The Arabic Dialect of Baqa al-Gharbiyya
Aspects of Phonology and Morphology

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Abstract

This paper is a study in Arabic dialectology. It describes the structure of the Palestinian Arabic spoken today by the residents of Baqa al-Gharbiyya and analyzes the charecteristics of this dialect's phonology and morphology.

For the purpose of the study we recorded a native Arab Muslim informant, a fifty-one year old woman, whose speech reflects the local dialect. In addition, we recorded another Muslim informant, a forty-nine year old woman, who lives in Baqa al-Gharbiyya but who was born in Acre. The two women were recorded in order to compare their speech.

The purpose of this paper is thus to examine a dialect that has not beed studied so far and to describe its features and any unique characteristics it may possess.

1. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Palestinian Arabic

The Arabic language today consists of two varieties, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and colloquial dialects. An important feature of Arab culture is thus that Arab societies exist in a state of diglossia.

MSA is the language of culture and written communication of all speakers of Arabic everywhere, whether Muslim, Christian or Druze. It is also used in speech, as the language of news broadcasts on radio and television. It plays a very important role in the life of all Muslims, since it preserves the language of the Quran and serves as the language of prayer.

Palestinian Arabic is the spoken language of Arabic-speakers everywhere, whatever their education or social class.

Palestinian Arabic and MSA differ in a number of fundamental aspects. One essential difference between the two is that MSA is more-or-less uniform throughout the Arabic-speaking world while the colloquial language is split into numerous dialects that serve as mother tongues to some 180 million people in parts of Asia and Africa.

2. The distribution of Arabic dialects

Modern Arabic dialects can be divided according to two different criteria: geography and social class. Geographically the dialects belong two one of two large groups, Eastern and Western dialects.[1] Each group is further divided into countries, which in turn are further divided into regional and local dialects. As Abu-Bakr has pointed out, however, no absolutely uniform classification of modern Arabic dialects is possible, since the boundaries between them are often fuzzy.[2]

The following are the main dialect groups in Israel and Palestine:

No.	Region	Distinctive dialectal features
1.	Urban dialects in and near the Coastal Plain, in cities such as Haifa, Jaffa, Acre and Jerusalem	• *q* is pronounced *ʾ* • *g* is pronounced *ǯ*
2.	Rural dialects of central Israel and Palestine	• *q* is pronounced *k* • *k* is pronounced *č*
3.	Dialects of the Bedouin in southern Israel	• *q* is pronounced *g*
4.	Dialects of Galilee	• *t* is pronounced *t*

Introduction

The linguistic description presented in this study is divided into two main parts, phonology and morphology. Each one of these parts is divided into chapters that contain numerous examples elicited from the informants.

[1] The main distinguishing feature between the two dialect groups is usually taken to be the forms of the first person singular and plural in the future tense. In the Eastern dialects such verbs have forms of the type *aktib* ("I will write") and *niktib* ("we will write"), while the corresponding verbs in the Western dialects have forms of the type *niktib* ("I will write") and *niktibu* ("we will write); Levin 2005, p. 249.

[2] Abu-Bakr 2004, p. 112.

In the first part of the article we present the phonetic transcription that will be used throughout the study. This is followed by a description of the sound system (consonants and vowels) in the two dialects, with examples and a discussion of the sounds as they appear and are used in the dialects, in comparison with the pronunciation tradition of MSA.

The second part will deal with the structure of nouns and the verbal system.

The concluding chapter provides a comparative summary of the findings, and a general overview of the dialect of Baqa al-Gharbiyya.

It must be emphasized that this study does not constitute a comprehensive phonological and morphological description, due to limitations of space.

Furthermore, all the examples mentioned in the study are taken only from the selected corpus; aspects of the language for which no specific examples were found in the corpus are not dealt with.

The phonetic transcription

A. The consonants

The following table lists the consonants in the dialect of Baqa[3] as reflected in the recordings the speech of the native of the city:

No.	Hebrew letter	Arabic letter	Phonetic transcription	Description/phonetic characterization
1	א	ء	ʾ	Voiceless glottal stop
2	ב	ب	*b*	Voiced bilabial stop

[3] Baqa-Jatt is a city in the northern part of the region, in the district of Haifa, consisting of the town of Baqa al-Gharbiyya and the Jatt local council, which were made into a single administrative unit in 2003. According to the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics Baqa-Jatt had a population of 31,000 in 2005. The population is Muslim. The proportion of women to men is 948 women per 1000 men.

In 2004 the Central Bureau of Statistics classified the city as of low socio-economic status (3 on a scale of 1 to 10). In the 2003/2004 school year 51.7 of high school seniors obtained a diploma. In 2003 the average salary of wage earners was NIS 3798 (the national average was NIS 6008).

3	ת	ت	*t*	Voiceless alveolar stop
4	ת׳	ث	*t̲*	Voiceless dental fricative
5	ג׳	ج	*ǯ*	Voiced alato-alveolar fricative
6	ח	ح	*ḥ*	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
7	ח׳	خ	*x*	Voiceless velar fricative
8	ד	د	*d*	Voiced alveolar stop
9	ד׳	ذ	*d̲*	Voiced interdental fricative
10	ר	ر	*r*	Voiced alveolar trill
11	ז	ز	*z*	Voiced alveolar sibilant
12	ס	س	*s*	Voiceless alveolar sibilant
13	ש	ش	*š*	Voiceless palato-aleveolar fricative
14	צ	ص	*ṣ*	Voiceless emphatic alveolar fricative
15	צ׳	ض	*ḍ*	Voiced emphatic dental fricative
16	ט	ط	*ṭ*	Voiceless emphatic alveolar stop
17	ט׳	ظ	*ž*	Voiced emphatic dental stop
18	ע	ع	*ʿ*	Voiced pharyngeal fricative
19	ע׳	غ	*ġ*	Voiced velar fricative
20	פ	ف	*f*	Voiceless labio-dental fricative
21	ק	ق	*q*	Voiceless uvular stop
22	כ	ك	*k*	Voiceless velar stop
23	ל	ل	*l*	Voliced alveolar lateral
24	מ	م	*m*	Voiced bilabial nasal
25	נ	ن	*n*	Voiced alveolar nasal
26	ה	ه	*h*	Voiceless glottal fricative
27	ו	و	*w*	Voiced proximal velar bilabial
28	י	ي	*y*	Voiced proximal palatal
29	-	ڤ	*v*	Voiced labio-dental fricative
30	צ׳	ك	*č*	Like English *ch*
31	-	ج	*ž*	Voiced palatal alveolar affricate

As the above table shows, the dialect spoken by the informants contains three consonanst that do not exist in the pronunciation tradition of MSA:

A. The consonant *v*, used by the informant in a word borrowed from Hebrew

B. The consonant *č* (as in English *ch* in *child*); in the dialect of Baqa this is the pronunciation of the consonant that is pronounced *k* in MSA.

C. The consonant *ž*, which does not exist in MSA or in the Baqa dialect, but does appear in the speech of the informant who speaks the dialect of Acre.

B. The vowels

In the dialect of Baqa there are five short and five long vowels:

Short vowels	**Phonetic features**	**Long vowels**	**Phonetic features**
a	Low, between front and back, unrounded	*ā*	Low, between front and back, unrounded
i	High, front, unrounded	*ī*	High, front, unrounded
u	Almost high, back, rounded	*ū*	High, back, rounded
e	Short, half high, front, unrounded	*ē*	Front, half high or half low, unrounded
o	Short, half high, back, rounded	*ō*	Back, half high or half low, rounded

C. Other signs used in the study

The following conventional signs were used in the transcription of the passages:

The sign	**Its meaning**
< >	Words added in translation to make the sentences in English more intelligible
…	Pause in speech
( )	In the translation this means repetition of a word or a phrase; in the discussion it is used for giving the meaning of a word or phrase
[…]	Omission
-	1. A helping vowel between two words, after the first word. 2. After a preposition that is written in Arabic together with the following word.

1. Phonology

1.1 The consonants

Most of the consonants of MSA are pronounced in the same way in the colloquial dialect of Baqa. The consonants that have the identical pronunciation in both are represented in the Arabic alphabet by the following letters:

أ، ب، ت، ث، ج، ح، خ، د، ذ، ر، ز، س، ش، ص، ض، ط، ظ، ع، غ، ف، ق، ك، ل، م، ن، هـ، و، ي.

The following remarks about the pronunciation of the consonants are in order:

1.1.1 Shift of the inter-dental consonants in the Acre *versus* the Baqa dialect

Many scholars have noted that the inter-dental consonants have been preserved in rural and nomadic dialects, while they have disappeared in the dialects of the cities.[4]

As expected, these consonants exist in the Baqa dialect while they have completely disappeared in that of Acre, as follows:

A) Interdental fricative *t̲*:

This consonant has been preserved in the Baqa dialect and has disappeared from the Acre dialect. Examples:

1. In the Baqa dialect it is pronounced *t̲* as in ancient Arabic: (I:1) [*mi**t̲**el*] (like), (I:2) [*ač**t̲**ar*] (more), (25:I) [*t̲qīl*] (literally: heavy; in this context: difficult).

2. In the Acre dialect it is pronounced as the alveoloar stop *t*: (II:3,17) [*aktar*] (more), (II:7) [*ktīr*] (much).

B) Interdental fricative *d̲*:

1. In the Baqa dialect this consonant is pronounced *d̲*, as in MSA: (I:13) [*ba**d̲**-**d̲**ačar*] (I remember), (I:39) [*i**d̲**a*] (if).

2. MSA *d̲* in the Acre dialect becomes an alveolar stop *d*: (II:7) [*hāda*] (this), (II:7) [*axad*] (he took), (II:13) [*hadēki*] (that one f.).

3. Occasionally the consonant becomes an emphatic dental fricative *ẓ*; this shift is typical of the Baqa dialect: (I:18,41) [*hāẓa*] (this).

[4] See Blanc 1953, p. 58; Fisher 2001, p. 43.

C. Interdental emphatic fricative ˈ:

1. In the dialect of Baqa this consonant is pronounced as in MSA: (I:39) [*ˈāyel*] (remains), (I:18) [*menlā•e ˈ*] (notice), (I:20) [*mnu• ˈor*] (onlookers).

2. The consonant has in general disappeared in the Acre dialect; occasionally it appears as the emphatic alveoloar stop *ḍ* as in: (II:8) *ḍallēt*] (I remained).

1.1.2 Shift of the labio-dental consonants

A) The labio-dental fricative *v*:

This consonant does not exist in MSA. In the Baqa dialect it appears in a number of loanwords from Hebrew:[5] (II:15) [*mi•ašvīm*] (computers).

B) The labio-dental fricative *f*:

1. This consonant is usually pronounced as in ancient Arabic, in the dialects of both Baqa and Acre: (I:9) [*šaršaf*] (bed-sheet), (I:21) (II:3,18) [*fī*] (in, inside), (II:3) [*fare'*] (difference), (II:4,10) [*flā•a*] (agriculture), (II:8) [*faṭra*_] (time period).

2. Occasionally it turns into the labial stop *b*:[6] (I:21) [*bišš*] (there is no).

1.1.3 Shift of the alveolar consonants

A) The nasal alveolar *n*:

This consonant turns into the labial nasal *m* under the influence of a following labial stop *b*,[7]in a process of partial regressive assimilation.[8]

[5] From my acquaintance with the dialect of Baqa this consonant is used in foreign loanwords (which have also entered Hebrew from other languages), for example *vizalīn* (Vaseline), *vēlla* (villa), *vīros* [virus), *vitamīn* (vitamin), as well as words borrowed from Hebrew, such as *mivtsā*‘ (sale), *vilōn* (shade), *avīv* (spring). The sound also appears in the pronunciation of borrowed personal names, for example *mirvat*, *nivīn*.

[6] In the dialect of Baqa usually *f* is pronounced as *b*, as in *bīha* (with her) (specifically in the expression *šu bīha* (what's with her), *bišši*, *mabišši* (there is no). These forms appear to be derived from MSA *bi* rather than *fi*.

[7] *Contra* Fisher, who maintains that the two nasal sounds, the bilabial *m* and the dental *n*, have been preserved without change in all neo-Arabic dialects; see Fisher 2001, p. 44.

In our corpus I found one example of this, in the speech of the first informant (Baqa dialect): (I:4) [*u-žambha*] (and next to her).

B) The alveolar trill *r*:

(II:1) [*ṣalle*] (I've been…; in the present context: I already …),[9] (I:18) (*ṣallu*] (he came to have).[10]

C. The emphatic alveolar fricative *ʔ*:

1. In most cases this consonant is pronounced as it was in ancient Arabic: (I:10) [*xallaṣ*] (he finished), (I:12) [*qiṣṣaṣ*] (stories), (I:13) [*qiṣṣeṭ*] (story).

2. In the recorded text there is one word in which this sound has turned into the emphatic alveolar fricative *ẓ*: (II:14) [*iẓ-ẓġār*] (the little kids).

D. The alveolar stop *ḍ*:

1. This consonant usually turns into the emphatic dental fricative *ʔ* in the Baqa dialect: (I:17) [*ʾurritha*] (a second wife), (I:33) [*ġrā ʾha*] (her belongings).

2. In the Acre dialect it is pronounced as in ancient Arabic: (II:6), [*ar ḍ u*] (his land), (II:8) [*rā ḍ ye*] (agree f.sg.).

D. The alveolar stop *t*:

1. In the Baqa dialect this consonant sometimes assimilates in voice to a following *d* in the same word. In our corpus the following example has been found: (I:13) [*batdačča*r] > [*bad-dačar*] (I remember). Here a voiceless sound became voiced under the influence of a following voiced consonant.

2. Occasionally it assimilates to a following palato-alveolar fricative *ž*, to which it assimilates in voicedness: (I:13) [*itžawwazat*] > [*iž-žaw-wazat*] (she married).

1.1.4 Shift of the palato-alveolar consonants:

The palato-alveolar fricative *ž*:

[8] Such assimilation is particularly common in derived forms of the word *žanb* (next to): *žanbu* > *žambu*> *žanbahu*. In the dialect of Baqa this kind of assimilation is rare. One other word reflects the same process, *danb* (crime, fault): *danbu* > *dambu*> *danbahu*.

[9] *salle* >*sarle*.

[10] *sallu* > *sarlu*.

1. In the Baqa dialect this consonant is pronounced as it was in ancient Arabic: (I:6) [*žismu*] (his body), (I:13) [*iž-žawwaza*t][11] (she married).

2. In the Acre dialect it is pronounced as an alveolar affricate *ż*: (II:4) [*l-żīl*] (age), (II:11,13) [*žōzha*] (her husband).

1.1.5 Shift of the velar consonants

The velar stop *k*:

1. In the Baqa dialect this is usually pronounced like English *ch* as in *child*: (I:2) [*ačtar*] (more), (I:12) [*axarfeč*] (I'll tell you), (I:13) [*bad-dačar*] (I remember).

2. In the Acre dialect this consonant is usually pronounced as in ancient Arabic: (II:1) [*sākne*] (she resides in), (II:3) [*kbīr*] (big), (II:3) [*aktar*] (more).

1.1.6 Shift of the uvular consonants:

The uvular stop *q*:

1. In the Baqa dialect this consonant is usually pronounced as *k*:[12] (I:1,7) [***kabel***] (before, in the past), (I:8) [*brīk*] (water jar), (I:8) [*wakti*] (when).

2. In other words it is pronounced as in MSA: (I:12) [*qiṣaṣ*] (stories), (I:13,21) [*qā'a*] (hall), (I:25) [*nqūṭ*] (gift).

3. In the Acre dialect it is usually pronounced as a glottal stop *'*: (II:3) [*fare'*] (difference), (II:12) [*bi'ullha*] (he says to her), (II:14).

4. In Baqa it is occasionally pronounced as the velar fricative *ġ*: (I:23) [*yiġḍar*][13] (he can).

To my knowledge this happens only in words from the root *qdr*; I found no words from any other roots in which the uvular stop *q* was replaced by the velar fricative*ġ*.

[11] The MSA verb *tazawwaža* underwent a metathesis in both Baqa and Acre dialects, to *tžawwaz*; the same happened to other words derived from the same root, such as : *zawži* > : [*žōzi*] (my husband), *zīža* > [*žīze*] (marriage).

[12] This is a characteristic of the Baqa dialect, which the Acre dialect does not share.

[13] Note that in this word, in addition to the *q* became *ġ*, another shift took place, namely *d* turned into *ḍ*.

5. In rare cases this consonant turns into the pharyngeal fricative ʿ: (I:27) [] (he tears). This happens in other words from the root *mzq*, such as *mazaʿ*, *mazzaʿ*, *im-mazzaʿ*, *mamzūʿ*.

1.1.7 Shift of the pharyngeal consonants:

The pharyngeal fricative ʿ:

In the Baqa dialect this sound rarely turns into *n*:[14] (I:39) [*anṭāni*] (literarlly: gave to me; here: did me a favor).

1.1.8 Shift of the glottal consonants:

A) The glottal stop ʾ:

The pronunciation of the glottal stop (*hamza* in Arabic) has been problematic throughout the history of the Arabic language, from pre-Islamic times already, through the Middle Ages and into modern times.[15]

Our recorded texts show the following developments in the pronunciation of the glottal stop:

- *Disappearance of the glottal stop*:

The glottal stop which existed in ancient Arabic, and is still pronounced in MSA, has disappeared in most cases in the Baqa dialect, as follows:

1) Disappearance of the glottal stop at the beginning of the word:

A. In most cases a word-initial glottal stop *disappears in the Baqa dialect, but its vowel is retained*: (I:2) [*ačtar*] (more), (I:7,12) [*ahel*] (people), (I:12) [*axarfeč*] (I'll tell you); (II:7) [*atʿawwad*] (became accustomed to), (I:29) [*ayyāmna*] (our days), (I:29) [*abu*] (his father).

B. However, in not a few cases a word-initial glottal stop disappears *together with its vowel*: (I:8) [*brīk*] (water jar), (I:30) [*wlādna*] (our children).

2) Dropping of the glottal stop in the middle of the word:

A. A word-medial glottal stop that is not followed by a vowel disappears, *and the preceding vowel is lengthened*: (I:24) [*bōkel*] (he eats).[16]

[14] This usually happens in words derived from the root *yʿṭ*, for example *aʿṭā* > *anṭā*.

[15] Zuabi 2005, p. 18.

[16] The form *bōkel* may be derived as follows: *ya'kol* > *yākol* > *yōkel* > *bōkel*.

B. Occasionally a word-medial glottal stop drops *but the following vowel is preserved*: (I:13) [*mara*] (woman).

C. In some cases a word-medial glottal stop disappears *together with the following vowel*: (II:13) [*marti flān*] (somebody's wife).

3) Dropping of the glottal stop at the end of the word:

A. A glottal stop that is the last consonant in a word and is followed by a vowel in MSA *disappears together with its vowel*: (I:33) [*tibda*] (begins): *tabda' > tibda*.

B. The glottal stop in the ending *-ā' disappears and the preceding vowel is shortened*: (I:24) [*aša*] (dinner): *ašā' > aša*, (I:27) [*ažat*] (she came): *žā'at > ažat*.[17]

C. The glottal stop in the ending *-ā' disappears and the preceding vowel remains unchanged* (i.e., remains long). In the corpus examined here only one example of this rare occurrence has been found: (I:39) [*inšālla*] (God willing).[18]

D. The word *mā'* in the informant's language has become *mayy* (I:8), in which the glottal stop has disappeared and the preceding *y* became geminated.

E. From the recordings we learn that the word *šay'* (thing) has been transformed into [*iši*] (I:18).

- *Transformation of the glottal stop*:

In the Baqa dialect the glottal stop is often transformed into another sound.

A. Glottal stop becomes *w*: (I:37) [*ywaddi*] (literally: bring something to…; here: send): *y'addi > ywaddi*, (I:16) [*wēn*][19] (where): *'ayna > wēn*.

B. Glottal stop becomes *y* in word-medial position: (II:3) [*'āyšīn*] (living): *ā'šīn > āyšīn*.

- *Glottal stop is realized as such in speech*:

[17] In the word *žā* the glottal stop fell at some stage, creating an intermediate form consisting of a vowel and a long vowel: *žā' > žā*. Subsequently the vowel was apparently shortened and the word became *ža*, and then a vowel was added before the consonant, giving rise to the form *ža*, that exists today in Baqa, Acre and many other dialects.

[18] This is an abbreviated form of the phrase *'in šā'a llah*.

[19] In this word a process of monophthongization took place; see above, p.14

In some cases the original glottal stop is retained in speech. In most such cases the glottal stop is in word-initial position, preceded by the definite article or a preposition: (I:15) [*la-'innu*] (because), (II:7) [*l-'iši*] (the thing), (I:19) [*ka-'innu*] (as if).

B. Shift of the glottal fricative *h*:

1. Usually this consonant is pronounced as it was in ancient Arabic (in both dialects): (I:2) [*hēbe*] (honor), (I:8,12) [*ahel*] (literally: parents; here: people), (I:15) [*mahirha*] (her dowry money), (I:22) [*u-ashal*] (and easier); (II:1,3,4,7) [*hōn*] (here), (II:7) [*hāda*] (this).

2. The glottal fricative may be dropped when is serves as a suffixed object or possessive pronoun between two vowels: (I:6) [*žismu*] < *žismu**h**u* (his body), (I:11) [*šuġlu*] < *šuġlu**h**u* (literally: his work; here: his task).

1.1.9 Shift of proximal lateral consonants:

A) The proximal lateral *l*:

1. This consonant may assimilate to a following *t* in the same word. This feature of the Baqa dialect was found in one example in the corpus: (I:40) [*kuttilu*] < *u-qultu lahu* (I said to him).

1.1.10 The emphatic consonants:

A) The proliferation of the emphatics

In the dialects of Baqa and Acre there are Arabic words pronounced with an emphatic consonant[20] that was not emphatic in ancient Arabic,[21] either as a result of assimilation to another emphatic consonant, or due to a neighboring *r*, as follows:

1. In some words the consonant *s* assimilates to other emphatics in the word and becomes the emphatic *ṣ*: ((II:16) [*mabṣuṭīn*] (happy m.pl.), (I:16) [*maṣṭūra*] (modest f.sg.).[22]

[20] An emphatic consonant has a thicker and more stressed articulation than its non-emphatic counterpart; see Hakim 1976, p. 15.

[21] The emphatics are unique to Arabic, with very few parallels in other languages.

[22] In this example two consonants undergo emphatic assimilation: *t* > *ṭ* + *s* > *ṣ*.

2. Some consonants become emphatic due to proximity to *r*: (I:3,7,33) [*il-ʿarūṣ*] (the bride), (I:39) [*rāṣi*] (my head), (I:29) [*bfaṭret*][23] (in the period of).

3. It number words the *t* becomes emphatic ṭ: (I:13) [*arbaʿṭāšar*] (fourteen).[24]

4. In the word *dār* the *d* is often pronounced as emphatic *ḍ*: (I:3,17,21) [*iḍ-ḍār*] (the house).

5. Rarely a non-emphatic consonant becomes emphatic under the influence of a non-original emphatic. In our corpus we found one example of this: (I:17,40) [*hāʾa*] (this).[25]

6. In most words an emphatic consonant *ḍ* is the realization of the letter represented by the letter ض in MSA. In the recordings, however, there is one example of it realization as an emphatic alveolar sound (*z* مفخمة): (I:24) [*maẓbūṭ*] (correct).

B) Loss of emphaticness:

In both Baqa and Acre dialects there are some examples of historically emphatic consonants[26] that became non-emphatic:

1. *ṣ* became *s* in entire II-form conjugation of the root *sdq*: *ṣaddaq* > *saddaq*: (II:3) [*bitsadʾy*] (you believe).

2. *ṣ* became *z* in words such as *sġīr* > *zġīr*: (II:14) [*iẓẓġār*] (the little kids).[27]

1.2 The vowels

In both the Baqa and the Acre dialect there are five short and five long vowels.

1.2.1 The short vowels – general remarks:[28]

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[23] In this form the consonant *t* turned into *ṭ*.

[24] The consonant *t* became emphatic *ṭ* in the other numbers between 13 and 19 as well.

[25] In this example *h* became emphatic under the effect of an originally non-emphatic *ḏ*. In ancient Arabic this was a non-emphatic *ḏ* which at some stage became *d* in the Acre dialect.

[26] A historically emphatic consonant is one that was emphatic in ancient Arabic, such as *ʾ*, *ḍ* and *ṭ*; see Levin 1994, p. 23.

[27] Ancient *s* in this form lost its emphaticness and became voiced *z*.

[28] In both dialects there are the following five short vowels:

1. *a*: (I:1) [*kabel*] (before), (I:10) [*damm*] (blood), (I:23) [*bass*] (but);

2. *i*: (I:12) [*qiṣaṣ*] (stories), (I:23) [*yiġdar*] (he can), (I:24) [*bišš*] (there is no);

3. *u*: (I:5) [*baku*] (were), (I:5) [*ṣ•ābu*] (his friends), (I:24) [*innu*] (that he);

1. The short vowels *u*, *i* and *a* exist in MSA as well, where they are marked in writing by the signs *fat•a*, *kasra* and *ḍamma*, repectively.

2. The short vowels *e* and *o* did not exist in ancient Arabic, the predecessor language of MSA. Therefore these two vowels have no sign in the Arabic writing system.[29]

3. The vowels *o* and *u* are allophones of the object and possessive third person singular and second person plural pronouns. It is not clear if the appearance of one or the other allophone is phonetically conditioned, since the same word may appear with either.[30]

4. The vowels *o* and *e* usually appear in word-final syllables that are closed with one consonant. Here are some representative examples:

Short e: (I:1) [*kab**e**l*] (before), (I:1) [] (weddings of), (I:40) [] (yesterday).[31]

Short o: (II:11) [*trodd*] (answer), (I:20) [*mnu• **ʿo**r*] (expect).

5. Short *e* may occur in an unstressed first syllable of a word. Our corpus contains one example of this: (I:23) [*b**e**nātna*] (between us).[32]

6. Short *i* can appear in the following positions:

A) In words of one syllable that end in two consonants: (I:21) [*b**i**šš*] (there is no), (I:13) [*b**i**nt*] (girl, daughter).

B) In a closed final syllable ending in two consonants: (I:19) [*muhimm*] (important).

C) In an open final syllable: (II:13) [*bitsad'**i***] (you f.sg. believe), (I:19) [*iši*] (something).

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4. *e*: (I:30) [*ṭabex*] (cooking), (IOI:11) [*lāzem*] (it is necessary), (II:8) [*wa'et*] (time);

5. *o*: (II:11) [*trodd*] (answer), (I:3) [*tuṣmod*] (sit), (I:5) [*šuġol*] (work).

[29] See Levin 1994, p. 25.

[30] See Rosenhaus 1969, p. 7.

[31] In addition to this context, short *e* also occasionally appears in an open word-final syllable: (I:2) [*hēbe*] (honor), (I:3) [*kbīre*] (big f. sg.).

[32] The short *e* in the first syllable of this example is derived from the shortening of an original long vowel *ē*.

D) In an initial syllable: (II:8) [*mi**i**t‘awdə*] (accustomed f.sg.), (I:4) [*y**i**bkēn*] (literally: they are; here: when they are), (I:5) [*y**i**hrū*] (will beat him up).

7. Short *u* appears in the following positions:

A) In words of one syllable that end in two consonants: ((I:36) [*n**u**ṣṣ*] (half).

B) In an open final syllable: (I:10) [*inn**u***] (that…), (I:35) [*hamm**u***] (his worry), (I:2) [*yibkāl**u***] (he will have).

C) In the first syllable of a word ending in an open or a closed syllable: (I:11) [*šuġl**u***] (his work), (I:18) [*k**u**llu*] (all of him/it).

D. In a closed final syllable ending in two consonants(I:29) [*il-k**u**ll*] (all of them).

1.2.2 The long vowels – general remarks:[33]

1. The long vowels *ā, ū and ī* exist in MSA, where they are marked by the letters ا, و and ي, respectively. The vowels *ē* and *ō*, however, do not exist in MSA.

2. Long *ē* is derived from the monophthongization of the diphthong *ay*, written –َيْ in MSA (as in the word *‘ayn*).

In the Baqa and Acre dialects the diphthong *ay* nearly always becomes *ē*, for example: (I:27) [*b‘**ē**nha*] (in her eyes): *‘**ay**n* > *‘**ē**n*; (I:16) [*w**ē**n*] (where): *’**ay**n* > *w**ē**n*.

In an unstressed syllable the diphthong *ay* becomes short *a*. In the corpus there is one example of this: (II:6) [*z**a**tūn*] < *z**ay**tūn* (olives).[34]

4. Long *ō* is the result of monophthongization of the diphthong *aw*, written –َوْ in MSA (as in the word *mawz*).

In the Baqa and Acre dialects *aw* almost invariably becomes *ō*, as in the following examples: (II:6) [*x**ō**x*] < *x**aw**x* (peach), (I:7) [*y**ō**m*] < *y**aw**m* (day).

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[33] 1. *ā*: (I:1) [*zamān*] (in the past), (I:3) [*ṭāwle*] (table), (I:3) [*iḍ-ḍār*] (the house);

2. *ī*: (I:3) [*kbīre*] (big f.sg.), (II:3) [*fī*] (there is), (II:7) [*ʿīše*] (life);

3. *ū*: (I:1) [*ʿrūset*] (the weddings of), (I:3) [*il-ʿarūṣ*] (the bride), (I:33) [*bšū*] (with what);

4. *ē*: ((I:37) [*šēkel*] (shekel), (II:3) [*bēn*] (between);

5. *ō*: (II:1) [*hōn*] (here), (II:11) [*žōzha*] (her husband), (II:18) [*yōm*] (day).

[34] The reduction of the diphthong *ay* to short *a* is unusual and contrary to the norms of the language; in an unstressed syllable is usually becomes short *i*, but no occurrences of this were found in the corpus.

5. The word *rā•* is occasionally shortened to *ra•* when it serves as an auxiliary verb, next to the form rāy•, which exists in both Baqa and Acre dialects, since the stress moves to the following word: (I:13) [*ra•*] < *rā•* (went).

6. In our corpus there are two forms that reflect an unusual and interesting shift, of ancient Arabic *ā* turning into *ē* in the Baqa dialect:[35] (I:40) [***ʔ****(i)mb****ē****re•*] < *(i)mb****ā****re•* (yesterday), (I:37) [*š****ē****kel*] < *š****ā****kel* (shekel).

7. Usually long vowels in MSA correspond to long vowels in the Baqa dialect; thus the long vowel *ū* in MSA ***ʻ****arūs* is preserved in the same word in the Baqa dialect as well.

The long vowel *ī* is found in MSA *kabīra* as well is in its Baqa dialect counterpart *kbīre*.

Long *ā* exists in MSA *ṭāwila* as well as in the Baqa colloquial form *ṭāwle*.[36]

1.2.3 The diphthongs

A) The diphthong *ay*:

1. The ancient Arabic diphthong *ay* is rare in both the Baqa and the Acre dialects. In both it usually becomes *ē*, as in the following examples: (I:2) [*hēbe*] < h***ay****ba* (reverence, prestige), (II:3) [*bēn*] < b***ay****n* (between).

2. The diphthong appears only rarely; two examples were found in the corpus: (I:2) [h***ay****ye*] (look), (I:8) [*mayy*] (water).

3. In a single example the *y* was dropped completely, i.e., *ay* > *a*: (II:6) [*zatūn*] (olives).

B) The diphthong *aw*:

1. Ancient *aw* usually becomes ***ō,*** as in the following examples: (I:37) [***ṣ****ōt*] < *ṣ****aw****t* (sound), (II:1) [*hōn*] < *h****aw****n*[37] (here).

2. The diphthong *aw* has been preserved in a number of rare cases:

- In the elative forms of I-w roots: (I:22) [***aw****sa ʻ*] (wider).

[35] It should be noted that in the Baqa dialect this word also has a form in which *ā* is preserved**:** *(i)mb****ā****re•*.

[36] In a few rare cases *ā* became *ē* in the Baqa dialect (see section 6 above).

[37] *hōn* is probably derived as follows: *hāhuna* > *hawn* > *hōn*.

- In a number of single words: (I:9) [***aw***] (or); (I:12) [*u-law*] (and if).

3. In our corpus one example was found in which *aw* became *iw*, at the beginning of a word: (II:16) [***iw****lādna*] < ***aw****lāduna* (our children).

1.2.4 Elision of short vowels:

A) Elision of a short vowel:

Short vowels that occur in MSA in open unstressed syllables are often elided in both the Baqa and the Acre dialects:[38]

1. *Examples for the elision of a short vowel in the first syllable of a word*: (II:1) [*iblād*] < ***b****ilād* (countries), (II:6) [*zrā'et*] < ***z****irā'at* (agriculture of), (I:25) [*iṯqēl*] < ***ṯa****qīl* (heavy).

As can be seen from the above examples, the elision of a short vowel in the first syllable is usually accompanied by the addition of a prosthetic *i* at the beginning of the word, before the consonant that lost the vowel.

2. *Examples of the elision of a short vowel in a medial syllable*: (II:1) [*sākne*] < *sāk****i****na* (resides f.sg.), (II:8) [*mit'awwdə*] < *mta'****a****wweda* (accustomed f.sg.),[39] (II:13) [*ṭil'at*] < *ṭal****a****'at* (she went out).

3. *Examples of the elision of a short vowel in a final syllable*:[40] (II:7) [*axad*] < *axa****d****a* (he took), (I:18) [*tġayyar*] < *taġayyar****a*** (he/it changed),[41] (II:10) [*wi-štaġalet*] < *wa-štaġalt****u*** (and I worked).

Note that that some words are pronounced in accordance with the pronunciation tradition of MSA, so that the short vowel is not elided,[42] as in the following examples: (I:6) [*wi-l'****a****rīs*] (and the groom), (I:12) [*ġ****a****rībe*] (stranger, f.sg.).

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[38] See Zuabi 2005, p. 36; Levin 1994, p. 29.

[39] In this example two short vowels were elided, *a* and *e*.

[40] Word-final short vowels were elided in both nouns and verbs, as a result of the disappearance of the case endings of nouns and some of the endings in the verbal conjugation.

[41] In this example, in addition to the short word-final vowel that was elided, so was a short *a* in the word's initial syllable.

[42] Perhaps this pronunciation is due to the effect of MSA.

B. Elision of short *e*:

If a word ends in a short *e* followed by a consonant, the short *e* is elided if the word has a suffix beginning with a vowel. In the corpus we found the following examples:

(II:1) [*sākne*] (resides f.sg.); here the *e* in the final syllable of the masculine form *sāk**e**n* is elided when the feminine singular ending *e* is added, thus giving rise to the afore-mentioned form *sākne*.

(I:39) [*ibni*] (my son); here the *e* in the absolute form *ib**e**n* is elided due to the addition of the first person singular possessive suffix, which begins with a vowel: *iben + I = ibni*.

C. Elision of short *o*:

Short *o* in a closed word-final syllable is elided when a suffix beginning with a vowel is added: The *o* in the word *šug**o**l* is elided when a possessive pronoun beginning with a vowel is added, as in (I:11) [*šuglo*] = *šugol + o* (his work).

D. To judge by the corpus, short *a* in a word-final closed syllable is never elided, as the following examples show: (I:14) [*iž-žawwaz**a**t*] (she married), (I:15) [*istakt**a**l*] (he wanted very much), (I:10) [*xall**a**s*] (he finished), (II:7) [*ax**a**d*] (he took), (I:13) [*bakat*] (she was).

1.2.5 Lengthening of short vowels:

In the dialects of Baqa and Acre ther is some cases of originally short vowels that are lengthened, for example: (I:13) [*ra•*] (he went): *rā• > ra•*.

1.2.6: Helping vowels:

In the dialects of Baqa and Acre (as in other dialects as well) there are *consonant clusters*[43] of two (*cc*) or three (*ccc*) consonants. Such clusters[44] can appear at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the word.

[43] A consonant cluster is a sequence of two or more consonants with no intervening vowel.

[44] An examination of the recorded material shows that consonant clusters are sometimes created as a result of the elision of a short vowel in an (initial, medial or final) open syllable, as well as some other phonetic processes (such as elision of the glottal stop at the beginning of a word).

The following table gives examples of both cluster types from the recordings.

Cluster type	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
Two-consonant cluster	(I:29) [***bf***a***ṭ***ret] (in the period of), (I:1) [***ʿr***ūsti] (weddings)	(I:33) [a***mm***a] (while), (I:38) [za***hk***anīn] (they're sick and tired)	(I:26) [***ṭ***a***xx***] (he shot), (I:36) (*nuṣ****ṣ***][45] (half)
Three-consonant cluster	(II:3) [***xty***ariyye] (old people)[46]	(I:4) [***ž***a***mbh***a] (next to her)	(II:7) [laa***nny***] (because I)

Breaking up the cluster:

While the dialect of Baqa does allow (two- and three-consonant) clusters, such clusters are often broken up, by means of a short vowel (called a "helping vowel") that is inserted between the cluster's first two consonants. The most common helping vowel is *i*, although both *e* and *o* also appear, under certain conditions.

Two types of clusters are broken up by means of helping vowels:

A. Word-final two-consonant clusters;[47]

B. Medial three-consonant clusters.[48]

A) Breaking up a two-consonant cluster: (I:30) [*ṭab****e****x*] < *ṭabx* (cooking).

A two-consonant cluster is usually broken up be means of the helping vowel *e*, as in the above example. The word *ṭabx* exists in MSA. If the Baqa dialect had preserved the ancient form, the result would have been a word ending in the cluster *bx*. Since in this dialect such a word-final two-consonant cluster is usually broken

[45] In the word *nuṣṣ* the last consonant of the MSA form was dropped and the word took on the *fu'l* pattern, in analogy to the other fraction words. According to Rosenhaus the evolution was *niṣf* > *nuṣṣ* (see Rosenhaus 1969, p. 18).

[46] This example proves that a three-consonant cluster can appear in word-initian (as well as word-final) position, *contra* Levin, who argues that such a cluster can only appear in the middle of the word. See Levin 1994, p. 31.

[47] A word-final cluster is one that appears at the end of the word.

[48] A medial cluster is one that appears in the middle of the word.

up, a short vowel *e*[49] is inserted between the *b* and the *x*, leading to the form *ṭab**e**x*, without a cluster.

Other examples: (I:28) (*kal**e**b*] < *ka**lb*** (heart), (II:8) [*wa**'e**t*] < *wa**'t*** (time).

Occasionally the helping vowel that breaks up a word-final two-consonant cluster is *o*; in such cases the vowel preceding the helping vowel is short *u*. In the corpus we found the following example: (II:5) [*šuġ**o**l*] < *šu**ġl*** (work).

B. Breaking up a medial three-consonant cluster:

Medial three-consonant clusters are broken up by the insertion of a helping vowel *i* or *e* between the cluster's first and second vowel, for example: (I:10) [*yi'erfu*] (they will know).

In the word *yi**'rf**u* there is a consonant cluster, *'rf*, which in the dialect of Baqa is broken up by inserting one of the two afore-mentioned vowels between the first and second vowel; the common pronunciation of this word is thus *yi'erfu*.[50]

In our corpus there is one more example: (I:8) [*btik**i**sru*] (she breaks it), which is derived from the form *bti**ksr**u*.

Prosthetic vowel:

1. A word-initial cluster[51] with two consonants is usually not broken up in the Baqa dialect: (I:3) [***bk**alb*] (inside), (I:16) [***tx**ayyali*] (imagine 2nd.f. sg.), (II:11) [***tr**udd*] (answer).

2. The first consonant of this cluster is often preceded by a so-called prosthetic vowel *i*, as in the following examples: (I:3) [***i**čbīre*] (big f.sg.), (I:14) [***i**tžawwazat*] (she married).

Helping vowel between two words

1/ When a word ends in one or two consonants and is followed by a word with a two-consonant initial cluster, a helping vowel is usually added in speech, after the

[49] The vowel *i* is also used, as in *binit*; both *i* and *e* thus serve as helping vowels that break up word-final two-consonant clusters.

[50] It is important to note that in the Baqa dialect this word is rarely also pronounced with an unbroken three-consonant cluster, that is *yi'rfu*, from which the attested form apparently evolved.

[51] A word-initial cluster is one that appears at the beginning of the word, such as *kt* in *ktīr*.

last consonant of the first word.[52] In our corpus there are a number of examples of this, among them the following: (I:27) [*bin**ti** **ẓġ**īre*] (a little girl),[53] (I:40) [*ya**mmi** **mb**ēreh*] (just yesterday).

2. Morphology

2.1 Independent personal pronouns

In the corpus under discussion here we found the following independent pronouns:

Person	Dialect	Examples	Comments
1st person singular	Identical pronunciation in both dialects	(I:39) [*ana*] (I) (II:1) [*ana*] (I)	This is the only independent pronoun that is identical to MSA (with the exception of the elided initial glottal stop)
2nd person feminine singular	In the Acre and Baqa dialects[54]	(II:15) [*inti*[(you f. sg.) for masculine:*into* for feminine: *inti*	Second person pronouns all begin with the vowel *i*, unlike MSA[55]
3rd peson masculine singular	In the Baqa dialect: In the Acre dialect:	(I:10) [*hū*] (he) (II:14) [*huwwe*] (he)	Each 3rd person pronoun has two alternative forms: (masc.) *hū* and *huwwe*

[52] This rule can also alternatively be formulated as follows: When a word ends in a consonant and the following word begins with a cluster, a helping vowel is introduced between the two words. Since in a possessive construction the definite article before the second word is not followed by a vowel (*-l-*), the vowel before it (*il-*) is in fact a helping vowel.

[53] In this phrase there is a three-consonant cluster, consisting of the last consonant of the first word (*t*) and the first two consonants of the second word (*zġ*), together forming the cluster *tzġ*, which is broken up by means of the helping vowel *i* after the cluster's first vowel.

[54] All second person pronouns begin with *i*: *inti*, *inte*, *intu*, *inten*.

[55] The corpus contains no occurrence of the 2nd person feminine singular form of the independent pronoun in the Baqa dialect, but from my acquaintance with that dialect, the form is identical to that in the Acre dialect.

3rd person feminine singular	In the Baqa dialect:[56]	(I:33) [*hī*] (she)	Each 3rd person pronoun has two alternative forms: (fem.) *hī* and *hiyye*
1st person plural	In the Baqa dialect: In the Acre dialect:	(I:40) [*i•na*] (we) (II:18) [*i•na*] (we)	This pronoun begins with the vowel *i* and ends with *a*, unlike the corresponding form in MSA

Comments:

1. All the independent pronouns, except for *ana*, differ from their MSA counterparts.

2. In the first person plural independent pronouns there is no distinction between masculine and feminine (*i•na* and *ni•na* for both genders).

2.1.1 Suffixed possessive pronouns:

A) Declension of nouns and prepositions:

Nouns and prepositions have the same declension. Below we shall use the term "declension of nouns", but this is to be understood as including the declension of prepositions as well.

With respect to their declension, nouns may be divided into two main groups:

1. Nouns whose stem ends in a consonant, for example: (I:38) [*ṣōt*] (sound, voice), (I:1) [*'ires*] (wedding), (I:3) [*ḍār*] (house).

2. Nouns whose stem ends in a vowel, for example: (I:3) [*ṭāwle*] (table), (I:14) [*abūha*] (her father), (I:24) [*aša*] (evening meal).

- *The conjugation of nouns whose stem ends in a consonant*:

Such nouns may be divided into two groups:

1. Nouns with a fixed stem that remains unchanged throughout the declension: (I:3) [*ḍār*] (house).[57]

[56] In this dialect the form *hiyya* is also quite common, while in the Acre dialect a number of forms are used, such as *hī* and *hiyye*.

[57] The stem of this word is identical to the form of the noun itself.

2. Nouns with changing stem:

For example, the stem of the word *'ires* (wedding) is *'ires* before some pronouns and *'irs* before others; an example of this kind of declension is (I:11) [*šuġlo*] (his work).

Comments:

1. When the suffixed pronoun that is attached to a noun ending in a closed syllable is a vowel, or begins with a vowel, the vowel before the noun's final consonant is deleted (*šuġli*, *šuġlak*, …).

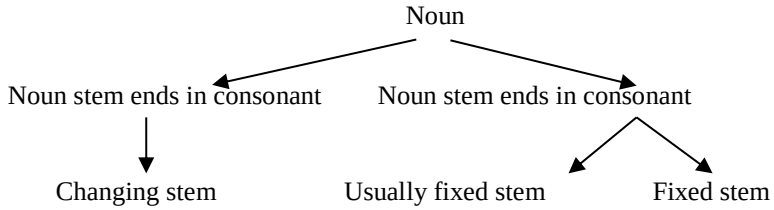
2. When the suffixed pronoun that is attached to a noun ending in a closed syllable begins with a consonant, the vowel before the noun's final consonant is reduced, as follows:

a > *i*

o > *u*

as in *šuġulha*, *šuġulna* and so on.

Summary:



There is a difference between the form of pronouns attached to a stem ending in a vowel and to a stem ending in a consonant, in the following persons: 1st person singular, 2nd person masculine and feminine singular, and 3rd person masculine singular.

The differences can be seen more clearly in the following table:

abū	*y*	versus	*ḍār*	*i*
abū	*k*	versus	*ḍār*	*ak*
abū	*ki*	versus	*ḍār*	*ek*
abū	-	versus	*ḍār*	*o*

The above table shows quite clearly the differences between pronouns that are attached to stems ending in a vowel and those that are attached to stems ending in a consonant:

Person	**Pronoun attached to stem ending in a vowel**	**Pronoun attached to stem ending in a consonant**
1st singular	*-y*	*-i*
2nd masc. sg.	*-k*	*-ak*
2nd fem.sg.	*-ki*	*-ek*
3rd masc. sg.	*-h*	*-o*

In the other persons there is no difference between the form of the pronouns that are attached to stems ending in vowels and those that are attacked to stems ending in consonants, as can be seen in the following comparative table:

Person	**Pronoun attached to stem ending in a vowel**	**Pronoun attached to stem ending in a consonant**
3rd fem. sg.	*abū ha*	*ḍār ha*
1st com.pl.	*abū na*	*ḍār na*
2nd com.pl.	*abū kom*	*ḍār kom*
3rd com.pl.	*abū hom*	*ḍār hom*

2.1.1 The feminine ending (= *ta‘ marbūṭa* in MSA)

In the corpus the feminine ending is prounced sometimes *e* and sometimes *a*. Which of the two is used usually depends on the consonant before the ending: After some consonants the ending is *e* while after others it is *a, according to the following rules*:

1. The ending is *a* after back consonants (*h, x, ʼ, ġ, q, • ,* ’) as well as after emphatics (*ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ḏ*), for example: (I:22) [*qā‘a*] (hall), (I:27) [*rṣāṣa*] (bullet), II:4) [*flā•a*] (agriculture), (II:15) [*ṣarā•a*] (literally: honesty, frankness; here: truth), (II:19) [*rā•a*] (comfort), (I:31) [*xālṣa*] (of course).

2. The ending is *e* after the other consonants, except for *r*, for example: (I:8) [*duxle*[(wedding night), (II:7) [*sākne*] (resides f.sg.), (II:7) [*‘īše*] (life), (II:8) [*rāḍye*] (agrees f.sg.), (II:12) [*is-sine*] (this year).

3. If the consonant before the feminine ending is *r*, the ending can be either *e* or *a*. Which ending is used depends mainly on the vowel of the syllable preceding the ending, according to the following rules:

A. When the vowel in the preceding syllable is *i* or *ī* the feminine ending is *e*: (I:3) [*čbīre*] (big f.sg.), (I:40) [*sīre*] (literally: topic; here: speech).

B. When the vowel in the preceding syllable is not *i* or *ī* the feminine ending is *a*: (I:13) [*mara*] (women), (II:8) [*faṭra*] (time period).

C. In some words the ending is *e* even though the vowel of the preceding syllable is not *i* or *ī*. According to Levin,[58] this is the case in words which historically had *i* in the syllable before the ending; such words received the feminine ending *e* as expected, and later the preceding *i* disappeared but the *e* in the feminine ending remained.

We may thus formulate the rule as follows: In words that used to have an *i* in the syllable preceding the feminine ending but that *i* later disappeared, the feminine ending after *r* is usually *e*, as in (I:31) [*mit•ayyre*][59] (confused f.sg.).

4. In words of foreign origin the feminine ending is usually *a*: (I:3) [*ṭāwle*] (table).[60]

Feminine nouns and adjectives in the construct state:

If a feminine noun ending in a *tā' marbūṭa* is the first part of a possessive construction, it undergoes the following changes:

1. The feminine ending becomes *t*.[61]

2. The vowel preceding this *t* is *e*, whatever the quality of the preceding consonant.

3. In the construct state there is no difference between nouns ending in *a* and those ending in *e*: (I:13) [*qiṣṣet*] (story of…), (I:29) [*faṭret*] (period of…).

[58] Levin 1994, p. 17.

[59] The original form being *muta•ayyira*.

[60] This is the form found in the Baqa dialect, which constitutes an exception to the rule. In the Acre dialect the usual form is *ṭāwla*.

[61] For example, *madrase* > *madraset banāt*; cf. Hebrew *šana* > *šnat piryon*.

Declension of nouns with the feminine ending:

- There is no difference in declension between nouns that end in *a* and those that end in *e*.

- The declension patterns of nouns with the feminine endings can be divided into two main groups:

A. Nouns that end in a consonant preceded by a vowel (*vc/a,e*), for example: (I:150 [*žīzitha*] (her marriage).

Note the following:

1. The feminine ending of *žīze* becomes *t* (as in MSA).

2. The declination stem of *žīze* is *žīzt*.

3. The declension pattern does not change when the suffixed pronoun begins with a vowel: *žīzt**i*** , *žīzt**u*** , *žīzt**e**k*.

4. When the suffixed pronoun begins with a consonant the stem changes; a short *i* is added before the feminine ending *t*: *žīz**ith**um* , *žīz**it**na* , *žīz**ith**a*.

B. Nouns that have a two-consonant cluster before the feminine ending (*cc/a,e*), for example: (I:7) [*ṭal'itha*] (literally: exit; here: leaving [for her father's house]). Note the following:

1. The declination stem of *ṭal'a* ends in *t*, and the vowel of the ending is elided.

2. When the suffixed pronoun begins with a consonant a short *i* is added[62] between the two consonants that preceded the *t*: *ṭal**i**'t**i*** , *ṭal**i**'t**u*** , *ṭal**i**'t**e**k*.

3. Before suffixed pronouns that begin with a consonsnt, an *i* is added before the feminine ending *t*:[63] *ṭal'**it**h**i**um, ṭal'**it**k**i**um , ṭal'**it**n**i**a*.

Feminine nouns that do not have the feminine ending

There are of course nouns that are grammatically feminine but do not have the feminine ending:

A. Nouns that denote females: (I:27) [*binet*] (girl, daughter), (I:31) [*imm*] (mother).[64]

[62] This *i* serves here as a helping vowel that breaks up the consonant cluster.

[63] In order to prevent the creation of a consonant cluster.

[64] In this, as in other nouns, the original vowel *u* has been replaced by *i*.

B. The singular of body organs that come in pairs: (I:27) [*bʿēnha*] (with her eye). (*ʿēn*).

C. The following nouns: (I:8) [*may*] (water), (II:6) [*arḍu*] (his land). (arḍ).

2.1.4 The sound plural:

In the corpus the following sound plural endings were found in both dialects (Baqa and Acre):

A. The ending *–īn*:

The ending *–īn* is attached to:

1. The singular forms of masculine nouns, for example: (II:4) [*flla•īn*] (farmers).

2. The masculine singular forms of present participles, for example: (II:3) [*ʿayšīn*] (living m.pl.).

3. The masculine singular forms of adjectives, for example: (I:38) [*zahkanīn*] (fed up m.pl.), (II:17) [*mabṣuṭīn*] (happy m.pl.).

B. The ending *–āt*:

This ending has a number of uses in the informants' speech:

1. To denote the plural of nouns with the feminine ending, for example: (I:4) [*kāʿdāt*] (literally: sitting f.pl.; here: beginning f.pl.), (I:21) [*qāʿāt*] (halls), (I:26) [*ʿadāt*] (customs).

2. To denote the plural of loanwords, for example: (II:17) [*tilfizyunāt*] (television sets), (II:18) [*bilifonāt*] (mobile phones).

3. In the corpus under study here it was found that feminine nouns that lack a feminine ending form their plural with this ending: (I:15,34) [*banāt*] (girls, daughters), (I:31) [*xawātu*] (their sisters).

C. The ending *–iyye*:

In our corpus only one example of this plural ending was found: (II:5) [*xityariyye*] (old men).

2.1.5 The broken plural:

This type of plural is so called because there are no rules for its formation; it consists of

using nominal patterns that are valid for both masculine and feminine nouns.[65]

The patterns used for forming broken plurals in the Baqa and Acre dialects are in general equivalent to those found in ancient Arabic and MSA, taking into account the phonetic changes that take place in these dialects.[66]

The following table shows the broken plural patterns attested in the corpus, with examples:

The pattern in the dialect	Examples from the corpus	Comments
f'āl	(I:5) [*ṣ•āb*] (friends) (II:16) [*wlād*] (children) (I:33) [*ġrā'*] (objects)	The glottal stop is elided together with the following vowel at the beginning of a word: *'af'āl > f'āl*
f'āl	(II:1) [*blād*] (countries) (II:16) [*zġār*] (small pl.) (II:5) [*kbār*] (big pl.)	The short *i* in an open unstressed syllable is elided: *fi'āl > f'āl*
fawā'el	(I:7) [*'wayed*] (customs) (I:38) [*nawader*] (anecdotes)	
fa'āli	(I:32) [*lawā'i*] (clothes) (I:38) [*ġanāni*] (songs)	
fa'alīl	(I:38) [*ta'alīl*] (night parties)	
mafa'īl	(I:35) [*makatīb*] (invitations)	This form is pronounced identically with the form in MSA
fu'ol	(I:32) [*šuġol*] (work)	Occasionally this word is pronounced with *u* instead of *o*, i.e.

[65] In order to determine whether a noun has a sound or a broken plural, and if the latter, what its pattern is, one must look up the word in the dictionary.

[66] Among these changes are the following:

A. Elision of short vowels in unstressed open word-initial syllables;

B. Shortening of unstressed long vowels;

C. Elision of the glottal stop.

For examples see the following table.

		šuġul[67]
filān	(I:38) [*žirān*] (neighbors)	This pattern evolved from *fi'lān*
fu'al	(I:34) [*budal*] (dresses)	
fa'āla	(I:34) [*hadāya*] (gifts)	
fi'al	(I:12) [*qiṣaṣ*] (stories	
fi'lān	(I:4) [*niswān*] (women) (I:24) [*'irsān*] (bride and groom)	

It is important to note that there are also nouns whose plural form is in one of the above-mentioned patterns: (I:23, II:3) [*nās*] (people).

2.1.6 Mass nouns:

Levin[68] defines this concept as a noun that denotes the totality of objects that belong to a certain type or species.

In our corpus there are not enough examples to make generalizations about collective nouns.[69] Here are the occurrences in the corpus: (II:6) [*ixyar*] (cucumbers), (II:6) [*xōx*] (peaches), (II:6) [*zatūn*] (olives).

2.1.7 Demonstrative pronouns:

2.1.7.1 The proximal pronoun:

A. The forms of the pronoun:

In the corpus we found the following demonstrative pronouns: [*hā* ʿ] (this m.sg.), [*hāy*] (this f.sg.).

B. Uses of the demonstrative pronoun:

1. Usually demonstrative pronouns function as adjectives, but occasionally they also function as nouns.

2. When they function as adjectives they modify a noun that precedes or follows them.

[67] See Zuabi 2005, p. 129.

[68] See Levin 1994, p. 57. He gives the example of *šažar* (trees), a collective noun that denotes the totality of trees in the world.

[69] For more on this subject and its attendant regularities, see Levin 1994, p. 57.

3. The demonstrative pronoun usually appears before the noun; this noun must be preceded by the definite article. Here are the examples: (I:18) [*hā ʿa* ***l****-iši kullut tġayyar*] (all this changed), (II:7) [*hāda* ***l****-iši axad minny ktīr*] (this took me a lot of time).

4. When the demonstrative pronoun appears before a noun to which the definite article is attached, it is frequently shortened to *ha*: (I:40) [*yami imbēreh ihna žibna* ***ha****-ssīre*] (we just spoke about this subject yesterday), (II:9) [*u-šuftha ṣi'be* ***ha****-l-šaġle hāy*] (and I found this difficult work).

5. The demonstrative pronoun can also appear after the noun it modifies:[70] (II:14) [*huwwə ṭalla'ha 'a 'amlitha hāy*] (he divorced her because of this deed of hers), (I:29) [*fi ayyāmna hāy bfaṭret il- 'ires ilkull bekūn*] (in our days everyone is busy during the wedding period).

2.1.7.2 The distal pronoun:

A. The forms of the pronoun:

Our informant used only one distal demonstrative pronoun: [*hadeki*] (that one f.).

B. Uses of the distal pronoun:

The distal demonstrative pronoun appears before the noun it modifies and cannot be shortened. The noun must be preceded by the definite article: (II:13) [*hadeki* ***il****-sine marti flān*] (in that year somebody's wife).

2.1.8 The relative pronoun *illi*:

In the dialects the gender and number distinction that the relative pronoun possessed in MSA has disappeared.[71] In Baqa (as in most dialects) the only commonly used form is *illi*:

1. In the Baqa dialect a single relative pronoun, *illi* (that, which, who) serves for all genders and numbers, for example: (I:26) [*l-biš'a* ***lli*** *ba'edha*] (the ugly one who still…).

2. If it comes after the demonstrative pronoun, the relative pronoun *illi* loses its

[70] In this case the demonstrative pronoun is not shortened.

[71] See Rosenhaus 1969, p. 23.

initial *i*: (I:39) [*ibni hā* **ʿ*alli* ʾ*āyel*] (this child that has remained).[72]

3. The first vowel is also dropped when the previous noun ends in any vowel whatsoever: (II:6) [*w-illi*] (and who): *w+illi*.

4. When the relative pronoun *illi* occurs at the beginning of a sentence, it means "whatever, whoever": (II:6) [***illi*** *ʿāyeš*] (whoever lives).

2.2. The verb

2.2.1 The first form

2.2.1.1. Patterns of the past conjugation:

In both the Baqa and the Acre dialects there are two conjugation patterns for first-form verbs in the past tense, *faʿal* and *fiʿel*, that differ in both vowels.[73]

A. The *faʿal* pattern

Past conjugation	**Comments**
(I:1) [*baka*] (he/it was)	
(I:3) [*bakat*] (she/it was)	Usually the second radical is not followed by a vowel in the third person feminine singular, in contrast to the rest of the conjugation;[74] this example is an exception.
(I:5) [*baku*] (they were)	In the plural there is no gender distinction
(II:4) [*sakanet*] (I lived)	In the first person singular there are two alternative forms: *sakanet* and *sakant*; the latter form ends in a two-consonant cluster, which in the former form is broken up with the helping vowel *e*.[75]
(II:7) [*axad*] (he/it took)	

[72] The process whereby this change occurred is as follows: *hā* ʿ*a* + *illi* > *hā* ʿ*a(i)lli* > *hā* ʿ*alli*

[73] Hakim (see Hakim 1976, p. 26) notes that there is no rule that can predict whether a verb in the past will be conjugated in the *faʿal* or the *fiʿel* pattern.

[74] Cf. *saba•* and *sab•at.*

[75] Note that the form *sakanet* was uttered by the second informant, who was from Acre, despite the fact that in that city it is more common to encounter the form *sakant*. In this case the Baqa dialect appears to have influenced the speech of this informant, who has been living there for many years.

B. The *fi‘el* pattern

Past conjugation	Comments
(II:13) [] (she/it left)	In the third person feminine singular the vowel following the first radical is *i* while the first radical is not followed by any vowel.[76]

2.2.1.2 The future conjugation:

There are two different future conjugations:

- Verbs with the prefixes *’ytn*;
- Verbs with the prefix *b*.

In both types of future conjugation there are three patterns that are not tied to the patterns of the verb in the past. The patterns differ in the vowel following the second radical, which can be *a*, *e* or *o*; accordingly, the patterns are called *yif‘el*, *yif‘al* and *yuf‘ol*.[77]

1) The future conjugation with the prefixes *’ytn*:

yif‘el	**Comments**	***yuf‘ol***[78]	**Comments**	***yif‘al***	**Comments**
(I:9) [*ti•mel*] (she carries	In forms that end in a consonant the first radical is not followed by any vowel and the second is followed by *e*.	(I:3) [*tuṣmod*] (you/she will sit	In forms that end in a consonant first radical is not followed by any vowel and the second is followed by *u* or *o*.	(I:23) [*yiġ**ḍar***] (he can)	The stem in this conjugation is unchanging: *f‘al*.
(I:32)	When a pronoun	(I:5)	When the object	(I:32)	In this

[76] Note that in the *fi‘el* pattern the vowel following the first radical is elided, except for the third person forms, for example: *nizel* > *nzilet*.

[77] The choice of pattern is not rule-governed, with the exception of the regularity that if the third radical is ‘,• or *h* the future pattern is *yif‘al*, for example *yisma‘* (he will hear), *yifra•* (he will rejoice), *yikra**h*** (he will hate).

[78] This conjugation is also pronounced *yuf‘ul*.

[*yilbisen*] (he can)	is suffixed to the verb the vowel following the second radical changes from *e* to *i*.	[*yu ʿurbu*] (he will strike him)	pronoun *u/o* (him) is suffixed to the verb, a helping vowel is added after the first radical.	[***t****i ʿmal*] (you/she can)	conjugation the stem is preceded by one of the letters *ʾytn* to form the future tense.

2) The future conjugation with the prefix *b*:[79]

Pattern	Examples	Comments
(b)afʿol	1) (I:20) [***m****nu • ʿor*] (expect) 2) (I:8) [*bitrušš**u***] (she sprays it)	In the first person plural the prefix *b* may be partially assimilated to the personal prefix *n* and turn into *m*. Thus ***b****nu • ʿor* > ***m****nu • ʿor*. In this word the *b* is followed by the vowel *i*, contrary to the rule that in forms with the personal prefix *t* the *b* is not followed by a vowel (see example below).
(b)afʿel	(I:8) [*btikisru*] (she breaks it)	In forms with personal prefix *t* the *b* is not followed by a vowel.[80]
(b)afʿal	(I:27) [] (he can)	In the third person masculine singular, the personal prefix *y* is elided when it is adjoined to the prefix *b*: ***y****imzaʿ* > ***b****imzaʿ* .

As the above tables show, the future forms possess a prefix consisting of a consonant and a vowel; the prefix of the first person singular usually has the vowel *a* while in the other persons the vowel is *i* or *u*, depending on the pattern.

[79] The conjugation with prefix *b* is formed by joining *b* to the forms of the conjugation with *ʾytn*.

[80] See Levin 1994, p. 81.

When the sentence contains a time word the future-tense verb with the prefix *b* will be understood as referring to a time consistent with that word, for example: (I:7) [***yōm*** *ṭal'itha* ***b****ti•meli brīk*] (on the day she goes out she carries a water jug), (I:27) [***meš zamān*** *fī.... **b**imza' i l-kaleb*] (not long ago … it breaks the heart), (II:13) [***b****itsad'i hadeki* ***i-ssine***] (do you believe: in that year).

3. Particles

3.1 The types of particles:

Particles have various functions:[81]

A. As adverbs they describe actions in different ways.

B. As prepositions they connect verbs with nouns and describe the relations among nouns.

C. As conjunctions they connect words, phrases and sentences.

D. As exclamations they express various types of call and address.

In other words, particles serve to cement together the building stones of language. Below is a table with examples of the particles used by the informants:

Type of particle	**Examples**
Interrogative	(I:16) [*u-**wēn** saknat*] (where does she live?)
Negation	(II:8) [***miš*** *rāḍye*] (I/you/she [f.sg.] does not agree)[82] (II:18) [***lā*** *tilfizyunāt*[83] ***wala***] (no TV sets and no …) (II:17) [***ma*** *kaneš*] (there wasn't)
Affirmation	(II:3) [*ṭab'an*] (certainly) (II:17) [*mazbūṭ innu*] (indeed, certainly)
Time words	(II:9) [*u-ba'edha*] (and afterwards) (II:13) [*hadeki i-ssine*] (that year) (I:1) [*zamān baka*] (in the past there was) (I:21) [*ilyōm*] (today)

[81] See Piamenta 1969, p. 169.

[82] Usually the form *miš* (occasionally also pronounced *moš*) is used to negate nouns, adjectives, participles and prepositions.

[83] This form serves to stress negation.

Place and direction words	(I:3) [***'la*** *ṭāwle*] (on the table) (I:3) [***bkalbi*** *l-dār*] (in the house) (I:4) [***u-žambha***] (and next to it)
Words of quantity	(I:10) [*malān*] (much) (II:7) [*ktīr wa'et*] (a lot of time)
Words of manner[84]	(I:1) [*mi<u>t</u>el*[(like, as) (I:40) [*yamm*] (just)
Words of cause and purpose	(I:10) [*'ašān*] (in order to, because of) (I:15) [*la-'innu*] (because of) (II:13) [*ṭil'at*] (because she left)
Words of frequence	(II:11) [*dāyman*] (always)
Words of connection	(I:4) [***u-****žambha*] (and next to her) (I:9) [*baškīr* ***aw*** *šaršaf*] (a towel or a sheet) (I:12) [] (and if I want)
Words of condition	(I:39) [*i<u>d</u>a*] (if) (I:12) [*law biddi*] (if I want)

Summary and conclusions

In this chapter we compare our findings concerning the two dialects, of Baqa and Acre.

As already noted above, the discussion is limited to the data gleaned from the recorded corpus.

An analysis of the two recorded passages certain features of the two dialects can be compared. Here are the differences between them, as reflected in our recordings:

Phonetic differences:

Baqa dialect	**Acre dialect**
Interdental consonants preserved	Disappearance of the interdental consonants, which are pronounced as alveolars

[84] Words of manner describe the object's state and manner and the way in which the predicate transmits the information. See Sharon 1989, p. 168.

The uvular consonant *q* is occasionally pronounced as the voiceless velar stop *k*	The uvular consonant *q* is pronounced as a glottal stop, with the exception of a few words borrowed from MSA
The velar consonant *k* is usually pronounced *č*, that is, as the letters *ch* in the English word *child*	The velar consonant *k* is pronounced as it is in MSA
The alveolar stop *ḍ* is usually pronounced as ʿ	The alveolar stop *ḍ* is pronounced as in ancient Arabic
The palato-alveolar consonant *ž* as in ancient Arabic	The palato-alveolar consonant *ž* is pronounced as an alveolar affricate *z*

What the two dialects have in common:

1. In both dialects the glottal stop is often elided and only occasionally retained.
2. In both dialects the word-final vowel tends to be lengthened.
3. The emphatic consonants are articulated as such, except for a few cases in which the emphaticness is lost.
4. Both dialects possess the vowels *e* and *o*, which do not exist in MSA. They usually appear in closed word-final syllables.
5. There are cases of assimilation in emphaticness and voice.
6. Most diphthongs are reduced to long vowels.
7. Short vowels in untressed syllables are usually elided.
8. In both dialects consonant clusters are formed as a result of elided vowels; the clusters are often broken up with helping vowels.

Differences in nouns:

The feature	**The difference**
Independent personal pronouns	Distinct forms for the first person plural pronoun: in Baqa the form *i•na* is in common use, while in Acre the form is *ni•na*.
Preposition with suffixed pronoun	In Acre we found prepositions used with the 3rd person feminine plural pronoun.

Most broken plural patterns used by the informants exist also in MSA. The main difference between the dialects and MSA is in the elision of vowels. The sound plural masculine ending *–īn* is found mainly in participles. The feminine ending is pronounced sometimes as *e* and sometimes as *a*.

Differences in the verb:

Both dialects use verbal forms that exist in ancient Arabic, and in both the first form appears to be the most common, too. This form has two patterns in the past and three in the future. The other forms are less common.

Differences in the lexicon:

There are numerous lexical differences between the two dialects.

Both dialects have borrowed words from Hebrew and English; they also contain Arabic words that are unique to the colloquial language.

As I pointed out in the introduction, the restricted framework of this exercise did not make it possible to make an exhaustive study of all aspects of phonology and morphology. The Baqa dialect deserves a broader and more comprehensive study.

Appendices:

- Transcription of the recordings

-Translation of the texts

Transcription 1

Informant no. 1

I) *ʿrūst il-yōm miš miṯeli ʿrūset kabel. zamān baka l- ʿires yibkālu hēbe w-hayye aṯar .*

il-ʿarūṣ bakat tuṣmod ʿla ṭāwle ičbīre bkalb i ḍ- ḍār ,

u-žambha in-niswān yibkēn kāʿdāt yis•ažen wi-ġannēn.

5) *[wil...il].. .wi-lʿarīsi ṣ•ābu baku yihrū mne l-katel.. u-yu ʿurbū tā yʿallem ʿa žismu u-ye•marr.*

u-min ʿawayed ahel kabel innu l-ʿarūs yōm ṭalʿitha....ē.. bti•meli brīk mayy u-bitruššu ʿa-nnās wakti dduxle u-baʿedha btičisru.

u-min žahli nnās kāl baka i l-ʿarīs iṭalleʿ baškīr aw šaršafi ***10)*** *bya ʿ malān damm ʿašān il-mawžudīn [yikū].. yiʿerfu innu , twaxḏinīš bhaččilme.., hū xallaṣ šuġlo ʿl maẓbūṭ*

u-law biddi axarrfeč qiṣaṣ ġarībe ʿan ahel kabel u-nawadirhom miš ra•a xalles.. yamm. [ā] baḏ-ḏač-čar qeṣṣet mara bakat bint yaʿni..qūlī..arbaʿṭāšar sane iž-žaw-wazat wā•ad kad abūha u-

15) *mižžawwez , abūha istaktal ʿa žīziṯha la-ʾinnu ʿindu tiseʿ banāt , u-baka maherha b-waktha ṯalaṯ hidem , txayyali .. u-wēn sačnat hal-maṣṭūra maʿ ʿurritha bnafsi ḍ-ḍār*

ilyōm hāʿa l-iši kullu ṭġayyar , minlā•e ʿ innu l-ʿeres ṣallu ʿirek , ṯāny u-baṭṭal hlkadde iši muhimm . lamma rrū• ʿalē čaʾinnu ***20)*** *mnu•ʿor maṣra•eyye .*

ilyōm kul-li ʿrūse ṣaren fi l-qāʿāt lainno bišš ma•all fi ḍ- ḍār , u-laʾannu fi l-qaʿa awsaʿ u-ashal

bass benātna , ilyōmi n-nās ibter•ameš baṭṭal •ada •itta yiġḍar inaqqeṭ hal-ʿirsān . maẓbūṭ innu l-wā•ad birū• u-bōkel ʿaša ***25)*** *m-mzabbaṭ u-birawwi• šabʿān , bass sari nqūṭ •iml i ṯqīl .*

u-mini l-ʿadāti l-bišʿa lli baʿedha lalyōm [ē..ha..] ṭaxx i n-nār bil-ʿeres, meš zamān fī bineti zġīre ..yakšēli ažati rṣāṣa bʿēnha , wlla iši bimzaʿ i l-kaleb .

fi [ha] ayyāmna hāy bfaṭret il- ʿires il-kull yibka mašġūl , abu l-ʿarēs ***30)*** *mihtammi bʾumūr i ṭ-ṭabex w-il walīme.*

w-immel ʿarēs mit•ayre bēš tibda , u-xawātu.. xālṣa.. kull šuġulhen i l-lawāʿi u-šū bedhen yilbisen .

amma l-ʿarūṣ , wēlha ġrādha , u-wēlha budal ʿirsha , u-wēlha hadāya •amātha w-banāt •amāha .

35) *w-lʿarīs kull hammu iywazziʿ il-makatīb , u-tinsīš ha innu ... ʿāzem nuṣṣ il-balad , u-kull wā•ad inʿazam w-istalami l-maktūb bist•e ywaddi akal .. min mīt šēkel .*

wiž -žirān zahkanīn •ālhum min ṣōti l-ġanāni wit-taʿalīl .

ana ida rabna anṭāni inšālla , ibni hā ʿalli ʿāyel rāye• aryye• ***40)*** *rāṣi wa-žawzu ʿa s-sukkēt , yammi mbēreh i•na žibna ha-ssīre u- kuttilu ha ʿal l-•ači.*

Transcription 1

Informant no. 2

1) *ana aṣli miš min hōn , u- ṣalle sākne bha li-blād men •awaly… arbʿīn sene.*

ṭabʿan , fī fareʾi kbīr bēn hōn u-hunāk . hōni n-nās ʿāyšīn aktar ʿli l-flā•a . awwal ma sakant hōn kān malān flla•īn , •atta ***5)*** *l-(i)xtyariyye li-kbār fi ž-žīl kānu ġārʾīni bhāda (i)š-šuġol , illi ʿāyeš ʿa zrāʿet l-ixyar , w-illi zāreʿ arḍu šažar xōx u-zatūn.*

*u-ʿašān atʿawwad ʿal ʿīše [yaʿnu ʿal ʿīše] hōn , hāda l-ʾiši axad minnyi ktīr.. ktīr waʾet. ḍallēt fatra wana muš rāḍye afla• laanny miš mitʿawwdə u-šuftha ṣiʿbe ha- š-šaġle hāy , u-****10)****baʿedha makaneš mafarr wi-štaġalet maʿhen bel-flāha.*

ʾismaʿi minny , il-wa•ade minna lāzem trudd ʿa žōzha dāyman šū ma biʾullha .

bitsad'i ... hadeki i-ssine marti flān lēš ṭil'at bidūn iden žōzha fa-huwwə ṭalla'ha 'ala 'amlitha hāy.

15) *inti biddeki l-ṣṣarā•a , •ayāt 'abel 'add ma kānat ṣi'be bas kānat a•la , •atta wlādna w-humme ẓ-ẓġār kānu mabṣuṭīn aktar , mazbūṭ innu makaneš tilfizyunāt wa-la bilifonāt wa-la mi•ašvīm zayi l-yōm , bass ni•na kunna 'ayšīn fī hadāt bāl u-rā•a nafsiyye.*

Comments:

1. In order to elicit speech that was as natural as possible, I recorded the informant without her being aware of the fact that she was being recorded.
2. The following transcription is not of the full recording, but only a selected few minutes of clear and continuous speech.

Translation of text 1

Today weddings are not like the weddings in the past. In the past they <had> an aura of grandeur and impressiveness much more then today.

The bride would sit by a large table inside the house, and next to her were women singning and clapping their hands.

The groom's friends would give him many strong blows, to mark his body and turn him into a man.

One of the customs of people in the past was that the bride, on the day that she left her father's house she would carry a water jug and sprinkle it on the people, and then would break it.

Because of people's ignorance <in the past> <it was the custom> that the groom would bring out a towel or a white sheet with blood stains, so that those present would know that he had accomplished his task in a perfect manner.

If I were to tell you strange stories and anecdotes about the people in the past, I would never finish.

<I> remember the story of a woman who was fourteen years old, who was married to someone who was her father's age, and married <already>. Her father wanted very much for her to marry him, because he had nine daughters.

Her dowry at the time was three dresses, just imagine … And were did this modest girl live? With her husband's first wife, in the same house.

Today .. everything is different. You can tell that weddings have a different character, and stopped being such an important thing, when one goes <to a wedding> as if to watch a performance.

Today all the weddings take place in halls, because there is no room at home, and because the hall is more spacious and easy.

But, between us, today people don't have mercy. No one now can gove a present (money, a gift) to the groom and the bride. True, one goes out and eats a good dinner and comes back with a full stomach, but a present <for the young couple> has become a heavy burden.

One of the ugly customs that have continued to this day is shooting at weddings. Not long ago a bullet hit the eye of a little girl, I swear to you, something heart-breaking.

In our days, during the wedding period, everyone is busy; the groom's father is busy with the cooking and the party. The groom's mother is confused about what she should start <to do>, and <his> sisters of course all that interests them is the clothes, and what they are going to wear.

As for the bride, <she must> on the one hand prepare her things[85] and on the other hand the wedding dresses and the presents of her mother-in-law and her father-in-law's daughters.

And the groom, the only thing that worries him is to hand out the invitations, and don't forget that he invites half the town, and anyone who was invited and received the invitation will be ashamed to send less than one-hundred shekels.

And the neighbors are sick nad tired of the sound of music and the nights of rejoicing.

I, with God's help, if God grants me favors, my remaining son, I want to have my peace and quite and marry him off quietly.

Just yesterday we spoke about this subject and I told him those things.

[85] The "things" are the household articles that a bride brings into the conjugal home.

Translation of text 2

Originally I'm not from here. I've been living in the city almost forty years.

Sure, there is a big difference between here and there.[86] Here the people live more off agriculture.

When I first came to live here there were a lot of farmers, even the old men were immersed in that work. There were those who live from growing cucumbers, and others planted peach and olive trees on their land.

In order to become used to life here, that took me a long time. There was a time when I refused to work in agriculture, because I was not used to it, and found it very hard work. Afterwards there was no choice but to work with them[87] in agriculture.

Listen to me, the wife with us must always agree to anything her husband asks of her. Would you believe, that year someone's wife, because she went out without her husband's permission, he divorced her because of this.

If you want the truth, life in the past, although it was hard, it was nicer. Even our children when they were small were happier.

True, there were no TV sets or mobile phones or computers like today, but we has well-being and mental peace.

[86] That is, between Acre and Baqa.

[87] By "them" the informant means her husband's parents.

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تلخيص:

يتناول المقال مجال اللهجات العربيّة، ويهدف إلى الوقوف على لهجة عربيّة محكيّة، تحليل مبناها، التعرّف إلى مميّزاتها، وتبيان علمي الأصوات والأشكال بها.

يصف المقال ويحلّل مبنى اللغة العربيّة المحكيّة، كما تتجسّد في حديث سكّان مدينة باقة الغربيّة، حيث يقف على المميزات اللغويّة، علم الأصوات وعلم الأشكال لهذه اللهجة.

يعتمد المقال على تسجيل صوتيّ لسيّدة من سكّان باقة الغربيّة، تبلغ من العمر 51 سنة، كنموذج يعكس لهجة مدينة باقة. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، يتمّ الاعتماد على تسجيل صوتيّ لسيّدة عمرها 49 سنة، تسكن في باقة الغربيّة ولكن أصلها من مدينة عكّا، وذلك بغية المقارنة بين اللّهجتين والخروج بمجموعة من مميزّات كل لهجة.