> sāl l-ehṣēni, qallu: »šu ‘ismāk?» gallu: »‘ismi ḥṣēni*  
*‘iben ‘ehṣēni ‘iben ‘ehṣēni w-‘intī?» qallu: »ḏabe<sup>c</sup> iben ḏabe<sup>c</sup> iben ḏabe<sup>ce</sup>».*  
*sālū l-ehṣān, qall<sup>h</sup>in l-ehṣān: »‘anā ‘ismi māktūb ‘ala ḥāfri, ‘ala ‘ižri*  
*mīn tāhet. ‘illi bigra minku, ‘igra ‘ismi.» ‘āžū el-wāwi, ḥādū l-ehṣēni,*  
*‘indu, yā<sup>cā</sup>nī ‘indu ḥidā u-‘indu ġišš u-dāymān ḥū behībb itmallaš*  
*u-behībb iwāq<sup>cā</sup> ṣahbu dāymān fi-l-māšākil, qallu: »wallā ‘anā yā ‘Aḥu*  
*Ḥāsān,» la-ḏ-ḏabe<sup>ce</sup>, »‘anā ražul ‘āmmi, bağdārš . . . bā<sup>cā</sup>rīfš lā ‘āgra*  
*wa-lā ‘aktib. li-ḏālīk intī dālbāh.» wātta rāš eḏ-ḏabe<sup>ce</sup> tānnu yigra-lli*  
*‘ala ḥāfir l-ehṣān, ḏarabu l-ehṣān qat<sup>el</sup>u. ‘āžū l-ehṣēni ḥāmāl ḥālu u-*  
*nhāzām. ‘ākāl eš-žāzi w-ākāl . . . u-ṭayyar el-ḥāžāle w-qatāl eḏ-ḏabe<sup>ce</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Final *c* and the fem. imperat. ending *-i* are dropped before the initial *c*.

<sup>2</sup> *c* is dropped before the same phoneme in the next word. The emphasis (*t*) is due to the laryngeal influence.



a) Once a hen, a fox and a hyena set out to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. They walked, all of them, they walked the first day; in the night they wanted to sleep. They entered a cave. Now the . . . which was a partridge, not a hen . . . a partridge, a hen and a hyena . . . a partridge, a chicken and a fox, — Gracious me! The fox began at night, in the evening, to hunger. He wanted to eat. He thought: »I'll eat the hen.» He approached her (and said): »Go outside!» and there he ate her. At about twelve, well, at two o'clock at night, too, he became hungry again. He said to the partridge: »I'm going to eat you.» She said to him: »Look, before you eat me, give me a chance to go outside and look at the world.» The hen . . . the partridge got out, and the fox kept standing in her way. But she flew, and so she escaped.

Now the jackal . . . the fox remained walking alone. On his way he met a fellow and who else was he but a hyena. Naturally, the hyena is a mortal enemy of the fox. (He said:) »Where to, Abu . . . ?» He answered him: »I'm on my way on a pilgrimage. Will you join me?» He said to him: »All right, I'll come.»

They walked together, but the hyena intended to eat the fox, and the latter, the fox, was thinking of finding a way to get rid of him. On their way they met a horse. They asked him: »What's your name?» The horse . . . no, the hyena asked the fox: »What's your name?» He answered: »My name is Fox, father is Fox, grandfather is Fox, and you?» He said: »Hyena, father is Hyena, grandfather is Hyena.» They asked the horse. The horse answered them: »My name is written on my hoof, on the underside of my foot. That one of you who can read, may read my name.» Now the jackal . . . I mean the fox who is clever and sly, and who always finds his way out, and likes to trap his comrade, said to the hyena: »Look, Abu Ḥasan, I'm an illiterate man. I cannot . . . I don't know either how to read or to write. Therefore you look down!» The hyena bowed his head down in order to read what was there on the hoof of the horse. Then the horse kicked him over and killed him. Now the fox took to his heels and ran away. He ate the

<sup>3</sup> An elliptic address for 'yā Abu (*Flān*)'; cf. Text No. 5, footnotes 1 and 2.



*fī mākitū<sup>4</sup> u-dāhā<sup>5</sup> u-dall minhizem. lā hāžž wa-lā thāžžūž innāmā qadāhin kulliyāthin.*

b) *fī maṛra ṣ wāhad, wāhad ṣ 'ib<sup>e</sup>n caṛabi hēk min hōn, kinnu kân aṣlu ṣ rāc<sup>i</sup>. fīlu ṣāhib, kân met<sup>e</sup>allim 'šwayy. hādā ṣahbu ṣ qāl: »bidd<sup>6</sup> arūh üt<sup>e</sup>allām fi-Āmêrkä.» sâfâr ṣahbu ca-l-Āmêrkä. qa<sup>e</sup>ad awal seni, tâni seni, tâlit seni<sup>7</sup>, ma-ba<sup>e</sup>atlūs maktûb. hādā ṣ-râc<sup>i</sup> gâl: »hādā ṣahbi yumk<sup>e</sup>en mât. lâzim arūh a<sup>t</sup>šûfu,<sup>8</sup> wa-lâ maktûb žayyini minnu, 'abṣar<sup>9</sup> šu l-mes'äle. law tayyib ca-l-galil ba<sup>e</sup>alli maktûb.» fâ-'ahîna rah-bâh<sup>10</sup> el-baqar illi c<sup>i</sup>indu, kull hä-l-haywanât illi c<sup>i</sup>indu, küllä bâhha<sup>11</sup> ṣ u-râh. qeta<sup>ca</sup> bulit tayyâra, bäddu ysâfir. sâfâr lâ-hunâk, weṣel Āmêrkä, ttaṣal fi-ṣahbu, qallu: »'ahlân, wên yâ zälâmi, lā bîži c<sup>a</sup>alênâ, lâ tib<sup>e</sup>atlnâ maktûb wa lâ nisma<sup>e</sup> aḥbârak, šu hä-l-mes'âli hayy?» qallu: »wallâ fī c<sup>i</sup>indi dârs iktîr u-miš c<sup>a</sup>arif šû.» qallu: »'ânâ žit ḥuṣūṣan minšân 'ašûfak.» qallu: »tayyib, yalla tfaḍḍal.» 'ahadu ma<sup>e</sup>â c<sup>a</sup>la l-mâhäll-li sâkin fī hunâk, 'akram u-dayyâfu, qallu: »int<sup>i</sup> hallîk qâc<sup>i</sup>d hōn u-'ânâ biddi 'arūh, fī c<sup>a</sup>leyyi marchid, fī c<sup>a</sup>leyyi ḥafle, mâ-ižtimâ<sup>ca</sup> mâ-ižtimâ<sup>ca</sup>.» qallu: »yâ-bn el-hälâl, u-kêf, btâhki inglîzi int<sup>i</sup>?» qallu: »'ânâ bâc<sup>a</sup>arif.» qallu: »c<sup>a</sup>llimni šwayyit inglîzi ca-l-galil, biddi 'ahki inglîzi law biddi 'atla ca-baṛra, biddi âs'al wāhad.» qallu: »šū biddak?» qatli:<sup>12</sup> »mât<sup>a</sup>lân bidd arūh äštri.» qallu: »šū biddak tištri?» qallu: »bidd äštri šwayyit rozz, 'iši.» qallu: »rozz ṣ rays.» qallu: »bâss bâss. 'izâ rozz rayz, c<sup>a</sup>dâs c<sup>a</sup>dâys, baṣal eḥṣayl, ma<sup>e</sup>anâthâ 'ânâ ta<sup>e</sup>allâmt inglîzi.»*

c) *fī wāhad ṣ 'ismu ṣ Žuḥa.<sup>13</sup> maṛra rāh, 'āflâs maṛra hēk u-gâl:*

<sup>4</sup> = *makīdatihī*, after the loss of *a* in an open unstressed medial syllable and a regressive assimilation of *d* to *t*.

<sup>5</sup> = *dahā'ihī*; loss of final *hamza* leads to transferring of the stress to the first syllable, but it is restored if a suffix (sing. 3. masc. inaudible) follows.

<sup>6</sup> The suffix *-i* of sing. 1. is dropped before the initial *a*.

<sup>7</sup> Masc. forms used without article analogously with *'awwal*; cf. Blau, p. 61 (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 54).

<sup>8</sup> Most probably a transgressive variant for *ašûfu*.

<sup>9</sup> This word has lost its verbal significance and is used adverbially; cf. Blau, p. 189 (Schmidt u. Kahle I, pp. 15, 23, 58, 100, and 115), Bauer, Pal., p. 236.

<sup>10</sup> The laryngeal *c* has lost its voice in final position in a loose juncture.

<sup>11</sup> *ch* > *hh*, mutual assimilation.

<sup>12</sup> A transgressive variant for *qallu*.

hen and ate . . . and made the partridge fly, and had the hyena killed, by his wickedness and treachery, and made off. But never did he go on a pilgrimage, he only destroyed all his comrades.

b) Once there was an Arab from hereabouts. He may have been a shepherd. He had a friend who was somewhat educated. This friend of his thought: »I'll travel to America to study.« His friend travelled to America. He stayed there a first year, a second year, and a third year, but he didn't send him a letter. This shepherd thought: »This friend of mine maybe is dead. I must go and find out how he is, because I haven't received even a letter from him. Who knows what's the matter. If he is alive, he would at least have sent me a letter.« Now our fellow sold his cows and all the animals which he had, he sold all of them and bought an air ticket and got himself ready to travel. He travelled, arrived in America, and contacted his friend. He said to him: »Hello, what's the matter with you? You don't visit us, we don't get any letters and news from you. What's going on?« He said to him: »Well, I have a lot of work with my studies and I don't know what else.« He said to him: »I've come especially to see you.« He said to him: »Okay, come along to my place please!« He accompanied him to the place where he was living. There he treated him generously and was hospitable to him, and then said: »Stay here, I must go now, I have an appointment, a party, a meeting.« He said to him: »Man alive! Do you know English?« He answered: »Of course I do.« He said: »At least teach me some English. I must speak English. I may go out and need to ask somebody.« He said: »What do you want (to ask about)?« He said: »For instance I want to go shopping.« He asked: »What do you want to buy?« He said: »I want to buy some rice or something.« He said: »*ruzz* is 'rice'.« He said: »That's enough. If *ruzz* is 'rice' so *'adas* is 'cadice', *bašal* is 'busile'. That means that I know English already.«

c) There was a man called Žuḥa. Once he was in need of money and

<sup>13</sup> The foolishly clever *Žuḥa* / *Žiḥa* is a very popular anecdotal character all over the Near East and the Arab countries; cf. Bauer, Pal., p. 164, Stumme, pp. 126ff., Baumann, ZDPV 39, No. 274, Ben Zeev, p. 57 and p. 63.

»walla biddi 'arû<sup>eh</sup> azûr, fîli garâbe fî bäläd garîbe hêk.» râh lä-<sup>e</sup>indu lä-hunâk. hâdü l-garâ<sup>yb</sup> estägbälu hunâk <sup>e</sup>stigbâl hâfil, 'akramw awwal yôm,<sup>7</sup> tâni yôm, tâlit yôm, râbi<sup>ca</sup> yôm. ba<sup>ca</sup>dên yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî § zehq u-battal § ya<sup>ca</sup>tni fî. gal la-maratu: »kêf eṭ-ṭarîga, šu biddnâ nâ<sup>ca</sup>mâl lä-hättä 'ehnâ § nuṭla<sup>ca</sup> mn-äl-bêt hâdü š-šahş?» gälätlu: »'anâ 'ä<sup>ca</sup>rif.» gallhä: »'isma<sup>ci</sup> bukra btuṭubhi w-ânâ başîr agûl: 'eṭ-tabîh mâleh' w-int<sup>i</sup> bitqûli: 'eṭ-tabîh hîlu.' emnihtlif. emnis'älu: 'šu râyâk yâ Žuḥa?' 'idâ gâl mâleh, intti btuṭurdî, 'idâ gâl hîlu 'ânâ baṭûrdu.» žâbu l-âkel, ḥattu <sup>e</sup>ala l. . . ṭawli w-âžâ Žuḥa, dâ'û lä-hättä itgaddâ. šâr y<sup>u</sup>gûlthâ: »eṭ-tabîh mâleh.» hi-tqullu: »hîlu.» »mâleh.» »hîlu.» ihtîlfu t-l'nên fî ba<sup>ca</sup>q. sâ'älû: »šu râyâk?» qall<sup>h</sup>in: »walla 'ânâ miš mista<sup>ca</sup>edd etdâhhal bën el-marâ w-žôzhâ.» fâ-nâfâd minhä. ma-ṭaradu<sup>h</sup>ûš. ba<sup>ca</sup>ad yôm qallu z-zälâmi: »hudlâk<sup>14</sup> isma<sup>ca</sup> hä-l-lirtên u-rawweḥ, šûf ählâk, šu šâr fîhin. u-lämmâ bişîr <sup>e</sup>inna fareḥ, raḥ-endâ<sup>ci</sup>k.» 'ahâd Žuḥa lirtên u-ṭîli<sup>ci</sup>. bâ<sup>ca</sup>ed yâ<sup>ca</sup>nî <sup>e</sup>an el-bäläd ḥawâla nuşş se<sup>ca</sup> mâši w-rižâ<sup>ca</sup> kâmân marra. mä-šâfû 'illâ<sup>15</sup> bidugg <sup>e</sup>a-l-bâb: »'â, mâlâk iržâ<sup>ci</sup>it?» qall<sup>h</sup>in: »walla ržâ<sup>ci</sup>it mâni <sup>e</sup>ârif innu <sup>e</sup>intku fî fareḥ issa, lä-'ännu lämmâ ṭle<sup>ca</sup>nâ min <sup>e</sup>intku, 'int<sup>u</sup> freḥtu, u-li-dâlik ânâ ržâ<sup>ci</sup>it ḥättä nrodd ništrik fi fareḥ kâmân marra.»

Text No. 9. Šfa <sup>e</sup>Amer. Koineized colloquial.

A butcher (Greek Orthodox, 32/8) answers a question put forward by a secondary school student (Greek Orthodox, 17/11) from *Tur<sup>e</sup>ân*. The style abounds in journalistic idioms. The tempo is c. 110 words per minute.

»yâ sayyid <sup>e</sup>Îsâ, šu râyâk fi-tirbâyet el-mawâši fi-blâdnâ?» — »tirbâyet el-mawâši ižmâliyyân § mnîhâ. bâss fi-blâdnâ § ma<sup>ca</sup>âš imkâniyye li-tirbâye § lä-<sup>e</sup>iddet esbâb. 'awwalân tämâddûn küll fellâḥ, 'aw bağdar a'ullâk tämâddûn küll bädüwi, lä-'ännu eṭ-<sup>ca</sup>ayân <sup>e</sup>innâ 'âglâbin kânû fellâḥîn u-bedü. wa'et el-ḥâder § šâru yfaḍḍlu š-šujul § bi-l-kombâniyyât

<sup>14</sup> Classified by Blau into *dativus ethicus*, p. 169 (Schmidt u. Kahle I, p. 85).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Text No. 1, footnote 15.

he thought: »Now I must go on a visit. I've a relative in a nearby town.» He went to him. This relative received him very warmly and was very generous to him the first day, the second day, the third day, the fourth day. Then he got bored with him and no longer took care of him. Now he said to his wife: »What can we do to make this man go away from the house?» She said to him: »I wonder what.» He said to her: »Listen! Tomorrow you'll cook and I'll start saying: 'The food is too salty', and you say: 'It is not'. We begin to quarrel and then ask him: 'Žuḥa, what do you think?' If he says 'salty', it is you who kick him out, if he says 'not salty', I'll kick him out.»

They brought the food, put it on the table, and Žuḥa came; they called him to have his lunch. The man began to say to his wife: »The food is too salty.» She said to him: »It is not.» — »Salty.» — »No.» — The two began to quarrel with each other. They asked Žuḥa: »What do you think?» He answered them: »I shall never be prepared to get mixed up in the affairs of a wife and her husband.» So he got himself out of that trap. They didn't kick him out. One day later the man said to him: »Listen, take these two pounds and go to see how your family is getting along. And when we have a feast, we'll invite you.» Žuḥa took the two pounds and left. He walked away from the town for about half an hour and returned once more. Unexpectedly he was there knocking at the door. »Hey, why did you come back?» He said to them: »Well, I came back because I know you are celebrating now, for when I left you, you were very happy, and that's why I came back so that I could join in the celebration once more.»

— Mr. ʿĪsa, what do you think of cattle breeding in our district?

— Generally speaking, cattle breeding is good. But in our district cattle breeding is no longer possible for several reasons. For one thing, there is the urbanization of all the peasants, or I dare say the urbanization of all the Bedouins, because most of the shepherds in our district were peasants and Bedouins. At the present day they have begun to prefer working in companies and in *kibbutzīm*, because in this way they may go to movies, go to beaches and learn driving. They have become attached to this, as learning to drive is a kind

u-bi-l-kibutsât § mišân yihðaru sínema, mišân irúhu ca-l-baḥar, mišân yit<sup>ca</sup>all<sup>mu</sup> swá'a, šárat c<sup>in</sup>d<sup>h</sup>in waḷa<sup>ca</sup> mitel ta<sup>ca</sup>lim swá'a ši-giyye, rukub motorsikelât u-ḥsikletât, wa-li-hâðä s-sübüb şurt § ülâ'i, nâdir-mâ ytlâ'i rá<sup>ci</sup> mn-illi § 'itsämmä rá<sup>ci</sup> yimši ma<sup>ca</sup> l- § tarš u-ma<sup>ca</sup> l-hälâl. hâðä bin<sup>ca</sup>add sâbüb ra'isi. tâni sâbüb: 'idâ wažatt rá<sup>ci</sup> 'âðami, ibtigdar 'tsällmu riz'ak, šár el-ma<sup>ca</sup>ca<sup>1</sup> c<sup>inn</sup>ä<sup>2</sup> 'älil ktír sâbüb el-flâhâ. el-ḥukúme sâ<sup>ca</sup>adât ala l-flâhâ ktír w-awwal mawðú<sup>ca</sup> l-flâhâ, ez-zrâ<sup>ca</sup>. fâ-l-fellâhîn mâ câdu yhallu šiber arð § bidün § zera<sup>ca</sup>. kul<sup>ur</sup> ez-zrâ<sup>ca</sup> § dá<sup>ca</sup>af § wužúd ma<sup>ca</sup>ca<sup>ci</sup> § fi-l-iblâd, sâbüb lä- § fo'dân el-ma<sup>ca</sup>ca<sup>1</sup> lä-l-mawâši fâ-c<sup>in</sup>d<sup>a</sup>-mâ šahb el-hälâl bilâ'i ca-innu § taršu § žucân, bižârrib ihaffef minnu, ḥattâ 'el-bâ'i yigdar yišba<sup>ca</sup>, wa-ktír nâs § mim blâdnâ u-gêr blâdnâ 'illi kân c<sup>in</sup>d<sup>h</sup>in gänäm u-mä<sup>ca</sup>zâ w-ba'ar, bâcú lä-s-sübüb hâðä. fî nâs tânîn bâcú lä-s-sübüb er-ra<sup>ca</sup>yân mitel-ma caratt lä-žânâbak. 'ämmä 'ižmäliyyän tirbâyet el-mawâši mnîha bi-l-manâti 'illi bitsâ<sup>ca</sup>id, 'illi fîhâ ma<sup>ca</sup>ca<sup>ci</sup> ktír, u-yá<sup>ca</sup>nî law 'ult el-manâti<sup>3</sup> ž-žebeliyye ma<sup>ca</sup>am ša<sup>ca</sup>ebe šwayyi, lâkin el-ma<sup>ca</sup>ca<sup>ci</sup> fîhâ 'ahsân min manâti s-sâhliyye lä-'änn el-manâti<sup>3</sup> es-sâhliyye bâss ba<sup>ca</sup>d el-ḥašide, ba<sup>ca</sup>d ḥarâb el-ma'âti, ba<sup>ca</sup>d ḥarâb es-simsim biğdar el-wahâd mât<sup>a</sup>län ilâ'i fi 'iši.»

<sup>1</sup> The difference between the pronunciations ma<sup>ca</sup>ca and ma<sup>ca</sup>ca is due only to the use of energy, as may clearly be heard in the recording.

<sup>2</sup> = c<sup>in</sup>dnâ.

<sup>3</sup> In the former case the juncture is close, and the hamza disappears. In the latter case it is preserved, because the juncture is loose.

of a current fashion, and also riding motorcycles and bicycles, and for this reason it has become very rare to find among those who are called shepherds a (real) shepherd who knows how to handle cattle and livestock. This may be looked upon as the main reason. Another reason is that if you find an able shepherd into whose hands you could leave your herd, the pasture itself has become very limited in our district because of agriculture. The government has given much aid to agriculture, and its most important program has been agriculture, farming. The farmers no longer leave even a span's width of ground untilled. This concentration on farming has weakened the existence of pasture in this district. It has caused decrease of pasture for livestock, so that when the owner of livestock finds out that his cattle suffer with hunger, he tries to reduce their number in order to make it possible for the rest to get enough food, and many people from our district and other districts, too, who owned sheep, goats and cows, have sold them for this reason. There are other people who have sold them because of the lack of shepherds as I pointed out to you. But in general cattle breeding is useful in regions which are suitable for it, where much pasture is available. It may be said that the mountainous regions are rather unsuitable, but the pasture there is better than in the plains, because on the plains one cannot find anything (for cattle) until after the harvest, as for instance after the cucumber and sesam fields are no longer in use.