

## Writing a Textbook on Palestinian Arabic

### Ulrich Seeger's Book as an Example

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The importance of the German language for research on Semitic languages was borne in on me at the beginning of the 1970s, when I was an MA student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. I still recall the statement made by my teacher Prof. Edward Yechezkel Kutscher (1909-1971) at the first meeting of our seminar when he realised that almost none of the participants possessed any functional knowledge of German. Kutscher said: "Do you know that the most important Semitic language is German"? Soon afterwards I studied German (Grundstufe II) at the Goethe Institute in Brilon/Westphalia in 1971 and later, in 1985, in Göttingen (Mittelstufe II).

The remarkable contribution of the German language to research on Arabic dialects in general and the Palestinian dialect in particular since the beginning of the modern era is a well-known fact. Suffice it to mention here the following scholars who wrote their studies in German:

S. ʿAbbūd, W. Arnold, J. G. L. Bauer, P. Behnstedt, G. Bergsträßer, J. Blau, H. Bobzin, W. Christie, G. Dalman, W. Diem, W. Fischer, A. Geva-Kleinberger, H. Grotzfeld, E. N. Haddād, O. Jastrow, P. Kahle, G. Kampffmeyer, S. Linder, E. Littmann, M. Löhr, Th. Nöldeke, S. Procházka, E. Ruoff, E. Salonen, H. Schmidt, H.-R. Singer, A. Spitaler, W. Spitta, H. H. Spoer, St. H. Stephan, Sh. Talay, M. Thilo, M. Voidich, and S. Wild.

To this list the name of the author of the textbook under review ought to be added. Dr. Ulrich Seeger is a faculty member of the Department for Languages and Cultures of the Near East, Semitic Studies, at Heidelberg University, an institution known for its long tradition of Semitic dialectological research. Seeger spent six weeks in 1994 on the West Bank of the Jordan River, and in 1995 he returned for another three weeks. On the basis of the oral data collected and recorded during these two trips with the assistance of the Palestinian Shākir Shukrī Da.nā, Seeger wrote an MA thesis entitled "The Arabic Dialect of Hebron" (the original German reads *Der Arabische Dialekt von il-Xalīl (Hebron)* [Wiesbaden: 1996]). The

work was carried out under the supervision of his teacher, the well-known Arabic dialectologist Otto Jastrow. This thesis is available on the Internet: <http://semitistik.uni-hd.de/md/semitistik/il-xalil.pdf> and an abridged version is available in the *Mediterranean Language Review* 10 (1998): 89-145. Seeger's thesis consists of three main parts: A) fourteen lively texts in Ḥalīlī Arabic given in a Latin transcription and followed by a German translation; B) an outline of phonetics and the morphology of particles and verbs; and C) a glossary of approximately one thousand words in Ḥalīlī Arabic given in transcription according to their Arabic roots and provided with German translation.

Seeger continued his research in the field that he loved, namely Palestinian dialectology, despite the obstacles he faced and the hardships created by the authorities of the Israeli occupation on the West Bank and Gaza with regard to permissions of stay and travel from one area to another. It is surprising to learn that the official German representative in the Holy Land did not extend any assistance.

Seeger spent one year in Bīr Zēt in 1998-1999 in order to study, collect and record material for his doctoral work. His dissertation on the Arabic spoken in more than fifty villages around Ramallah was submitted to Heidelberg University in 2011 (*Der arabische Dialekt der Dörfer um Ramallah* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009-2013]; *Semitica viva*, Bd. 44, 3). Some of the villages include abu Šḥēdim, Bēt Surīk, Bīr Zēt, il-Bīre, Dēr Yasīn, iġ-Ġānya, Ġifna, ʿēn Sīnya, Ḥarabṭa bani Ḥārīt, Kalandya, Kaṭanne, Ni.līn, ir-Rām, Šar.a, Silwād, Singīl, Šukba, it-Ṭayybe, Turmus.ayya, Yabrūd, Yālu.

The spoken Arabic of this rural area in Palestine had earlier been the subject of research by the pioneer in this field, the scholar L. Bauer (1865-1964), whose work was followed by a famous anthology over a century ago by Schmidt/Kahle. The dialect of central Palestine is well documented. Seeger points out that he had the opportunity to examine the linguistic changes which have occurred in that area after the lapse of a century. This subject had not been previously investigated. Two features here suffice to suggest some of the differences: the lack of *Imāla*, namely having the suffix *-a*, as in *zalama*, and not the suffix *-e*, *zalame* 'a man'; and the possessive pronoun of the third person masculine singular, which is *-a*, for example, *hīta binta* 'she is his daughter'. Seeger's dissertation also contains three parts: A) 118 texts collected from fifty-one villages, transcribed and rendered into German; B) a glossary; and C) grammar. It should be noted that this impressive work was carried out with the co-operation of Mr. Taḥsīn ʿAlāwnih from Bīr Zēt. In addition, in 2002, 2009 and 2013 Seeger published three articles dealing with the Arabic dialect of Khorasan in eastern Iran. These articles are also available in English on the internet ([http://semitistik.uni-hd.de/seegerchorasan\\_en.html](http://semitistik.uni-hd.de/seegerchorasan_en.html)).

During the preparation of his doctoral dissertation Seeger wrote an article on the Palestinian dialects in German for Wikipedia (<http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pal%C3%A4stinensisch-Arabisch>). Moreover, he translated into German M. Halloun's two volumes entitled *Spoken Arabic for Foreigners: An Introduction to the Palestinian Dialect* (2001, 2006; see my review of Halloun's textbooks: <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=123992>).

Seeger returned to the Palestinian-occupied West Bank for two sabbatical years 2013-2014 and thanks to the crucial assistance of three Palestinians – Laṭīfe Abu l-Asal, Taḥsīn ʿAlāwnih and Rāmi il-ʿArab – succeeded in compiling a Palestinian-German dictionary, which contains over 13,000 words accompanied by examples of usage and classified into 4,000 roots given in transcription. The compilation of this extensive dictionary in fact began in 1998 and continued with some interruptions up to 2013. This bi-lingual dictionary of over 600 pages is based on the dialects of the villages around Ramallah, and it too has been made available on the internet for comments, corrections, modifications and additional information. It is designated a 'Work in progress' (<http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/semitistik/seeger-wb-pal-deu-2015-03.pdf>), and browsing through it shows that more work is needed.

After such rich experience in fieldwork and research, Ulrich Seeger is eminently qualified to write a textbook on the Palestinian urban dialect. The grammar of this dialect is based on the spoken Arabic of Hebron, Jerusalem, Nablus and particularly Ramallah (p. ix). Certainly the dialects of each of these cities, as is the case elsewhere, have unique features and expressions. In Nablus, for instance, words are stretched out, and *ane* 'I' and *iḥne* 'we' are used. There is no traditional classification of the modern Arabic dialects based only on linguistic categories; extralinguistic factors, such as historical, geographical, sectarian (Muslim-Christian-Jewish (gəɫəɫ, qəɫtu, qəɫt in Baghdad), Sunni-Shī'i) and social issues, are also taken into consideration.

The Palestinian dialect still lacks an independent homeland. It is a Levantine/Eastern Arabic spoken by approximately 12 million Palestinians living in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Israel, and al-ṣatāt/diaspora, including those in the Arab countries, Europe, the United States, Canada and Australia. Almost half of all Palestinians live in diaspora communities and their colloquial languages, like those of their brothers in historical Palestine, have been affected by the dialects and languages of their countries of residence. Speakers of the Palestinian dialect can easily communicate with people of Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Iraq, a number that amounts to more than 150 million. We might note in passing that the Palestinian Arabic used by 1.5 million Arabs in Israel, called *al-irbiyya* (or PASiI = Palestinian Arabic Spoken in Israel), has been under intense Hebraisation since 1948 and eventually will be among the endangered dialects. The Arabs of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip learned Hebrew mainly

while working in Israel or imprisonment there. Despite this fact, there is no mention of Hebrew influence on their dialects in this textbook even though the Hebrew word *maḥsom* ‘road-barrier’ and its broken plural *maḥasīm* are common in everyday Arabic.

It goes without saying that there is no one single dialect in Palestine, but rather several, such as urban with /s/, rural with /k/ and bedouin (nomadic) with /g/ instead of the literary /q/ (in ancient Arabic it was voiced), as in *il-uds*, *il-kuds*, *il-guds* ‘Jerusalem’. In rare cases /q/ changes in some Palestinian dialects, for example, in Galilee to /ġ/ in the verb *qdr* ‘to be able’ in perfect, imperfect, the imperative and the active participle, but not in the verbal noun, *ġider*, *biġdar*, *iġdar*, *ġa:dir* but *udra*. As a rule, *madni*/urban dialects (from Aleppo to Jaffa) have monophthongisation of *aw* and *ay*; no interdental fricative sounds /t̪/, /d̪/ and /ð̪/, as they merged into either a voiceless denti-alveolar plosive /t/ or a voiceless alveolar fricative /s/; a voiced denti-alveolar plosive /d/ or a voiced alveolar fricative /z/ or a voiced velarised denti-alveolar plosive /d̪/ or a voiced post-interdental fricative /z̪/. Examples are *matalan* > *ad̪m* > *aḏem* ‘bone’, *matalan/masalan* ‘for instance’; *ida* > *ida/iza* ‘if’; *ḡuhr* > *ḡuhr* ‘midday’ but *aḡīm* > *aẓīm* ‘great’. A well-known phenomenon in Palestinian urban Arabic is the / / to emphatic /z/ as in the following words: *ẓarf*, *ẓulm*, *ẓann* ‘envelope’, frequent shift of /ḡ/, /ḡb̪t̪/, its derivatives and particularly the forms *ẓābi(e)t̪* and *مضبوط* ‘justice, assume’; the root ‘officer, correct’ are well known to students of Arabic *مضبوط* and *مضبابط* *mazbūṭ* rather than dialectology. One possible explanation is /d̪/ > /ḡ/ > /z̪/. Usually, every urban dialect chooses either /t/ or /s/ instead of the *fuṣṣa* /t̪/, and the same can be said of /d/ and /z/ instead of the /ḡ/. In some words the *fuṣṣa* phonemes /ḡfuṣṣa /d̪/, as well as /z̪/ and /ḡ/ instead of the *fuṣṣa* / change to one allophone or another, and it is almost impossible to find rules in this respect. In my own dialect, Kufir Yasīf near Acre in Western Galilee, for example, we say *matalan/matlan* ‘for instance’, but *ḡadīs* ‘conversation, talk’; *danab* ‘tail, collaborator’, but *zanb* ‘fault’ from the literary Arabic *ḡanab* and *ḡanb*. In a few cases we come across two phonemes and not allophones such as *dō*, ‘taste, testing’ (*ḡirm* *ḡ ddō*, which means that testing the hardness of a boiled egg with the upper front teeth is forbidden (a game played by youngsters usually at Easter) and *zō*, ‘decency, savoir faire’; one can say *imfa:ase bala dō*, *min illet izzō*, meaning taking part in the game of breaking eggs without testing them is not decent.

This urban Palestinian dialect includes 25 consonantal phonemes and ten vocal phonemes, four short and six long (a, α, i/e, u/o and ā, α:, ī, ē, ō, ū ). This shows that the pairs /i/ and /e/ on the one hand and /u/ and /o/ on the other hand are allophones, whereas their long forms are phonemes. Examples are given in appendix no. 5 at the end of this review. Suffice it to mention here, however, the following: *inte/inti* ‘you sg.’, *ṣoft/ṣuft* ‘I/you ms. sg. saw’, *bīt !* ‘stay overnight’ and *bēt* ‘a house’, *ṣōm* ‘fasting’ and *ṣūm* ‘fast!, imperative sg. ms. Additional

examples are the *ağwaf*/hollow verbs (with regard to /a/ and /ɑ/, /i/ and /e/, see Seeger pp. 7, 26, 72).

Seeger lectured on this subject at Heidelberg University for four successive years, 2008-2012, before publishing his textbook in 2013. The work is divided into 30 lessons, each consisting of an average of 4.8 pages and intended to last 90 minutes, as is usual in academic lectures (compare such books as *Methode Gapsey-Otto-Sauer. Arabische Sprachlehre von Ernst Harder*, bearbeitet von Annenmarie Schimmel, korrigiert und neu bearbeitet von S. Fritz Forkel [Edition Julius Gross im Stauffenburg Verlag 2014]). The twenty-third lesson devoted to greetings, wishes and curses is the longest; usually this kind of content is placed at the beginning of linguistic textbooks. The contents of these lessons, namely theoretical instructions and a rather comprehensive grammar accompanied by examples of the Palestinian urban dialect, have been practised by students, twice a week for a span of 90 minutes each time, under the guidance of a native speaker of this dialect (neither the teacher's name nor the material used in training are indicated). Seeger's textbook is designed to provide German students, or more accurately put, all interested students who know German the necessary rules and descriptions to learn this dialect properly.

The paucity of exercises in this textbook is surprising (eleven short exercises appear on pp. 26-27 36-37, 87-88). A collection of short linguistic drills on phonetics, morphology and syntax and mainly on phonetics similar to the sample attached as an appendix at the end of this review would have been extremely useful for practice. Generally speaking, a student of any living language needs grammar books, dictionaries and texts. Texts are essential because they provide examples on which the grammar is based, along with vocabulary, usage and syntax. Correct and clear pronunciation is a necessary stage on the path to learning a living language such as Arabic, which is a phonetic language, yet includes the so-called guttural, inter-dental and emphatic sounds that can be challenging to foreigners. CDs or any other types of recordings are essential in mastering a foreign language or dialect. The nineteen various tables and lists of pronouns, prepositions, declinations, numerals and verbal conjugations on pp. 150-170 of the textbook are thus very useful.

It is an open secret that theoretical knowledge of any living language does not automatically enable a person to speak or write that language. As the prominent Arab sociologist Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406) noted in his *Muqaddima*, theoretical knowledge of Arabic grammar does not necessarily lead to writing good Arabic, any more than knowledge of all the rules of sewing or swimming makes for a good tailor or swimmer. We may add that this statement is valid for any living language and that numerous contemporary professors of the Arabic language and Islamic studies or of the Hebrew language in universities around the world are

almost illiterate when it comes to speaking and writing Arabic and Hebrew, despite the fact that they know the grammar and teach it to their students. In fact, the lion's share of teaching revolves around translation into the teachers' mother tongues. Surprisingly, this also holds true for scholars of modern Arabic dialectology. One wonders how a serious and independent study of Arabic dialectology can be conducted without a profound knowledge of literary Arabic and of the dialect under study. Imagine the quality of the production of a psychologist working today with children from the Gaza Strip who has not mastered Arabic. It is important to point out that in almost all research, scholars express gratitude to native speaker(s) for their assistance, while their contribution remains invisible and undefined.

This issue reminds me of the following slogan that I found on the internet. "Theory is when you understand everything but nothing works. Practice is when everything works, but you don't understand why. In this research station, we combine theory with practice: nothing works, and we don't understand why".

The textbook's thirty lessons are divided into phonetics and phonology (lessons 2-4, pp. 5-20; the first lesson is an introduction to Arabic, its dialects and the social divisions in Palestinian Arabic); morphology and syntax of nouns, verbs and particles (lessons 5-30, pp. 21-145). Unfortunately, syntax is treated like an orphan in this textbook (see lessons 24/71-72, 27/78-80). Some lessons are naturally longer than others (for example, Lesson no. 23, pp. 103-112). The select bibliography (p. x) lacks some significant sources, such as those written by the following authors: Nasser M. Isleem, 2010; A. Geva-Kleinberger, 2004; A. Havelova, 2000; Kimary N. Shahin, 1999, 2000, O. Othman, various editions, 2008, A. Levin, 1994; M. Piamenta, 1966; J. Rosenhouse, 2004. One may argue why the lessons are given in this particular order; for example, why is gender discussed in lessons 5 and 9? And why is the plural dealt with before the dual? In addition, some phonetic and phonological aspects, such as those addressed in 9/26, 28; 19, 20/57-60; 22/67, are not included in the section on phonetics. One expects to learn the morphology of the noun first and then that of the verb, strong and weak, in its ten patterns referred to in the west by the Roman numbers I-X, yet this system is not adapted in Seeger's textbook. The verbal pattern *fō.al* such as *bōrad* 'to cool off' is not mentioned in this textbook (see: Haseeb Shehadeh, *Bōrad and His Brothers in the Kufir-Yasif Dialect*. In: *Dialectologia Arabica. A Collection of Articles in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Heikki Palva. Studia Orientalia*, Edited by the Finnish Oriental Society, 75, Helsinki 1995, pp. 229—238). More attention and space are given to the verbal patterns than to the nominal forms, which are numerous and in many instances, more complicated. Consider, for example, the many forms of the broken plural, which in most cases must be memorised. In Lesson 24 the sixth verbal pattern *itfā.al* is discussed and surprisingly followed by the relative sentence with *illi* and question sentences. Needless to say, the natural place for such sentences is in the section on syntax. Notice that in some cases *illi* does not function as a relative particle, but means 'that, since' such as *imnīh illi .ultille* 'good that you told me'. This phenomenon is repeated in the following lesson where there is

a discussion of the Persian particle *bass* (only, enough/stop, when, but), on the seventh verbal pattern *infa.al* and on the diminutive, *taṣḡīr* (pp. 117-120). What characteristics do these three topics have in common? The same holds true for other lessons, such as no. 26. Lack of indexes or a glossary is clearly felt in trying to study specific grammatical items. One expects all particles to be dealt with together in alphabetical order.

Seeger presents the individual lessons in an intelligible manner, using short, clear and vivid examples, and renders them first word-by-word into German. His starting point is naturally the German language, his mother tongue as well as that of his students. There is no mention at all of any linguistic term in Arabic, but the lessons are numbered in transcribed Arabic. As is usual in such dialectal Arabic monographs, everything is presented in Latin transliteration, even the alphabet (p. 16). In my view it perhaps would have been more useful for the students to learn the Arabic linguistic terms rather than the Arabic ordinal numbers from 1 to 30.

Geographical locations are seldom mentioned; we find Galilee (p. 45), the Ramallah area (p. 51, 104), Hebron (p. 90, 91), Syria and Lebanon (pp. 91, 94, 110). In numerous other cases the author makes use of Palestinian (urban) Arabic, many cities say so and so, many natives say, several dialects use, Christian usage, the youth say, some speakers say, and once the dialect of the *falla:hīn* ‘peasants’ (pp. 57, 63, 72, 77, 79, 82, 91, 94, 96, 103, 105, 107, 111, 136, 140). It might be worth mentioning that neither the language of infants nor that of women is touched upon in this textbook (some examples of infant language may be found in Kufir Yasīf: *imbū, imbowwa, ʾa.ʾa, ʾā.a, ʾabbā, ʾaḥḥū, ʾammā, ba.ʾēni, baḥḥ, bobbo, tēta, tiš, ḥalō, da:di, šaṭṭa baṭṭa, dahḥ, diddē, sidō, ʾammō, ka., kiḥ, nanna, nahḥ, ninnē, nūnu, hus, wāwa*).

It goes without saying that some differences do exist between these Palestinian cities, as well as between neighbouring villages and even between quarters of the same town or village ([https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4y58Nf\\_Vsho](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4y58Nf_Vsho); <http://dquiz.net/quiz3723> (Palestinian words, test)), <http://www.dquiz.net/quiz3055> (Palestinian words, test). Some readers may recall, for example, that in Hebron, *intsu* is ‘you pl.’ as well as the long open syllables *šūū* ‘what’, *ha.ʾēt* ‘now’, and *taba.* ‘of’ used in a split state of construction. The Jerusalemite equivalents are *intu, šū, halla./hal.ēt* and *šēt* respectively (the last is not mentioned in this textbook).

On several occasions comparisons are given in Modern Standard Arabic (*MSA*) as if this were the origin of the dialects. At one point Seeger claims that in the field of verbal conjugations, Palestinian Arabic is closer to Aramaic than to *MSA* (p. 48). The order of “he, she, you (sg. ms.), you (sg. fem.), I, they (common), you (pl. common) and we” is followed by conjugations in this textbook, whereas another order – “I, you, you, he, she, we, you and they” is often implemented elsewhere. Seeger’s transcriptions as a rule are accurate, yet in

many cases a long vowel that becomes short when a syllable is added to the word remains long in this textbook (see p. 41). Examples are *Brāhīm* instead of *iBrahīm* (p. 20), *hādōl(a)* ‘these’ instead of *hadōl(a)* and other cases ( see pp. 27, 31, 32, 39, 42, 43, 44, 50, 60, 66, 77, 85, 98, 100, 105, 106, 113, 115, 119, 127, 130, 133, 151, 152).

A list of specific remarks, corrections, and comments is in order:

1) *a*, *ā* and *a*, *a:* in some cases can be phonemes as mentioned earlier (cf. Seeger, p. 7 and appendix no. 5).

2) Inaccuracy in translation: *bizz* is not only a female breast, but also for males (p. 9); *ḥa.* also means ‘right, rights’ (p. 12); *ẓarf* is also ‘a condition’ (p. 13); *alam* is also ‘a pen’ (p. 15); *issitt/issett* is also ‘the lady’ (p. 22); *ind* also means ‘to have’ (p. 30); the active participle does have an indefinite information of time that started at some earlier point and is still valid (p. 50); *biddo iyyāni* also means ‘he needs me’ (58); *atal/ya.tul* also means ‘to hit, strike’ (92); *ḡa:b*, *biḡīb*, ‘to bring’ remained without translation (p. 95); it is derived from the MSA *ḡa:bi* > *ḡa:b*, and in the feminine it means ‘to give birth’, as in *šū ḡa:bat immak šabi walla/willa binet?* ‘what did your mother deliver, a boy or a girl?’; *khabba:z* and *farrān* are not exactly the same as there are no real synonyms in languages (pp. 96-97); *ta.a:l šī yōm* means literally ‘come some day’ but in reality it means ‘never’. I still remember the response of an American lady who lived and worked in Nazareth and studied Jerusalemite Arabic with me at the Hebrew University in the 1970s. Her answer to my question “What is the meaning of *ba.dēn?*” was ‘never’, whereas its lexical meaning is ‘later, afterwards’ (p. 133); *ka:n sa:kin ḡambi/ḡanbi/ḥaddi* means ‘he was living/used to live beside me’ (143 and see before this *adabbro* and *zeigen*); *ma.lūbe* remained without translation (144); literally it means ‘upside-down’, it is a well-known dish of the Levant, which includes meat or chicken, rice and fried eggplant or cauliflower. When ready for serving, the dish is flipped upside down and hence its name.

3) The following consonantal shifts are not indicated in the textbook: *ʿ* > *n* as *a.ṭa* > *anṭa* (, originally in Daw.ʿan’s dialect in Yemen); *l* > *هذيل* ‘to give’ (this phenomenon is called *n* as *isma:īl* > *isma:īn* ‘Ishmael’, *burtuqa:l* > *burd.a:n* (it is pronounced in numerous ways in Syria) ‘orange’; *ʿ* > *ḡ* *amīq* > *ḡamī* ‘deep’; *ṣ* > *z* as *šaffaq* > *za.ʿaf* ‘to clap’; *q* > *ʿ* in the verb *mzq* ‘to tear’ in the first and second verbal patterns/*awza:n*, *mīn maza./mazza. išha:ttu?* ‘who tore/tore up his certificate?’ /*q/* > /*ḡ/* as indicated before. Yet it should be noted that there is *mzʿ* with the same meaning in MSA. Apparently, there is a difference between *amīq* and *ḡamī*; the first is ‘deep’ in an abstract sense, whereas the second is ‘deep’ physically; for



instance, *il-fikra amīqa* ‘the thought is deep’ and *il-bīr ġamī* ‘the well is deep’. Ġm in the second verbal pattern is used. In some cases /š/ changes to /s/ and /t/ to /t/ as in *šifer* > *sifer* ‘zero’, *šādiq* > *sa:di* ‘honest, right’ and all forms derived from the root *šdq* > *sd*; *ħarra:t* > *ħarrāt* ‘ploughman’, *ta:r* > *tār* ‘vengeance’ and the shift *sa:tar* > *za:tar* ‘thyme’ is known. It is well known that /q/ becomes /./ in urban dialects except in a few words and educated terms such as *il-Qāhira* ‘Cairo’ (perhaps to avoid any resemblance to *il-āhre* ‘adulteress’), *Dimašq* ‘Damascus’, *il-Qur.ān* ‘the Koran’, *qawmiyye* ‘nationalism’, *musīqa* ‘music’, *taqā.ud* ‘retirement’. The status of *hamza/hamze*, its disappearance and shifts to other sounds such as /h/, /w/, /y/, /ē/, /ū/, /ā/ need a separate chapter in phonology.

4) In the inventory of the Arabic alphabet one would expect to find the alphabet in Arabic script first followed by a transcription and then learn which consonants are lacking in spoken Arabic and which are added, such as /v/ and /g/ (p. 16 and cf. 11). It is a common mistake to begin with *alif*, *alifun* instead of *hamza*.

5) The widely used ‘*biddi/baddi*’ ‘I want’ etc. is not properly dealt with in this textbook. Here we confront a unique form, lexically a verb and morphologically sometimes a noun and sometimes a verb. Its origin consists of three components: *bi* + *wadd/widd/wudd* + possessive pronoun, *i*, *ak*, *ik* etc = *biwaddi/biwiddi/biwuddi* > *baddi/biddi* and not *buddi* ‘in my wish/desire’ or simply ‘I want’ and the bedouin says *wuddi* ‘I want’. This word behaves like a verb and a noun at the same time. The possessive pronoun is added to the stem *bidd/badd* as in nouns, but is followed by the negation suffix /š/ typical of verbs; for example, in the imperfect *biddīš*, *ma biddīš* = I do not want. On the other hand, in the past tense we have again only a noun form, as in *kunt/ka:n biddi* or *ma kuntīš/kaniš biddi* etc. = I wanted, I did not want. The meaning of *biddi* can also be ‘must’, as in *ħalaš inte biddak tiġi bukra .al.aša* ‘it is fixed, decided, you have to come tomorrow for dinner’. In this case it is used almost exactly like *la:zi(e)m tiġi* ‘you sg. ms. and fem. must come’ (I did not come across this very common word in the textbook). Another meaning is ‘about to’ as in *imbayyin (innu) bi(a)ddi arašših/amrad* ‘it seems, I am about to get the flu / to become ill’. The imperfect form of the literary equivalent *arād* (*rwd*, IV), namely *bitrīd/bitrīdi/bitrīdu* etc. meaning ‘would you like’ is used in certain formal or unfriendly situations. The perfect form *arād* becomes colloquial, as is usual with hollow verbs (*.a:m*, *yi.īm* = to remove, take away), *rād* and is used almost exclusively in the phrase *.in alla rād* ‘if God wishes’ similar to the well-known wish *.in šālla*. The verbal noun of the IVth pattern *irāde* ‘will, desire’ is common in Palestinian Arabic. The fourth verbal pattern *af.al* is very rare in Arabic dialects, and the passive of the first verbal form does not exist in Palestinian Arabic. One exception may be the verb *ħile* ‘he was born’ in my dialect, *ħuliqa* > *ħile*. (pp. 17, 94-96).

6) It is true that forms with final clusters like *bint/kalb* ‘a girl/ a dog’ are also used like *binet/kaleb* mainly in pauses, but also in a construction such as *bint mīn inte* in which the meaning would be ‘whose daughter are you’? In such cases we are talking about ‘a daughter’ and not ‘a girl’. In expressing anger and rage it is usual for native speakers to use the short form *kalb* rather than with the auxiliary vowel, *ha:da kaleb? ya zalame ha:da kalb ibin kalb* ‘is this a dog? oh man, this is a dog, son of a dog’ (p. 20).

7) In many Palestinian dialects *ǧīm* is the only consonant that can be both a sun letter and a moon letter, *ēmta/wēnta l-ǧā:m.α/ǧǧā:m.α bitkūn maftūḥa* ‘when will the university be open?’. In Acre /ǧ/ > /d/ or /z/, for example, *ǧuzda:n > duzda:n* ‘a purse’; *ǧazara > zazara* ‘a carrot’ (p. 22).

8) It seems that the only difference in usage between *ēš* (attested since the ninth century) and *šū*, which means ‘what’ is that *šū* can also be used as an exclamation *šū ma .aṭyab hal.akle!* as in, ‘Wow, what a delicious dish!’. A well-known example is the opening phrase from Fariouz’s song *ša:yifə lbaḥir šū kbīr* ‘do you see how much the sea is big’ (p. 28).

9) The preposition *fī* means ‘in’ and ‘multiplication’, *khamse fī khamse yisa:wi kamse w.išrīn/ u.išrīn* ‘5x5=25’. When it is a long *fī*, the meaning is ‘there is’, and it is negated as *fīš* or as *ma fī* or *ma fīš*, whereas the negation of *fī* is *miš fī* ‘not in/at’. Prepositions are negated as nouns by *miš* but with regard to *ma* ‘with’ there are three possibilities: *ma.īš/ ma ma.i/ ma ma.īš hawiyye* ‘I do not have an identity card, no identity card is with me’. Needless to say, the list of prepositions on pp. 30-31 as well as similar lists cannot be complete in such textbooks, while in dictionaries they appear in various places according to their alphabetical order. Such particles are highly important in Arabic because they function as the glue between nouns and verbs. Almost all of these prepositions are declined as nouns. The meaning of some verbs changes because of the governing preposition. A famous example is the verb *ḥaka* ‘to talk, speak’, *ḥaka ma.o* or *ḥaka:* ‘he talked to him’, *ḥaka .anno* ‘he spoke/talked about him’; *ḥaka fīha* ‘he asked for her hand’; *ḥaka .alē* ‘he said bad things about him’.

10) It is true that dictionaries ought to be consulted to determine the broken plural of many nouns, as most of the time the plural is *sama:īyy* ‘traditional’. Yet some rules can be helpful, such as: *fa:īl* pl. *fu.α:l*: *ka:tib, kutta:b* ‘writer’; *fa.īl* pl. *fu.ala:* *za.īm, zu.ama* ‘leader’;

*maf:al pl. mafā: il: maktab, maka:tib* ‘office’. As a rule, two different forms of plural have two different meanings, such as *bēt*, which means ‘a house’ and ‘a line of poetry’. However, the plural *byūt* carries the first meaning, whereas *ibya:t or abyā:t* gives the second meaning; *katbīn* ‘those who write’ but *kutta:b* ‘writers’.

11) It is surprising to read that *širbit* is more frequent than *širbat* ‘she drank’ (p. 36). Is this true in Hebron, Jerusalem, Ramallah and Nablus? What is the basis for such a generalisation?

I am not aware of any data that would support this statement.

12) Arabic in general, both written and spoken and especially the latter, does not condone a series of prefixed and postfixed nouns in annexations (إضافة إليه، مُضَافٌ مُضَافٌ). Sentences such as *fēn/wēn mufta:h ikhza:nit ođet ḥamma:m bint abu Khalīl* ‘Where is the key to the bathroom closet of *abu Khalīl*’s daughter’ do not exist in normal speech; at least, I personally did not come across such sentences. Instead, spoken Arabic uses split states of construct such as *likta:b limğallad taba: /šēt/inta: /imta: Sa:mi miš aṭṭāwle* ‘Sami’s bound book is not on the table’. The same thing can be expressed by *kta:bo la-Sa:mi limğallad* (it is clear that the adjective refers to ‘*kta:b*’). In order to avoid ambiguity the split state of construct is chosen; for example, *ilmufta:h liğdīd/iğğdīd tba:/inta: /šēt ilbēt* ‘the new key to the house’. If the adjective follows the state of construct - *mufta:h ilbēt liğdīd* - then we do not know whether the key or the house is new. Yet, thanks to the *i.rāb*/final ending in MSA, such ambiguity is resolved. The suffix of a sound masculine plural, unlike MSA, in spoken Arabic remains *im: allmīn irriyađiyyāt miđirbīn ilyōm ubukra* ‘The teachers of mathematics are striking today and tomorrow’. Notice that words such as *ilbašalāt, ilbamyāt, ittumya:t, ilḥaṭabāt, il.amḥa:t, ilbaṭiḥāt*, mean the amount of ‘anion, okra, garlic, firewood, wheat, watermelon’ needed by a family, for instance, for a year.

The suffixes *-t, -it* and *-at* of a singular feminine noun in a state of construct need further discussion with examples (p. 39). Some examples are *mart akhūy* ‘my brother’s wife; *šağret/šağrat/šağaret* (*sīn* can be used instead of *šīn*) *lōz* ‘an almond tree’; *sayyāret/sayyārt izzalame* ‘the man’s car’; in a slow speech the first version is used, whereas in a quick one the second form is used.

13) As a rule, the suffixes of the feminine singular are *-e, -a, -āy, -iyyi*; for example, *kilme, ġa:m-a, aba:y, rub:iyye, šibriyye, falaṣṭiniyye* ‘a word/a speech, a university, a cloak, a vessel that holds one-fourth of a litre, a sheath knife, a Palestinian female’ respectively. It appears that only the last suffix *-iyye* functions regularly as the feminine singular and the common plural, so *falaṣṭiniyye* also means Palestinians. Other examples are the *nisba* of countries such as Argentina, China, France, Iran, Pakistan, Lebanon, Syria, but not Russia,

Saudi Arabia, India or Germany. A student has to learn by heart which countries behave this way and which ones behave the other way. This plural suffix is also used with regard to foreign words, such as *šuffariyye* ‘drivers’ and professions with a Turkish suffix, like *ṭayarğiyye* ‘pilots’. There are some masculine names ending in *-e*, *-a*, *-āy* such as *wiğē*, *ni.me*, *zalame*, *hawa*, *makwa*, *abadāy* ‘a face, a boy’s name and a girl’s name meaning grace; a man; air; iron; brave’ respectively. There are feminine nouns without any suffixes, such as *nār* ‘fire’, but *bīr* ‘a well’ is unknown to me. On the other hand, there are masculine proper names with feminine suffixes, like *Hamze*, *Ḥammūde*, *Ni.me*, and *Yiḥya*. Some proper names are used for both masculine and feminine genders, such as *Bader*, *Sala:m*, *Suhēr*, *Malak*, *Nağa:h*, *Nūr*. On the basis of my dialect at least, the following rule can be formulated. The suffix *-a/a* occurs when the preceding consonant is either guttural - ʔ, *h*, *ḥ*, *ḫ*, *ḡ* - or emphatic - *ḍ*, *z*, *ṣ*, *ṭ* - or *-ār*, *-ōr*, *-ūr*. Examples include *da.ī.a*, *nabīha*, *mnīha*, *wiṣha*, *iwsī.a*, *ṣabga* ‘a minute/accurate, agile, dirty, wide, dye’; *bēda*, *būza*, *urṣa*, *basīta* ‘an egg/white, ice-cream, a small Arabic loaf of bread/pita, simple/never mind; *jāra*, *jōra*, *ṭannūra* ‘a female neighbour, a hole/a pit, a skirt’. Yet the form *ḥāṭṭe* ‘he who fem. is putting’ is used too. Parts of the body that are in pairs seem to be mostly masculine in colloquial. It also appears that in rare cases the feminine suffixes *-e* and *-a* can be phonemes and not only allophones, such as *basme* ‘a smile’ and *Basma* ‘a female’s name’ with the same meaning (pp. 23-24, 40). A known gender phenomenon is that some words are feminine in one dialect and masculine in another, such as *kursi* and *radyo/u* ‘a chair and a radio’ which are masculine in Jerusalem, but feminine in Kufir Yasīf in Western Galilee.

14) It seems to me that *itğawwaz marrtēn maratēn* ‘he married two women twice’ is not in normal use. It can be used for fun as I did in the Easter eggs game. The ordinary expression is to say *itğawwaz niswa:n tintēn marrtēn*. One more example of dual form that means plural or collective noun is *iršēn* ‘a substantial amount of money’ - *šammad iršēnə nḍāf tayibni halbēt* ‘he saved a good sum of money in order to build this house’. The well-known word in dual *ṣaḥtēn* (literally: two healths) means ‘thank you’ as an answer to *da:yme/.amār* (the former is used in Jerusalem and the latter in Galilee), which a guest says to the host, and is used in the colloquial speech of the 1948 Arabs to mean ‘bon appétit’ as a calque from the Hebrew *bete.avōn* which is a calque from English and French. This wish *ṣaḥtēn* is common today with the meaning ‘may you/he/she etc. enjoy it’. An example: A) *I.rift inno gārak abu Anwar ribiḥ fi l-yānaṣīb?* ‘Did you know that your neighbour Abu Anwar won the lotto? B) *Ṣaḥtēn* ‘may he enjoy it’. In some cases *ğōz* ‘pair’ is used instead of the dual, as in *ğōz kalsa:t/fanēlla:t* ‘a pair of stockings/undershirts’. On the other hand, *itnēn* ‘two’ and not the feminine form *tintēn* precedes some foreign names, either in the singular or the plural in order to express dual, such as *itnēn kilo/brofesoriyye/yūru* ‘two kilos, kilometres or kilograms/two professors/two euros’ (p. 42, 109).

15) Among the adjective forms *fa.la:n* such as *na.sa:n* ‘drowsy, sleepy’ there are a few words derived from intransitive verbs, and they express not a static state but rather a change in the last time period until the present moment. Examples are *da.fān*, *kabrān*, *ṭawlān*, *aṣrān*, *ḥalya:n* ‘he now looks thinner/bigger/taller/shorter/more handsome than before’ (p. 50).

16) The chapter on negation is very important in learning colloquial Arabic. The negative particles are *muš/miš* (< *ma: huš*); *ma: fī/ (ma) fiš*; imperfect + *š*, *ma* + imperfect, *ma* + imperfect + *š*; *ma: + perfect + š*; simple prefix +-*š* or *ma* + simple prefix or *ma* + simple prefix + *š*; *bala:š*; *la: ... wala*; *ma.īš*, *ma.indīš*, *ma.alēš*, *ma ili/ma ilīš >maīš*, *fiyyoš*, *ma .omrīš* (no use of *laisa*, *lam*, *lan*, *lamma*; about -*š* see Ibrahim Anis, *On Arabic Dialects*. Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian Library, 3d edition, 1965 [in Arabic], p. 231) .

*Muš/miš* negates all parts of speech except verbs: *ana miš Mūsa* ‘I am not Moses’; *ha:da miš kwayyes/mnīḥ* ‘this is not good’; *hī miš hoon* ‘she is not here’; *iddaftar miš ma:i* ‘the notebook is not with me’, *miš a- ṭṭaawle* ‘it is not on the table’, *miš ā ula* ‘not yes and no’, *ḡa:y hōn miš tayit.allam arabi* ‘he did not come here to learn Arabic’. Notice that the negation of *fī* ‘there is/are’ is either *ma:fī* or *fiš* or *mafiš*. *Miš* plus a verb in the perfect or the imperfect serves as an interrogative: *miš .ultillak inno fī šita* ‘did not I tell you that it rains’; *hā mišə trūḥ laḥa:lak*, *baddi a:ḡi ma.a(:)k* ‘look, do not do it and go alone; I want to come with you’ (do not let it happen and you go...).

*Ma:fī*, *fiš* or *ma fiš* corresponds to *la: yūḡad/tūḡad* in MSA and negates the existence of something, such as *ma: fī/ fiš /ma fiš .ada:le* ‘there is no justice’. *Biddīš*, *ma:biddi*, *ma biddīš* mean with slight differences ‘I do not want’. The second possibility is formal/more polite and sounds softer than the other two, especially the last one, which is decisive. Both phrases *ma: šuft iši* and *ma šuftiš iši* mean ‘I did not see anything’, but the first is more polite. The negation of the imperative mood can be done in three ways: *itruḥiš/itruḥš laḥa:lak*; *ma: trūḥ laḥa:lak*; *ma truḥiš/truḥš laḥa:lak* ‘do not go alone’. The second manner of expression is polite and the third is decisive.

The particle *bala:š* < *bala ši* < *bala iši* ‘no need’ e.g. *bala:šə t.ullu inno kunt hōn* ‘no need/do not tell him that I was here’. *Ibala:š* means ‘gratis, at no cost’ and as the saying goes, *fiš iši bbala:š illa l.ama wiṭṭrāš* ‘nothing is gratis except blindness and deafness’. *La: ... wala* can appear in such structures: *La: ana wala hū* ‘neither I nor he’; *la: bi.ra wala biktib* ‘he neither reads nor writes’; *la: ruḥna wala šufna* ‘we neither went nor saw’.

) mean ‘I do not have with me’, ‘I do not have عليه شيء *Ma.īš*, *ma.indīš*, *ma.ilīš* and *ma.alēš* (< possess’, ‘I do not have, it does not belong to me’ and ‘never mind’. Note the frozen usage *wala aḡa* ‘he did not come/call’, which Is said about someone who was supposed to show up and everyone waited for him, but in the end he did not come.

Finally, *kulliṣ* is apparently a unique word in my dialect, and it means ‘the last spot’, as *hunak fi zza:we kulliṣ* ‘there in the corner at the remotest spot’. This word was common in my late mother’s speech, but essentially unknown to the young generation today (p. 61-63).

17) /U/ or /W/ ‘and’. In several textbooks including this one only /W/ appears, perhaps ) despite the fact that there is *واو العطف* because it corresponds to the literary equivalent *wa-* (rule for choosing one of these according to the context. /U/ is used when it is followed by a consonant: *ḥwe uḥalīb* ‘coffee and milk’, *kta:b udaftar* ‘a book and a notebook’, *aḡat ura:ḥat* ‘she came and went’, *mīn umīn* ‘who and who’, *ēmta/wēnta ukīf* ‘when and how’. On the other hand, /W/ is used when it is followed by a vowel, for instance, *ana winti* ‘I and you sg.’, *intu wiḥna* ‘you pl. and we’, *tuffa:h wiḡāṣ* ‘apples and pears’, *iššar wilḡarb* ‘the east and the west’. Avoiding the occurrence of a consonantal cluster is the main issue here. Accordingly, native speakers may also say in rapid speech *ḥwe wḥalīb* (= *ḥwew ḥalīb*) by connecting the end of the first word with the beginning of the second word. Thus, it is also possible to hear *iššar u:ilḡarb* in slow speech (p. 64, 110).

18) Some verbs in the second verbal pattern *fa:al* can be intransitive, such as *barrad iṭṭa:ṣ* ‘it became cool’, *liḥtyār garrab* ‘the old man caught flu’; *affanu hal:inba:t* ‘these grapes became rotten’; *ḥaššabθ llōz* ‘the almonds became hard as wood’; *hū ba:ad uhī arrabat* ‘he went far away and she came close’. Students have to learn which verbs are transitive, which are intransitive, and which are both like *barrad* ‘to become cold/cool, to make something cool/cold’ (pp. 80-81).

19) *Fa:il* or *if:il* is one of the common adjective patterns in Arabic, and both forms are in use in Palestinian Arabic (on the seven functions of this pattern, see <http://www.iasj.net/iasj?func=fulltext&aId=32765>), although it is still unclear when one form is used and when the other should be made use of : *ikbīr, izḡir, inḡif, iḥmīl, ismīk, iwsī, irḥīṣ, iḡdīd, ib:īd, iktīr, imnīḥ* ‘big, small, clean, thick, thick, wide, cheap, new, far away, much, good’, in contrast to *fa:īr, adīm, arīb, azīz, ḥazīn, habīl, ḥakīm, ḡarīb, zarīf, ḥaṭīr, basīṭ* ‘poor, ancient, close/near by, dear, mournful/sad, idiotic, wise, strange, cute, dangerous, simple/naïve’. In light of the 180 examples that I collected, it is clear that the common pattern is *fa:il* with 140 examples, then *if:il* with 32 examples and finally 8 examples in both patterns. It seems that adjectives with guttural or emphatic sounds follow the pattern *fa:il*. In some cases one can hear both forms as *rafī. / irfī.* ‘thin’ and *ṭawīl / iṭawīl* ‘long, tall’. Examples of *fa:il* or *if:il* for nouns: *ḥarīr, arīs, ḥaṭīb, amīr, ḥadīd, ḥarī, ḥadīs, aṣīr* ‘silk, groom, orator/fiancé, prince, iron, fire, discourse, juice’ on the one hand, and *iḥīn, iš:īr, išrīṭ, išḥīr, isrīr, išrīk, izbīb, irḡīf*, ‘flour, barley, tape, snoring, bed, partner, raisin, loaf’ on the other hand. Needless to say, dialects also differ in this respect. For instance, in my dialect we

say Kha:lidə Shrīf, but we use Sharīf ‘noble’ as an adjective. Moreover, a unique example comes to mind: *ṣahīḥ* ‘correct, right’, but *ṣhīḥ* means ‘straight, complete’ such as *hu. .od i. waḡ wiḥki ṣhīḥ* ‘sit crooked but speak straight away’; *ʔa.ṭā/ʔanṭā lōḥ šoklāṭa ṣhīḥ* ‘he gave him a complete bar of chocolate’. The word *Rafīq* as a male proper name means ‘a companion’; otherwise, it means ‘a comrade, a Communist party member’, whereas *irfī.* means ‘a mate’ as in *mīn rfi.ak fi l-ōḍa?* ‘who is your room-mate?’. A similar example concerns the word *Ġamīle*. As a proper female name, it means ‘beautiful’, but as a noun it is pronounced *ḡmīle* and means ‘favour’. So one can say *Ġamīle biddhāš/baddhāš/baddāš haḡḡmīle* ‘Ġamīle does not want/like/need this favour’. (p. 90).

20) The pattern *fa. .a:l/fa. .āl* as a rule expresses professions, but also has other meanings that ought not to be included in this framework, such as *raffāš*, *barrād*, *ḥamma:m*, *kazza:b*, *ḥallāt*, *sayyāra*, *ṭayyāra*, *Baššār*, *Hassān* ‘spiral spring, refrigerator (in Gaza, a kind of iced popular drink), bathroom, liar, mixer, auto, airplane, he who gives good news, he who makes things better’. The same holds true for some words ending with the suffix —*ḡi*, which indicate firm feature rather than a profession such as *qawmaḡi* ‘one who is fond of nationalism’, *niswanḡi* ‘one who is fond of women/runs after women’; *balṭaḡi* ‘gangster, parasite’ (<http://www.odabasham.net/show.php?sid=49736>). Finally, in my dialect *amma:l* is not ‘a worker’, but usually ‘an ox used for ploughing’; otherwise it is named *baṭṭāl* ‘idle’. The use of *baṭṭāl* is almost always restricted to the phrase *miš baṭṭāl* ‘not bad/ pas mal’. Besides, this word *amma:l* with or without declension and its short versions *am/amma* are used to express a continuous tense, as in *ana amma:l/amma:lī/ amm aktib inglīzi* ‘I am writing English’ (pp. 96-98).

I enjoyed reading this textbook, and it was a pleasant and useful practice for my German.

## Appendix

A) Learn to pronounce correctly the following group of words and their meanings (this sample is taken from my unpublished work: *Texts in Palestinian Arabic prose and poetry* . *The village of Kufir Yasīf and other locations*).

1) ʔabla, ʔabla; ʔadd, ʔadd; ʔaddu, ʔaddu; afar, ʔafar; alam, ʔalam; ʔām, ʔām; amma, ʔamma; amal, ʔamal; ʔaraṭ, ʔaraṭ; ʔāsi, ʔāsi; aṣīr, ʔaṣīr; aṣṣ, ʔaṣṣ; ʔayyad, ʔayyad; ʔīd, ʔīd; ʔili, ʔili;

bi·inn, bi·inn; na·af, na·af; naffa·, naffa·; ša·, ša·; ṭaba·, ṭaba·; wa·ad, wa·ad; zara·, zara·;  
za·za·, za·za·.

2) aḥḥ, aḥḥ; baḥḥ, baḥḥ; biḥriḡ, biḥriḡ; farraḥ, farraḥ; ḥaḍḍar, ḥaḍḍar; ḥaddi, ḥaddi; ḥāfi, ḥāfi; ḥala·, ḥala·; ḥāl, ḥāl, ḥall, ḥall; ḥalaf, ḥalaf; ḥammar, ḥammar; ḥara·, ḥara·; ḥarraf, ḥarraf; ḥašš, ḥašš; ḥaṭṭ, ḥaṭṭ; ḥaṭab, ḥaṭab; ḥazza·, ḥazza·; ḥēl, ḥēl; ḥēt, ḥēt; iḥtall, iḥtall;  
laḥme, laḥme; nāḥ, nāḥ; sāyih, sāyih; šaḥḥar, šaḥḥar; šalaḥ, šalaḥ; taḥṭ, taḥṭ.

3) ād, ḡād; addā, ḡaddā; āli, ḡāli; alla·, ḡalla·; ammu, ḡammu; ār, ḡār; araḍ, ḡaraḍ; ašš, ḡašš; āz, ḡāz; aza, ḡaza; azz, ḡazz; īre, ḡīre; arrab, ḡarrab; asal, ḡasal; aṭa, ḡaṭā; ēb, ḡēb; īre·, ḡire·; ba·at, baḡat; ba·il, baḡil; ba·at, baḡat; bi·ill, biḡill; bila, biḡla; ēn, ḡēn; da·se, daḡše; iz·ar, izḡar; ma·aṭ, maḡaṭ; na·am, naḡam; rā·i, rāḡi; sime·, simeḡ; ša·al, šaḡgal.

4) abaṭ, habaṭ, ḥabaṭ; abbe, abbe, habbe; ḥabbe, ḥabbe; abla, abla, habla; addi, addi, ḡaddi, haddi, ḥaddi, ḥaddi; afar, afar, ḡafar, ḥafar; āl, āl, ḥāl, ḥāl, ḥāl; ala·, ala·, ḡala·, ḥala·, ḥala·; alla, alla, ḡalla, ḥalla, ḥalla; ām, ām, ḥām, ḥām; āmil, hāmīl, ḥāmīl, ḥāmīl; anna, ḡanna, hanna, ḥanna; arra·, arra·, ḡarra·, ḥarra·, ḥarra·; arrab, arrab, ḡarrab, harrab, ḥarrab; araṭ, araṭ, ḥaraṭ, ḥaraṭ; ašš, ḡašš, ḥašš; ḥašš, ḥašš; aṭab, aṭab, ḥaṭab, ḥaṭab; aza, aza, ḡaza, ḥaza; azza·, ḥazza·, ḥazza·; ba·ar, bahhar, baḥḥar, baḥḥar; ḡaff, haff, ḥaff, ḥaff; ḡaṭṭ, ḥaṭṭ, ḥaṭṭ; ḥēl, ḥēl, ḥēl; ili, ili, ḡili, ḥili; inba·at, inbaḡat, inbahat; m·alliḡ, mḥalliḡ; na·il, na·il, naḡil, naḥil, naḥil; sā·, sāḡ, saḥ, sāḥ; si·ir, sihir, siḥir, siḥir; šal·a, šalḥa, šalḥa; taṭbī·, taṭbī·; ṭābe, ṭābi·, ṭābi·; urr; hurr, ḥurr; wi·i, wi·iḥ, wisi·, wisiḥ.

5) Short/long front *a/ā* in emphatic environment and short/long back *a/a*: can be phonemes in some words (cf. Seeger, p. 7).

bāba, ba:ba; ḡāri, ḡa:ri; baḥri, baḥri, balla, balla, barri, barri; bāri, ba:ri; barad, barad, dāri, da:ri; ham, ham; hawa, hawa; raḡa, raḡa (a male name and a female name derived from the same stem rḡw).

6) attar, aṭṭar; ba·at, ba·aṭ; ba:t, bāt; ḥatta, ḥaṭṭa; inti, inṭi; latt, laṭṭ; nata·, naṭa·; rattab, raṭṭab; ta:b, ṭāb; taba·, ṭaba·; ta:bi·, ṭābi·; tabbal, ṭabbal; taḥḥ, ṭaḥḥ; talle, ṭalle; tamman, ṭamman; tī·a, ṭī·a; tīn, ṭīn; tūb, ṭūb; tumm, ṭumm.



7) ʿaġa·a, ʿaza·a; ʿaġġal, ʿazzal; ʿaġame, azame; biġūl, bizūl; faġġ, fazz; ġa·ġa·, za·za·; ġabar, zabar; ġahḥat, zahḥat; ġanbi, zanbi; ġār, zār; ġarab, zarab; ġara·, zara·; ġarġūra, zarzūra; ġēne, zēne; ġifer, zifer; ġift, zift; ḥaġġar, ḥazzar; iġ·ar, iz·ar; maġġe, mazze; wiġġu, wizzu.

8) ʿadd, ʿadd; ʿaddalat, ʿaddalat; adīb, adīb; ba·d, ba·d; dabb, ḍabb; dallu, ḍallu; dawa, ḍawa; dile·, ḍile·; fa·di, fādi, ġadd, ġadd; ḥadd, ḥadd; ḥa·mid, ḥāmīd; itwadda, itwadḍa;

9) ba·z, bāz; būza, būza; fazza·, fazzā·; ḥazz, ḥazz; za·hir, zāhir; zulum, ḡulum, ḥāfiz, ḥāfiz.

10) bisinn, bišinn; bōs, bōš; ḥabas, ḥabaš; ḥass, ḥašš; kassar, kaššar; nisa, niša; sa·a·, ša·a·; sabb, šabb; saff, šaff; saġara, šaġara; sāmi, šāmi; sara·, šara·; sāyib, šāyib; sarāb, šarāb.

11) asad, ašad; ʿa·si, ʿāsi; ba·s, bās; bass, bašš; bisīh, bišīh; ḥasad, ḥašad; labbas, labbaš; liss, lišš; sa·da, šāda; sa·hib, šāhib; sa·m, šām; sēf, šēf; sīd, šīd; sōda, šōda; sūs, šūs.

12) ʿala dal·ōna w·ala dal·ōna ġīna nit·allam ʿarabi hōna; ʿalam, ʿalam, ʿallam, ʿālam, ʿallim, ʿālim, ʿilim, ḥilim; āsa, ašša, ʿaša, ʿašša, ʿašša, ʿazza, ʿaza, aza; bissu, bizzu, bsās, bzāz, ġāġ; barad, bard, bardān, barīd, barḍu, barrad, barrād, barūde, bōrad, burdāy; faġġ, fašš, fašš, fazz; farġa, faršā, farġāha, faršāha, farrazha; ġamma, ġamma·, ġama·, ġam·a, ġamā·a, ġāmi·, ġām·a, ġam·iyye; haġar, ḥaġar, ġaġar, haġġar, ḥaġġar, ʿazzar, ḥazzar; ḥuṭṭi l-ġarra ya Zuhēr ḥaddi zzīr; ḥeṭ ḥarīr ʿala ḥeṭ ḥalīl; kull šī, kōl šī, kulliš; la·a, lā·a, la·, la·a; mara, marra, marrat, marrāt; sa·al, saḥal, sa·al, saḥil, sahil, za·al, šaġġal; si·ir, sihir, siḥir, zigir; sirr, zirr; tabba·, ṭabba, ṭabba·, ṭabba·, ṭābe, ṭābi·, ṭābi·; wi·iḥ, wisi·, wsī·, wisiḥ; zaki, zākī; zrār ġarzet Raġa Hġāzi mfakfake.

B) Short texts.

## 1) II-Manne wizzu·āl

Hāde lu·be kānu yil·abūha wlād Kufir Yasīf, ya·ni l-kafāse bass il-yōm baṭṭal ḥada yil·abha. Izzu·āl ʿibāra ʿan ʿašāy aw adīb ṭūlu abu nušš miter. Wi-l-manne ṭulha ḥawālī ʿiṣrīn šānte. Bibḥašu liwlād ġōra zġire ʿašakil

muštafl bisammūha māḡ. Il-mz̄būt hāde l-kalimāt baṭṭal il-ḡil iḡḡdīd yi-rifa. Illi bil-abu bikūnu firi-tēn, fir-a ma-āha zzu-āl wi-l-manne ḡasab il-ur-a, wittānyīn biwa-fu b-īd an-Ṭ l-māḡ. Il-manne btinḡaṭṭ fi l-māḡ uwāḡad min-Ṭ lla-ṭbe buš-ulha bizzu-āl šwayy lafō. uboḡboḡḡa add ma biḡdar. Ilfarī, ittāni biḡarrib yiṭūza, ya-ni yuz-uḡḡa fi idē, iza ṭāza wāḡad ma-nātu hāda l-fari. biḡlib ubibda hū yuḡrub i-lmanne. Bass iza ilmanne ma ḡadāš ṭāza il-arṭb alēha biṭūlha, bimsikha bifḡaḡ akammin faḡḡe ubindīha, ya-ni biḡāwil yi-ayyin uyirmīha addēš biḡdar arṭb min-Ṭ l-māḡ, ya-ni yindi. Lamma tkūn ilmasāfe bēn ilmanne wil-ilmāḡ ha-ṡar min ṭul izzu-āl biḡsar illi ḡarab ilmanne ubiṭla. min-Ṭ l-lu-ib ubiḡi wāḡad badālu min farī-u uhēk.

## 2) Ṭuzz

Kunt asma. min ḡayāt sīdi Hrēz, aLLa yirḡamu, uṡaṡ kṭire an il-ḡayā fi hadāḡ l-wa-it, ya-ni abil abu mīt sine. Il-mazbūt, sīdi ma kaniš min-Ṭ nnō. illi biḡibb yiḡall yiḡki fāḡi malān. Baṡ wa-t-Ṭ l-ḡāḡe, lamma kān ḡada yis-alu iši kān yi-ūl illi andu. Ba-idni bazkur mnīḡ uṡṡa an 'ṭḤz' bitturki, ya-ni miliḡ bil-arabi. Ayyām il-atrāk kānu limwāzafīn yiḡu a l-qura yiḡbu ḡarāyib min-Ṭ ṡukkān. Kānu yiḡu fi ṡṡēf tay-addru, yḡammnu l-maḡṡul and kull mallāk. Ufi Kufir Yasīf kānu mallāke ufallaḡīn ṡurbe. Ahl-Ṭ l-balad marra a marra ṡarat ti-rif wēnta biṡarrfu halimwāzafīn. Kull ēle ila maḡṡul min arḡayāta ṡu ṡarat tsawwi? ṡarat kull ēle ṡoṡṡ miliḡ a wiḡi adul liḡbūb, ya-ni, min amiḡ, ṡ-ir, kursanne, adas, simsim, il-mawḡūd. Baṡ kānu l-atrāk yiḡu yifḡaṡu l-ḡille, kānu ylā-u bass miliḡ, yifitlu min maḡzan lamaḡzan walla min oḡa laoḡa uṡu kān yiṭla. min tummin: ṡuzz, ṡuzz, ṡuzz, uhēk izzāḡir bidyat innās tista-mil halkilme uma-nāha mitil ma bti-irfu iši tāni, mitil kiḡḡ alē, miš mihtamm, umitil ma bi-ūl il-matal: tīti tīti mitil ma ruḡti ḡiti!

## 3) Kufir Yasīf

Kufir Yasīf qarye arabiiye adīme kṭir fi l-ḡalīl il-ḡarbi. Halqarye b-īde an Akka abu/ḡawāli ṡna-ṡar kīlometer laḡihate ṡṡamāl iṡṡar-i. Hiyye b-īde an il-baḡir, il-baḡir il-abyaḡ il-mutawaṡṡiṡ anḡa taman kīlometrāt hawā-i. Adad iṡukkān fīha ilyōm, 2015, abu aṡar talāf nasame. Aktariyyit issukān masiḡiyye uba-dēn biḡu il-misilmīn uha-al iṡi ddrūz. Abil miyye war-īn sine, ya-ni sint alf utaman miyye wḡamase wsab-īn kān adad ahl-Ṭ l-balad sitt mīt nafar, ḡamis miyye masiḡiyye urtodoks wil-bā-i islām sunniyyīn. Fi hādi l-qarye fī maḡallāt-Ṭ m-addase lahāde ṡṡawāyif ittalāte ulalyahūd barḡu. Akammin ēle min il-yahūd kānat sākne fi Kufir Yasīf, fi l-ḡāra l-ibliyye. Biḡhar, wil-ilm and aLLa, innu āḡir yahūdī sakan fi l-balad kān abil miyye witnēn usab-īn sine. Fīha talat kanāyis, waḡde lalrūm-il-urtodoks isma knīset ḡawāryus, hāde ha-dam iṡi li-annu kull il-arab ilmasiḡiyye kānu rūm urtodoks, baṡ hāde liknīse azḡar waḡde li-anna nbanat abil abu tlat miyye usab-īn sine. Masāḡita hiyye wil-arḡ illi ḡawalēha anḡa dulum u-aṡān hēk banu min iddet snīn knīse ḡdīde wikbīre fi l-ḡalle. Ufī waḡde, ya-ni knīse lalkatulīk tammarat sint 1934, banāha il-mz̄būt wāḡad ḡarīb, miš min ahl-Ṭ l-balad, min Akka ismu, winti ssādi, Ibrahim Illaḡām, baṡ ittāyfe inwaḡdat sint 1925, ayyām il-muṡrān ḡaḡḡar illi kān fi Hēfa, bisammu hāde l-knīse, knīset limḡalliṡ, āyme ala ḡawāli nuṡṡ dulum. Ufī waḡde lalbrutistant inbanat sint 1897

hiyye udār ištāt, ufi ḡām·ēn, wāḥad a·isim illi banā Slimān Innimir, inbana sint 1968 wittāni naḥīt il-bēdar ismu ḡāmi· innaṣr banū sint 1963, uladrūz fī mazār, il-ḥaḍir ismu, ḥadd il-bayādir, ṣarru miyye witaltān sine ta·rīban. Fī l-balad arba· turab laḥattawayif ḥadōl. Ma·barit il-yahūd, ḥadd iššāri· il-ḡarbi kānat layahūd il-balad uyahūd a·Akka, hiyye akbar ma·bara, bīḡi a·ṣarḌ dlūme. UlaḥaddḌ l-yōm fī fī laḡit Kufir Yasīf ba·ḍ ilisti·malāt illi bitwarrīna kif kānu yahūd a·Akka yīḡu a· l-balad tayidifnu ilmiyytīn. Ilkufirsāwi lamma baddu yi·ūl a·an wāḥad lēš bibayyniṣ illa alīl alīl bista·mil “šū kinnu miyyet yahūdī?” Lēš, li·annu mitel ma libkār bissinn kānu yiḡarrfu kull midde kānu yišūfu ḥaraket nās fī ma·barit il-yahūd. Ma·barit il-masiḥiyye azḡar waḥde, ibliyye l-balad.

Ufi l-qarye fī kamān maḡlis maḡalli mkawwan il-yōm min tisi· a·ḍā·. Hāda l-maḡlis ha·dam maḡlis maḡalli a·arabi fī li-blād, it·aṣas ayyām Falaṣṡīn, sint 1925. Awwal ra·īs laḥalmaḡlis kān il-marḥūm Yūsif Slimān Būliṣ, abū Ziki, illi kān mhāḡir fī Amērka urīḡe· sint 1923. Lalmara fī Kufir Yasīf kān fī ḥa· ittaṣwīt min sintḌ l·alf utisi·miyye uarba·a uḡamsīn. Miš bass hēk, marra kānat mara, issit Violēt Khūri, ra·īsit il-maḡlis. Barḍu fī kamān aktar min madrase ibtida·iyye kbīre il-yōm. Awwal madrase ibtida·iyye infatḥat fī l-balad kānat sint 1927. Abil hattarīḡḌ bsittīn sine ta·rīban ubizzabṡ sint 1870 kān fī madrase rusiyye fī l-balad, sammūha il-madrase l-maskubiyye uktārḌ t·allmu fīha rūsi kamān. Amma il-madrase ttanawiyye fakānat fī l-balad min sint 1950 u·alāf minḌ il-ḥirriḡīn min kull qura l-mantī·a, umiš bass min ahlḌ l-balad ṡarraḡu minna. Fī Kufir Yasīf a·la nisbit mit·allmīn bēn il-·arab fī liblād ubēn innisab il·ālī fī l-·ālam. Ayyām linglīz, ya·ni il-intidāb libriṡāni, kānu ysammu l-balad a·ṣme. Šabakāt ittalafōn wilmayy wilkahraba wiṣlat la-Kufir Yasīf fī awwal iṣittināt. Bustān, ya·ni rawḍit atfāl infatḥat sint 1979. Awwal daktōra, daktōrit ṡibb kānat ya·sīdna l-·azīz Salwa l-Khūri il-·Uta·i, sint 1936 uhiyye kānat awwal daktōra a·arabiyye bkull Falaṣṡīn. Umadām sīrit awwal wāḥad u·awwal waḥde infatḥat ta·a·ṡiku, tasammīlku akammin isim illi ḡīl il-yōm miš sāmi· fīhin šēle bēle. Fa ya·sīdna l-·azīz, awwal mudīrit madrase, ṡab·an ibtida·iyye, kānat Fadwa Bassīṡ il-Khūri. Awwal nārs ya·ni mumarriḍa binnaḥawi, kānat issit Aḡiyya bint Mḡāyil abu·A·il. Awwal ḥūri fī halbalad kān il-ḥūri a·AbdaLLa, abūna a·AbdaLLa hū il-ḡidd il-awwal lakull rabi·, ya·ni āl Khūri. Awwal imām uma·zūn kān Salīm il-Ḥaḡḡ, abu Dīb, a·amma binnisbe lalibrotistant fakān il-assīs Ğiryēs Atīm, kull il-ḡīl il-adīm bi·irfū blib·u, il-ḥūri šalah, lēš, li·annu kān rūm urtodoks uṣār brotistant, ya·ni šalah ittōb. Kān wāḥad ismu Ibraḥīm ṡaha, awwal ḥadda fī l-balad, il-yōm in·aṡ·at il-ḥaddāy a·inna! Awwal išsuffariyye kānu Salīm Ğiryēs wilyās Farah, Šafī, Farah, abu Šḡāde, ḡāb awwal sayyārit taksi a· l-balad, taksi stidbēkar sint 1927. Abu Šḡāde, kān ḍarīr, amma šū ha·ūl ta·ullak, kān falte, mikanīki fiš aḡū, kān bass yimōṡe ḥadd maṡōr iṣayyāra wyisma· ḥadīra u·al ḥa·rik yi·rif wēn, šū ilḥarāb. Kull il-mantī·a kānt ti·irfu, yahūd u·arab, ukānatḌ ṡallīḡ uṡombilāta a·indu fī dāru ḡambḌ knīsīt il-katulīk. Hū, abu Šḡāde wiḡiwtu ḡābu awwal bās a· l-balad sint 1932. Awwal talḡe kānat fī l-balad sint 1950 u·al ḥaki wiṣel ittalḡ bīḡi a·ṣrīn sāntī. UlaḥaddḌ l-yōm iḡtyariyyit il-balad, ayy hū ba·id fī ḡtyariyye ya·ḥasirti, illi hū, ḥadōle ba·din betōrḡu ubi·ūlu flān ḡīli· sintḌ ttalḡe, a·allān ṡḡawwaz sintḌ ttalḡe uhēk ya·ni. U·a sīrit liḡtyariyye wittalīḡ, biḡkūlak ktīr a·an Safar Barlik wilḡarād sint 1914 u 1915. Sint 1927 buzukrūha ktār min ibbayātna, kānat sint ḡēr ubarake a·add ma nizel šita, miṣyat il-widyān, ibti·rif ḥāde wādi l-ḡazzāze ṣaḡir kānat tiṣḡar, amantu billāh. Ufi l-balad kān fī il-·ēn, ḥāy intu btuzukrūha, miš min zamān, abu arb·īn ḡamsīn sine. Kānu yishābu l-mayy bḡannāne, ya·ni dulāb minḌ l-ḡaṣab ikbīr ufiyyu akammin ṣaṡil ukān yiḡarrik iddulāb baḡil uwāḥad kān yiṣṡḡil hunāk, yiḡmil iṣṡaṡil uydīru fī l-ḡawūz. Ubīḡkūlak, kān fī a·ala· fī l-mayy, miš nḍife, kānat innās a·yṣe a· l-barake, kānu yḡoṡṡo samak il-ḡankalīz a·aṣān yōkol il-·ala·. Fī ḥadīḡ l-ayyām, aLLa ysahhil a·alēha, kānat il-·āde innu l-·arūs ba·id ma tkūn ḍaḡlat iṣṡaLa btiḡmil ilḡarra ubitrūḡ a· l-·ēnḌ tmalli mayy umaḡḡa/uma·ha ṣabriyye fīha mlabass uka·ik a·aṣān t·addim lalsa·a hunāk ukān ḥaṣṡi/halṡi a·alāme innu l-·arūs ḡalaṣ riḡ·at a·a ṣṡoḡol. Uḡadd il-·ēn kān fī ranāt ta tiṣrab iṡṡarṣ minna.

Min sint 1948 ulaḥadd sint 1965 ulkafārese, mitlin mitil a·arab kull liblād, kānu a·yṣīn taḡt il-ḡukm il-·askari.

Il-yōm fī i·yāde ṡibbiyye (kubbāt ḡolīm), ma·āṣir lazzatūn a· l-kahraba, nādi lalhistidrūt, unādi lal-ḡizbi ṣṡuyū·i, qā·it sinima, dakakīn ktīre, marṣūme raṣim. Nisbe kbīre minḌ ṣukkān btiṣṡḡil a·ummāl umwāzaṡīn fī l·mantī·a. Isim zḡīr ba·du biṣṡḡil fī lizirā·a ubifalliḡ. Fī aṣya ktīre ba·da miš mawḡūde fī l-balad mitil: maktabe a·amme,

ġanāyin ʿāmmē, madrase layliyye lalīkbār, birkite sbāḥa, asāmi laššawāri. Illi bit-allamu fi lġami.āt mitil ẖēfa  
wil-Uts ktār ktīr. Ufī iši ma-rūf umašhūr ʿan Kufir Yasīf uhū innu bitšaqđdir im-allmīn uḥuṣūṣan im-allmāt! Min  
zamān kān fī fallāḥīn udarrasīn uṭaḥḥanīn ufarranīn uṭarrāše uma.āze uġammāle u.atalīn uatarīz umbayyđīn  
unawaṭīr umkḥađđrīn umaḥatīr umnaġġđīn wilḥabil ʿa l-ġarrār.

Hāda ya.ni biḥṭīṣār!.