

A CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE DIALECTAL  
SPEECH OF THE GHAWARNA COMMUNITY IN THE JORDAN  
VALLEY IN JORDAN

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Department of Semitic Studies

by

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This dissertation has never been submitted to this or any  
other University.

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## A B S T R A C T

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The present study deals with the spoken dialect of the Ghawarneh community, who inhabit the Jordan Valley in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, as well as presenting data concerning their history, social organization and certain of their customs.

The thesis first considers the geographical location, social organization, and reputed origins of this community, and describes certain elements in their traditional way of life (customs connected with circumcision, death, marriage, etc.).

It next turns to the language aspect, and offers a description of Ghawarneh speech under the headings of phonology, morphology, lexis and syntax. The dialect is thereafter compared to the neighbouring dialects of town-folk, country people, and bedouin on the Western and Eastern side of the river Jordan, and also with Syro-Mesopotamian dialects, and the dialect of North Arabian desert tribes. This again is done under the headings of phonology, morphology and lexis, though syntax has to be omitted from the discussion for lack of suitable comparative documentation. It is found that, while Al-Ghor dialect possesses features in the realisation of the definite article /-al/, which differ from the rest of the neighbouring dialects, it has otherwise a close relationship mainly with the country



dialects on both the Western and Eastern side of the river Jordan, but less so with Palestinian bedouin dialects. A fairly close relationship in certain respects also exists with Syro-Mesopotamian dialects. However,, except for intonation, the Ghawarneh dialect is not very similar to those of the North Arabian tribes.

# بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

## A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

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## Transcription

The table below showing the system of the transcription of Arabic letters used in this thesis.

ا	?	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	t
ت	t	ظ	ḍ
ث	ṯ	ع	ʿ
ج	j	غ	g
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	x	ق	q → g → j
د	d	ك	k → ḵ
ذ	ḏ	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	هـ	h
ش	š	و	w
ص	s	ي	y

### Vowels

The Vowels are broadly described as; a, ā, i, e, o, u and the long vowels as: aa, āā, ii, ee, oo, uu.

### Notes

The dot(.) below the letter is used to indicate emphatic



THE CONSONANT SYSTEM OF AL-GHOR DIALECTS

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	<u>State of Vocal Cords</u>	<u>Place of Articulation</u>	<u>Manner of Articulation</u>
ʔ	-----	Glottal	Plosive/Stop
b	Voiced	Bilabial	Plosive
t	voiceless	Dento-alveolar, non-emphatic.	Plosive
t̤	voiceless	Dental, non-sulcal	Fricative
j	voiced	Palato-alveolar	Affricate
ħ	voiceless	Pharyngeal	Fricative
x	voiceless	Uvular	Fricative
d	Voiced	Dento-alveolar, non-emphatic.	Plosive
d̤	Voiced	Dento-alveolar, non-sulcal, non-emphatic.	Fricative
r	Voiced	Alveolar	Tapped-Trilled
z	Voiced	Dento-alveolar, sulcal.	Fricative
s	Voiceless	Dento-alveolar, sulcal, non-emphatic.	Fricative
ʃ	Voiceless	Alveo-Palatal, sulcal.	Fricative
s̤	Voiceless	Dento-alveolar, sulcal, emphatic	Fricative
t̤	Voiceless	Dento-alveolar, emphatic	Plosive
d̤	Voiced	Dento-alveolar, non-sulcal, emphatic	Fricative

	<u>State of Vocal Cords</u>	<u>Place of Articulation</u>	<u>Manner of Articulation</u>
'	Voiced	Pharyngeal	Fricative
g̃	Voiced	Uvular	Fricative
g	Voiced	Velar	Plosive
f	Voiceless	Labio-dental	Fricative
k	Voiceless	Velar	Plosive
č	Voiceless	Alveo-palatal, sulcal	Affricate
l	Voiced	Alveolar- Lateral	Liquid
m	Voiced	Bilabial-nasal	Continuant/Liquid
n	Voiced	Alveolar, nasal	Continuant/Liquid
h	Voiceless	Glottal	Fricative
w	Voiced	Labio-velar	Semi-vowel
y	Voiced	Palatal	Semi-vowel
q	Voiceless	Uvular	Plosive
q̣	Voiced	Dento-alveolar, emphatic	Plosive

### THE VOWEL SYSTEM

1. The Short vowel are:-

i, e, a, ɔ, o, u, and ə

2. The Long vowel

ii	uu
ee	oo
aa	qa

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## Abbreviations

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Journals and Series

BASOR	<u>Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research.</u>
BSOAS	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.</u> London
EI	<u>Encyclopaedia of Islam</u>
JAOS	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society,</u> Newhaven.
JSS	<u>Journal of Semitic Studies</u>
MES	<u>Middle Eastern Studies</u> . London
ZDMG	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</u> Leipzig.
ZDPV	<u>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</u> . Vol. XXXVIII. Leipzig. 1915.

Other abbreviations and Symbols

Cl. Ar.	Classical Arabic
fem.	feminine
masc.	masculine
Pl.	plural
sing.	singular
O.A.	Old Arabic
Act. part.	Active Participle
Pass. part.	Passive Participle
←	arising from
→	becoming

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

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The aim of this thesis is to investigate, describe and discuss the contemporary spoken dialect of the people of Al-Ghor<sup>ak</sup> (the Jordan Valley), or more precisely, of the eastern side of the Jordan Valley which is now within the political boundaries of Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, though some reference will be made to the West Bank of Jordan as well.

The historical antecedents of these people, their tribal division, customs, etc., will likewise be given attention.

Work of this type is exposed to certain difficulties. Though early travellers have made occasional references to the people of Al-Ghor, these references are scattered in a vast literature, only a small part of which was available to me here. Again, whilst some linguistic observations were made (as by Bergsträsser), there is no previous coherent description and discussion of the speech of these people. The thesis had, therefore, to be based largely on my own field work and field recordings (by tape recorder) which were thereafter transcribed and analysed. The work was undertaken during a stay of six weeks, from May to June 1977, and three weeks in March 1978, arranged specially to obtain these recordings, and

\* Following the general principle adhered to in this thesis of spelling place names as found on maps, Al-Gor will throughout be written with simple o (not oo, or aw).



also the necessary background information about the tribal structure, history, customs, etc., of the people found in this area. This task proved to be by no means an easy one, especially during my first period of investigations in 1977.

The Arabs as a nation do not gladly give information of a private nature to strangers, and this attitude is very prevalent among the tradition-bound people of Al-Ghor. Moreover, there is an attitude among them, dating back to Ottoman times, which suspects hidden motives in official enquiries, which are best countered by hiding away, or anyway, if possible, by avoiding the giving of information. I may illustrate this by quoting one case.

I went once to a potential informant, and asked him for information. He welcomed me, and gave me a cup of coffee and tea, and invited me to eat with him. I had, however, already had my lunch and asked him a little later whether he could give me any information about his clan and himself. He replied, "I do not know anything. I am a farmer and that is all." I tried again, but without success. However, by chance I knew that a relative of mine was an officer stationed at the local police station, and I went to him and asked him if he would come with me to that person. He did so, and once the man saw the policeman he greeted us, and after we had had tea, coffee, and food, I again asked him to give me some information.

He looked at the officer and said to me, "Why did you not tell me you had a relative here?" I said, "Never mind that now, just give me the information please." He then agreed to tell me whatever I wanted, but there is little doubt that without the intervention of an official he would not have done so.

This is just one example, and other people I interviewed did not prove any easier either. Again, if I wanted to interview a female, I had to take with me an elderly woman to avert any suspicions, or I had to go to the girls' school and ask the teacher there to take the tape recorder to the girl's home, and only in that way did I succeed in obtaining a recording. One female, when I asked to interview her, said to me, "I have been to the pilgrimage (Hajj), and I pray, so I cannot give you any information at all." She obviously thought it would be impious to answer any questions.

There was, however, another way in which I could get information. My father, who owns some land in the Al-Ghor, knows some prominent people there, chiefs of tribes, and I managed to obtain help from them. Once I told such a chief what I wanted, he would quickly send for the people I had described, and arrange an interview, for me. On the whole, I succeeded in the end, in one way or another, to interview all the informants I needed without too much trouble.



All this applies to my first period of field work.  
On my second trip I did not encounter any difficulty,  
because the locals had seen me once before.

### Informants

The total number of my informants was 30, (23 male and 7 female). Of these, four came from al-Shuna al-Shamaliyya, three from al-Şawalḥa, three from al-Mashari', three from Azumaliya, two from Waqqas, two from al-Manshiya, two from Danya, two from Abu Bayda, one from al-Rayahna, one from Wadi al-Yabis, one from al-Ḥarawiya, one from Ma'di, one from Dair 'Alla, one from al Shuna al-Janubiyya, and one from al-Kufrein.

This would seem to provide a fairly even cover, best perhaps in the middle Jordan Valley.

In the selection of these informants, priority was given to older people (male or female) so as to make it possible to obtain good examples of "traditional" speech, which is apt to be modified in the case of younger people by linguistic influences connected with certain features of modern life, such as television, school, radio, the press, the cinema, etc.

### The Technique

Most of the recordings were gathered on tapes by portable tape recorder. Only conversational prose was thereafter selected for study, recitals of poetry being excluded as belonging to a different type of language. All these recordings were thereafter transcribed according to the symbols of the International Phonetic

Association's alphabet, with some slight modifications. However, in the presentation offered in this thesis a "broader" transcription has been used. This, like the terminology and general approach used in our study, owes much to T. M. Johnstone's book, Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies, London, 1967. After transcription, the texts were systematically translated into English.

#### The arrangement of the material

In this thesis we arranged the material in the following order:-

1. Introduction. In this chapter we give a brief description of how the data were collected ( and the difficulties faced in doing so), and a brief account is also given concerning the informants, and where they came from. We also offer a sketch history of the Al-Ghor, and a brief summary of information concerning the origin of the people now living there, about their social structure and traditional customs still maintained there.
2. Phonology. This chapter deals with the phonological aspects of Al-Ghor dialect, which does not appear to include any definite sub-variants. However, during the discussion we shall refer to any linguistic



differences found among them. A description is given of the realisation of consonants (including primary and secondary emphasis (tafxiim), affrication of /k/ and /q/, gemination, assimilation etc.), and of simple vowels both short and long, and diphthongs. Consonant clusters, syllable structure and stress are also dealt with here.

3. Morphology. This chapter deals, firstly, with the verbs both strong and weak, taking in the forms occurring in the perfect, imperfect, imperative, and participle in the basic, and to the extent required, in the derived forms. Both forms of types /fa'al/, /fi'al/, and /fi'il/ (and their respective imperfects) of the normal strong verbs receive attention. Coming to nouns, attention is given to the nominal patterns occurring in the dialect, to diminutive forms, and to the singular, dual and plurals, both sound and broken, of nouns. Variations from classical Arabic patterns also receive attention. Collective nouns are treated, and traces of nunation (tanwīn) are noted. Various forms of adjectives expressing the comparative and superlative are likewise described. Pronouns (demonstrative, and personal), and pronominal suffixes, numerals including use of the description and conjunction are also dealt with.

4. Lexis. This section offers a list of certain verbs, and nouns, adjectives, and phrases found in the speech of Al-Ghor people. Note is taken of the general fields of



human activities in which these occur, and various meanings derived from basic connotations are also noted occasionally.

5. Syntax. This chapter deals with some syntactical features as agreement, the use of the complements, the employment of tenses (perfect, pluperfect, imperfect) and certain types of sentences, such as conditional sentences, and negative sentences.

6. Comparison and conclusion. This chapter deals with the comparison of Al-Ghor dialect with the adjacent regions, east and west of the River Jordan, from all the aspects of the language, i.e. linguistically, e.g. phonology, morphology, lexis and syntax, and it is intended to determine the position of Al-Ghor dialect among the other dialects in the vicinity, and its relationship to these.

## Previous Relevant Studies

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The only study which directly takes into consideration the spoken dialect of Al-Ghor people is the well known investigation by Bergsträsser, G. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina - Vereins, vol. XXXVIII, 1915, "Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina". Bergsträsser features in his maps an entry Ghawarneh (Gauärne in his transcription. 14 in his list p. 177) When we checked against our own findings, Bergsträsser's data corresponds with very few exceptions to ours, if Al-Ghor dialect is regarded as belonging chiefly to the Bedouin or recently settled Bedouin. It must be said, however, that Bergsträsser does not present individual and original field recording, but the Al-Ghor speech forms have to be deduced from the general framework in which they are placed in each case.

A slightly puzzling feature is also that Bergsträsser places his reference No. 14 not in the Jordan Valley proper, north of the Dead Sea, but to the east of it, where the hills rise steeply towards the Trans-Jordan plateau. The reason for this is unclear. At least present dialects of Al-Ghor are not found in those parts, but only in the Jordan proper, from which indeed the Ghawarneh have afterward been named.



### Physical Geography

Al-Ghor, according to Lane's Arabic-English Dictionary,<sup>1</sup> means "low or depressed land, country or ground" and similar meanings are offered by other scholars, like E. Robinson and E. Smith: "al-Ghor, signifying a depressed tract or plain, usually between two mountains."<sup>2</sup>

It is a rift valley 105 kilometres (64 miles) long and 5-10 kilometres wide (3-6 miles), running in a north-south direction between Lake Tiberias, which is 200 metres below sea level, and the Dead Sea, 400 metres below sea level. Al-Ghor is surrounded by hills on both the eastern and western sides; to the east by the mountains of Balqa and 'Ajlun, and to the west by the mountains of Galilee and Nablus. These mountains are interrupted only by a few watercourses, some with perennial streams. The chief stream-beds from both sides are the following:-<sup>3</sup>

1. From north to south (on the western side)
  - a) The Wādi Hindaj, opposite Lake Huleh, known in its uppermost reaches as Wādi Fara.
  - b) The Wādi 'Amūd, Rubadiya (or Tuffa), and Ḥaman, is flowing into Lake Tiberias, and the Wādi Bira (or Sherrar) joining the Jordan south of it.

1. E. W. Lane. Arabic-Dictionary, Book 1. Part 6. London 1877. p. 2308.

2. Biblical Researches in Palestine by E. Robinson and E. Smith. Vol. 2. London, 1838, p. 258.

3. Geographical names are quoted as given in Palestine & TransJordan, Geographical Handbook Series, London, 1943,

c) The Nahr Jalūd, draining the Emek Jezreel past Beisan into the Jordan.

d) The Shubāsh, Mālih, Far'ia (or the Wādi Jauzala), Ahmar, and 'Auja, rivers of Samaria.

e) The Kelt and Makallik, of northern Judea, the last entering to the Dead Sea directly. Further south, the great eastern walls of Judean plateau, 3500 feet high, are cut by impassable ravines and gorges.<sup>1</sup>

2. The main streams from the eastern side are:

a) Al-Yarmuk River, from which the water of East Ghor Canal is taken.

b) Wādi al-'Arab.

c) Wādi Ziqlab.

d) Wādi al-Yābis.

e) Wādi Shu'eib.

f) Wādi Kufranja.

g) Wādi Rājib.

h) al-Zarka River.

i) Wādi al-Kufrein.

Al-Ghor is economically very important to Jordan, for it is considered as Jordan's greenhouse. It has a rich soil and is blessed with a climate conducive to all-year-round agricultural production, if the necessary water can be provided. Al-Ghor receives rain only during the

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1. Palestine & TransJordan, Geographical Handbook Series, London, 1943, pp. 21-22.



months of October until May, and whilst the northern part receives ca. 380 mm. (15 inches), and is quite green, the southern part receives only ca. 164 mm. ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches), and is practically a desert region. Since the mid 1960's, water has been diverted from the Yarmuk River into the East Ghor Canal, which irrigates the east Jordan Valley as far as the Karama region.

### Climate

The Jordan Valley (al-Ghor) is warm and becomes very hot during the summer months (May - October); but it is cool to comfortably warm during the winter months (November - April). In the northern part of the Valley, the mean summer and winter temperatures are ca. 30.5C (87F), and ca. 14.4C (58F) respectively, whilst the mean high extreme for summer is 41.5C (107F), and the mean low extreme for winter is ca. 7.3C.

### Economic Activity in the Past and Present

In the past Al-Ghor was at times inhabited mostly by unsettled tribes, because of the heat, and a shortage of water, except for the few places where water flows down from the surrounding mountains or is provided by wells and springs, as at Jericho. However, Denis Baly says, " It must not be imagined, however, that the fact that the lower Ghor was desert meant that it was uncultivated. Far back in the time of Abraham there had been many little settlements along the edges of the hills, and under the Roman genius the Ghor was made to flourish, for the waters

from the hills were brought in aqueducts, and spread among the palm groves of the plain." <sup>1</sup> And the above is confirmed, where Biblical times are concerned, by Aharoni, who says: "The eastern side of the Jordan Valley is watered by many rivers and therefore we find a chain of important cities from the Sea of Galilee in the north and the Dead Sea in the south." <sup>2</sup> In the Arab Middle Ages, the Al-Ghor was partly cultivated and of some economic importance. Al-Mukaddasi, quoted by Le Strange, says "Syria is very pleasantly situated. The country, physically, may be divided into four zones .....The third zone is that of the valley of the Jordan Ghour, where are found many villages and streams, also palm trees, well cultivated fields, and indigo plantations." <sup>3</sup> Le Strange adds, "Everywhere in this district the traveller of the present day meets with ruined mills for crushing the cane, (named *Tawahin as-Sukkar*). The cultivation of the sugar cane was introduced into Western countries from Khuzistan in Persia." <sup>4</sup> During the period of Turkish rule, the Al-Ghor languished and cultivation declined, much of the land being

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1. The Geography of the Bible, by Denis Baly, London, 1962, p. 201.
  2. The Land of the Bible, by Yohanan Aharoni, London, 1967, p. 31.
  3. Palestine under Moslems, by G. Le Strange, Beirut, 1965, p. 15. (Muk.186)
  4. Le Strange. Op. Cit. p. 17. See further op. cit., p. 30-31, concerning Al-Ghor and its products.



used by nomad tribes for pasture. In addition, raiding by neighbouring Arab tribes made the region unsafe. Very early in the 19th century, J. L. Burckhardt, had this to say of the Jordan valley: "The Valley of the Jordan affords pasturage to numerous tribes of Bedouins. Some of them remain here the whole year, considering it as their patrimony; others visit it only in winter; of the latter description are the Bedouins who belong to the districts of Naszera and Nablous, as well as those of the eastern mountains." <sup>1</sup> Things remained rather like this during the following 150 years or so.

More recently, since the mid-20th century, the Jordan Valley has undergone a change for the better. Security has improved, and in particular since 1957-8. There were attempts to develop and irrigate this land. One plan was to divert a Canal from the Yarmuk River, and to pump water from the river Jordan and from other springs or streams near Al-Ghor. Though all attempts to do this were postponed for a time, owing to lack of money and other reasons, in 1957, the Jordanian government proceeded with a project for the so-called East Ghor Canal, with the aim to provide Al-Ghor with water, and to irrigate part of the land. This Canal now draws most of its water from a

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1. Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, by J. L. Burckhardt, London, 1822. p. 346.



diversion of the Yarmuk River. Reservoirs have been built at Ziqlab, Shu'eib, and Kafrein, and the major reservoirs project, the King Talal Dam on the Zarka River has also been completed.

The length of the Ghor Canal is about 120 kilometres; it starts in the Yarmuk River in the north to al-Karama region, and it has not been finished yet. Nevertheless, this Canal now irrigates most of the east Jordan Valley. Because of the Canal, thousands of acres are classed as irrigated land alongside the Canal, but in the hills irrigation is on a very small scale. This project attracted many people from Al-Ghor, as well as outsiders. For this reason many people came from various areas, especially from the surrounding regions of Al-Ghor. Some of these people settled in Al-Ghor permanently.

#### Communications

Roads are an important element in the country. Al-Ghor, as an agricultural land, needs roads between the villages and cities to enable the people to send their products to the big markets, in Amman and Irbid in particular. Before the project for the East Ghor Canal, there were some minor roads in Al-Ghor which were used for motor transport. These linked up with the villages, but recently the road network has been improved and can be used by both light and heavy vehicles. The main roads which cross Al-Ghor now are the following: From the West Bank there is the

road from Jerusalem via Jericho to Amman, which crosses the Jordan river at Allenby Bridge. The road from Haifa to Irbid, and eventually on to Baghdad, crosses the Jordan river at Jiser al-Majāmi'; this is the oldest road crossing Al-Ghor. The most important road is now the one between Nablus and Irbid; this crosses most of the villages of Al-Ghor. It has been improved and widened recently so as to take any type of vehicle, and it is now the busiest road in the region.

#### Political boundaries and Administrative divisions

Politically, the eastern side of the Jordan valley is now partly in Syria, partly in Jordan, while the west bank is at present under Israeli control. Such a division is a fairly novel phenomenon, for the Jordan never acted as a political boundary until 1923.<sup>1</sup>

The Jordanian part of Al-Ghor is divided into three sections administratively: The northern district of Al-Shuna Al-Shamaliya, the central one around Al-Mashāri', and in the south Al-Shuna Al-Janubiya. Mayors (Mukhtars) are found in all the villages of Al-Ghor. The administrators of these districts are appointed by the government, but the Mayors are appointed by the local communities, and each one of them is the representative of his village for the district administrators.

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1. Palestine & Transjordan, Geographical Handbook Series, London, 1943, p. 401.



### The Inhabitants

The term "Ghawarneh" means "inhabitants of the Ghor" (Jordan Valley), and they are, or were, found in this form in the upper Jordan region near the former Lake Huleh down to the middle Jordan Valley near Beisan, and the lower Jordan region in the vicinity of Jericho; indeed they have also been found South of the Dead Sea in the Ghor aş-Şāfi.<sup>1</sup>

However, Ghawarneh have been found in other parts of Palestine. Oppenheim mentions them as breeders of buffalos in the swamps near 'Akka, they were once found near the Wādi az-Zerka in the coastal plain, and some reportedly lived near the Frank Mountain, south of Jerusalem, and near Deir Mar Yuḥanna in the same region.<sup>2</sup>

This study will deal only with those Ghawarneh who live on the Jordanian side of the Jordan Valley, from near 'Adasiya in the north down to Al-Shuna Al-Janubiya in the south, and with whom the writer has had personal contact.

### Early descriptions of the Ghawarneh

The earliest possible mention of the Ghawarneh goes back to the 12th century. The well known geographer and traveller al-Idrisi, quoted by G. Le Strange, described

1. M. F. Oppenheim, Die Beduinen, Vol. 2. Leipzig, 1943.p.12.

2. Oppenheim. op.cit. p. 273.



the people of Al-Ghor as follows: "Its inhabitants are brown-skinned, and some of them are even almost black."<sup>1</sup> Only in the 19th century, however, do references become more numerous and detailed. In 1874, H. B. Tristram, in his book, The Land of Moab', said of the Ghawarneh "They are an unmanageable and dangerous tribe."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in G. Schumacher, The Jaulan, in 1889, referred to the Ghawarneh in not very flattering terms.<sup>3</sup>

G. A. Smith, in his book "The Historical Geography of the Holy Land" described the Ghawarneh, "Within the Arab family are differences that approach racial degree. The tropical Ghor has engendered, or fostered, a variety of Arab, the Ghawarneh, whose frizzled hair and blackened skin contrast with the semitic features of the Bedouin of the plateaus."<sup>4</sup>

The author of Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif described Riḥa (Jericho) "The proper inhabitants of Riḥa were rated at about fifty men or some two hundred souls, but the number had been diminished by the conscription. They are of the Ghawarneh, or inhabitants of the Ghor, a mongrel race between the Bedwy and Hudhry, disowned and despised of both."<sup>5</sup>

1. G. Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslem, Beirut, 1956, p. 31.
2. H. B. Tristram, The Land of Moab', London, 1874, p. 44-45
3. G. Schumacher, The Jaulan, 1889, London. pp. 60-61.
4. G. A. Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, London, 1st edition, 1894, p. 183.
5. Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif, Encyclopaedia of Knowledge, (in Arabic) by Fuʿad al-Bustani, Vol. 2, p. 21, Beirut, 1974, p. 21.

Most recently, Yehuda Karmon, in his book "Israel, A Regional Geography", writes: "In the 19th century a settlement was renewed by the tribes of Ghawarneh, comprising a mixture of deserters from the Egyptian army of Ibrahim Pasha. They set up a small number of villages and organised a form of irrigation for rice and maize." <sup>1</sup>

### The people

There are two kinds of people in Al-Ghor:

- 1) The inhabitants of Al-Ghor.
- 2) The outsider people, i.e. the people who came recently into Al-Ghor after the East Ghor Canal has been established, and who were attracted by the economic possibilities which now exist there. However, this study is concerned only with the original inhabitants of Al-Ghor, the Ghawarneh.

### The people of Al-Ghor: The communities of Al-Ghor: \*

The inhabitants of Al-Ghor are in their own estimation of three kinds:

- a) Al-ʔahraar, "the freemen".
- b) The Ghawarneh.
- c) Al-ʔbiid, "the slaves".

However, all these are rated as Ghawarneh in the wider sense,

1. Israel, A Regional Geography. Yehuda Karmon, London, 1971, p.166.

\* The names of tribes and individuals are given in the transcription used in the main body of the thesis.



and the speech of all of them is investigated in this thesis.

The origin of the tribes in Al-Ghor

According to what I have heard from my informants, the first people who lived in Al-Ghor were Al-Mahaadiya. Those people came from Syria, and they fought with the people of Al-Ghor at that time, namely the 'Adwaan tribe, and the 'Adwaan tribe drove them away to Syria, and they are still there today. The 'Adwaan tribe ruled in Al-Ghor for some time, until other tribes came, namely Bani Şaxar.

With regard to the north part of Al-Ghor, the first people who ruled were the tribe of Şxuur al-Ghor. They controlled most of that area, and they moved away. After them came the tribe of Al-Buun, the name of their chief was M<sup>v</sup>isawwi<sup>t</sup>h Abu Alliban. They ruled for sometime and a number of their tribe are still in that area.

These events happened at the time of Abd al-Ḥamiid II, the Şultan Caliph of the Ottoman Empire. According to my informants the Al-Buun tribe originally came from Egypt. As for the village near Al-Shūna Al-Shamaliya called Al-'Adasiya, the inhabitants of this village were Persians, and some of them are still there. (Al-Shūna Al-Shamaliya is the capital of the northern part of Al-Ghor.)

The names of the clans still in Al-Shūna Al-Shamaliya are: - Adḡheraat, Al-Buun, Ali'bidiya, Aligḡa, Arrbayi'

The names of the villages and their clans near



Al-Shūna Al-Shamaliya are:-

The village of Al-Baqūra: the clans are Al-Hindaawi, Abu 'Abbaas, Al-'Azzaam, Abu 'As'ad, and Šamlooni.

The village of Al-'adasiya: the clans are Al-Waakid and Al-'ajam "the Persians".

The names of the other clans which are scattered near Al-Shūna Al-Shamaliya are:- Majaadla, Aligyaam, Al-Maraawna, Aš-Šawaahiin, Al-Ḥamaamra, Al-Maḡaarba, Adda Laayka and Al-Mašarga.

These tribal sections and clans in this area are not Ghawarneh. They told me that they came from various places, like Egypt, Western Palestine, and East Jordan, but from the linguistic aspect, they exhibit on the whole the same features as the rest of the Al-Ghor. (Details will be discussed below in the chapter dealing with phonology).

Coming now to the middle part of Al-Ghor, the main tribal groups in these parts are:- Al-Ġzaawiyya, Al-Balaawna, Al-Mašaalxa, 'abbad, Az Znaatiya and Al-Bašaatwa.

These tribes live in various villages, and we list hereafter the tribes, clans and the villages in which

they live:-

1) Al-Gzaawiyya This tribe consists of several clans or sub-tribes:

- |                 |                |                 |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| a) Ad-Dbees     | b) At-Twesaat  | c) Al-Bawaati   |
| d) Al-Baakiir   | e) Az-Zenaat   | f) Al-'awaamreh |
| g) Al-Rayaaḥneh | h) Al-Xaššaan  | i) Kan'aan      |
| j) Al-Qweesim   | k) Al-Kafarneh | l) ?i'besiya    |

All these clans are not true blood relations to the main tribe, except for the clan of Kan'aan - the only one which has a genuine blood relation with Al-Gzaawiyya, as far as my informants told me; though most of the others are of Ghawarneh stock. The other clans, which were at that time lacking the elements of protection and finance, attached themselves to Al-Gzaawiyya, the reason being that Al-Gzaawiyya were then affluent and powerful. On the other hand, these clans used to live in Al-Ghor before Al-Gzaawiyya came to Al-Ghor, and when these clans found this tribe they attached themselves to it, and now they consider themselves as part of the main tribe. Indeed they share responsibilities with them in every respect as if they were descended from them.

I collected two stories concerning the origin of the Al-Gzaawiyya tribe. The first one is from one of its members; When I asked him about the origin of his tribe, he told me that it was from Al-Hijāz (Saudi Arabia) at the time when the Bedouin tribes emigrated from that place.



He said, "We came to Jordan, and lived for a while in an area near 'Ajluun, called Sikhra, and later we came down to Al-Ghor."

The other story, which I have been told by most of the informants I spoke to, is that Al-Gzaawiyya came originally from Ghazza, and they then went on to Sikhra to live there. At that time, there were no inns or guest houses where travellers could be put up. However, near Sikhra there was a big cave, and the people of Sikhra used to put up anyone who came to them in this cave. However, it so happened that nobody who spent the night there was found alive next morning. The people of Al-Gzaawiyya knew of this fact. When a group of Al-Gzaawiyya came to this village and were put in this cave at night, the chief of the Al-Gzaawiyya stayed awake. He saw a big snake coming from the back of the cave, and it went to the water pot (some say milk pot) and drank from it, and then spat all it had drunk back into the same pot while the chief was watching. Next morning, he warned his people not to drink from this pot, and he covered the pot up. During the following night, the same thing happened again, but when the snake drank from the same water (or milk) it burst open and died. Then suddenly the back of the cave opened, and the Al-Gzaawiyya found a treasure there and they took it. So the chief vowed to God to make a pilgrimage and asked if any others would like to go, not only from his tribe but also from



anywhere else. He did this for seven or eight years.

Then some people plotted to kill him, and among these were his deputy and seal-holder, and that is the reason why he left his village and went to Al-Ghor.

2) Al-Balaawneh The origin of this tribe is from Al-Hijāz (Saudi Arabia), according to a statement made to me by one of its members. This is true, because the tribe of Al-Balaawneh is a section of Bili<sup>1</sup> which was at home originally in Saudi Arabia. Here are the clans of this tribe:

- |                 |                |                |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| a) Al-'Alaawneh | b) Az-Znemaat  | c) Al-Yasiin   |
| d) Al-Xanaatla  | e) Al-MaXaalda | f) Al-'Asaawda |
| g) Al-Maraayha  |                |                |

Among these, there are three clans who are related in blood to the main body of Al-Balaawneh, namely:

Al-'Alaawneh, Al-Xanaatla and Al-MaXaalda, but the remaining clans are attached to the main tribe for various reasons, similar to those mentioned in the case of Al-Gzaawiyya. The villages where these clans are at present living are:

- |           |                  |           |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| a) Qlē'āt | b) Al-Ḥarrawiyya | c) Waqqās |
| d) Bṣēla  | e) Al-Mashāri'   |           |

All these clans are settled in Al-Ghor and have bought land there, and most of them are now farmers or landowners, and workers.

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1. Juġrāfiyyat Shibh Jazīrat al-'arab by Omar Kaḥḥāla, 2nd edition, 1384 H. 1964 Cairo - pp. 14, 213.

3) Al-Mašaalxa According to the informants, and interviews with other people from Al-Ghor, this tribe is the oldest tribe in Al-Ghor and they are true Ghawarneh, except for one clan.

The clans which have branched off from this tribe are:-

- a) ?ibn S'eefaan
- b) Al-Faa'uur                      they live in Deir 'Alla
- c) Al-Rabii'
- d) Aš'atti                          they live in Abu 'ubayda
- e) Al-Mašaahra                    they live in Krayymeh
- f) Al-'Alaagma                    they live in Al-Mallaaḥa
- g) Admeedaat
- h) Addayyaat
- i) Aḥḥwaraat
- j) Al-Miḥsin
- k) Al-Garaagiir                    they live in Deir 'Alla

I have been told that all these clans are from Al-Ghor except for the Al-Faa'uur clan. This clan came from Syria, and I have been told by one of its members that they still have relatives in that country.

4) 'Abbaad This tribe lives in Deir 'Alla. It includes a number of clans, namely:-

- a) Al-Xattaliin                    b) Al-N'eemaat                    c) Al-dreesaat
- d) Al-Gananmeh                   e) Al-Yazjiin                      f) Al-Manaasiir
- g) Al-Ramaadne

All these clans live around Deir 'Alla.



5) Al-Znaatiyya According to informants, this tribe came from western Palestine a long time ago, i.e. the Beisaan region. They live in Al-Ghor and they are regarded as prominent people in that region. They are not a very big tribe, compared with the others, and some people consider them as a branch from Al-Gzaawiyya tribe.

6) Al-Bašaatwa This tribe is very old in Al-Ghor, and it is believed that it came from Western Palestine, just across the river Jordan. They are true Ghawaarneh, according to informants. The main clans of Al-Bašaatwa are:-

- |                |                |               |
|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| a) Aš-šheemaat | b) Aš-šahaayne | c) Al-ʿAmri   |
| d) Al-Bakkaar  | e) Aš-škuur    | f) Al-Ṭraamša |

All these clans live in Al-Ghor, and work there.

In addition to the above tribes, there are small independent families living in Al-Ghor interspersed here and there.

The list of the tribes and clans I included in this thesis coincides to some extent, but by no means entirely, with the lists which are given by Oppenheim in his book "Die Beduinen". In the case of the Al-Bašaatwa<sup>1</sup> tribe, Oppenheim mentioned more clans than I was told about. In the case of Sxuur al-Ghor<sup>2</sup> I have collected

1. M. J. Oppenheim, Die Beduinen, Vol 2, Leipzig, 1943. Bašaatwa, pp. 33-34.

2. Oppenheim, op. cit. Sxuur Al-Ghor p. 193.



more names of clans than he did, and in reference to the Al-Ġzaawiyya<sup>1</sup>, the Al-Mašaalxa<sup>2</sup> and the Al-Balawneh<sup>3</sup> he has again mentioned more than I have, but there are some tribal groups, the names of which I collected, which are not found in his aforementioned book.

Not all these Ghawaarneh are to be found in Al-Ghor all the time, since during the time of summer heat many people migrate to the adjoining hills, and Al-Ghor may at that time be almost empty. Conversely, people tend to flock to the Ghor in winter, when it is pleasantly warm compared with the bleak climate of the neighbouring hill country.

The fact that people of African descent tolerate summer heat better than other people may have some bearing on the frequency of dark skin pigmentation among the Ghawaarneh, who tend to be brown or black.

Relations between all the various tribes mentioned are no longer hostile; they no longer fight each other as they used to, partly because of the existence of strong government, and education in the region. However, social distinctions still exist; for instance, the bigger tribal groups consider themselves as notable people distinct

1. M. J. Oppenheim, Die Beduinen, Vol 2, Leipzig, 1943. Al-Ġzawiyya, pp. 196-197.
2. Oppenheim, op. cit. pp. 199-200.
3. Oppenheim, op. cit. pp. 201.

from the others, partly because they have more land and money than the others, and when a government representative comes to visit Al-Ghor he will be met by these people first and discuss with them affairs in general and matters involving other groups as well.

### Structure of the Community

All the people of Al-Ghor are sedentary, they no longer live in tents, except temporarily near their own land at the time of active cultivation. City dwellers call them "FallaHiin" or "Ghawarneh", and think them unused to modern ways of life, like entertainments such as the cinema. In fact the lifestyle of the people of Al-Ghor is very traditional. Thus the women of Al-Ghor do not go out of their houses without covering their heads, according to Islamic Law, but they go out and work in the fields alongside the men. As far as social structure is concerned, their life is more or less like the life of Bedouins. Each tribe in Al-Ghor has a chief or sheikh, who is responsible for everything. If anything happens to a clansman, he goes and discusses matters with him. Also each clan is usually represented by a Mukhtar or Mayor, whose position is vulnerable and his support often comes from his own clan, but he is not as important as the chief of the tribe.

The people of the clan are blood relatives, and they call themselves Awlaad Al-'Amm "Sons of the cousin", or luzum. Since they are blood relations, if anything happens such as the need to pay compensation for the killing of one of them, all the clan will bear the consequences, and the big tribe will help too. Awlaad Al-'Amm perform an important function of social control.



It is immediately implicated in cases of honour, e.g. murder, assault, adultery, and several other things committed against any member of the group. For this, the whole kinsgroup has to contribute towards the truce and blood money demanded by the victim's kinsgroup. This contribution has also to be made by the rest of the tribe to whom the group is related.

Although the tribes of the Al-Ghor and their clans were not originally all linked to each other by blood, as I mentioned above, soon these clans all considered themselves members of the tribe whose name they have adopted, and they fulfill their duties towards the tribe as if they were their true relations.

However, there are a few independent families here and there, but they do not go out of their tribal circle, and its traditional way of life. That is to say, if anything happens to a member of one of these families, he will go straight to the chief of a neighbouring clan and discuss the problem with him. The relationship of the members of each family which consist of parents, brothers and sisters are close to each other, and when a young man gets married he does not like to go away from his parents' home, so that he may be able to help his parents in their work. Each chief has a big room called Diwaan or Maḍaafa "guest house", where the people gather together to drink coffee, and discuss the affairs of the

tribe or other tribes, or any events which happen between them and other tribes; or even government issues. The chief has the final word on all these matters. If the chief dies, it is more likely his son will take over, if he appears capable, otherwise the dead chief's brother or the next of kin will fill the vacant place. To deal with tribal affairs is not an easy task, but it needs a respectable man who has experience in this field.

#### Marriage Customs

The people of the Al-Ghor, Ghawarneh, like many other Arab groups, tend to get married rather than to stay single, if they have the means. This is because the more sons a man has, the more power and influence he has. Furthermore, they like to have many children in order to help in the fields, and in other matters.

If a person has no sons from his first wife, he will marry again in order to have sons. I noticed this when doing my fieldwork, and I met people who have more than one wife - two or even three- and they are proud of their sons. For example, I met one informant who told me that he has twenty sons and daughters from three wives, and in addition ten other children who died.

#### The Steps of Marriage

The first rule for a man when he wants to get married is that he should marry his cousin (bint Al-'amm) "his father's brother's daughter" if he has one, if not he should marry the next of kin to his cousin, because



they do not like to marry outsiders. From the girl's point of view it is the same case.

Exceptional cases occur, like elopement. If a man wants to marry a girl and there are obstacles from his or her parents, the only way is to elope with her, but these cases are very, very rare.

The first step in marriage after a man has somehow managed to see the girl in question, is that his father sends a man (Ṭaariṣ or waṣīṭ)<sup>1</sup> The task of this man is to get things going, and to tell the girl's family about the potential groom and his position and other things about him. The bride's father will tell him "Go now and we will send somebody to inform you about our decision." The long discussion might take several hours or days. The girl's father will then consult his wife and his sons, brothers and other close relatives, and they mention the matter to the girl. If all of them agree to give her to that man, they will send a messenger to the groom's father to tell him that they agree to give their daughter to his son.<sup>2</sup> The girl's consent is not vital, but she normally agrees with the decision of her father.

Once the groom's father has received the news that

1. Marriage Conditions in Palestinian villages, by H. Granqvist, vol. 6. Helsingfors, 1935, p. 9.

2. Granqvist, op. cit. p. 12.

the other side has agreed to give their daughter in marriage, he announces this to all his clan, friends and neighbours. On the next day, the groom's father gathers together his relatives and the notable people from his clan (called Jāha) and tribes, and they go to the girl's house to negotiate the marriage payment and other things.

On their arrival at the house, the father serves them coffee, and everybody puts his cup in front of him. The chief or representative of this group will say, in front of all of them, "O Abu Flaan (Oh father of so and so) we came to ask you for the girl's hand for our son, and we will not drink this coffee until you give us your word." Then the girl's father will say, "I give you my word." i.e. I give my daughter to your son.

These things are done in a fairly formal way. Then they drink coffee and they start to negotiate the payment or dowry (mahar). Finally they agree.

I would like to explain what mahar (dowry) is:- There are two kinds<sup>x</sup> of mahar; the first one is called Mahar Mu'ajjal, the second is called Mahar Mu?ajjal. According to Islamic Law, the mahar ought to be paid to the girl, but her father will take it on her behalf, or if her father is not alive her elder brother, or her uncle or a legal guardian (wakiil). The amount of money depends on various factors. A poor man cannot afford a very large sum, unlike a rich man who can afford to pay a lot. The

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\* i.e. speedy or delayed bridal payment.



first, Mahar Mu'ajjal, the groom's father should pay immediately after the agreement; but the second, Mahar Mu'ajjal, will be paid if anything should happen between the groom and the bride, e.g. divorce. The Mahar used to be in terms of land, houses or livestock (sheep, goats and cows), but nowadays it is mainly money, or a combination of one of the aforementioned and money.

The next morning, the groom gathers together his friends and starts "Ta'liil", spending several nights dancing and singing, usually between five and seven days, and he slaughters sheep or goat or whatever he is able to offer. He invites everybody including the chief of his tribe. At this stage, the groom's father pays some of the Mahar al-Mu'ajjal to the girl's father, and they recite the Fatiḥa, i.e. the opening chapter of The Holy Qurān. This arrangement is called a "Khutba" engagement. After that, if the groom wants to marry a few days later, he will ask his father to make "aqd al-nikah)<sup>1</sup>

The groom's father will ask the Imam, or the ma'ḍuun, to conduct the marriage. When the Imam arrives at the girl's house, everybody sits down, including the groom's father and the girl's father and two male witnesses. After that, the Imam starts to conduct the marriage; the

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1. Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village, by H. Granqvist, Vol. 6. Helsingfors, 1955, p. 2

girl's father and the groom's father put their hands together and the Imam says to the girl's father, "Do you give your daughter in marriage to the son of so and so?" The Imam mentions the amount of the mahar.

The girl's father replies, "Yes", and the Imam asks the groom's father, "Do you accept this offer?" and the Imam repeats the same question, and he says "Yes", and within this the Imam has completed the ceremony. There must be a declaration of intention from both sides (?ijaab) and (Qabuul), after that both sides sign the paper along with the witnesses.

On the Wedding Day, the groom's father gathers together his people from his own clan who will proceed in a procession of cars to the bride's house, accompanied by music (Zaffa) and firing into the air. When they arrive, the girl's father and his people will meet them with delight and joy. The girls who accompanied the groom's father will go to the house and take the bride, and put her into the car, together with the mother and sisters of both the groom and the bride, and then they go around the area for one or two hours. Finally, they go to the groom's home and the women put the girl on a dais where she sits down. They sit together while the people sing. After a while, the relatives leave the bride and bridegroom, and everyone goes home.

As I mentioned before, the people of Al-Ghor are



classified into three classes:-

- a) Al-ʔahrar      b) the Ghawarneh      c) Al-ʕabiid

According to what I have heard from the people of Al-Ghor, and particularly from those who are concerned with the Al-ʔahrar, people do not give or take in marriage members of the Ghawarneh and ʕabiid in almost any circumstances. Very few such cases happen where elopment is concerned. On the other hand, the Ghawarneh people in principle do not give their girls in marriage to ʕabiid but a few cases may occur. However, these customs now tend to disappear, though very slowly. Indeed the Ghawarneh people do not go and ask others, i.e. Al-ʔahrar for marriage, because they know what the answer will be.

I myself talked to some people from Al-ʔahrar about this subject, and I mentioned that such restrictions were against Islam, I was given the answer "yes, but such marriages outside the customary restrictions here have never occurred before in our forefather's time."

#### Circumcision (tuhuur)

As an Islamic practice, every Muslim child should be circumcised, but the time of circumcision differs with the people concerned. Some people circumcise their sons a few days after birth, others do it after a while - say a month - but mainly they do it when the child is very young (less than a year). In Al-Ghor the circumcision is turned into a small ceremony. When the father wants

to circumcise his child, he announces this among his family and his close relatives, and a small group of people will attend, including women. They will send to the circumciser to come to the place concerned. The boy is dressed in a white garment, when the circumciser starts operating the women start singing "Oh circumciser, do not hurt him, mind your hand, do not be harsh on him, and so on ...." The circumcision ceremony is not very big compared with the marriage. At the end of the operation, the boy's father slaughters a sheep or goat, or distributes sweets, depending on his economic situation. The whole festival may last about a day or two. The boy will stay at home until his wound is healed. During this time his father receives guests who will wish the boy all the best. Nowadays, the circumcision is often done in hospital when the child is born, and then there is no ceremony.

#### Food and Hospitality

The main food eaten by the people of the Al-Ghor is bread, rice, meat and sourmilk. Now they will also eat vegetables because they produce them. When a stranger comes to a house in the Al-Ghor, the host greets him, and offers him a cup of coffee. He asks him if he has had anything to eat, and if the guest said "yes" the host would ask him to swear by God that he had eaten. If the guest swore, then the host would serve him tea and some small snacks, but usually the host does not ask the guest



whether he has eaten or not because he considers this as reflecting on the dignity of the host. Normally, the host prepares a meal for the guest, the style of which depends on his situation. If he is not rich, he offers meat, chicken, butter, bread, eggs, yoghurt, honey and some other things. If the host is rich enough, he will especially slaughter a sheep or goat and make a "Mansaf" (Jordanian dish) which consists of meat, bread, rice and sour milk, and pinenuts on the top. It is prepared as follows:-

After the meat and rice are cooked and the bread baked, a big tray is brought. First the bread is placed on the tray, on top of the bread is placed rice and on top of the rice the meat. One must put the head of the sheep or goat in the middle of the tray. At this stage, nuts are fried and put on top of the whole dish or tray; then the sour milk, after boiling it until it thickens, is poured over as gravy. Before the host presents the dish, a man will go to the guests and other visitors to allow them to wash their hands. He starts first with the guest and then the visitors, if the visitors are invited in the guest's honour. After they have all washed their hands, two people go out and bring in the dish. When they start eating the host must serve the guest first. The host refuses to eat until all the guests have eaten. While they are eating someone sits near the chief guest and puts

meat in front of him and the guest should not refuse this. After the meal they all go and wash their hands, and then drink coffee, tea, and if there are any fruits the host will bring them. Then one of the visitors will ask the permission of the host to have the guest for a meal at his own home. If the host agrees, he will go, otherwise he will stay until the guest finishes whatever he came to do.

#### Coffee Preparation

Making Arabic coffee is an intricate affair. Coffee is one of the important elements in the social life of the Bedouins, as well as in all parts of the Arab world, and in particular in Al-Ghor. Many poets wrote about coffee, describing it as the most important thing to indicate that a certain man is very generous, and the man who does not make coffee is no longer thought so and they consider him a miser. For these reasons, a man must make coffee and he is proud of it. The musical sound of the mihbaaṣ (wooden mortar for pounding coffee beans) around the vicinity, and the smell of the coffee make him feel elated. The preparation of coffee involves many stages and here we will describe the main stages.

The coffee pots are four in number, and they are called dlaal.<sup>1</sup> The largest one is called ṭabaax "boiler"

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1. The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins, by A. Musil, New York, 1928. p.100



and it must be clean. The man who makes the coffee places it by the fire, whilst rinsing out the other three pots, and then pours their contents into the largest one. Then he takes about one pound of coffee beans, puts it in the mihmaasah "hot plate" and roasts them. When the coffee beans turn brown, he lifts the plate and puts the coffee aside into the barraad "wooden plate" specifically used for cooling coffee. Then he puts the coffee in the mihbaaš or nijir<sup>1</sup> (wooden mortar) and pounds the coffee. When the rhythmical sound of the pounding is produced by the mihbaaš, everybody in the vicinity will hear it, and there is a real artistry in making the sound of pounding. After he has pounded the coffee into small granules, he takes it out of the mihbaaš. By this time, the largest pot has started boiling and he puts the coffee he has already pounded into it, and starts boiling it for at least one hour. Then he lifts the pot aside for a while until the residue settles, He then pours the coffee into the second pot, and lets it boil for at least 45 minutes, after which he removes it, and allows it to settle, and he pours the contents into the third pot and boils it for half an hour. At the same time he puts into the mihbaaš some grains of spice known as Cardamom, and pounds them also. When the third pot has boiled and is ready, he puts

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1. The Manners and Customs of the Rwāla Bédouins, by A. Musil, New York, 1928. p. 101.

the coffee into the fourth pot, called bakkraj, and he adds the cardamom into the coffee and boils it for five to ten minutes. Then he puts the fourth pot by the fire to let its contents settle. After five minutes, the coffee is ready to serve, and he will pour it out for the guests into small cups called fanajiin.

### Ṣulḥ "peacemaking"

Ṣulḥ means peacemaking: this term is used by most tribes in Al-Ghor. The tribes have a saying "ʔAṣ-ṣulḥ sayyid al-aḥkaam" i.e. "peace is better than all verdicts given by courts", and there is a similar saying "ʔAṣ-ṣulḥ yamḥai al jurḥ" which means "peace heals the wound". For that all cases disputed may be solved by ṣulḥ.

Peace based on ṣulḥ agreement usually takes place in cases of murder, honour, and also other matters. Tribal jurisdiction is an important principle generally accepted among the tribes, and tribes have judges to deal with any matter occurring within the tribe or even outside it, and judges may even be consulted by another tribe about their own problems.

"Ṣulḥ" peacemaking occurs when somebody kills a person from another tribe. The murderer will go to his own clan and tells them about his crime. The clan will then inform the chief and the rest of the tribe. The culprit's tribe will seek an influential tribe in that area; if they do not find one they will go to another



area until they find one suitable and willing to act on their behalf. The murderer and his tribe then seek sanctuary<sup>1</sup> with that tribe.

The tribe offering sanctuary and mediation will then go to the victim's tribe and notify them of the murderer and his tribe being now under their protection "duxla", and their having undertaken this obligation. After that the culprit's tribe will pay money "Jamal al-Noom", literally "sleeping camel" or "atwa" - "payment" that is a certain preliminary sum which is given to the victim's tribe so as to enable the culprit's tribe to continue living in the area. The people who deliver the payment are the tribe giving sanctuary. Before they pay the money, the tribe giving sanctuary gather all the notable people in their own tribe, and go as "jaha" to the victim's tribe, together with a representative from the culprit's tribe. The chief and other notable people from the victim's tribe will receive them; they sit down and he pours out coffee. The tribe giving sanctuary will not drink the coffee until they have reached an agreement for peace between the murdered man's tribe and the culprit's tribe. When they have agreed they all drink coffee and the tribe offering sanctuary pays over the "atwa". After this they discuss all the arrangements; that is the victim's

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1. Arab Village, R. T. Antoun, London, 1972. p.p. 41-42

tribe agrees to make peace with the culprit's tribe against the payment of "Diyya"- "blood money". Thereafter the chief of the victim's tribe will ask for "Kafiil Wafa" and "Kafiil Dafa". The first one is someone who is a guarantor for the outstanding financial commitments, which will be given to the victim's tribe after the peace has become effective. The other one is to guarantee that nobody from the victim's tribe will attack the culprit's after peace has been established. When they have appointed these two people, they start to negotiate about the money. The chief of the victim's tribe will first ask for a staggering sum of money. The role of the chief of the sanctuary tribe is to reduce this sum; he will try very hard and at last they all agree about the sum of money to be paid. The "Kafiil al-Dafa" will then go to the culprit's tribe and inform them about the agreement, and he will bring the assassin to the victim's tribe under his own protection. He will take him to the place where they are all sitting with his "‘igaal" - "head rope" - around his neck, to prove that all the tribe accept the requirement for payment. The chief of the victim's tribe will then take the ‘igaal from the murderer's neck and put it on his head, and they all shake hands and kiss each other. After that, the victim's tribe and the sanctuary giving tribe, and also the culprit's tribe, go to have the meal which is ready for them; they drink coffee, and go away with all enmity forgotten.



## Death

When a person dies in the tribe, the rest of the tribe will be informed about the death. When the news reaches other tribes they send delegations to attend the funeral, and offer their condolences to the dead man's tribe. Then the Imam, or the religious leader in that area, will come and wash the corpse with the help of other people, and wrap him in a white shroud, and put perfume on him, and place him in the coffin. During this time some people from the dead man's tribe go to the cemetery and dig a grave for him. When they have finished the digging, the Imam and most of the people attending go to the Mosque and pray over the dead body. It is not the usual prayer, but a prayer called "funeral prayer", which is conducted with all the people standing. When they finish praying they take the body to the cemetery, some people carry the coffin and the rest of the people walk behind it. While they are walking they chant "laa ?ilaah ?ilalla" - "There is no God except Alla". If the women want to go with the funeral procession they walk behind the men, wailing and lamenting over him. When they reach the cemetery they put the dead body down on the ground, and they look at the grave to see if it is alright. They place the dead body in the grave with his face towards the qibla, i.e. "towards Mecca", and draw aside the cloth covering his face. The grave in which the body is lying is roofed over with pieces of wood,

and then all the mourners put soil on top of the roof and fill up the grave. After that, the Imam will once more pray for the dead man and the rest of the people will say "Āmiin". Thereafter, everybody will offer his condolences to the relatives of the dead person immediately after his burial, saying "al bagiyya fi ḥayaatak" i.e. "may what remains be added to your life". After that, a clan from the same tribe will invite the relatives for a meal; they will continue inviting them for at least seven days. When the period of mourning is over, then everything returns to normal, and the relatives of the dead man will receive condolences from his tribe and others.

The grave will be visited regularly, especially on Thursdays, mainly by women. Tombs are normally only erected for rich people whose families wish to do this. In the case of a woman's funeral; women will wash the body, but the burial is carried out by the men, as is the praying and all other parts of the ritual.

#### Al-Ghor at the Present time,

When the East Ghor Canal project was founded, it attracted many people from outside Al-Ghor, as well as from its native dwellers, especially when the government granted the farmers land to cultivate and to own, known as "plant units". The people of Al-Ghor are much more prosperous now than before, because Al-Ghor is considered as the "green life-line" of Jordan, as well as for export outside the country.



Because of its importance, the government started to provide Al-Ghor with all the facilities which it required. Essential services were provided, including electricity, telecommunications, and transport. The Ghor is now linked by a good road system with Amman, and Irbid. The government also established agricultural markets in certain places in Al-Ghor to enable the farmers to bring in their products and sell them, and for the outside buyers to come to Al-Ghor. Regional government facilities, including courts, branches of certain ministries and licensing offices, are located in three administrative centres along the Ghor.<sup>1</sup>

The occupations of the people of Al-Ghor vary. Some of them are workers, but the majority are farmers and land owners, and some are professionals, such as teachers or officials for the government, serving in the army, police, etc.

Each village has a separate school for boys and for girls, elementary and preparatory, but secondary schools are located in the big towns only. The school programme includes all the subjects which are found in schools in Jordan in general.

The percentage of illiterate people in Al-Ghor is now very low compared with what it was a few years ago.

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1. Jordan, Ministry of Information, London, 1978.

Most of the young people at least know how to read and write, and some of the people even become University students. The standard Arabic, therefore, is daily affecting the spoken dialect of the younger people.

The health service is also active in Al-Ghor. It is administratively divided into five districts, based on the population size, and within each health service district; there is a medical centre staffed by two doctors, which provides emergency beds, x-ray facilities and laboratories.

The people of Al-Ghor now live in houses and no longer in tents, unless they desire to have a vacation somewhere near their land when they erect a tent, otherwise all the people build houses. Depending on the economic situation of a man, he has the choice of stone or concrete. Mosques are found in every village, and tombs and other religious sites have been preserved, e.g. Mu'add Bin Jabal, Abu 'ubaydah 'aamer ?ibn al-Jarraah.

The latter is mainly visited by older folk, especially women, on Thursdays and Fridays, and it is common practice to light small "vigil" lamps or candles.



PART IP H O N O L O G YIntroduction

In this chapter we present the main phonological features of Al-Ghor dialect. The treatment of such features in this study is intended to convey what is essential only, and it is not intended to be exhaustive or comprehensive beyond this point.

For convenience of presentation, the facts of Al-Ghor phonology will be given where possible in the form of rules relating Al-Ghor forms to those of classical Arabic. In general, the difference between classical Arabic and Al-Ghor dialect forms can be classified into the following cases:

omission (e.g. the glottal stop in ʔaxada → xada)

replacement (e.g. /ʔ/ → /ʕ/ in saʔal → saʕal)

and modification of certain phonetic features to other sounds (e.g. affrication of k → č in čeef, presence of secondary emphasis in certain consonants, such as ʔarbaʕ). These are exemplified in what follows.

It will be noted that in the case of certain sounds (e.g. k → č) variation may be permitted between two or more pronunciations of the same form; where possible a statement of relative frequency of the variants has been made. This kind of variation does not appear to be connected with the existence of separate dialect communities within Al-Ghor; but pronunciation of the definite article does distinguish between all the Ghawarneh, and the non-Ghawarneh.

## Glottal Stop

The glottal stop in Al-Ghor dialect shows interesting features. As is shown below, the glottal stop is retained in certain contexts, and elided or replaced by another sound in other specifiable contexts.

I. An initial glottal stop is elided in the following cases:-

a) The glottal stop after the definite article /al/ which in turn has different realisations. e.g.

<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Ghor Dialect</u>	
?al ?ayyaam	→	liyyam	"the days"
?al ?ingliiz	→	langaliiz	"the English people"
?al ?ard	→	lard	"the land"

b) In the question-word //?ayn/ "where", the glottal stop is replaced by labio-velar-semi-vowel /w/ e.g.

?ayn → ween "where"?

c) If the glottal stop is immediately preceded by a consonant in connected speech it is elided. e.g.

gult + ?ana → gultana "I said"  
 haad + ?innu zeen → haadannuzeen "this is good"

d) The glottal stop of the nominal /adjectival/ pattern "?af'al" tends to disappear if the medial consonant is /x/ or /h/ or /' / e.g.

?ahmar → hamar "red"



<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Ghor Dialect</u>	
ʔa'ma	→	'ama	"blind"
ʔaxḍar	→	xaxḍar	"green"

In certain cases the glottal stop is however retained as in certain proper names, e.g.

ʔaḥmad → ʔaḥmad

- e) The initial glottal stop is elided in the verbal forms of two common verbs of the type "fa'al", where the initial consonant is a glottal stop and the medial is /k/ or /x/, viz

ʔaxaḍa	→	xaxḍa	"to take"
ʔakala	→	kala	"to eat"

- f) An imperfect first person singular "non-past tense" beginning with a glottal stop loses the glottal stop when a prefix /b/ or /m/ is added, e.g.

b+ ʔaḍkur	→	baḍkur	"I remember"
b+ ʔadaxxin	→	badaxxin	"I smoke"
ma+ ʔarkab	→	markab	"I do not want to ride"

- g) An initial glottal stop is elided in the plural forms ("broken" or "sound") of certain nouns denoting kinship where the first consonant of the singular form is /ʔ/ or /x/ e.g.

<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Ghor Dialect</u>	
ʔaxwaali	→	xawaali	"my uncles"
ʔaxawaati	→	xawaati	"my sisters"
ʔaʕmaami	→	ʕamaami	"paternal uncles"

- h) In the lexical item /ʔibil/ "camels", the initial glottal stop is elided, and /ʔibil/ becomes bil.

## II. Medial Glottal Stop.

- a) In cases of the occurrence of the glottal stop in words consisting of one syllable and whose structure is "cvʔc", and also in words which have more than one syllable and in which the glottal stop closes a syllable and is followed immediately by another consonant which begins the next syllable, the glottal stop is replaced by a compensating lengthening of the preceding vowel.

- 1) one-syllable word: e.g.

raʔs	→	raas	"head"
jiʔt	→	jiit	"I came"
raʔy	→	raai	"opinion"

- 2) Words or forms of more than one syllable. e.g.

raʔsuh	---	raasu	"his head"
maʔduun	→	maaduun	"licensed"

- b) The glottal stop of the verb /saʔal/ "to ask" and some of its derivatives is replaced by the voiced pharyngal fricative /ʕ/ e.g.



<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Ghor Dialect</u>	
saʔal	→	saʕal	"he asked"
suʔaal	→	suʕaal	"question"
masʔala	→	masʕala	"affair"

c) In plurals of the form /mafaaʕil/, where the pre-final consonant is a glottal stop, the glottal stop is replaced by /y/. Similarly, in active participles adjectives of the form /faaʕil/, where the medial consonant is a glottal stop, it is replaced by a /y/ glide as shown in the examples at (i) and (ii) below.

i)	qabaaʔil	→	gabaayil	"tribes"
	qalaaʔid	→	galaayid	"necklaces"
	ʕaʕaaʔir	→	ʕaʕaayir	"clans"
ii)	xaaʔif	→	xaayif	"afraid"
	qaaʔid	→	gaayid	"leader"

### III. Final Glottal Stop.

a) No final glottal stop occurs in Al-Ghor dialect, except in the word /laʔ/ "no". Otherwise it is elided. e.g.

xalaaʔ	→	xala	"open land"
balaaʔ	→	bala	"defect"
jaaʔ	→	jaa	"he came"

b) It is worth noting that the Classical Arabic /maaʔ/ "water" occurs in Al-Ghor as mayya or moyya.

These dialectal forms differ from the classical Arabic form not merely in respect of elision of the glottal stop but also in respect of the entire syllabic structure.

### The retention of the Glottal Stop

The glottal stop is retained in the following positions:-

- a) Words beginning with a glottal stop, whether it is a radical or an augment, retain the glottal stop if they initiate the utterance. e.g.

?ismi "my name"

?awwal "at first"

- b) Similarly, in the first person singular verb forms. e.g.

?aruuh "I am going" or "I will go"

- c) Similarly, in the imperative form, e.g.

?idbah "kill"

?ishrab "drink"

- d) At the beginning of an utterance, this applies even to the definite article /al/. e.g.

?al goor or "the Ghor"  
?aggor

/ʔ/ is similarly retained in some nouns of relationship in such conditions, e.g.

?ibin "son"

?uxt "sister"

- e) The glottal stop is, in such circumstances, not elided in relative forms, e.g.

?ahsan "better"

?akbar "bigger"



f) The glottal stop after pause is not elided in the relative pronouns. e.g.

haaḏa-ʔilli ma'aay "that is what I have got"

Note that the glottal stop in the expression /laʔinnu/ "because" is retained by the informant 9.

### "b"

/b/ is a voiced, bilabial, plosive. There are two variants of /b/ in this dialect, one of these is non-emphatic /b/, and the other is emphatic /ḅ/.

#### i) Non-emphatic /b/

initial:	beet	"house"
medial :	širbat	"she drank"
final :	ḥabb	"seeds/he loved"

#### ii) Emphatic /ḅ/

initial:	ḅugar	"cows"
medial :	ʔarḅa'a	"four"
final :	ṭabb	"settled"

### "t"

The consonant /t/ is a voiceless, denti-alveolar, non-emphatic, plosive. The sound /t/ in Al-Ghor dialect is similar to the Classical Arabic /t/. e.g.

initial:	taajir	"merchant"
medial :	ḥatam 'alee	"forced him"
final :	teeḥat	"she called"

Occasionally, the Classical Arabic /t/ is replaced by

the sound /d/ in this dialect. e.g.

burtuqaal → birdgaan/burudgaan "oranges"

"t"

The consonant /t/ is a voiceless, dental, non-sulcal, fricative. e.g.

initial:	ṭalaaṭiin	"thirty"
medial :	kaṭiir	"plenty"
final :	nuḥruṭ	"I/we plough"

There are apparently no cases where /t/ is replaced by /t/ or /f/.

"j"

/j/ is a voiced, palato-alveolar, affricate. There are two phonemes corresponding to Classical /j/, one is non-emphatic /j/, and the other is emphatic /j/. e.g.

i) Non-emphatic /j/

initial:	jiddi	"my grandfather"
medial:	wijih	"face"
final :	nahaj	"he went away"

ii) Emphatic /j/

initial:	ḡarba	"mangy"
medial :	ḡihjaar	"stones"
final :	bakraḡ	"coffee pot"

However, replacement of /j/ by the sound /č/ occurs occasionally in this dialect. e.g.

jazma → čazma "shoes/boot"



## "h"

/h/ is a voiceless, pharyngeal, fricative. There are two variants of this consonant, one is non-emphatic, and the other is emphatic.

## i) Non-emphatic /h/ e.g.

initial:	halaal	"allowed"
medial :	sahab	"pulled"
final :	dibaḥ	"he slaughtered"

## ii) Emphatic /ḥ/ e.g.

initial:	ḥool	"year"
medial :	laḥam	"meat"
final :	raaḥ	"he went"

## "x"

The consonant /x/ is a voiceless, uvular, fricative. There are two variants of /x/ in Al-Ghor dialect, one is non-emphatic /x/ and the other is emphatic /x̣/.

## i) Non-emphatic /x/

initial:	xirib	"ruined"
medial :	yixsar	"to lose"
final :	naax	"to halt for a rest"

## ii) Emphatic /x̣/ e.g.

initial:	x̣oox̣	"peach"
medial :	laḫam	"to hit"
final :	taḫx̣	"he fired"

## "d"

The /d/ sound is a voiced, denti-alveolar, non-emphatic, plosive. It is similar to the /d/ sound in Classical Arabic, e.g.

initial:	doola	"government"
medial :	gadiim	"old"
final ;	waaḥad	"one"

The Arabic word /dajjaaj/ "hens" occurs in Al-Ghor dialect as /jaaj/, where the consonant /d/ is elided, this form is used by most of the informants.

## "ḏ"

The consonant /ḏ/ is a voiced-denti-alveolar-non-sulcal, non-emphatic, fricative, e.g.

initial:	ḏibah	"to kill"
medial :	haaḏi	"this"
final :	naaxiḏ	"we take"

The Classical Arabic word /haaḏa/ "this" occurs in Al-Ghor dialect as /haaḏa/ where the /ḏ/ sound becomes /d/. This form is generally used by great number of the informants, otherwise they reserve the sound /ḏ/ as we mentioned above in the example.

The Arabic word /baaḏinjaan/ "egg-plant" occurs in Al-Ghor dialect as /beedinjaan/ or /beetinjaan/, where the /ḏ/ sound becomes /d/ or /t/ and it is probably due to folk-etymology "egg-plant", since /beed/ means 'egg'.



## "r"

The sound /r/ is voiced, alveolar, tapped. There are two phonemes corresponding to classical /r/, one is non-emphatic /r/, and the other is emphatic /ṛ/ e.g.

## i) Non-emphatic /r/

initial:	riiḥ	"wind"
medial :	'iris	"wedding"
final :	biir	"well" (of water)

## ii) Emphatic /ṛ/

The /ṛ/ sound occurs as an emphatic in the neighbourhood of a back vowel, or if an emphatic consonant like /ṭ/ /ṣ/ or /ḍ/ precedes or follows it. e.g.

initial:	raa'i	"shepherd"
medial :	maraḍ	"sickness"
final :	saaṛ	"became"

## "z"

This consonant is voiced, dento-alveolar sulcal, fricative

e.g.	initial:	zaar	"to visit"
	medial :	mazyuuna	"beautiful"
	final :	rakaz	"to fix"

## "s"

The consonant /s/ is a voiceless, denti-alveolar, sulcal, non-emphatic, fricative. e.g.

initial:	sikan	"he lived"
medial :	kasa	"he clothed"
final :	nafas	"breath"

Some words which in classical Arabic contain /s/ are

Pronounced in Al-Ghor dialect with an emphatic /s/ sound

e.g.	falaṣṭiin	"Palestine"
	tuṣrug	"you steal"
	ṣalax	"to unskin"

"š"

The consonant /š/ is voiceless, alveo-palatal, sulcal, fricative

e.g.	initial:	šaal	"to left"
	medial :	yašhad	"to ask for"
	final :	hašiiš	"grass"

"ṣ"

The /ṣ/ sound is a voiceless, dento-alveolar, sulcal, emphatic, fricative. e.g.

	initial:	ṣaar	"it become"
	medial :	buṣal	"onion"
	final :	xalaṣ	"it finished"

The classical Arabic /ṣadri/ "my chest" occurs in Al-Ghor dialect as /sadri/, where a non-emphatic /s/ replaces the emphatic /ṣ/. It is used by a small number of the informants.

"ḍ"

The sound /ḍ/ is a voiced, interdental, emphatic, plosive. This consonant does not exist in Al-Ghor dialect, but it is replaced by /ḍ/ (i.e. a voiced, denti-alveolar, non-sulcal, emphatic, fricative), and occasionally by /z/ (i.e. a voiced, denti-alveolar, sulcal, emphatic, fricative). e.g.

ḍarab	→	ḍarab	"to hit/strike"
ḍabat	→	zabat	"to control"
ḍabit	→	zabit	"officer"

The replacement of /ḍ/ by /z/ is probably due to the Ghawarneh's contact with the Turks in the early 20th



century.<sup>1</sup>

"ṭ"

The /ṭ/ consonant is a voiceless, denti-alveolar, emphatic, plosive, e.g.

initial:	ṭalaal	(proper name)
medial :	ṣulṭa	"authority"
final :	nurbuṭ	"we tie"

"ḍ"

It is a voiced, denti-alveolar, non-sulcal, emphatic, fricative

As we mentioned above, words which in classical Arabic have

/ḍ/, are usually pronounced as /ḍ/. e.g. for /ḍ/

initial:	ḍuhur	"noon"
medial :	'aḍum	"bones"
final :	geedḍ	"hot weather"

"ʕ"

The sound /ʕ/ is voiced, pharyngeal, fricative. It is similar to the classical Arabic /ʕ/ e.g.

initial:	'umri	"my age"
medial :	raaʕi	"shepherd"
final :	nizraʕ	"we plant"

The replacement of /ʔ/ by /ʕ/ is discussed above in the Glottal stop. In some lexical items the /ʕ/ sound is replaced by /n/, and others by /g/ e.g.

tiʕtiini	→	tinttiini	"you will give me"
'amiiq	→	gamiij <sup>2</sup>	"deep"

---

1. R. Cleveland, Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research, No. 171, October 1963, p. 59., footnote.

2. for q → j see below

## "g"

The sound /g/ is a voiced, uvular, fricative. e.g.

initial:	ḡanam	"sheep/goat"
medial :	raḡawa	"foam"
final :	dimagḡ	"he stamped"

## "f"

This consonant is a voiceless, labio-dental, fricative, e.g.

initial:	faat	"he entered"
medial :	tfukk	"you solve..."
final :	šaayif	"you see?"

The Classical Arabic form /niṣf/ "half" occurs in Al-Ghor dialect and in general all the Arabic dialects as /nuṣṣ/, where the /f/ disappears, and the /ṣ/ consonant lengthened by gemination.

## "q"

The sound /q/ is a voiceless, uvular, plosive. I have recorded only one informant who pronounced /q/ as in Classical Arabic. e.g.

qurʔaan                      "The Qurān"

But the rest of the informants pronounced forms with this consonant in Classical Arabic as a voiced, velar, plosive /g/. There are two variants of /g/.

i) Non-emphatic /g/

initial:	giimit	"amount"
----------	--------	----------



medial :	ligaah	"he found it"
final :	?isgenaa	"we watered it"

ii) Emphatic /g/, which occurs in the vicinity of a back open vowel /a/ or in the vicinity of emphatic consonants. e.g.

initial:	ḡabul	"before"
medial :	‘ugub	"after"
final :	irwaag	"part of the tent"

In addition, there is another realization of /q/ namely /j/. It is the same consonant /j/ in Classical Arabic /j/ is a voiced, palato-alveolar, affricate.

initial:	/jibla/ ← /qibla/	"direction of Mecca"
medial :	/‘ijib/ ← /‘iqib/	"children"
final :	/rifij/ ← /rifiq/	"friend"

The ratio of occurrences of /g/, /j/ and /q/ as realisation of /q/ is as follows:

All in all the corpus contains the following occurrences of /g/, /j/ and /q/

/g/	1265
/j/	142
/q/	4

The realisation of /ʔ/ for /q/, typical of other spoken varieties of Arabic, notably urban dialects, is not attested in the Al-Ghor dialect.

1) /q/ does not occur in Al-Ghor dialect except in the word /quraan/ "the Qurān" which is repeated four times

in the entire corpus, contributed by the same speaker.

- 2) The ratio of the /g/ to the /j/ realisations of Classical Arabic /q/ in Al-Ghor dialect is  $\frac{1265}{142}$  i.e. approximately 9 to 1.
- 3) All of the 142 /j/ realisation occur in syllables with a front-vowel nucleus. However /j/ as a reflex of Classical Arabic /q/ is occasionally found in the vicinity of a back vowel.
- 4) Of the 1265 occurrences of /g/ realisations only 337 occur in syllables with a front-vowel nucleus, where 928 occur in syllable whose nuclei are back-vowels.

#### "k"

The /k/ sound is a voiceless, velar, plosive. There are two variants of /k/.

- i) Non-emphatic /k/ e.g.
 

initial:	kull	"all"
medial :	sikan	"he lived"
final :	biik	"in you"
- ii) Emphatic /k/ e.g.
 

	faḵḵ	"he solved"
	ʔattraaḵ	"the Turks"
	aḍaaḵ	"that"

#### "č"

In Al-Ghor dialect the consonant /k/ becomes sometimes affricated to /č/ i.e. a voiceless, alveo-palatal, sulcal,



affricate. It occurs in the following:

initial:	čeef	"how"
medial :	ħači	"speech"
final :	simač	"fish"

There are two realisations which correspond to classical Arabic /k/, namely /k/ and /č/ as follows:

/k/	881
/č/	237

- 1) The second person m.s. suffix is realised as /-ak/ categorically.
- 2) The third f.s. suffix is realised as /-ič/ categorically.
- 3) Apart from the above (1,2) there are 388 occurrences of /k/ in syllables with a back-vowel nucleus, and 380 occurrences of /k/ in syllables with a front-vowel nucleus.
- 4) All the 237 occurrences of /č/ are in syllables with a front-vowel.

These facts show that all the /j/ realisations of /q/, and /č/ realisations of /k/ co-occur with a front-vowel, and in agreement with T.M. Jonstone's observation in his article. As he puts it "These affricated variants occur only in contiguity with the front-vowels and where a muraqqaqa consonant intervenes."<sup>1</sup>

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1. The "Affrication of Kāf and Gāf" in the Arabic dialects of the Arabian Peninsula. Journal of Semitic Studies,

Example of the replacement of /q/ by /k/ sound:-

yiktuluuha	"they beat her up"
mamkuut	"loathsome"
wakit	"time"

"l"

The consonant /l/ is a voiced, alveolar, lateral, liquid.

e.g. There are two variants of /l/.

i) Non-emphatic /l/

initial:	liyya	"to me"
medial :	malak	"king"
final :	xeel	"horses"

ii) Emphatic /l/ occurs in an emphatic environment, notably in contiguity with the back open-vowel. e.g.

ʔalla	"God"
xalla	"he left"
šaggaal	"worker"

It must be mentioned that some informants tend to drop or assimilate the /l/ sound, notably if it is followed by a homogeneous plosive /t/ as in /gultlu/ → /guttlu/.

The replacement of /l/ by /n/ occurs in Al-Ghor dialect, as in:

leera	→	neera	"Lira, money"
-------	---	-------	---------------

"m"

The /m/ consonant is a voiced, bilabial, nasal, continuant.

It is similar to the classical Arabic /m/. There are two variants of /m/



- i) Non-emphatic /n/
- |          |        |               |
|----------|--------|---------------|
| initial: | maša   | "he walks"    |
| medial : | ḥamad  | "proper name" |
| final :  | gadiim | "old"         |
- ii) Emphatic /ṇ/
- |          |       |         |
|----------|-------|---------|
| initial: | ṇara  | "woman" |
| medial : | ḥaṇar | "red"   |
| final :  | ʿaḏuṇ | "bones" |

"n"

The /n/ sound is a voiced, alveolar, nasal, continuant.

e.g.

initial:	nibči	"we cry"
medial :	sana	"year"
final :	zimaan	"the past"

The replacement of /n/ by /l/ occurs in the following:

dunum → dilim "area measure - 1000m<sup>2</sup>"

"h"

The consonant /h/ is a voiceless, glottal, fricative. It is similar to the Classical Arabic /h/.

initial:	haan	"here"
medial :	šahreen/šhareen	"two months"
final :	leeh	"to/for him"

It is worth mentioning that most of the informants elided the final /h/ in their speech. e.g.

ʿanduḥ	→	ʿandu	"with him"
ʔuxtuh	→	ʔuxtu	"his sister"
ʔizlimah	→	ʔizlima	"man"

However, some of them do elide the /h/ when it occurs in the middle of the word. e.g.

taaxid <sup>h</sup> hin	→	taaxid <sup>h</sup> in	"you take them"
?int <sup>e</sup> ethin	→	?int <sup>e</sup> etin	"I gave them" (f)

The rest of the consonants i.e. (w and y) occur in the same way as in the classical Arabic. e.g.

for /w/	waga'	"he falls"
for /y/	yiṣal	"he arrives"



## Assimilation

Assimilation occurs when two different consonants come together, most commonly in a cluster, with the result that one of them changes some of its features by virtue of contiguity with the other. Such assimilation occurs in Al-Ghor dialect. e.g.

a) Within the same word: -

dt	→	tt.	ga'adt	→	ga'att	"I sat down"
			tasaa'adt	→	tasaa'att	"I helped"
			ijtahadt	→	ijtahatt	"I endeavour"
tk	→	čč	beetkin	→	beeččin	"your house F."

In these examples, a voiced consonant becomes voiceless.

in	→	nn	xalna	→	xanna	"let us"
			'agilna	→	'aginna	"our mind"
			?ilna	→	?inna	"to us"
min + al			min almara	→	mnammara	"from this woman"

The above are examples of total assimilation.

'	-	h	ti'tab	→	tihtab	"she blames"
			ma'huuṣ	→	mahtuṣ	"he has nothing"

which is an example of partial assimilation; where voiced /' / became voiceless /h / because of the following voiceless /t /.

b) Across word boundary (more than one word) :-

min	+	m	min marra	→	mimmarra	"nothing at all"
min	+	r	min rabbu	→	mirrabbu	"from his God"

min + b minba'adhūm → mimba'adhūm "from themselves"

n → m bjanb → bjanb "beside"

However the assimilation occurs also when the two consonants are not immediately in succession. e.g.

d → t dikaatra → tikaatra "Doctors"

t → d burtuqaal → buridgaan "oranges"

### Assimilation of the Definite Article "al"

The definite article /al/ in the Ghawarneh dialect undergoes total assimilation in ways peculiar to this dialect. The article is realised as a gemination of the initial consonant of the stem. e.g.

?aligzawiyya → ?aggzawiyya proper name of a tribe

?aliblaad → ?abblaad "the country"

balbakraj → babbakraj "in the coffee pot"

?al xeel → ?axxeel "the horses"

?alhāmiir → ?ahhāmiir "the donkeys"

However, the non-Ghawarneh do not assimilate the definite article /al/ e.g.

?alwaziir → ?alwaziir "the minister"

### Vowel System

As in other varieties of Arabic, there are two kinds of vowels:-

- 1) Short vowels
- 2) Long vowels



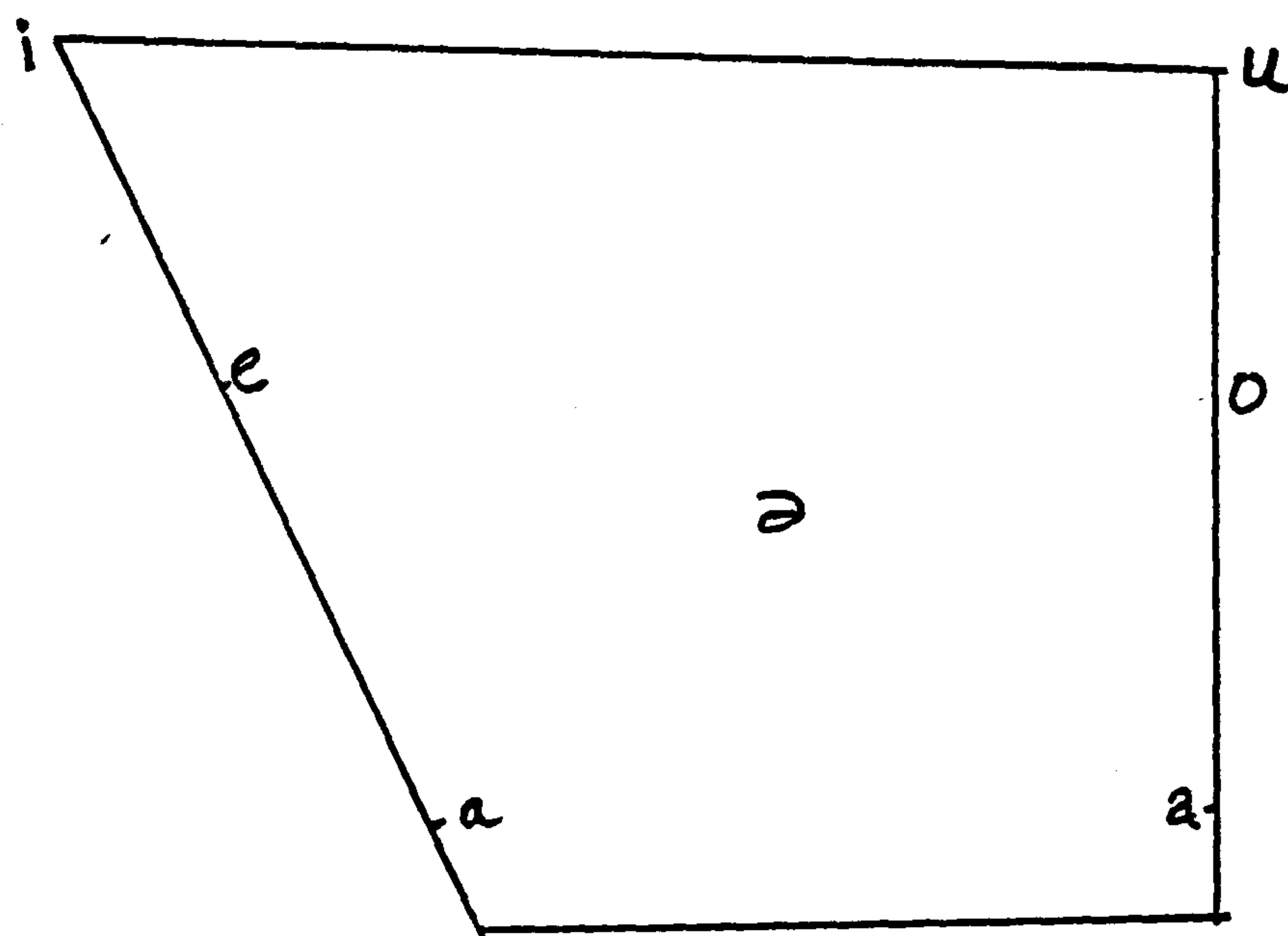
1) Short vowels - Short vowels can be reduced to seven used in Al-Ghor dialect, namely:-

i, e, a, ʌ, o, and u. e.g.

i	sikan	"he lived"
e	ʔisjena	"we watered it"
a	xada	"he took"
ʌ	faras	"horse"
o	xodra	"vegetables"
u	bugar	"cows"

Moreover, in this dialect there is another indefinite short vowel

ə	ʔanədna	"we have/with us"
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This diagram shows the distribution of the vowels in Al-Ghor dialect.

2) Long vowels - There are six long vowels in Al-Ghor dialect, namely:-

ii, ee, aa, ʌʌ, oo, and uu.

ii : a close front vowel. e.g.

jidiid "new"

ee : a mid-front vowel, initially replaces cl. Ar. /ay/

e.g. seef "sword"

ĉeef "how"

aa : a front-open vowel with slight retraction. e.g.

daaya "midwife"

yaaxdu "they take"

aa : a back-open vowel, e.g.

ṣaar "it became"

gaamat "she stood up"

oo : a mid-back rounded vowel, it often replaces the Classical Arabic /aw/ and /uu/ e.g.

yawm → yoom "day"

xawf → xoof "afraid of"

or, replacing Classical Arabic /uu/

kuusa → kóosa "marrow"

uu : a back, almost fully closed, rounded vowel, e.g.

sjuun "prisons"

šhuud "witnesses"

?abuuna "our father"

### Diphthongs

There are two common diphthongs in Al-Ghor dialect, /aw/ and /ay/, these may either be preserved or alternat-



ively , more often realised as long vowels.

The /aw/ and /ay/ are preserved mainly, or only, in a fixed number of words belonging to Ghawaarneh speech; in these words the /aw/ and /ay/ are variants of the long vowels /oo/, /ee/ and /aa/; in other contexts the original diphthongs are regularly realised as long vowels.

a) /aw/ and /ay/ e.g.

ḥawraan	proper name for Horaan, N. Jordan
tawfiij	proper name
sayyidna	"our master" (the King)
xayl	"horses"
ḥaydar	proper name
jaw	"they came"

b) As for these diphthongs, they are realised as long vowels. Consider the following examples:-

- i)  $\begin{cases} aw \\ aw \end{cases} \rightarrow aa \text{ or } aa \text{ as in: -}$
- |            |   |            |                      |
|------------|---|------------|----------------------|
| ʔalmawjuud | - | ʔammaajuud | "existing/present"   |
| balmaqduu' | - | bammaaḍuu' | "the matter/subject" |
- ii)  $\begin{cases} aw \\ aw \end{cases} \rightarrow oo \text{ as in: -}$
- |      |   |      |              |
|------|---|------|--------------|
| yawm | → | yoom | "day"        |
| xawf | → | xoof | "frightened" |
| mawt | → | moot | "death"      |
- iii) ay - ee as in:-
- |      |   |      |               |
|------|---|------|---------------|
| ḡayr | → | ḡeer | "except that" |
| ḥayt | → | ḥeet | "wherever"    |
| ḍayf | → | ḍeef | "guest"       |

Syllable Types

The following syllable types are attested in Al-Ghor dialect. The relevant syllables are underlined:-

- |    |      |                                      |                     |                        |
|----|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1) | CV   | e.g.                                 |                     |                        |
|    | a)   | word - initial                       | <u>s</u> ana        | "year"                 |
|    | b)   | word - medial                        | ma <u>d</u> rasa    | "school"               |
|    | c)   | word - final                         | ?is <u>m</u> i      | "my name"              |
| 2) | CVC  | e.g.                                 |                     |                        |
|    | a)   | word - initial                       | <u>s</u> ab'iin     | "seventy"              |
|    | b)   | word - medial                        | ta <u>r</u> am malt | "I became a widow"     |
|    | c)   | word - final                         | wid <u>d</u> ak     | "do you want"          |
| 3) | CVVC | e.g.                                 |                     |                        |
|    | a)   | monosyllable                         | <u>x</u> eel        | "horses"               |
|    | b)   | word - initial                       | <u>x</u> eelhum     | "their horses"         |
|    | c)   | word - medial                        | ji <u>r</u> aanha   | "her neighbours"       |
|    | d)   | word - final                         | ta <u>g</u> riib    | "about"                |
| 4) | CVV  | e.g.                                 |                     |                        |
|    | a)   | word - initial                       | <u>n</u> aayim      | "sleeping"             |
|    | b)   | word - medial                        | zi <u>r</u> aa'iyya | "cultivated"<br>(land) |
|    | c)   | word - final                         | wi <u>š</u> suu     | "what?"                |
| 5) | CVCC |                                      |                     |                        |
|    | i)   | CVC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> e.g. |                     |                        |
|    |      |                                      | <u>h</u> arb        | "fight"                |



- |    |                   |                 |                          |
|----|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
|    |                   | <u>sant</u>     | "year"                   |
|    |                   | <u>nafs</u>     | "the same"               |
|    | ii) CVCC, e.g.    |                 |                          |
|    |                   | <u>šabb</u>     | "youth"                  |
|    |                   | <u>ladd</u>     | "he turned his face"     |
|    |                   | min <u>šidd</u> | "we cultivate the land"  |
| 6) | CCVVC e.g.        |                 |                          |
|    | a) monosyllable   | <u>zgiir</u>    | "young"                  |
|    | b) word - initial | <u>zgiirku</u>  | "your young"             |
|    |                   | <u>hmeet</u>    | "to be protected"        |
| 7) | CCVC e.g.         |                 |                          |
|    | a) monosyllable   | <u>nfiđ</u>     | "ran away"               |
|    | b) word - initial | <u>smi</u> 'tu  | "I heard him"            |
| 8) | CCVV e.g.         |                 |                          |
|    | a) word - initial | <u>sgaayit</u>  | "the watering of"        |
|    |                   | <u>bniiji</u>   | "we (will) come"         |
|    |                   | <u>nsoolif</u>  | "we (will) tell stories" |
|    |                   | <u>gleebi</u>   | "my little heart"        |
| 9) | CCV e.g.          |                 |                          |
|    | a) word - initial | <u>mħafuud</u>  | proper name              |
|    |                   | <u>shabat</u>   | "she went/pulled"        |
|    |                   | <u>shala</u>    | "pan for cooking"        |





the penultimate syllable is stressed. e.g.

ḡaayid	"leader"
ṣaaḥi	"awake"
naayim	"asleep"
ḡaa'dah	"she sat down"
ṣallmu	"save him"

3) In words with two short syllables, the stress falls on the penultimate, e.g.

ṣukran	"thank you"
ṣab'a	"seven"
faatu	"they entered"

While the distinction between  $\alpha$  and  $a$  in the spoken language is clear, we shall nevertheless in our discussion below use the symbols  $a$ ,  $aa$  for both the front and back variants: their respective environments (emphatic or non-emphatic) will allow the reader to deduce which variant is intended, for front vowels occur in the environment of non-emphatic, and back vowels in the environment of emphatic consonants.

### Gemination

Certain words in Al-Ghor dialect have gemination of one or other of their consonants, the consonant concerned

is pronounced longer (represented here as a doubling of the symbol). Plosives and affricates have a longer moment of closure before the release.

a) Gemination of the first consonant

?aššēex rawwah	"the sheik went"
?asseef	"the sword"
?aššijar čibiir	"the trees are big"

b) Gemination of the middle consonant

dabbar ḥaalu	"he arranged himself"
baḥḥar 'aleeh	"he looked at him"

c) Gemination of the last consonant

ḥatt	"he put"
natt	"he jumped"
ḥabb	"he loved"



PART II  
M O R P H O L O G Y

The inflections of the word in this dialect as in other Arabic dialects consist of affixes or internal changes in form.

In this chapter we shall consider the basic morphological patterns of the various word classes.

The morphological system of Al-Ghor dialect is basically not very different from that of the neighbouring dialects. However, a number of points deserve attention.

Firstly, there is a widespread tendency to free variation in the vocalization of verbal forms: thus [yif'al] and [yaf'al] non-past may, without obvious conditioning, be found in use by the same speaker. The effect of gutturals on syllable formation is very limited; while forms of type [ħfarat], [sradu] may occasionally occur, the normal forms would be [ħafarat], [saradu].

The distinction between masculine and feminine verbal forms as found in Classical Arabic is maintained; substitution of masc. 2nd and 3rd pl. forms for the corresponding fem., as found in some dialects, does not feature here. Duals on the other hand are unknown. The internal passive survive is very rare unlike those met in some Arabian dialects. e.g. wilid - "born", xilig - "found". Form VII (infa'al) is used instead.

Root of the Verb

Roots are a set of consonants which are by them-

selves unpronounceable, apart from the word in which they occur. In contemporary Arabic dialects, as in Classical Arabic, the verbs may be considered to derive from roots, which are classified in two ways:-

- a) according to the number of radicals.
- b) according to the nature of radicals.

The roots of this dialect are divided into three kinds:

1. Biliteral roots.
2. Triliteral roots.
3. Quadriliteral roots.

#### Biliteral Roots.

Not to be found in verbs, only in nouns. e.g. /yadd/ "hand" (for doubled roots, see below)

#### Triliteral Roots

They are the most frequent ones, consisting of three radicals arranged in sequential order. The triliteral roots are classified in two ways:-

1. The Strong Roots<sup>1</sup> In these roots the radicals do not vary. The radical of the root  $\sqrt{q t l}$  for example, appears in that order and form in all the themes derived from this root as  $\underline{gital}$  "he killed",  $\underline{yigtil}$  "he kills/will kill"  $\underline{magtuu}$  "he is killed",  $\underline{mgaatala}$  "fighting".

Strong roots are of two kinds, a) The sound roots, are those in which the second and third radicals are not identical  
b) The "doubled" geminated roots, are those in which the second and the third radicals are identical. e.g.  $\sqrt{h t t}$

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1. See W. Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, 3rd Edition, Vol.1 Cambridge, 1962, p 52



as in  $\underline{\text{hatt}}$  "he put", which appears in all the themes derived from this root as in  $\underline{\text{yuhut}}$  "he puts",  $\underline{\text{nhut}}$  "we put"  $\underline{\text{hattat}}$  "she put".

2. The Weak Roots i.e. those which contain either glottal stop (Hamza), or /w/ or /y/ in the position of the root, second or third root either. The basic measure of derivation is, the root form  $\sqrt{\text{f r l}}$ , which may be regarded as a schematic representation of the verbal forms, from which we derive, for instance, the perfect, imperfect, and imperative forms, with regard to the strong verbs and the weak verbs. Thus, e.g. from the strong root  $\sqrt{\text{s r b}}$  as in  $\underline{\text{sirab}}$  "he drank" we can derive the following:  $\underline{\text{sirab}}$  "he drank",  $\underline{\text{yisrab}}$  "he drinks",  $\underline{\text{?israb}}$  "drink", and from the weak root,  $\sqrt{\text{r m y}}$  as in  $\underline{\text{rama}}$  "he threw", we can derive the following:  $\underline{\text{rama}}$  "he threw",  $\underline{\text{yarmi}}$  "he throws",  $\underline{\text{?irmi}}$  "throw". The variety of the related verbal forms, both basic and augmented e.g.

$\underline{\text{fatah}}$ "he opened"	$\underline{\text{infa'tih}}$ "be opened"
$\underline{\text{yiftah}}$ "he opens"	$\underline{\text{fattah}}$ "continuous opening"
$\underline{\text{?iftah}}$ "open"	$\underline{\text{faatah}}$ "start conversation"
$\underline{\text{faatih}}$ "he is opening"	$\underline{\text{?istaftih}}$ "start with"
$\underline{\text{yinfra'tih}}$ "it opens"	$\underline{\text{?infra'tih}}$ "it opened"

Quadrilateral Roots in Al-Ghor dialect are fairly limited in number. e.g. the root  $\sqrt{\text{d h d l}}$  we can derive the following:

$\underline{\text{dahdal}}$ "he rolled"	$\underline{\text{dahdil}}$ "roll"
$\underline{\text{yidahdil}}$ "he rolls"	$\underline{\text{?indahal}}$ "he rolled"

I The Strong Verbs: The following patterns occur with regard to the front and back vowel /a/ <sup>1</sup>

<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
fa'al	yuf'ul/yif'il	?uf'ul	
a) ḥaṣad	yuhṣud/yiḥṣid	?uhṣud	"to harvest"
b) ga'ad	yag'id/yig'id	?ig'id	"to sit"
c) ḥalag	yaḥlig/yiḥlig	?iḥlig	"to share"
d) ṭala'	yaṭla'/yiṭla'	?iṭla'	"to group"
e) zara'	yazra'/yizra'	?izra'	"to grow"
f) rakad	yirkud/yarkud/yurkud	?irkid/?urkud	"to run"
fi'il	yaf'il/yif'il	?if'il	
a) 'irif	ya'rif/yi'rif	?i'rif	to know
b) širib	yašrab/yišrab	?išrab	to drink
c) simi'	yasma'/yisma'	?isma'	to listen
fi'al	yaf'al/yif'al	?if'al	
a) dibaḥ	yaḍbaḥ/yiḍbaḥ	?iḍbaḥ	to kill
b) difa'	yadfa'/yidfa'	?idfa'	to pay
c) kitab	yaktub/yuktub	?iktib	to write
d) kital	yiktil/yaktil	?iktil	to kill

All of these patterns exhibit free variation in the attested imperfect forms. Thus the perfect tense generally has two corresponding variants in the imperfect tense. Moreover, the vowels in almost all of these patternings, perfect and imperfect, separately exhibit a tendency towards vowel harmony; that is to say a close front vowel often co-occurs

1. See above, p. 76

(phonology where dealt with a)



with a close back vowel. In addition in the perfect, a close vowel, front or back, usually co-occurs with a similar close vowel.

Pattern Inflection: We shall next observe the vowel patterning of perfect, imperfect and imperative forms and their inflection.

### The Strong Verb

#### Pattern fa'al

ragas - "to dance"

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
1st p. (masc. fem.) s.	ragaṣt	?arguṣ	
1st p. (masc. fem.) pl.	ragaṣna	nirgiṣ	
2nd p. masc. s.	ragaṣt	turguṣ	?irgiṣ
2nd p. fem. s.	ragaṣti	tirigṣi	?irigṣi
2nd p. masc. pl.	ragaṣtu	turugṣu	?irgṣu
2nd p. fem. pl.	ragaṣtin	türgiṣin	?irigṣin
3rd p. masc. s.	ragaṣ	yurguṣ	
3rd p. fem. s.	ragṣat	turguṣ	
3rd p. masc. pl.	ragaṣu	yurugṣu	
3rd p. fem. pl.	ragaṣin	yirugṣin	

#### Pattern fi'il

širib - "to drink"

1st p. (masc. fem.) s.	širib	?ašrab
1st p. (masc. fem.) pl.	širibna	nišrab/našrab

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
2nd p. masc. s.	šribt	tišrab	?išrab
2nd p. fem. s.	šribti	tišrabi	?išrabi
2nd p. masc. pl.	širbtu	tišrabu	?išrabn
2nd p. fem. pl.	širbtin	tišrabin	?išrabin
3rd p. masc. s.	širib	yišrab	
3rd p. fem. s.	širbat	tašrab	
3rd p. masc. pl.	širbu	yišrabu/yašrabu	
3rd p. fem. pl.	širban	'yišrabin	

Pattern fa'al

ga'ad - "to sit"

1st p. (masc.fem.)s.	ga'att <sup>1</sup>	?ag'ud/?ag'id	
1st p. (masc.fem.)pl.	ga'adna	nig'id/nag'id	
2nd p. masc. s.	ga'att	tig'id/tag'id	?ig'id
2nd p. fem. s.	ga'atti	tigi'di	?igi'di
2nd p. masc. pl.	ga'attu	tigi'du	?igi'du
2nd p. fem. pl.	ga'attin	tigi'din	?igi'din
3rd p. masc. s.	ga'ad	yig'id	
3rd p. fem. s.	ga'att/g'adat	tag'id	
3rd p. masc. pl.	ga'adu	yigi'du	
3rd p. fem. pl.	ga'adin	yigi'din	

Pattern fi'al

đibaḥ - "to kill/ slaughter"

1st p. (masc.fem.)s	đibaḥt	?adbaḥ
1st p. (masc.) pl.	đibaḥna	nađbaḥ



	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
2nd p.(masc.) s.	ḏibaḥt	taḏbaḥ	?iḏbaḥ
2nd p.(fem.) s.	ḏibaḥti	taḏbaḥi	?iḏbaḥi
2nd p.(masc.)pl.	ḏibaḥtu	taḏbaḥu	?iḏbaḥu
2nd p.(fem.)pl.	ḏibaḥtin	taḏbaḥin	?iḏbaḥin
3rd p.(masc.)s.	ḏibaḥ	yaḏbaḥ/yiḏbaḥ	
3rd p.(fem.)s.	ḏibaḥat	taḏbaḥ	
3rd p.(masc.)pl.	ḏibaḥu	yaḏbaḥu	
3rd p.(fem.)pl.	ḏibaḥin	yaḏbaḥin	

### Geminated Verbs

Geminated verbs, where the last two consonants are identical, are commonly used in Al-Ghor dialect. e.g.

<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Imperative</u>	
ladd	?ilidd	lidd	"he turned his face"
ṣadd	?iṣidd	ṣidd	"he cultivated"
madd	?imidd	midd	"he started"
ṣabb	?iṣubb	ṣubb	"he poured"

Note that the vowel /i/ appears in the imperfect.

Here is the table below:

verb ladd - to turn one's face.

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
1st p.(masc.fem.)s	laddeet	?alidd	
1st p.(masc.fem.)pl.	laddeena	nlidd	
2nd p. masc. s.	laddeet	tlidd	lidd

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
2nd p. fem. s.	laddeeti	tliddi	liddi
2nd p. masc. pl.	laddu	tliddu	liddu
2nd p. fem. pl.	laddeetin	tliddin	liddin
3rd p. masc. s.	ladd	ylidd	
3rd p. fem. s.	laddat	tlidd	
3rd p. masc. pl.	laddu	yliddu	
3rd p. fem. pl.	laddin	yliddin	

verb ṣabb - to pour

1st p. (masc.fem.)s.	ṣabbeet	?aṣubb	
1st p. (masc.fem.)pl.	ṣabbeena	nṣubb	
2nd p. masc. s.	ṣabbeet	tṣubb	ṣubb
2nd p. fem. s.	ṣabbeeti	tṣubbi	ṣubbi
2nd p. masc. pl.	ṣabbeetu	tṣubbu	ṣubbu
2nd p. fem. pl.	ṣabbeetin	tṣubbin	ṣubbin
3rd p. masc. s.	ṣabb	yṣubb	
3rd p. fem. s.	ṣabbat	tṣubb	
3rd p. masc. pl.	ṣabbu	yṣubbu	
3rd p. fem. pl.	ṣabbin	yṣubbin	

The Weak Verbs

In view of general observations which have been made in the part of the thesis dealing with phonology, about the treatment (including loss) of glottal stop in the Ghor dialect, tabulation will be given here of verbs with glottal



stop, internal or other positions. However, a few selected observations seem nevertheless appropriate.

Verbs begin with a glottal stop (Hamza).

- 1) Initial Glottal Stop - There are two verbs occurring in this dialect where the initial glottal stop found in classical Arabic and some modern dialects is elided, i.e.  $\text{ʔakal} \rightarrow \text{kala}$  and  $\text{ʔaxad} \rightarrow \text{xada}$

Their paradigms are as follows:-

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
1st p. (masc.fem.)s.	xadeet	ʔaaxid	
1st p. (masc.fem.)pl.	xadeena	naaxid	
2nd p. masc. s.	xadeet	taaxid	xid
2nd p. fem. s.	xadeeti	taaxdi	xidi
2nd p. masc. pl.	xadeetu	taaxdu	xdu/xidu
2nd p. fem. pl.	xadeetin	taaxdin	xdin
3rd p. masc. s.	xada	yaaxid	
3rd p. fem. s.	xadat	taaxid	
3rd p. masc. pl.	xadu	yaaxdu	
3rd p. fem. pl.	xadin	yaaxdin	

Similarly for the verb /kala/ - /kaleet/, /ʔakalt/, /kaleeti/etc.

The verb /ʔata/ - "he has come" - does not occur commonly in this dialect, the verb /jaa/ is employed instead.

- 2) Medial Glottal Stop - Verbs of this type are rare in this dialect, in the case of the verb /saʔal/ - "to ask" for example, the glottal stop is replaced by /ʕ/ in the mouth

of the speaker. This has been discussed above in the chapter of phonology. (P. 51)

Not all the full set of forms was encountered by us, the tabulation below gives forms forming part of our corpus in this table, of the verb /sa'al/- "to ask." <sup>1</sup>

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
1st p. (masc.fem.)s.	sa'al	?as'al	
1st p. masc. pl.	sa'alna	nas'al	
2nd p. masc. s.	sa'al	tas'al	?is'al
2nd p. fem. s.	sa'alti	tas'ali	?is'ali
3rd p. masc. s.	sa'al	yas'al	
3rd p. fem. s.	sa'lat	tas'al	

Note that in some cases the glottal stop is as such and not replaced by /' /

3) Final Glottal stop - The glottal stop of these verbs is always elided and sometimes replaced by a long vowel.

e.g. qara? - "to read" → gara  
jaa? - "to come" → jaa

Here is the conjugation of the verb gara - "to read"

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
1st p. (masc.fem.)s.	gareet	?agra	
1st p. (masc.fem.)pl.	gareena	nagra	
2nd p. masc. s.	gareet	tagra	?igra



	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
2nd p. fem. s.	gareeti	tagri	?igri
2nd p. masc. pl.	gareetu	tagru	?igru
2nd p. fem. pl.	gareetin	tagrin	?igrin/?igran
3rd p. masc. s.	gara	yagra	
3rd p. fem. s.	garat	tagra	
3rd p. masc. pl.	garu	yagru	
3rd p. fem. pl.	garin	yagrin	

## II The Weak Verbs

The weak verbs are classified, according to the position of the unstable radical, as weak-first, weak-middle, and weak-last. The following instances of patternings of weak verbs have been observed:-

a) Weak first radical - Generally the first radical of the weak-first appears in the perfect /w/, most verbs with a weak first radical letter begin with /w/.

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
"to fall"	wiga'	yaga'	?iga'
a few begin with /y/			
"to become dry"	yibas	yibas	?ibas

b) Weak middle radical - This can be either /w/ or /y/.

with middle /w/	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
"to go"	raah	yeruuh	ruuh

with middle /y/	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
"to shout"	ṣaaḥ	yeṣiiḥ	ṣiiḥ

c) Weak last radical - Mostly the weak final radical is /y/

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
"to go"	miša	yamši	?inši

The final /w/ of these types are not customarily in use in this dialect.

The perfect and imperfect tense when pronominal affixes are attached to them are as follows:-

1. Weak-first with initial /w/  $\sqrt{w r d}$  "to go to the water"

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
1st p. (masc.fem.)s.	writt <sup>1</sup>	?arid	
1st p. (masc.fem.)pl.	wridna	narid	
2nd p. masc. s.	writt	tard/tarid	?ird
2nd p. fem. s.	writti	tardi/taridi	?irdi
2nd p. masc. pl.	writtu	tardu	?irdu
2nd p. fem. pl.	writtin	tardin	?irdin
3rd p. masc. s.	warad	yarid/yirid	
3rd p. fem. s.	wardat	tarid	
3rd p. masc. pl.	wirdu	yardu	
3rd p. fem. pl.	wirdin	yardin	

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1. See above P. 68



## 2. Weak-first with initial /y/ e.g. yibas - "dry"

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
1st p. (masc.fem.) s.	yibist	?abas	
1st p. (masc.fem.)pl.	yibisna	nibas	
2nd p. masc. s.	yibist	tibas/tabas	?ibas
2nd p. fem. s.	yibisti	tibasi/tabasi	?ibasi
2nd p. masc. pl.	yibistu	tibas	?ibas
2nd p. fem. pl.	yibistin	tibas	?ibas
3rd p. masc. s.	yabas	yibas	
3rd p. fem. s.	yibsat	tibas/tabas	
3rd p. masc. pl.	yibsu	yibas	
3rd p. fem. pl.	yibsin	yibas	

Weak-medial with initial /y/  $\sqrt{s y h}$  "to shout"

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
1st p. (masc.fem.)s.	ṣiḥt	?aṣiiḥ	
1st p. (masc.fem.)pl.	ṣiḥna	nṣiiḥ	
2nd p. masc. s.	ṣiḥt	tṣiiḥ	ṣiiḥ
2nd p. fem. s.	ṣiḥti	tṣiiḥi	ṣiiḥi
2nd p. masc. pl.	ṣiḥtu	tṣiiḥu	ṣiiḥu
2nd p. fem. pl.	ṣiḥtin	tṣiiḥin	ṣiiḥin
3rd p. masc. s.	ṣaaḥ	yṣiiḥ	
3rd p. fem. s.	ṣaaḥat	tṣiiḥ	
3rd p. masc. pl.	ṣaaḥu	yṣiiḥu	
3rd p. fem. pl.	ṣaaḥin	yṣiiḥin	

Weak-medial with initial /w/    raaḥ - "to go" or "went"

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
1st p. (masc.fem.) s.	ruḥt	?aruuh	
1st p. (masc. fem.)pl.	ruhna	nruuh	
2nd p. masc. s.	ruḥt	truuh	ruuh
2nd p. fem. s.	ruḥti	truuḥi	ruuḥi
2nd p. masc. pl.	ruḥtu	truuhu	ruuhu
2nd p. fem. pl.	ruḥtin	truuhin	ruuhin
3rd p. masc. s.	raaḥ	yiruuḥ	
3rd p. fem. s.	raaḥat	truuh	
3rd p. masc. pl.	raahu	yiruuḥu	
3rd p. fem. pl.	raaḥin	yiruuḥin	

Weak-final /y/    m š y - "to walk"

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
1st p. (masc.fem.) s.	mšiiit	?amšī	
1st p. (masc.fem.) pl.	mišēena/ mšēena	namšī	
2nd p. masc. s.	mšiiit	tamšī/timšī	?amšī
2nd p. fem. s.	mašēeti	tamšī	?imšī
2nd p. masc. pl.	mšiiitu	tamšu	?imšu
2nd p. fem. pl.	mšiiitin	tamšin	?imšin
3rd p. masc. s.	miša	yamšī/yimšī	
3rd p. fem. s.	mašat	tamšī	
3rd p. masc. pl.	mašu	yamšu	
3rd p. fem. pl.	mašin/mišan	yamšin	



Weak-final /w/ rama - "to throw"

	<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
1st p. (masc.fem.)s.	rameet	?armi	
1st p. (masc.fem.)pl.	rameena	narmi	
2nd p. masc. s.	rameet	tarmi	?irmi
2nd p. fem. s.	rameeti	tarmi	?rmi
2nd p. masc. pl.	rameetu	tarmu	?irmu
2nd p. fem. pl.	rameetin	tarmin	?irmin
2nd p. masc. s.	rama	yarmi	
3rd p. fem. s.	ramat	tarmi	
3rd p. masc. pl.	ramu	yarmu	
3rd p. fem. pl.	ramin	yarmin	

### The Participles

The participles found in Al-Ghor dialect are of two kinds:-

1. Active participle.
2. Passive participle.

1. The active participle from the strong and weak verbs are as follows:

<u>Strong Verb</u>	<u>- pattern</u>	<u>verb</u>	<u>Act.part.</u>
	fa'al	ḥasad "to harvest"	ḥaaṣid
	fi'al	kitab "to write"	kaatib
	fi'il	širib "to drink"	šaarib

Weak verb - The glottal stop (Hamza).

	<u>verb</u>	<u>Act.part.</u>
The initial glottal stop	xada "to take"	(?)aaxid
The middle glottal stop	saʔal "to ask"	saaʔil

	<u>verb</u>		<u>Act.part.</u>
The final glottal stop	gara	"to read"	gaari
Weak verb at first	wiga'	"to fall"	waagi'
Weak verb in the middle.	raah	"to go"	raayih
Weak verb in the final.	rama	"to throw"	raami

2. The passive participle from the strong and weak verbs.

<u>Strong Verb</u> - <u>pattern</u>	<u>verb</u>		<u>pass.part.</u>
fa'al	halag	"to shave"	maḥluug
fi'al	ḍibaḥ	"to kill"	maḍbuuḥ
fi'il	'irif	"to know"	ma'ruuf

Weak Verb - The glottal stop (Hamza).

	<u>verb</u>		<u>pass.part.</u>
The initial glottal stop	kala	"to eat"	maakuul
The middle glottal stop	saʔal	"to ask"	masʔuul
The final glottal stop	gara	"to read"	magri
Weak verb at first	wahab	"to give"	maahuub
Weak verb in the middle.	šaal	"to lift"	mašyuul
Weak verb in the final.	ra'a	"to pasture"	marr'i

The derived themes

There are ten derived themes in use in Al-Ghor dialect.

The derive from the base form /f ' l/, by one or more of the following morphological processes.

- a) by internal changes,
- b) by lengthening of a vowel,



- c) by doubling a consonant,  
d) by the addition of prefixes.

We list below the forms of the derived themes, according to the terminology commonly used by grammarians.

II - faʿʿal: This is formed by geminating the second radical of the base form /f ʿ l/

<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>	
gassam	y(i)gassim	gassim	"divide"

This form is in fairly common use and occasionally employed when Cl. Ar. would use form IV, e.g. /ʔašrab/ → /šarrib/

III - faaʿal: This form is derived from the base form /f ʿ l/, by lengthening the vowel between the first and second radical.

<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>	
haawaš	y(i)haawiš	haawiš	"quarrel"

This form is not very frequent in this dialect.

IV - ʔafʿal: This form corresponds to the Cl. Ar.

<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>	
ʔixṭa	y(i)xṭi	ʔixṭi	"to make a mistake"

V - tafaʿʿal: This form is formed by prefixing the syllable /ta/, and geminating the second radical.

<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>	
t(a)xallas	y(i)txallas	ʔitxallas	"get rid of"

VI - tafaa'al: This form derives from /f ' l/, by adding the prefix /ta/, and lengthening the vowel between the first and second radical.

<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
t(a)šaaḡab	yitšaaḡab	?itšaaḡib "disturb"

This form is not very frequent.

VII - ?infa'al: It is formed by the addition of the prefix /?in/ to the form /f ' l/.

<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
?ingala'	yangali'	?ingali' "go away"

This form is in frequent use as a passive.

VIII - ?ifta'al: This form is formed by adding the prefix /?i-/ and inserting a /t/ consonant after the first radical of the base form /f ' l/.

<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
?intašar	yintašir	?intašir "spread"

This form is fairly frequent.

IX - ?if'all: This form is formed by the addition of the prefix /?i-/ at the beginning of the form /f ' l/, eliding the vowel between first and second radical.

<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>
?ihmarr	yihmarr	?ihmarr "become red"

This form is rare. It is used only to denote colours and diseases.



X - ʔistaf'al: It is formed by adding /ʔista/ at the beginning of the form /f ' l/, and eliding the vowel after the first radical.

<u>perfect</u>	<u>imperfect</u>	<u>imperative</u>	
ʔistasmaḥ	yistasmiḥ	ʔistasmiḥ	"ask forgiveness"

### The participle

In Al-Ghor dialect, as we saw above, there are two participle forms:

- a) The active participle
- b) The passive participle

The active participle deriving from the form /fa'al/ has the form masc. s. /faa'il/.

The fem.s. /faa'ila/, masc. pl. /faa'liin/, fem. pl. /faa'laat/.

The following table shows the forms of the active participle which can be derived from the strong, weak and geminate verbs.

<u>verb form</u>	<u>Act. part.</u>	<u>examples</u>	
II fa'al	ʔimfa'il	gassam - ʔimgassim	"divide"
III faa'al	ʔimfaa'il	haawaš - ʔimhaawiš	"quarrel"
V tafa'al	mitfa'il	taxallaṣ - mitxalliṣ	"get rid of"
VI tafaa'al	mitfaa'il	tanaazal - mitnaazil	"resigning"
VII ʔinfa'al	minfa'il	ʔinkasar - minkasir	"broken"
VIII ʔifta'al	mifta'il	ʔintašar - mintašir	"spread"
IX ʔif'all	mif'ill	ʔiḥmarr - miḥmirr	"become red"
X ʔistaf'al	mistaf'il	ʔistasmaḥ - mistasmiḥ	"take permission"

To give a few examples of active participles deriving from weak verbs, consider the following:

	<u>verb</u>	<u>Act.part.</u>	<u>meaning</u>
Weak first	wigaʿ	waagiʿ	"falling down"
Weak middle	raah	raayih	"going"
Weak final	maša	maāši	"walking"

The active participle from geminate verbs can be illustrated below:

	<u>verb</u>	<u>Act.part.</u>	<u>meaning</u>
	ladd	laadd	"to turn aside"
	ṣabb	ṣaabb	"to pour"
	madd	maadd	"to stretch"

### The passive participle

It is derivable from the verb form in ways paralleled to those of the active participle. Thus passive participle of the verb form /faʿal/ is mafʿuul

i.e. /katab/ "he wrote" → maktuub "being written"

The following table shows the passive participle of the various forms.

	<u>verb form</u>	<u>pass.part.</u>	<u>examples</u>	
II	faʿʿal	mafʿuul	kattab - makattab	"being written"
III	faaʿal	?imfaaʿal	haawaš - ?imhaawaš	"being fought"
V	tafaʿʿal	?imfaʿʿal	taxallaṣ - ?imxallaṣ	"get rid of"



	<u>verb form</u>	<u>pass. part.</u>	<u>examples</u>	
VII	ʔinfaʕal	mafʕuul	ʔinkasar - minkasir	"broken"
VIII	ʔiftaʕal	miftaʕal	ʔintašar - manšuur	"being spread"
IX	ʔifʕall	only act. part.	ʔiħmarr - miħmarr	"being red"
X	ʔistafʕal	mistafʕil	ʔistasmaħ - mistasmiħ	"get permission"

The passive participle deriving from geminate verb.

<u>verb</u>	<u>pass. part.</u>	<u>meaning</u>
ladd	malduud	"having been turned"
šabb	mašbuub	"having been poured"
madd	mamduud	"having been stretched"

### Nouns

Nouns in the Al-Ghor dialect as in others, and in Cl. Ar. may be formed from bi-literal, tri-literal, or quadriliteral roots, and follow various patterns of formation. They may also be distinguished by number (according to whether they occur in the singular, dual or plural). Some of the noun patterns in use in this dialect are identical to the corresponding classical Arabic noun patterns, as will be seen in the list of patterns given below, but others differ from the Classical Arabic forms due to the elision of original vowels, or vowel changes, or the intrusion of anaptyctic vowel. Not all noun patterns are equally frequently found. Some tend to be linked with specific meanings as in classical Arabic like the pattern /faʕʕaal/ used to denote a person exercising a habitual or professional activity. (e.g. ħammaal type of faʕʕaal "carrier/porter")

### Biconsonant nouns

This type of noun still remains the same as in classical Arabic, with doubling of the second consonant. e.g.

sadd	"dam"
damm	"blood"
'amm	"uncle"
ḥajj	"pilgrimage"

We shall list below the main singular types of noun in this dialect according to the masc. and fem. forms.

1. fa'l - This form of noun type also occurs in alternative variants.

a) Without anaptyxis. e.g. /ḥarb/ "war"

b) With anaptyxis. e.g. nahr → nahur "river"

This anaptyctic vowel is mostly of two types, one being front /i/ e.g. baṭn — baṭin "belly", and the other is back /u/ e.g. gamḥ → gamuḥ "wheat". Occasionally /a/ may be found e.g. ṣaxr → ṣaxar "rocks".

2. fa'la(h) e.g. /ḥarba/ "spear"

3. fa'la(h)/f'ala(h) e.g. /ṣaxra/ or /ṣxara/ "one rock"

The second form is restructured due to the presence of guttural /x/.

4. fi'l e.g. /bint/ "girl"

This form is similar to the classical Arabic, but there is an alternative form with the anaptyctic vowel (i)



so that /fi'l/ changed into /fi'il/ i.e. /bint/ →  
/binit/, as a free variant.

/f'ila/ e.g. /zlima/ "man"

5. fi'la(h) e.g. /bizra/ "seed", /širka/ "company"
6. fu'l This form has two variants.
  - a) Without anaptyxis. rumḥ → rumḥ "lance" This latter form corresponds to the Classical Arabic form /fu'l/.
  - b) With anaptyxis of the back vowel /u/ rumḥ → rumuḥ "lance".
7. fu'la(h) e.g. /nugra/ "fire-place"
8. fa'al e.g. /walad/ "boy"
9. fa'ala(h) e.g. /daraja/ "step/degree"
10. fi'al e.g. The classical form is /fa'al/  
e.g. /jamal/ → /jimal/ "camel"
11. fu'al e.g. /bukam/ "pick-up/van"
12. f'iila(h) e.g. /ftiila/ "wick"
13. fi'iil/fa'iil The Classical Arabic form is /fa'iil/  
riḡiif/raḡiif "a loaf of bread".  
fa'iila(h) e.g. /ṭariiga/ "way"
14. f'ula(h) The Classical Arabic form is /fa'ala/

In this dialect they produce an initial two consonant cluster followed by a close back vowel /u/ in the first

syllable of the pattern, e.g. /rguba/ "neck" /rkuba/ "knee". Note that such restructuring need not be due to the presence of a guttural.

15. f'ala(h) In Classical Arabic, this form occurs as /fa'la(h)/ e.g. /qahwa/ "coffee". Speakers of this dialect mostly elide the first vowel /a/ and insert a vowel after the second consonant, if this is a guttural. Thus /gahwa/ mostly becomes /ghawa/. Similarly /saħla/ → ṣħala "pot"

16. f'aal e.g. /ħmaar/ "donkey".

This pattern varies from the Classical Arabic form /fi'aal/ due to the fact that the short vowel /i/ in this form is elided, leading to f'aal/.

17. f'aala(h) e.g. /ṭwaala/ "food place for animals"

18. f'eel e.g. /gleeb/ "little heart"

The corresponding Classical Arabic form is the diminutive /fu'ayl/, but in this dialect there is elision of the back vowel /u/, and the diphthong in this form is replaced by a long vowel /ee/.

19. fi'iila(h)/fa'iila(h) e.g. giṣiida/gaṣiida "poem"

20. f'eela e.g. /ṣxeela/ "little lamb"

21. fa'uul /rasuul/ "messenger"



22. fa'uula(h) This pattern differs from the classical Arabic form. The classical Arabic form is /faa'uula(h)/ e.g. /naa'uurah/ "water mill", with a long vowel in the front syllable, which in Al-Ghor dialect is <sup>often</sup> replaced by a short open vowel /a/ /baaruuda(h)/ → baruuda(h) "rifle". (See below No 31)

23. fa'aal e.g. /ħarraat/ "ploughman"

24. fa'aala(h) e.g. /fallaaħa/ "peasant woman"

25. fa'uul e.g. /babbuur/ "primus/steam train"

26. faa'il e.g. /jaami'/ "mosque"

27. faa'la(h) e.g. /jaam'a(h)/ "university"

With loss of short /i/ compared with classical Arabic /jaami'ah/

28. foo'al e.g. /šoomar/ "wild plant"

29. foo'ala(h) e.g. /šooraba/ "soup"

30. faa'uul e.g. /šaakuuš/ "hammer"

31. faa'uula(h) e.g. /gaatuu'a/ "instrument for cutting stones or meat/stone cutter"

32. fu'laan e.g. /funjaan/ "cup"

This form does not exactly correspond to the Classical

Arabic, showing transition of /i/ → /u/

33. /fi'laan/ → [fu'laan] due to the neighbourhood of a labial.

34. fa'luun e.g. /galyuun/ "pipe"

35. fa'aloön e.g. /jalatoon/ "wild plant"

36. fu''eela(h) e.g. /zummeera/ "music pipe"

The diphthong in classical Arabic /ay/ → /ee/ in this dialect.

37. fa'lal /bakraj/ "coffee pot"

38. fa'lala(h) /xarbaša/ "scribble/confusion"

fu'lala(h) e.g. /tunjara/ "cooking pot"

39. maf'al /maħmal/ "camel-borne litter"

40. maf'ala(h) /maṣṭaba/ "floor"

41. maf'il /masjid/ "mosque"

42. mif'al/maf'al e.g. /minsaf/mansaf/ "Jordanian dish"

43. mif'ala(h) e.g. /mi'raga/ "saddle"

44. maf'uul e.g. /maznuuk/ "long dress for men"

45. mif'aal e.g. /miftaah/ "key"



46. mif'aala(h) e.g. /miħmaasa/ "hot plate for roasting coffee beans"
47. muf'ela(h) e.g. /muknesa/ "brush/broom"

### The gender of nouns

Most of the feminine nouns are marked with the ending /ah/a/. e.g. /šajara/ "tree" /šxalah/ "little lamb"

The feminine termination of /aʔ/ of classical Arabic as in /ħamraʔ/ "red" is presented much like /a(h)/ in this dialect, so that classical Arabic /ħamraaʔ/ → /ħamra/. Some nouns, as in classical Arabic, do not have feminine endings, as in /šams/ "sun" or /naar/ "fire".

### Adjectives

Here are the most common adjectival patterns found in Al-Ghor dialect. The feminine are formed by the addition of the ending /ah/.

- 1) maf'uul e.g. /mabšuut/ "happy"

This form corresponds to the classical Arabic passive participle form of the verb /bašaʔ/.

- 2) fa'iil e.g. /nađiif/ "clean"

- 3) fi'iil e.g. /čibiir/ "big"

The classical Arabic form is /fa'iil/. In this dialect they change the front open vowel /a/ to the short closed vowel /i/.

- 4) faa'il e.g. /naaṣiḥ/ "fat"

This is the active participle form and it is identical to the classical Arabic form /faa'il/.

- 5) fa'la e.g. /'arja/ "limping"

Note that this dialect uses the form of feminine adjectives of which the form in classical Arabic would be /fa'laa?/'arjaa? "limping".

- 6) fa'aal e.g. /ḥassaad/ "harvester"

- 7) fa'laan e.g. /za'laan/ "angry"

- 8) fa'al e.g. /ḥamar/ "red"

This form corresponds to the classical Arabic form. /ʔaḥmar/ "red". In this dialect they elide the initial glottal stop and produce /fa'al/

### The dual

Dual nouns are marked by the addition of the suffix /-een/ to the singular. e.g.

nhaareen	"two days"
zalmateen	"two men"
beedteen	"two eggs"

The use of the numeral ʔiineen and ʔinteen before the noun<sup>1</sup> which is found in some Arabic dialects, is not found in Al-Ghor dialect. Note that, instead of the dual, a

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1. Blanc. H. "Dual and pseudo-Dual in the Arabic dialect" p.p. 43-44. Language vol. 46.



construction with /aneen/tinteen/, after a plural noun can be used. e.g.

wlaad <u>i</u> neen	"two boys"
banaat <u>t</u> inteen	"two girls"

Some nouns, like members of the body occurring in pairs, always use the dual. e.g.

ideen	"two hands"
ijreen	"two feet"

The most common types of dual are described below:-

a) nouns ending in a consonant.

<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	
jisr/jisir	jisreen	"two bridges"

b) nouns ending in (-a)

šajara	šajrateen	"two trees"
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c) nouns ending in (-i)

šabi	šabiyyeen	"two boys"
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### The Diminutive

We referred above to the forms /f'eel/ of the diminutive. This can be formed from most nouns. If there are three consonants in the noun, the diminutive will be fu'ayl → [f'eel] - with elision of short /a/ and reduction of the diphthongs, and this gives the meaning of "little" or "small".

Instead of the /f'eel/ form of diminutive, a construction involving the placing of the adjective /ṣaḡiir/ "small" *after* the noun concerned may alternatively be employed.

e.g.                      walad ṣaḡiir                      "small boy"

1) Form of triliteral noun /fa'l/

galb	gleeb	"little heart"
'abd	'(e)beed	"slave"
ṣabb	ṣbeeb	"youth"
ḥajar	ḥjeer	"little stone"

2) Form of triliteral feminine noun /fa'la(h)/ e.g.

'anza	'(e)neeza	"little goat"
dam'a	dme'e'a	"little 'tearful' eyes"
ṣxala	ṣxeela	"little lamb"

However, the diminutive is used also to express endearment. e.g.

binti	bnayti	"my little girl"
naamti <sup>*</sup>	mweemti	"my dear mother"

\* (not attested)

In Al-Ghor dialect they use a plural form of the diminutive of nouns, adding the suffix /-aat/ to the noun.

e.g. bnayya	bnayyaat	"little girls"
ṣxala	ṣxeelaat	"little young lambs"



### Collective nouns

Certain nouns in Al-Ghor dialect are collective, e.g. /bugar/ "cattle". These forms are inherently plural in meaning, but syntactically they behave like singulars. For example, they select a singular verb as in /ʔabbugar wirid ʕammay/ "the cattle reached the water".

For many such collective nouns we can derive plural forms by the addition of the ending (-at), and these forms can then in turn also take the plural forms.

<u>collective</u>		<u>singulative</u>		<u>little pl.</u>
bugar	"cattle"	bgara	"one cow"	bgaraat "cows"
šajar	"trees"	šjara(h)	"one tree"	šjaraat "trees"

However, there are some collectives from the roots of which no nouns of unity are found. e.g.

/bil/	"camels"
/xeel/	"horses"
/niswaan/	"woman"

### The Plural

As in classical Arabic, plural in this dialect has two major sub-categories.

- a) The so-called sound plural, where all the vowels and consonants of the singular are retained, namely /-iin/ for the regular masculine plural, and the suffix /-aat/

for the feminine plural. e.g.

ħaṣṣaadiin	"harvesters" masc.
ħaṣṣaadaat	"harvesters" fem.

- b) The so-called broken plural is formed by internal changing involving modification of vowels and in other types loss of one root consonant.

The main nominal patterns found in Al-Ghor dialect are the following:

- 1) f'aal. e.g. /rjaal/ "men" /glaam/ "pencils"

This type is more often with the loss of unstressed short vowel /i/. It is usually from the forms fa'l, fu'l, fa'al, fu'ul and fi'al.

/rjaal/ "men" /tlaat/ "thirds" /wlaad/ "boys"  
/rbaa'/ "quarters"

However, examples for the prosthetic /i/ preceded to avoid a shawa at the initial of the word are as follows:

/ʔirbaa'/ "quarters" /ʔiyyaam/ "days"

Moreover, this pattern is largely used for adjectival plural of pattern /f'aal/ in the singular, e.g.

/zgaar/ "small" /kbaar/ "big"

- 2) f'uul. e.g. /gluub/ "hearts" /ṣhuun/ "plates"

Note there is an alternative of this form, it is /if'uul/  
e.g. /iṣhuur/ "months" /iudru'/ "arms"

- 3) fa'iil e.g. /ħamiir/ "donkey" /'abiid/ "slaves"

- 4) fu'ul e.g. /zulum/ "men". This form is usually from /f'ila/.



- 5) fa'al e.g. /daraj/ "steps"
- 6) f'all e.g. /rkabb/ "knees". This form is from /fa'al/.
- 7) fu'al e.g. /bukkar/ "virgins", alternatively there is another form /fa'aala/ e.g. /bakaara/ "virgins"
- 8) fu'aal e.g. /suwwaa'/ "travellers"
- 9) fa'aalil e.g. /bakaarij/ "coffee pots". The singular of this form is /fa'lal/.
- 10) fa'aaliil e.g. /xaṭaaṭiir/ "guests". The singular of this form is /faa'il/.
- 11) fa'aayil e.g. /galaayid/ "necklaces". Most of the forms of /fa'iila/ in the singular have the /fa'aayil/ for plural.
- 12) fawaa'il e.g. /ṣawaari'/ "streets". This form is from the singular /faa'il/.
- 13) fa'aala e.g. /ʔamaara/ "princes". The singular of this form is /fa'iil/.
- 14) fa'aali e.g. /šalaafi/ "lances". The singular of this form is /fa'la/.
- 15) fi'laan e.g. /xirfaan/ "lambs". Most of this pattern of /fa'uul/ in the singular have this form for plural.
- 16) fu'laan e.g. /burgaan/ "jugs". Another form is found in this dialect it is /fi'laan/ e.g. /ṣibyaan/ "boys".
- 17) mafaa'il e.g. /madaaris/ "schools". This form is from the singular /maf'ala/.
- 18) mafaa'iil e.g. /mayaadiin/ "squares". The singular of this form is /maf'aal/.

### The Definite Article

An undefined noun becomes definite by the prefixing of the definite article to it. e.g.

gaadi	?algaadi	"the judge"
yoom	?alyoom	"the day"
beet	?albeet	"the house"

The definite article is realised in two different forms in Al-Ghor dialect:

- a) Without assimilation
- b) With assimilation

All the non-Ghawarneh people realise the definite article in their speech, as in Classical Arabic.

i.e. mooz → [?almooz] "the bananas"

On the other hand the Ghawarneh people assimilate the definite article, and it is a characteristic of their speech, irrespective of what following consonant occurs.

i.e. goor	→	[?aggoor]	"Al-Ghor"
hmaal	→	[?ahhamaar]	"the donkey"
balad	→	[abblaad]	"the countries"



### Nunation

A number of adverbs are formed by the suffixation of / an/ to a certain noun as in the following examples:

ṭab'an	"of course"
šukran	"thank you"
ʔabadan	"never"

The above examples are in particular close to the Classical Arabic, due to influence by the literary Arabic.

Note that /ḡaṣbin/ "by force" is dialectal form. Some adverbs used in this dialect e.g. /ḡeertaaxida ḡaṣbin 'annu/ "you will marry her in spite of his wish".

### The construct state

Masculine and feminine plural nouns end in /-iin/ and /-aat/ remain unchanged in the construct state.

e.g.

masc. pl.	mzaar'iin alḡoor	"the Ghor farmers"
fem. pl.	mdarsaat <u>balwazaara</u>	"teachers of the ministry"

The dual nouns in the construct state realised as the plural + the dual form. as in

liwlaadul <u>iṭneen</u> balmadrassa	"his two boys are at school"
banaatu <u>iṭinteen</u> balbeet	"his two daughters are at home"

The singular ending in /-a/ take /-t/ in the construct.

e.g.	sayyaara	→	[sayyaarat]	"car."
	sayyaarat <u>ilbalad</u>			"the village car"

The system of the broken plural in Al-Ghor dialect is fairly similar to the classical Arabic. However, the unstressed short vowels (a, i, u) may be elided or reduced to another vowel in some forms, e.g.

rijaal	→	[rjaal]	"men"
guluub	→	[gluub]	"hearts"
ruġfaan	→	[riġfaan]	"loaves"

#### Comparison of adjectives

The form /ʔafʕal/ is always to denote relative in this dialect. e.g.

ʔinta ʔaħsan minni	"you are better than I am"
tuħsub ʔinnu ʔašṭar minnu	"do you think that he is cleverer than him"

#### Superlative

It is an expression of the highest or lowest degree of a quality or attribute, and it is derived from adjectives by restructuring them according to the pattern /ʔafʕal/ (followed by nouns in the construct).

ʔaħsan ʕamil	"the best worker"
ʔagwa ʔlima	"the strongest man"
ʔaṭ yab waaħad	"the best among us"
ʔaħsan ʕiṣa	"the best life"



Note also the following without distinction of gender or number.

šaaṭir	ʔaštar	"cleverer"
kuwayyis	ʔakwas	"best"
guwi	ʔagwa	"strongest"
ʔaali	ʔaʔla	"highest"
ḡaali	ʔaḡla	"most expensive"

The superlative form is one with /ʔal-/. .

Sometimes the form /ʔafʔal/ is annexed to an indefinite noun to express the superlative degree as in the following.

e.g.	ʔaḥsan waaḥad	"the best one"
	ʔaʔla waaḥad	"the highest one"
	ʔaḡla ši	"the most expensive thing"

### The numerals

In Al-Ghor dialect the numerals which correspond to one and two, inflect for gender. e.g. /waaḥad/ for masculine and /wiḥda/ for feminine. Other numerals can be used with both masculine and feminine nouns.

e.g.	/xams iwlaad/	"five boys"
	/xams banaat/	"five girls"

The cardinals from one to ten. e.g.

<u>masc.</u>	<u>fem.</u>	
waaḥad	wiḥda	one
ʔitneen	tinteem	two

The rest of the numbers are the same. e.g.

ṭalaṭ zulum	"three men"
?arba' niswaan	"four women"
sitt neeraat	"six lira"
'ašar bawariid	"ten rifles"

The above examples, the numbers are with an enumerated noun, but if the numbers are alone they will take the feminine form except /waaḥad/ and /ṭineen/ e.g.

gaddees' andak ḡanam ?	ṭalaata
how many goats do you have?	three

The numerals from eleven to nineteen are as follows:

?iḥda'iš	"eleven"
?iṭna'aš	"twelve"
ṭalaṭa'iš	"thirteen"
xamiṣṭa'iš	"fifteen"
ṭimanta'iš	"eighteen"
tisa'ta'iš	"nineteen"

Note that Classical Arabic /t/ which is at the end of the first element of a compound numeral form, becomes emphatic /ṭ/, that is from 13-19. Furthermore, if an enumerated noun follows these numerals, they end in /'šar/ e.g.

ṣuṭṭa'šar daar	"sixteen houses"
ṭisa'ta'šar jimal	"nineteen camels"



The numerals for 20, 30, 40, up to 90.

The numerals for 20 to 90, end in the suffix /-iin/.

e.g.	ʿiṣriin	"twenty"
	ṭalaṭiin	"thirty"
	ʔarbaʿiin	"forty"
	xamsiin	"fifty"
	ṭimaniin	"eighty"
	tisʿiin	"ninety"

In compound numbers from 21-29, 31-39, etc. the units from 1 to 9 come first, and are conjoined to the following /-iin/ form by the conjunction /wi/ or /u/ e.g.

waaḥad uʿiṣriin	"twenty one"
sitta warbaʿiin	"forty six"
ṭalatawṭamaniin <sup>(i)</sup>	"eighty three"

The numbers from 100 onwards

miyya	"one hundred"
miiteen	"two hundred"
ṭalṭmiyya	"three hundred"
sittmiyya	"six hundred"
ṭimanmiyya	"eight hundred"
tisiʿmiyya	"nine hundred"
ʔalf	"one thousand"
ʔalfeen	"two thousand"
ṭalataṭalaaf	"three thousand"

Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals take the following forms, e.g.

	<u>Masculine</u>		<u>Feminine</u>	
	<u>indefinite</u>	<u>definite</u>	<u>indefinite</u>	<u>definite</u>
First	?awwal	lawwal	?awwala	lawwala
Second	taani	?attaani	taanya	?attaanya
Third	taaliṭ	?attaaliṭ	taalta	?attaalta
Fourth	raabi'	?arrabi'	raab'a	?arraab'a
Fifth	xaamis	?axxaamis	xaamsa	?axxaamsa
Sixth	saadis	?assaadis	saadsa	?assaadsa
Seventh	saabi'	?assaabi'	saab'a	?assaab'a
Eighth	taamin	?attaamin	taamna	?attaamna
Ninth	taasi'	?attaasi'	taas'a	?attaas'a
Tenth	'aašir	?a''aašir	'aašra	?a''aašra

Time

Among the words used to indicate the time in Al-Ghor dialect are as follows:

To indicate age, year, month, moment.

zimaan	"age/past time"
sana	"year"
šahar	"month"
laḥḍa	"moment"

The ordinals are also used for expressing the time



of day. e.g. /misa / "evening" /fajir/ "early morning"  
 /leel/ "night" /nahaar/ "day time"

The days of the week

yoom ilhadd	"Sunday"
yoom litneen	"Monday"
yoom ittalaat	"Tuesday"
yoom larba'	"Wednesday"
yoom ilxamiis	"Thursday"
yoom ijjum'a	"Friday"
yoom issabt	"Saturday"

The word /ʔusbuu' / "week" occurs in this dialect.

## Personal Pronoun

The personal pronouns usually reflect in their forms the same distinction of person and gender as is found in Classical Arabic. However, the dual feminine does not occur in this dialect but plural is used instead.

### 1. Independent pronouns

The forms of independent personal pronouns are as follows:-

3rd p. masc. s.	huu	"he"
3rd p. fem. s.	hii	"she"
3rd p. masc. pl.	humma	"they"
3rd p. fem. pl.	hinne	"they"
2nd p. masc. s.	?inta	"you"
2nd p. fem. s.	?inti	"you"
2nd p. masc. pl.	?intu	"you"
2nd p. fem. pl.	?intin	"you"
1st p. (masc.fem.)s.	?ana	"I"
1st p. (masc.fem.)pl.	?iħna/ħinna	"we"

Note that /ħinna/ is more frequently used than /?iħna/.

### 2. Pronominal suffixes

Pronominal suffixes occur with nouns, verbs, and prepositions, as in the following:

a) with noun e.g.

beet	"house"	beetna	"our house"
------	---------	--------	-------------



b) with verb e.g.

ṭalabnaahum "we asked them"

c) with preposition e.g.

ma'aana "with us"

Forms of pronominal suffixes attachable to noun:-

1st p. (masc. fem.) s.	beeti	"my house"
1st p. (masc. fem) pl.	beetna	"our house"
2nd p. masc. s.	beetak	"your house"
2nd p. fem. s.	beetič	"your house"
2nd p. masc. pl.	beetku	"your house"
2nd p. fem. pl.	beeččin	"your house"
3rd p. masc. s.	beetu	"his house"
3rd p. fem. s.	beetha	"her house"
3rd p. masc. pl.	beethum	"their house"
3rd p. fem. pl.	beethin	"their house"

Forms of pronominal suffixes attachable to verb:-

1st p. (masc. fem.) pl.	ṭalabna	"he asked us"
2nd p. masc. s.	ṭalabtak	"I asked you"
2nd p. fem. s.	ṭalabtič	"I asked you" fem.
2nd p. masc. pl.	ṭalabitku	"I asked you" masc.
2nd p. fem. pl.	ṭalabiččin	"I asked you" fem.
3rd p. masc. s.	ṭalabtu	"I asked him"
3rd p. fem. s.	ṭalabitha	"I asked her"

3rd p. masc. pl.	ṭalabithum	"I asked them"
3rd p. fem. pl.	ṭalabithin	"I asked them"

Note that the pronominal suffixes attachable to preposition ~~have~~ the same table as the noun i.e.

/ma'na/ "with us" masc.fem.	/ma'hum/ "with them" masc.
/ma'cin/ "with them" fem.	etc.

### Demonstrative pronouns.

In Al-Ghor dialect demonstrative pronouns can be divided into two types with regard to their spatial reference.

a) Those referring to a near object, e.g.

haaḍa/haaḍ	"this one" masc. s.
haaḍi/haay	"this one" fem. s.
haḍool/haḍoola	"these" masc. fem. pl.

b) Those referring to a distant object, e.g.

haḍaak/ḍaak	"that one" masc. s.
haḍiič/ḍiič	"that one" fem. s.
haḍolaak/haḍlaak	"those" masc. fem. pl.

### Demonstrative of Place

The demonstratives of place in this dialect are of two kinds.

a) Near object.

haan/haana	"here"
------------	--------



b) Far object.

hanaak/(i)hnaak "there"

However, the demonstrative /hal/ "this/these" occurs in Al-Ghor dialect. e.g.

haliblaad "this country"

halnaas "these people"

### Relative pronouns

The relative pronoun /ʔilli/, /ʔalli/, "who", "which", "that", does not vary according to the gender or number of the object referred to, whether the latter is singular or plural.

ʔizlima lli šuftu "the man whom I saw"

ʔiljima'a lli raahu "the people who went"

šufta lbinta lli raahat "I saw the girl who went"

The word /maa/ may be employed as an equivalent to a relative pronoun when following an indefinite antecedent.

e.g. mitrah maa wuddu "wherever he wants"

yoom maa jat ilmara "when the woman came"

### Particles

### Prepositions

The prepositions indicate relations of place, time, space, and various kinds of abstract relations. Prepos-







d) over

ḥamad naṭṭ 'an iṣṣiik "Hamad jumped over the fence"

4) fii The basic meanings of this preposition are as follows: at, of, in, on, by,

a) at

fii hazziman haad "at this time/at the present time"

b) of

ni'tini fiiha "we take care of it"

c) in

?i'yaali dallu filmadaaris

"my children remained in the school"

d) on

fii yoom minaliyyaam

"on a certain day" "once upon a time"

e) by

?istagdu fii raayu

"they were guided by his opinion"

The form /fii/ like /bii/ means "there is" (see above p.124) e.g.

fii moyya haan "there is water here" similarly if the negative particle precedes /fii/ it means "there is not" e.g.

maa fii naas haan "there is nobody here"

5) min This preposition has a various number of meanings,

e.g. from, amongst, than, out of,

a) from

?ana min deer 'alla "I am from Deir 'Alla"



b) from among

xada minhin wiñda "he took one from among them"

c) than ?azgar minni "he is younger than I"

d) out of

sirna ništaḡil minxoof yiṣiir 'aleena ḡiiḡ

"We started working out of fear that poverty might come to us"

6) la/li This preposition with pronominal suffixes overlaps the meaning of /?ila/. The meaning of this preposition is as follows:

to, of, until, by, of, about, belonging to,

a) to gaal leeha "he said to her"

b) of wal mara beetha lhaalha

"and the woman has a house of her own"

c) until ḡalleena haana lahaaḡa ttaariix

"we stayed here until this time"

d) by jaa'da bxuṣṣa lhaali

"I am living in a cottage by myself"

e) of haaḡa rafiiḡ l'abdalla

"he is a friend of Abdallah"

f) about yi'rfu lta b'i

"they know about my character"

g) belonging to

haaḡa lbeet liyya "this house belongs to me"

- 7) ba'ad This preposition means "after", as in  
 ba'da ilfajr "after dawn"  
 and also yet as in:-  
 ?alḥukuuma maa waddat ḥada ba'ad  
 "the government has not sent anybody yet"
- 8) ma'ni' This preposition means with or have as in:  
 yiṣṭaḡil ma'u zulum "men work with him"  
 mi'i miṣaari ċiṭiira "I have plenty of money"
- 9) bween/been This preposition has two meanings:  
between and among e.g.
- a) between  
 ṣaarat mnaawaṣaat bweenna ?u bween ?aṣṣagar  
 "there was fighting between us, and the Ṣagar"
- b) among ṣaar fisaad been ?alḥamaayil  
 "there was corruption among the tribes"
- 10) foog This preposition has a number of meanings:  
beyond, over, upon e.g.
- a) beyond giimtu foog maa tiṣṣawwar  
 "Its value is beyond your imagination"
- b) over 'umri foog ?alxamsiin  
 "my age is over fifty years"
- c) upon ḥutt foogu rigiif xubuz  
 "Put a loaf of bread upon it"
- d) above its proper limit i.e. more than  
 ḡala lighawa foog ḥaddha  
 "He boiled the coffee more than it needs"



- 11) taht In this dialect there is only one meaning for this preposition, i.e. under

ħattat raasi taht aṣṣaaj

"She put my head under the baking pan"

- 12) gabul This preposition means before

ħinna jiina gabulhum

"We came before them"

### Compound Prepositions

Compound prepositions occur in this dialect, but they are not as frequent as simple prepositions. The most common compound prepositions are the following:

- 1) minfoog This preposition has different meanings,

over, above

- a) over

ħumri minfoog alxamsiin "my age is over fifty years"

- b) above bana minfoogu beet taani

"he built above it another (a second) house/room"

- 2) minba'ad The meaning of this preposition is after

minba'ad aṣṣidaad "after we cultivate the land"

- 3) min'ugub This preposition also means after

min 'ugub maa ruht "after I went"

- 4) min'and The meaning of this preposition is from  
 jiina min'and aṣṣagar "We came from Aṣ-Ṣagar"
- 5) mingabul The meaning of this preposition is before  
 ?ana maajuud mingabul turkiyya  
 "I was here before the Turks came"

### Conjunctions

Certain particles are used in the Al-Ghor dialect as conjunctions. Some of them are called conditional conjunctions, as follows -

- 1) laʔinnu → lannu "because"  
 maajidirnaniiji min hanaak lannu maafii moyya  
 "we could not come from there because there is no water"
- 2) laakin/laač̣in "but"  
 fii baruud laač̣in maa fii zulum  
 "There were rifles but there were no men"
- 3) bass but, just, but only.  
but ʔamti tiktilni bass maa ḥada yigdar yiḥči  
 "my aunt hits me but there is nobody who dares to speak"
- just  
 xiḍ bass šuwayya "take just a little"
- but, but only  
 maa yigdaru yiḥaarbu bass huu  
 "None can fight but (only) he"

Note that by itself the word /bass/ means enough.



- 4) law if, supposing  
 lawinnu yijji "if he can come/suppose he comes"
- 5) čeeŋ as, e.g.  
as čeeŋ maa wuddak "as you like"
- 6) ħitta in order to, so that  
 taxabba 'innhum ħitta la yišuuŋu  
 "he hides himself from them in order (so that) they  
 should not see him"
- 7) ʔida if  
 ʔida liguu ʔiktaluu "if they find him they will kill him"
- 8) ween maa where, wherever  
 gaal ween maa widdi ʔaruuh  
 "he said wherever I want to go I can go"
- 9) yoomin when  
 yoomin lifa 'aleena "when he came to us"
- 10) lamna when  
 lamna ɣaar 'umri xamsiin sana  
 "when I reached fifty years of age"
- 11) ʔu (wa): and  
 ana ruuh 'alee ʔu ʔahči ma'a  
 "I go to him and speak with him"

### Other particles

There are other conjunctions with various other functions used in Al-Ghor dialect, like the following:

- 1) marra once, one time  
 tijiina ʔammooya marra wiḥda  
 "the water came once"
- 2) balči maybe  
 balči zlima maa yiriid  
 "maybe the man does not want it"
- 3) barra outside  
 ḥattu barra ššij  
 "they put it outside the tent"

### Interrogative particles

The main interrogative particles in this dialect are as follows:

- 1) šloon how  
 šloon triidha "how do you like it"
- 2) the prefix ši what  
 šiddak minni "what do you want from me"
- 3) gaddeš how many, how much  
how many gaddeš triid ganam  
 "how many goats do you want"  
how much gaddeš ḥaggu "how much is it?"



- 4) mneen from where  
 mneen albaruud haad  
 "from where are these rifles" or  
 "where are these rifles from"
- 5) man who  
 manjaa "who come?"
- 6) mita when  
 mita itruih "when will you go?"
- 7) ween where (classical Arabic form is ?ayn)  
 ween raayih "where will you go?"
- 8) čeef how  
 čeef wuddak iyyaaha "how do you like it?"
- 9) čam how much/how many  
 čam itriid "how many do you want"
- 10) weeš what (from wa ?ayyu šay?in)  
 weeš iddak "what do you want?"

PART IIILEXICAL FEATURES

Lexical items discussed below will include not only single words, but also phrases or sentences which have the character of idioms.

The lexical features of Al-Ghor dialect, like those of other dialects, may vary somewhat from one sub-region to another. The items in the corpus cover various fields of human activities in this region, such as agriculture, which is the main source of livelihood among the Ghawaarneh, and also sheep-rearing, and various types of other work, besides other matters. No doubt some or many of the items which occur in this dialect are used by the neighbouring areas or tribes as well. Such occurrence of special items common to them as well as the Ghawaarneh is at least partly due to the fact that some of the people living in neighbouring areas also have land in Al-Ghor, and they have to get it cultivated and looked after by the Ghawaarneh or others, with whom they are thus in contact, and some other tribesmen specialising in sheep-rearing have to go for pasture to Al-Ghor.

Besides all these reasons, there is another factor which is the most important, namely that the general historical and social-cultural background is common to these tribes and the Ghawaarneh.



We give below a list of words, phrases, etc., commonly used by speakers of this dialect arranged according to the usual Arabic alphabetical order.

### Verbs

#### 1) Farming (agriculture)

baḥaš	"to dig"
taṣābaṭ	"to agree" (between farmers)
ja'ʿa	"to turn over" (soil)
ḥaraṭ	"to plough"
ḥaṣad	"to harvest"
ḫadd	"to shake the milk"
daras	"to thresh the wheat"
ḍarra	"to winnow" (wheat)
rašš	"to water/spray"
zabbal	"to fertilize"
sarrib	"to make lines" (in the land)
šadd	"to cultivate"
soobar	"to put chemical manure"
ḍabb	"to collect" (wheat, barley)
ʿazzab	"to stay beside the land"
ḡazz	"to plant"
ḡammar	"to collect harvest"

faraz	"to divide" (land)
gayyal	"to sit in the shade".
laggaṭ	"to pick-up"
maras	"to dissolve" (dry sour milk)
naṭar	"to wait in the field"
hawwas	"to roast green wheat"
waddar	"to store/hide"

## 2) General and Social Human Activity

baḥḥar	"to look"
barrad	"to obtain"
traabaṭ	"to agree" (among the merchants)
jibal	"to mix"
ḥanjar	"to share"
xataṃ	"to step in"
da'ar	"to pierce"
daḥḥaj	"to look"
ḍibaḥ	"to kill/slaughter"
ramag	"to look at"
zagaṭ	"to catch"
zarag	"to go in"
sayyar	"to visit"
ṣaal	"to carry"
ṭabb	"to settle down"
ʿarraṣ	"to become pleased/happy"



ǧallat	"to bother/annoy"
fakk	"to solve"
gahar	"to go back"
kadd	"to go"
labbaḥ	"to intercept"
maḷat	"to skin"
na'ar	"to puncture"

### Nouns

#### 1) Farming (agriculture) and domestic features

ʔi'šaar	"tax" for land
babbuur	"primus/parafin cooker"
tibin	"hay"
toor	"ox"
jirnaas	"rice pudding"
ja'ariin	"dogs"
ḥabbit taḥiin	"some flour"
ḥocṭa	"surrounding area"
ḥalaal	"cattle"
xuzug	"hole"
dalla	"coffee pot"
dilim	unit of land measurement - 1000m <sup>2</sup>
dikar	"a part of the plough"
rujum	"a pile of stone"
zibil	"manure"

zoor	"heavy bamboo plants"
sičča	"blade (of plough)"
šwaal	"sack"
saaj	"hot plate for baking"
twaala	"piece of wood used for feeding animals"
'uud	"plough"
gleesi	"young lamb"
fariiča	"roasting wheat"
giraat	"land measure"
čiliil	"a thick piece of cloth put around the animal who pull the plough"
lagin	"wash basin"
nugra	"fire place"

## 2) General and Social Human Activity

?iktaah	"smell of roast meat"
?ihjeeja	"face"
babuur	"train"
baraatim	"lips"
tamur	"dates"
ja'ariin	"dogs"
habbaabi	"my master"
hatta	"headress for women"
xuruj	"saddle"
dixiil	"supplicant"
daamir	"waistcoat for men"



rab'it aššij	"place near the main tent"
zimi'	"ankle"
šfinja	"spear"
šiniyya	"big round plate with edges round it"
tunjara	"cooking pot"
taariš	"messenger"
'izwa	"people of tribe/clan"
gašim	"ignorant"
faatir	"fast camel"
faarda/zaffa	"wedding party group"
galaayid	"necklace"
guttma	"piece"
mixraz	"awl"
meer	"bread"
nifiila	"plate form"
habrit alsaan	"tongue"

Adjectives, including adjectives used as nouns.

1) Farming (agriculture) and  
General Human and Social Activities.

ʔirammiil	"to tell the future"
taayih	"lost"
toob 'ubbaabi	"loose garment"
hallaaba	"milk cow" (f)
xabbaaza	baker (f)
xarraat	"liar"

duug	"uncultivated"(land)
ḍara	"protector"
zwaada	"flooding"
sarsari	"thieving"
ṣaraari	"poor"
ʼaṣṣi	"cook"
ʼadla	"well bred"
ḡatruufa	"beautiful woman"
ḡaat'a	"villain"
kassaara	"robbers"
mazyuuna	"beautiful"
mčaxmin	"rotten"
mitirsa	"observant/keeping one's eyes on"
naagi	"newly pregnant"
hamuula	"lazy" (person)
wijih al'āṣiira	"notable person in the tribe"

### Phrases

Among the Ghawaarna people there are many common phrases used in their dialect. Here are the most common phrases found:-

ʔawwal mintahaana "first of all"

ʔal'een maa ti'la lḥaajib

"the eye cannot be higher than the eyebrow"  
(i.e. we cannot say anything after his decision)



?aljuu' garrat maşariini

"I am starving to death"

?axu jaaru waxu dixiiltu

"he is like a brother to his neighbour and to his supplicants" (i.e. he is a man of his word)

?irbaa'hum mşara'a  
lalxataatiir

"their tents are wide open to receive guests"

?inhazam 'inlum kab̄b šarr

"he left them in order not to get involved"

?assima t̄taarig warab alxaalig

he has nothing but heavens and God the Creator

?adrub haan bal'ašara

"shake hands" (i.e. as a sign of approval.)

ba'adana kullna ?ilhama bsida

"we are still joined together"

bii batta wiħda

"there is one condition"

tiħt al'agul

"immature"

turkuḍ walbeen yurkuḍ ma'aak

"you run and calamities accompany you" (i.e. wherever you go calamities follow)

jattna zwaada

"we had a flood"

ħat̄teet haçyi balbat̄taal

"you ignored what I said"

ħat̄t hazzahaab

"he loaded his provisions"

ħaffila lwalad

"get the boy ready"

xanna inhuṭṭ biḥuurhin	"let's mount our horses"
xadātna kašša wiḥda	"it swept us away completely"
draa'ak minlxaam yičsiik	i.e. "he is a self-made man"
ḡallat 'ala haddidaan	"she continued in the same manner"
'iīšitna mlaaṭaša bimlaaṭaša	"our life has its ups and downs/is greatly inconsistent"
'iīša mhaataka	"a hectic life"
'anaak ?umaani 'andak	i.e. "unfulfilled promises"
gaalu baaṭil 'aleena jjiira	"they said, "By all means by God".
maa waraay faḡa	"I have no time"
mahma dabb wjara	"whatever happens"
nḥuṭṭ ammaḥaṭṭ ?u nuṭṭ ammanatṭ	"we pay our share (of blood money) come what may"
yalla kuḡḡ	"let's go"

### Compound Words

In this dialect there are some compound words which are listed below:

baniadam	"human being"	from /?ibn/ "son" and /?aadam/ "Adam"
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gaayimagaam	"governor"	from /gaayim/ taking,, active and /magaam/ place,, behalf
'ard <sup>h</sup> haal	"petition"	from /'ard/ "statement, review" and /haal/ "condition"

All the above are taken from the literary language and dated back to the Turkish official terminology, used in the century before 1917.

By the use of /ʔab/ "father", /ʔumm/ "mother" /bint/ "daughter", /beet/ "house", /ṣaaḥib/ "owner", /ʔax/ "brother", and the like in the construct case, followed by the word or words expressing the desired qualities in the genitive, e.g.

ʔabu ṣanab	"father of a moustache"	"comet"
ʔabu ṣṣantaat	"father of the suitcases"	"opportunist, timeserver"
ʔabu lxeel	"father of the horses"	"an expert horseman"
ʔabu idraa' ʔilli huffak	"father of the arm"	"curse"
ʔumm ligruun	"mother of the horns"	"with plaits"
ʔibn ḥalaal	"son of legitimacy"	"a good fellow"
banaat ihawa	"daughters of the air"	"prostitutes"
ʔibn ḥaraam	"son of illegitimacy"	"a bad fellow"

ʔibn ʔarab	"son of an Arab"	"a good Arab man"
beet il mooyya	"the house of water"	"the water closet"
beet il xaarij	"the house of outside"	
ṣaaḥib albeet	"the owner of the house"	"the landlord"
ṣaaḥib ṣulṭa	"the owner of the authority"	"authorised person"
ṣaaḥib ḥalaal	"the owner of the cattle"	
ʔaxu ʔuxtu	"brother of his sister"	"helpful person"

### Foreign Words

Many foreign words are found in this dialect, a considerable number of these are borrowed from Turkish, due to the former administrative and military occupation, and from Greek and Italian, which is the source of many commercial terms. Others are derived from Hebrew, French, German, English and Persian.

#### 1) From Turkish

ṭaabuur	"battalion"
daamir	"waistcoat for man"
sarsari	"thief"
ṣaawiiṣ	"sergeant"
jraab	"money pouch"



jaxxa	"very good"
lagin	"large bowl"
yuzbaaši	"captain"
zaabit	"officer"
bakraj	"coffee pot"
dugri	"straight on"
'ašši	"cook"
tanak	"tin"
balki	"perhaps"
brinji	"good"
jabaxaane	"ammunition"
baaša	"pasha"
dasta	"dozen"
kundara	"shoes"

2) From Persian

ʔustaad	"school teacher"
šaāl	"shawl"
taaza	"fresh"
xyaar	"cucumbers"
ruznaama	"calendar"
funjaan	"cup"
saṭil	"bucket"
beetinjaan	"egg plant/aubergine"
baškiir	"towel"

juux	"kind of wool"
sirwaal	"long pants"
galyuun	"pipe"
kahraba	"electricity"
baxt	"luck"

### 3) Greek

Greek or Latin originally derived from Greek and Latin, but adapted from modern European or mediaeval Arabic.

talafoon	"telephone"
jins	"kind/sort"
maakiina	"machine"
baamya	"okra"
zinnaar	"belt"
şaabũun	"soap"
gaanuun	"law"

Very few words can be referred to a Latin origin such as /denaars/ "denar" and possibly /fulus/ "fluus" "money" and /gunşul/ "consul".

### 4) From Italian

baṭaaṭa	"potato"
leemuun	"lemon"
numra	"number"
bandoorra	"tomato"



taawlah

"table"

kabbuut

"coat"

mooda

"fashion"

5) From German

girš

"piaster"

6) From French

baalah

"bale"

treen

"train"

kartoon

"cardboard"

keela

"kilogramme"

miter

"metre"

7) From English

bukam

"pick-up"

tarakktar

"tractor"

trak

"truck"

maatoor

"motor/pump"

sakaara

"cigarette"

baakiit

"packet"

benziin

"petrol" (or from  
French)

sfilt

"asphalt"

sment

"cement"

bank

"bank"

## CHAPTER IV

S Y N T A X

Certain basic principles apply to the syntax of this dialect, as they do to all others and also classical Arabic. In other respects, however, Al-Ghor dialect shows syntactical features of its own, and which distinguish it from the classical Arabic language, or from other brands of modern colloquial speech.

The sentence

Sentence consists minimally of two elements; subject and predicate, either of which may be expressed or implied.

The subject

The subject is usually a noun or noun phrase, or a pronoun, or adjective, (c.f. the underlined) e.g.

<u>ʔazlima</u> dibaḥ juzuur	"the man slaughtered a camel"
<u>ʔibn alamiir</u> haan	"the Amir's son is here"
<u>hii</u> maajat	"she has not come"
<u>ʔal'ajuuz</u> jat	"the old (lady) came"

The predicate

The predicate consists of a word or phrase, as in the following (cf. the underlined)

a) Verb/or verb phrase. e.g.

ʔana <u>dibaḥt juzuur</u>	"I slaughtered a camel"
---------------------------	-------------------------

- b) Adjective. e.g. ?ana mabşuuṭ "I am happy" or  
adjective phrase  
e.g. ?ana mabşuuṭ minnak "I am pleased with you"
- c) Adverb. e.g. huu jiddaan aššij "He is in front of  
the tent"
- d) Prepositional phrase e.g.  
ḥasan balḡoor "Hasan is in Al-Ghor"
- e) A noun. e.g. haada jimal "this is a camel"

A sentence which begins with the subject is called a nominal sentence, on the other hand, a sentence in which the predicate is a verb which precedes the subject is called a verbal sentence. (According to Arab grammarians. European grammarians call verbal, a sentence the predicate of which is a verb, irrespective of whether it precedes or follows the subject).<sup>1</sup> In this thesis we shall follow the Western practice.

### Nominal Sentence

Nominal sentences consist of two elements, subject and predicate, where the subject is commonly a noun, pronoun, or adjective, but the predicate may be a noun or pronoun or adjective, or adverb, or prepositional phrase.

haada beetna	"this is our house"
lighawa gaalya lyoom	"coffee is expensive today"
wlidi b'ammaan	"my son is in Amman"

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1. H. Reckendorf. Syntaktischen Verhaeltinsse Des Arabischen, Heidelberg, 1921. p. 1; 379.



Verbal sentence

The subject of the verbal sentence may be expressed as a noun, or pronoun, or implied, and the predicate is always a verb. i.e. /gaam/ (he) "stood up" e.g.

taḡaddu haan ʔu rawwahu "they ate here and left"

jaa ššeex 'aleena ʔu kala "the Sheik came to us  
and ate"

Types of sentence

Spoken language is realised in units of widely varying length ranging from long sentences to very short ones. In addition, sentences may be simple or complex in structure, usually comprising elements of co-ordinate or sub-ordinate clauses.

In this dialect most of the sentences found tend to be simple, comprising the subject and predicate, including the object in one sentence, without the presence of dependant elements leading to complicated structure or sentences of great length. e.g.

ššeex al'aššira jaa 'aleena "the chief of the tribe  
came to us"

It is hard to find a complicated long sentence in our corpus. This may be due to the lack of education among the Ghawaarneh people. There are, however, some examples, like the following:-

laakin widdi minnak bukra twaddi lakull ligzawiyya  
tuḡdur 'andak

"but I want you tomorrow to send to Al-Gzaawiya to  
come to your place"

Another example:

taani yoom ʔaji barudd xabar laṭtaariš ilḷ inta waddeetu  
 "the next day I will give the answer to the messenger whom  
 you sent"

The other type of sentence is the co-ordinate sentence. The co-ordinate sentence is a type of construction in which the constituent elements are linked by conjunction. e.g.

ruht ʔassuug wištareet ḥilu

"I went to the shop and bought sweets"

Complex sentences mostly comprise a main clause and a sub-ordinate clause, as in :-

biṣ̌iir ʔilli ɖall baɖɖoor xaɖa ʔarḍ ʕiɖiira

"Basheer the one who stayed in Al-Ghor took plenty of land."

In this sentence the main clause is biṣ̌iir xaɖa ʔarḍ ʕiɖiira the sub-ordinate clause is ʔilli ɖall baɖɖoor.

### Tenses

In Al-Ghor dialect, as in Arabic in general, the verbs have two main tenses.

- a) The perfect or past tense. This verb usually refers to an action which took place in the past and was completed. e.g.

/raah/ "he went"                      /naam/ "he slept"

- b) The imperfect, on the other hand, designates events, states or dispositions that are not past. e.g.

/yaaxid/ "he takes"                      /yaakil/ "he eats"

Here we will illustrate the details of the two tenses.

### The perfect

The uses of the perfect tense are as follows:-

- a) An action which took place in the past. e.g.

raah min haan                      " he went from here "



- b) An action which was completed a short while ago. e.g.

hassa' kint 'and ammussarrif ?u .....  
 "I have<sup>just</sup> been to the district governor and ....."

- c) It is used in wishes or prayers and optatives.

daam 'izzak yaa biššir "O, Basheer, may your  
 prestige last"

'aaš almalak "God save the King"

(This type of construction is probably due to the influence of literary Arabic).

- d) The perfect may be used for the present in general statements. e.g.

kull maa kibir kull maa šaar ?aḥsan

"the bigger it grows, the better it becomes"

#### The use of /kaan/

The verb /kaan/ "to be" precedes the perfect in order to express the pluperfect, as in classical Arabic. The pluperfect does not widely occur in this dialect, the only occasion where the pluperfect occurs is when a pause in speech intervenes; as in

kaanat ?alḥukuuma.....gaamat ?u daffa'attum myadda

"the government had forced them to pay blood money"

and it also occurs in the apodosis of a conditional sentence



to express unreal events.

law raah čaan wişil "if he went he would have arrived"

In this dialect, after /kaan/, the following parts of speech may be used.

- a) A noun in the implied accusative acting as predicate. e.g.

Şudgi kaan zaabiṭ "Şudgi was an officer"

- b) A verbal noun used similarly. e.g.

?alğoor haada kaan xaraab "this Ghor was a ruin"

- c) A separate preposition with pronominal suffix followed by a noun. e.g.

kaan 'aleena ḡarb mšaddid "there was a heavy attack  
on us"

- d) A preposition linked to a noun in similar circumstances.

e.g.

kaan brizgitna ba'ad maa tuwaffa buuy ḡanam ?u bugar

"there were among our wealth, after the death of my  
father, goats and cows"

- e) A verb in the imperfect to describe a prolonged state or condition, or habitual action. e.g.

wlidi kaan yaštaḡil ba'askariyya

"my son was working in the army"

- f) An adverb of place. e.g.

?alli kaan haan ḡasan "the one who was here is ḡasan"

- g) An active participle,, to describe a state or condition prevailing at the time in question. e.g.

ʔazlima kaan maaši 'alḥajj

"the man had gone to pilgrimage"

In Classical Arabic the perfect is often preceded by the particle /qad/ (it is called by the grammarians the particle of expectation, or to indicate perfect certainty)<sup>1</sup> but in this dialect this is not in use. The verb /kaan/ with the particle /qad/, as in Classical Arabic, cannot be found accordingly in our corpus.

#### The Imperfect

The imperfect refers generally to an action which has not been completed, and it may denote habitual, event, action, etc.

nuḥruṭ alard ʔu nisgiiha

"we plough the land and water it"

yaakil kill šii

"he eats everything"

The imperfect is also used in dependent clauses after certain conjunctions. e.g. (gabul-ma)

ʔana gilitlak gabul maa tijjawwazha

"I told/warned you before you got married to her"

1. W. Wright. vol.2, 1965, p. 4.



The imperfect may occur in the meaning of an optative e.g.

ʔalla yixalliik ʔu yitraḥ alḅaraḅa fiik

"May God save you and bestow blessing upon you."

When the imperfect follows a perfect form it usually indicates intention. e.g.

gaam yiḥči "he stood up (in order to) speak"

gaamat tiḡsil "she started (in order to) wash"

gaʔad yaakil "he started to eat"

raaḥ yiḥšid "he left to harvest"

In all of these examples, the phrase /minšaan/ "in order to" can be inserted between the perfect and imperfect. e.g.

gaam minšaan yiḥči

However, there are examples of the perfect followed by imperfect which do not indicate intention. e.g.

ṣaar yaḥči "he became able to talk"

ḡall yaakil "he went on eating"

xallatu yaakil "she let him eat"

#### Ways of indicating the future

We should note the absence of the particle /sa, sawfa/ in this dialect, which is used in classical Arabic to express the future. In Al-Ghor dialect the future is often indicated, instead, by the auxiliary /nriid/ and widdi/wuddi plus the imperfect form of the verb, as well as by the use of certain time specifiers i.e.

baačir "tomorrow" ʔassbuu ʔajjaay "next week"

baʔad sana "in a year's time"

e.g. nriid nazra ʔamuḥ "we are going to sow wheat"



'widna nrruḥ alyoom 'arbid	"we are going to Irbid today"
yiiji baačir	"he is coming tomorrow"
?inšuuḥak ba'ad sana	"we will see you in a year's time"

### The participles

The participles, both active and passive, in this dialect express mainly a state without reference to time. e.g.

?ana saahi	"I am awake"
?inta mabšuut	"you are happy"

### The active participle

The active participle may be used, as in

- a) It is often used to denote a state. e.g.

yimkin ?azlima ḥaaḍir	"maybe the man is present"
-----------------------	----------------------------

- b) It may express habitual action. e.g.

?aššurṭi daayman waagif 'abbaab

"the policeman is always standing at the gate/door"

If it is desired to emphasize that the event to which the active participle refers occurred in the past, the verb /kaan/ "to be" is prefixed. e.g.

kunt 'aarif ?innu jaay imbaariḥ

"I knew that he was coming yesterday"

Alternatively, it may be preceded by /šaar/ "become" e.g.

širt jaay lahaan "I have already come"

In conjunction with the present or imperfect of /kaan/ "to be", the active participle expresses the future perfect. e.g.

ba'ad ?alfajir minkuun waasliin

"after dawn we shall have arrived"

The active participle denotes continuing action, e.g.

šuft ʔazlima maaši balxala

"I saw the man walking in the open land"

### The passive participle

In addition to the passive participle of the type /maf'uul/, in Al-Ghor dialect the passive may be expressed by participle of the VIIth form of the triliteral verb.

Example of type /maf'uul/

ʔalibgara maḥluuba "the cow was milked"

Example of the VIIth form

lageenaa mindabiḥ balwaadi "we found him killed  
in the valley"

Alternatively a clause may be used instead of the passive participle e.g.

šuft ʔilli ndabaḥ "I saw the one who was killed"

### Agreement

Adjectives agree with nouns they refer to in gender and number, both if they are used to qualify a noun, and when used predicatively.

The general rules for number and gender agreement are given below:-

- a) When the noun is in the masculine singular, the adjective is in the masculine singular.



e.g.

beet čibiir

"big house"

ʔihṣaan guwi

"strong horse"

- b) When the noun is feminine singular, the adjective is in the feminine singular.

e.g.

nafṣ 'aalya

"high spirit"

xeema čibiira

"big tent"

faṣas guwiyya

"strong mare"

- c) If the noun is in the dual, the adjective is in the broken plural, irrespective of whether it is feminine or masculine. This is irrespective, also, of whether the noun denotes a rational being or an inanimate object.

e.g.

čallbeen ikbaar

"two big dogs"

binteen itwaal

"two tall girls"

- d) If the noun is in the plural and refers to masculine human beings, the adjective is in the masculine plural.

e.g.

naas tayybiin  
wlaad ikbaar"good people"  
"big boys"

- e) If the noun is in the plural and refers to feminine human beings, the adjective is in the feminine plural.

e.g.

niswaan zeenaat

"good looking women"

banaat biid

"white girls"



- f) If the noun is in the plural and it does not refer to human beings, then the adjective is in the feminine singular or plural.

e.g.

xeel šiṭiira

"plenty of horses"

### Negation

Negation is achieved in this dialect by a negative particle being prefixed to words, phrases, clauses, etc.

The most common negative particles used in this dialect are: maa/ laa/ -š/ and /laʔ/

The particle /maa/ is mainly used with finite forms of verbs, active participles, prepositions, and adjectives.

e.g.

maa yagdar yibii' šii

"he cannot sell anything"

maa yaakil bannaḥaar

"he does not eat in  
daytime"

maafi maḥaafṭalla

"there is no fear of God"

bintu maa hii mazyuuna

"his daughter is not  
pretty"

The particle /laa/ "no" occurs in negative commands. e.g.

gallu laa truuh

"he said to him "do not  
go"

laa ttawwil

"do not be late"

The negative particle /laa/ also co-occurs with the perfect to express a negative wish. e.g.

laa samaḥ alla

"God forbid"

This is perhaps due to the influence of literary Arabic.

Moreover, the negative particle /laa/ may be co-ordinated with /wala/ to express a double negative command.

e.g.

laa truuḥ 'aleehum wala tiḥ̣ci ma'hum

"do not go to them and do not speak to them"

/wala/ may also occur in a phrase following a negative statement introduced by /maa/.

e.g.

maa fii wala ḥabbit ṭaḥ̣iin

"there is not even a pinch of flour"

/-š/ is a suffix added after a noun, verb, or personal pronoun, preceded by the negative particles /maa/ and /laa/. This addition sometimes results in lengthening the preceding vowel. e.g.

maa 'andanaaš siṭaaliif

"we do not have anything to talk about"

gaalu ilyoom maḥ̣naaš raayḥ̣iin

'they said, "we are not going today"

/-š/ is occasionally added after a simple finite verb, but some speakers do not use this construction.

e.g.

maa jaa "he did not come" as well as

/maa jaaš/, "he did not come".

/laa/ may of course be used to signify "no", in which case it may precede another negative particle.

e.g.

laa maa ruuh "no, I do not want to go"

/la?/ is used in this dialect mostly in answer, exclamations, or expressions of assurance.

e.g.

?illi gallaḥ saraḥt bḡanam la?

"if you have been told that I am a goat shepherd- I am not!"

.....šir la?

"poetry - no!"

### Interrogatives

Usually, the interrogative particles and pronouns appear in initial position in the sentence. The main interrogative particles used in this dialect are:

/mneen/ "from where"      /miin/man/ "who"      /mita/ "when"  
 /weeš/ "what"      /čeeḥ/ "how"      /čam/ "how many/how much"

e.g.

mneen jiitu	"where did you come from?"
min/man gallaḥ	"who told you?"
mita triid truuh.	"when do you like to go?"
weeš assiira	"what is happening?"
čeeḥ bitšiila	"how are you going to lift it?"
čam waahaḥ	"how many?"

The interrogative particle /min/ "who" is found linked with pronominals.

e.g.

minhu illi jaabla iyya "who is it that brought it  
to him?"



minhii\_lli jat 'aleek "who is it that came to you?"

The interrogative particle /weeš/"what" is also found with pronominals.

e.g.

weššuu haada	"what is this?"
weššii haay	"what is this?(f)"

The interrogative particle /čeeŋ/"how" occurs with the particle /ʔan/ and with pronominals in the following:

čeeŋinum	"how are they?" (m)
čeeŋihin	"how are they?" (f)

### Relative clauses

Relative clauses are introduced by the relative particle /ʔilli/ or /ʔalli/ "who", when the antecedent is definite; but if the antecedent is indefinite /ʔilli/ is not used. e.g.

a) for definite

ʔil'arab ʔalli yikrmuun addeef	"the Arabs who feign generosity to the guest"
ʔilbint ʔilli naagil ʔigtaluuha	"the girl who is pregnant, they killed her"

b) for indefinite

šuuŋfli 'aamil yaštaḡil zeen	"find me a worker who works well"
------------------------------	-----------------------------------

where the relative clause is used

When the object is definite, the pronominal suffix is

attached to the verb of the relative clause, whatever gender or number of the object.

ʔilxodra ʔalli laggaṭṭnaaha ams bi'naaha

"we sold vegetables which we collected yesterday"

Sometimes the definite article /al/ is used instead of /ʔilli/ in Al-Ghor dialect. e.g.

ʔi'ṭiiha larraayih ʔagganaa = ʔi'ṭiiha lalli raayih ʔgganaa

"give it to the one who is going to the canal"

The occurrence of /min/ in association with /ʔilli/ is found in the speech of the Ghawarneh.

e.g. naakil min illi naṣṭaḡil bii

"we ate from what we are working with"

### Co-ordination

Co-ordination is a type of sentence structure in which syntactic elements are simply linked by conjunctions.

There are a number of conjunctions used in this dialect, such as /ʔu/ or /wa/ "and", /wala/ "or", /laakin/ "but", and /yaa/ "or".

Multiple co-ordination also frequently occurs in this dialect when conjunctions are repeated.

e.g. nurbut ʔabbaham ʔu nurbut ʔaḥḥamiir ʔu nurbut ʔakkuduṣ

"We tie the animals and donkeys and mules"

The /ʔu/ or /wa/ (which is a phonological variant) is the most frequently used conjunction linking clauses describing

a sequence of events. e.g.

jaa lwaḥš ʔu xaḍa xaruuf ʔu kalaa

"the wild animal came and took a young lamb and ate it"

If the conjunction /ʔu/ or /wa/ was followed by the negative /maa/ it would tend to mean "but". e.g.

rikaḍ ʔu maa gidir yalḥga

"he ran but he could not catch him"

/wala/ e.g.

laa taakil wala tiṣrab "do not eat and drink"

/laakin/ e.g.

'aṭeetu laakin maa gibil "I gave him but he did  
not accept it"

/yaa/ occurs in this dialect e.g.

taaxiḍ haad yaa haḍaak "take this one or that one"

### Co-ordination of verbal and nominal sentences

#### Verbal Sentence

The verbal sentence may have the sequential order

subject + verb

'ali raah "Ali went"

subject + verb + object

ḥamad dibaḥ juzuur

"Hamad slaughtered a camel"

verb + subject

ga'ad ḥasan "Hasan sat down"

Initial imperative in link with pronominal suffix is found



in this dialect.

e.g.

sawwiihin 'ala keefak  
"make them as you like"

xiḏna 'arbid  
"take us to Irbid"

### Nominal sentence

The nominal sentence occurs in this dialect as follows:

'ali mariid ʔu ʔaalu gaayib	"Ali is sick and his uncle is absent"
haadi šiiniit gamuḥ/gamḥ	"this is a tray of wheat"

The uses of conjunctions /ʔu/ /wa/ in this dialect:

#### a) co-ordination of nouns

e.g. ʕeef ḥasan ʔu zeed "how are Ḥasan and Zaid?"

co-ordination of personal pronoun + noun

e.g. ʔana waxuuy "my brother and I"

#### b) co-ordination of personal pronouns

e.g. ʔana winta "you and I"

#### c) co-ordination of adjectives

e.g. haada byaḏ waswad "this is black and white"

d) co-ordination of clauses or sentences

e.g.

labbassum juux ḥamar ʔu sallaḥum slaḥ tayyib

"he clothed them in a red broad cloth and gave them  
good weapons"

### Conditional sentence

A conditional sentence consists of the protasis and the apodosis. The protasis expresses the condition, whereas the apodosis expresses the result of that condition. Protasis and apodosis are mostly verbal sentences, but nominal sentences also occur in either position. The conditional particle /ʔin/ "if", in Classical Arabic, occurs in some phrases expressing wishes, like

ʔinšaa ulla "if God wills" and

ʔin alla ʔtaa "if God gives him"

Other conditional particles also occur (see below). In addition to sentences which formally contain a protasis and apodosis, there are also sentences which express a conditional meaning without, however, having the formal structure of a condition. There are thus two classes of conditional sentences in this dialect

- a) true conditional sentences
- b) conditions expressed by other types of sentence

#### a) True conditional sentences

These are of two types:

1. sentences expressing real conditions
2. sentences expressing unreal conditions (hypothetical)



1) Sentences expressing real conditions

This type of condition is usually introduced by the conditional particles which in this dialect are /ʔida/ /ʔin/ /lan/ and /la/. The most common particles used in this dialect are /ʔin/, /lan/ and /la/, but /ʔida/ is less frequent. Imperfect, with or without the prefix /b-/, may be used in the apodosis, and sometimes the protasis is in the perfect and the apodosis in the imperfect, and vice versa. Various types of protasis and apodosis used in this dialect are illustrated below:

- i) When the protasis is in the perfect and the apodosis is in the imperfect with /b-/

e.g.                ʔida ʂaha ʔaleena bidbaħna

"if he awakes, he will kill us"

- ii) When the protasis and apodosis are in the perfect tense.

e.g.                lan ruħt ana raaħat ʔagħzaawiyya

"if I moved from here the Al-Ġzaawiya would go"

- iii) When the protasis is in the perfect and the apodosis is in the imperative

e.g.                lan maa talʔat bint ʔigħta ʔraasi

"if she is not a girl, then chop off my head"

- iv) When the protasis is in the perfect and the apodosis is a nominal sentence

e.g.                la fakkeettha ʔinti min ruusu(h)um

"if you solve it (i.e. the puzzle)

you are one of the noble people"



v) When the protasis is in the imperfect and the apodosis is in the imperfect (expressing the future)

e.g.                    ʔin alla yi'tag biič la'tig biič  
                           "if God saves you I will save you"

## 2) Unreal condition (hypothetical)

The unreal condition (hypothetical) sentence is introduced by the particle /law/. In most of the examples in the corpus, the particle /law/ is followed by /ʔin/.

The protasis and the apodosis may again contain verbs, in the perfect or imperfect, with or without the prefix /-b/,

Here are the possibilities:

i) When the protasis is in the perfect and the apodosis is in the imperfect

e.g.                    lawinni ħadart ġeer ʔafšaxu  
                           "if I had been there I would have wounded him"

ii) When the protasis is in the perfect and the apodosis is in the perfect also

e.g.                    law innaak dalleet hanaak ħameet ħaalak  
                           "if you had stayed there, you would have protected yourself"

iii) When the protasis is a participle and the apodosis is in the imperfect

e.g.                    lawinnu daabiħ jimal ġeer ʔabattii  
                           "if he had killed a camel I would not have accepted it"

iv) a) In the case of the prefix /b-/. When both protasis and apodosis are in the imperfect. e.g.

lawinnak tiiġi bagullak                    "if you come I will tell you"

iv) When the protasis is in the imperfect and the apodosis is a negated imperfect

e.g.                   law ʔiwadduuni ʔana ma ruuh  
 "if they send me I would not go"

v) When the protasis is a noun and the apodosis is an adjective in the superlative form

e.g.                   law ʔali ʔahsan  
 "if it was Ali it would have been better"

b) Condition expressed by other types of sentences

These conditions do not contain conditional particles, but their meaning is that of a conditional sentence, since any of these sentences can be paraphrased by a conditional sentence. Such sentences usually express an indefinite condition, in that, unlike true conditions, they do not refer to a particular time, place, person or event. For example:

kull ʔeela tfuut biiha bitmuut

"every family that enters in it (i.e. the cave) dies"

This sentence means, there is no particular family to which the condition applies, but it applies to any family that enters the cave. Another example:

ʔilli yusbug ʔala hazzoor yaaxdu

"whoever gets to the Zoor will take/receive it"

which means that anybody who gets to the Zoor will get it.



In the example below the conditional particles are omitted before the verb /kaan/ "to be"

e.g. čaan ?annaas leehum 'amma wiħda ?ana liyya ?arba'  
'anmaat

"if other people have one mother-in-law, I have four"

maa jibtha yiđal haan taymuut

"unless you bring it, he will stay here until he dies"

In the above example, the conditional particles /?in/ is omitted from the negative protasis. Moreover the protasis may be imperfect and the apodosis is a noun.

e.g. čaannak tuħruť alard zeen ?alxođra tiťla' zeena

"if you plough the land good, the vegetables become good"

### Adverbs

Adverbs used mainly to supplement clauses or adjectives, and modify verbs or verb phrases. (cf. the underlined

e.g. ?u'ataa ba'ad dilmeen ?ard

"and he gave him also two Dunums of land"

ruuħ gawaam yaa jidda waddi ššaay wirja'

"go quickly, O my grandson, send the tea, and come back"

šufuthum raaj'iin suwa

"I saw them coming back together"

?ariid amši baačir

"I want to go to tomorrow"



ʔaljima'a ʔassaa' yijju  
 "the group will come now"

In general there are four kinds of adverbs:

1. Adverb of time

e.g. daayman yijji balleel

"he always comes at night"

2. Adverb of place

e.g. kinna insaafir minhaan la'akka

"we used to travel from here to Akka"

3. Adverb of manner

e.g. raah irkaad

"he went quickly"

4. Adverb of quantity

gaddees ištareet ilyoom

"how much did you buy today"

#### Adverbial adjective

Certain adjectives or participles are used as adverbs in this dialect, such as /kwayyis/ "good/well" /mazbuuṭ/ "correctly/right" /ṭayyib/ "well/good"

e.g. yihči 'arabi kwayyis "he speaks Arabic well"  
 yisaawi lghawa mazbuuṭ "he makes coffee well"  
 yaakil ṭayyib/zeen "he eats well"

Moreover, there are several prepositional phrases used adverbially.

e.g.

'ala tuul	"always/straight"
bilmarra	"at all"
bilawwal	"at first"
bilaaxir	"finally/lastly"
binnuṣṣ	"in the middle"
bil'ajal	"quickly"
ba'ada lfajir	"after dawn"
'amhalak	"slowly"
'ala keefak	"as you like"
balleel	"at night"



PART VC O M P A R I S O N

A fairly substantial amount of information is available to help us place the Ghawarneh dialect within the general framework of the dialects of the adjoining regions. However, many previous studies are old, incomplete and perhaps not done according to modern methods of investigation. Therefore, the comparison will inevitably be very difficult to make.

For an overall view of the Syro-Palestinian region both Bergsträsser's<sup>1</sup> and Bauer's<sup>2</sup> investigations are still valuable, in spite of the fact that these were undertaken a long time ago.

Bauer's treatment tends to be schematic; he frequently lumps together all Western Palestinian, non-urban dialects, only occasionally indicating features which may be typical of urban speech on the one hand, and that of farmers or Bedu on the other, pointing out basic regional differences.

For Western Palestine, these general surveys are supplemented by a number of regional or local investigations

1. Bergsträsser, G. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. Vol. XXXVIII 1915, pp. 169-222.  
"Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina"
2. Bauer, L. Das Palästinische Arabisch, Die Dialekte des Städters, und des Fellachen Leipzig, 1910

dealing with the settled (peasant and town) population, and bedouins in particular. Among the latter, Blanc's<sup>1</sup> description of bedouin dialectal speech in the Negev deserves particular mention. Since Bauer and Bergsträsser undertook their studies many other works concerned with the local dialects dealt with by these two have been written. For Trans-Jordan, material is scarcer, but in addition to Bergsträsser's general survey there is a brief article by R. Cleveland<sup>2</sup>, as well as Cantineau's<sup>3</sup> investigation of the Horān and neighbouring dialects, which deals also with the Irbid region. The urban dialect of Damascus, investigated by Grotzfeld<sup>4</sup> amongst others, offers data for comparison and contrast. Bedouin dialects both in this general zone, but also further back in Arabian proper, were investigated by Cantineau and Johnstone as well as in an unpublished thesis by A. Il-Hazmy. The dialect of Al-Balqa in Central Jordan has been studied by Palva.<sup>5</sup>

We shall endeavour to define the character of the Al-Ghor dialect by comparing and contrasting it with the

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1. Blanc, H. The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities Vol. 4. 1969-1970. "The Arabic Dialect of the Negev Bedouins." pp. 112-148.
  2. Cleveland, R. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research No. 171. 1963. pp. 56- 63.
  3. Cantineau, J. Les Parlers Arabes du Horān. Paris, 1940.
  4. Grotzfeld, H. Syrisch-Arabische Grammatik, Wiesbaden. 1965.
  5. Palva, H. Studies in the Arabic dialect of the Semi-nomadic Al-ʿAğarma Tribe (Al-Balqa district, Jordan), Stockholm, 1976.



data offered in these studies.

### Phonology

When we compare features of Al-Ghor dialect with those dialects found in the West Bank as described by Bauer and Bergsträsser, we find that there are fairly widespread similarities between Al-Ghor dialect and the Palestinian country dialects. On the other hand, the urban dialects of Jerusalem and elsewhere are clearly different; in urban speech, /d̥/ and /t̥/ are realised as [d̥], [t̥] or [s] respectively, and /q/ may be realised as [ʔ], and /k/ as [k], and /ḍ/ may be realised as [ḍ], /j/ as [ẓ]. None of these realisations are typical of Al-Ghor dialect. There are in fact rather few urban influences on Al-Ghor speech.

Dealing now in more detail with non-urban dialects found in the country, we note the following points:-

### Consonants

The consonant /t̥/ in the country dialect has the same realisation as in Al-Ghor namely /t̥/<sup>1</sup> /t̥alaata/ → [t̥alaata] "three". The realisation of /j/ and /d̥/ in the country dialects is similar to Al-Ghor namely [j] and [d̥]<sup>2</sup> as in /jabal/ → [jabal] "mountain", /d̥ibaḥ/ → [d̥ibaḥ] "to kill". /ḍ/ - This consonant does not occur in the country dialects of Palestine, nor in the Al-Ghor dialect. In both regions it is realised as /ḍ/<sup>3</sup> as in /ḍarab/ → [ḍarab] "to

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1. Bauer, L. op. cit. p.2.
  2. Bauer, L. op. cit. p.2.
  3. Bauer, L. op. cit. p.3.



hit". In the case of /q/, according to Bergsträsser (plate XXIV), this is realised as [q], [k] and [g] in different parts of Western Palestine,<sup>1</sup> but in Al-Ghor dialect it is realised as [g] and [j] e.g. /qa'ad/ → [ga'ad] or [ja'ad] "to sit down". /k/ is realised in the country dialects mostly as [ç]<sup>2</sup> e.g. /kalb/ → [çalb] "dog", or as /k/. (Bergsträsser XXIII); in Al-Ghor dialect it is realised as /ç/, although certain words tend to exhibit /k/ e.g. /kalaam/ "speech". In addition the /k/ of 2nd pers.masc. suffix is retained invariably. e.g. /ktaabak/ "your book" masc. The definite article /-al/ is assimilated in the country dialects to the following "sun letters".<sup>3</sup> In Al-Ghor dialect, the non-Ghawarneh do not assimilate the definite article beyond this, but the Ghawarneh, as stated, assimilate it practically to any following consonant.<sup>4</sup>

The glottal stop becomes /ʔ/ in the country dialects as well as in Al-Ghor in certain words, e.g. /saʔal/ → [sa'al]<sup>5</sup> "to ask", and the consonant /ʔ/ becomes [g] in

1. Bauer, L. op. cit. p. 4. cf. Bergsträsser plate XXIV
2. Bauer, L. Des Palästinische Arabische, Die Dialekte des Städters, und des Fellachen. . p. 4.
3. Bauer, L. op. cit. p. 5.
4. See above p. 69
5. Bauer, L. op. cit. p. 6

certain words also both in Palestinian country dialects, and in Al-Ghor, e.g. /'amiig/ → [gamiig]<sup>1</sup> "deep". The consonant /' / becomes /n/ in the word /ʔaʔta/ → [ʔanʔa]<sup>2</sup> "to give", in the speech of the Western Palestine nomads, bedouins, Nablus and in the dialect of areas surrounding, as well as in Al-Ghor dialect. Assimilation may lead to similar results: if /n/ precedes /b/ it becomes [m]<sup>3</sup> e.g. /janb/ → [jamb] "beside"; /d/ becomes [z]<sup>4</sup> in all dialects in the word /maḏbuut/ → [mazbuut] "correct/ly"; /s/ becomes [ṣ]<sup>5</sup> in both dialects near emphatics in certain words, e.g. /sulṭaan/ → [sulṭaan] "ruler".

### Vowels

The realisation of both short and long vowels tends to be similar. In addition there are similar cases of the loss of short unaccented vowels in (pre-stress) open syllables. Again, there are similar cases of prosthetic vowels and of epenthetic vowels resolving consonant clusters.

### Diphthongs

Their realisations are almost the same, i.e. /aw/ → [oo], and /ay/ → [ee], e.g. /xawf/ → [xoof]<sup>6</sup> "fear"

1. Bauer, L. op. cit. p. 7.
2. Bauer, L. op. cit. p. 7.
3. Bauer, L. op. cit. p. 7.
4. Bauer, L. op. cit. p. 7.
5. Bauer, L. op. cit. p. 7.
6. Bauer, L. op. cit. p. 11.



and /xayl/ → [xeel] "horses"; but in Al-Ghor dialect the diphthong is preserved in certain words.<sup>1</sup>

A glance at an individual rural Western Palestinian district, such as the one of Dawayimeh discussed by R. Cleveland<sup>2</sup> will substantiate these general observations. Thus, while most realisations of stops are common to the two dialects, Al-Ghor has also realisations of /q/ which Dawayimeh lacks; namely [q], [g] and [j], and affrication is thus not only present in the case of /k/, as at Dawayimeh.

We next move to a consideration of Bedouin speech in Western Palestine and in particular of the Negev dialect studied by H. Blanc. The comparison between the dialect of Al-Ghor and these Negev dialects can again be made under the same headings as before:-

### Consonants

The realisations of consonants occurring in the Negev dialect are much the same as those found in Al-Ghor dialect, except for the consonant /k/ which is not affricated in the Negev dialect<sup>3</sup>, but is in Al-Ghor dialect. In certain environments affricated to /č/ i.e. non-emphatics, and the consonant /j/ is realised as [č] and [dy] in the Negev dialect, this realisation does not occur in Al-Ghor dialect.

1. See above p. 71

2. R. Cleveland. BASOR, no, 185, p. 44.

3. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 116.

On the other hand the realization of /g/ as [ʒ] is found in Al-Ghor, but it does not occur in the Negev dialect.<sup>1</sup>

### Short vowels

In the Negev dialect, short vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/ in closed syllables either retain the O.A. forms, e.g. /šams/ "sun", /bint/ "girl", or undergo non-predictable shifts, e.g. /ʔumm/ → [amm] "mother" and /man/ → [min]<sup>2</sup> "who", as opposed to the Al-Ghor dialect. Shifts like those described by Blanc for the Negev dialect are not found, O.A. forms are retained, e.g. /ʔumm/ not [amm] "mother", /man/ not [min] "who", or alternatively there is vowel retention and anaptyxis rather than vowel change of forms like /šams/ → [šamis] "sun", /bint/ → [binit] "girl". However, some forms of Al-Ghor dialect agree with the Negev dialect, where the original vowel shade is preserved either before a geminate cluster, e.g. /ħabb/ "to love" or before a non-geminate cluster e.g. /ħarb/ "war".

In the Negev dialect the old /i/ and /u/ have disappeared from unstressed open syllables. There are similar cases in Al-Ghor dialect, e.g. /blaad/ → [bilaad] "countries" and /turaab/ → /traab/ "earth".<sup>3</sup>

In the Negev dialect, older /a/ is stable in a few environments, where it is preceded by the original Hamza,

1. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 116.

2. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 116.

3. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 116.



e.g. /ʔasil/ "pure-bred" and /ʔabuuk/"your father",<sup>1</sup> this is true also for Al-Ghor dialect. Only in the environment of /k/ and /x/ and /ʕ/ does the /ʔ/ disappear from certain words namely /ʔakal/ → [k̄ala] "to eat", /ʔaxaḏ/ → [xaḏa] "to take" and /ʔaʕma/ → [ʕama] "blind", and similarly for the perfect of these words.<sup>2</sup> /a/ in the Negev dialect shifts to /i/ in a number of cases, when there is an /ii/ or /i/ present, in the following syllables.<sup>3</sup> This does occur in Al-Ghor dialect as well, but it facultatively retained the old /a/, e.g. /xafiif/ or /xifiif/ "light" and /tagiil/ or /tigiil/ "heavy". In the Negev dialect /a/ preceding long /uu/ may become [u] e.g. /ḥamuula/ → [ḥumuula]<sup>4</sup> "clan", but in Al-Ghor dialect, the original vowel is retained. /ḥamuula/ → [ḥamuula] "clan".

#### Long vowels and Diphthongs

The long vowels occurring in the Negev dialect are the same in Al-Ghor dialect namely /aa, ee, ii, oo, and uu/. The reflexes of O.A. /ay/ and /aw/ in the two dialects show some similarities, but are not identical. In the Negev dialect /aw/ is realised as [aw] after emphatics,<sup>5</sup> e.g. /ḡawr/ "depression" and also in a number of other cases, and /ay/ sometimes as [ay]. In Al-Ghor dialect /ay/ → [ay] in some cases, but more rarely than in the Negev dialect,

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1. H. Blanc. op. cit. p.117.

2. See above p. 50

3. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 117.

4. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 117.

5. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 118.

/aw/ on the other hand is preserved in some cases as well,<sup>1</sup> like /hawraan/ "name of a district in Syria", but it is realised as /oo/ mostly, e.g. /xawf/ → [xoof] "fear".

In diminutive forms, both dialects share some similarities in the realisation of diminutive forms of the type /fu'ayl/<sup>2</sup> e.g. /graybih/ "water-skin", but in Al-Ghor dialect most of the diminutives are realised as /f'eel/ with /ee/ rather than /ay/, e.g. /galb/ → [gleeb] "little heart". The diphthong of /iy/ and /uw/ are common to both dialects in the final positions.<sup>3</sup> e.g. /guwiy/ "strong", /daluw/ "pail".

When we come to deal with the dialects spoken in the East Bank of Jordan, it will be useful at the start to begin again with general considerations. East Bank dialects can be divided into the following:- urban, rural and nomadic including within the last group nomads who have recently settled down, but who still form a separate group.

In the territory East of the Jordan the last two groups are more important than to the West of the river, and even the speech of settled village people is apt to show influences from that side.

A basic overall view of the whole region can be provided by Bergsträsser's study.

In many respects, dialects East of the Jordan resemble

1. See above p. 71
2. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 119.
3. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 119.



West Palestinian country dialects, as Bergsträsser's texts and maps show. This applies for instance to realisations /d/, /ḍ/, /t/ and /j/.<sup>1</sup> In respect of other consonants, the territory East of the Jordan is divided into sub-regions with different realisations corresponding to analogies in sub-regions West of the Jordan, as in the case of /q/ and /k/, although there may be also some realisation on one side of the river not found on the other side. Similar analogies also link Eastern and Western Palestine country dialects in many cases with regard to realisation of vowels.

In addition to this, a brief overall view of the dialect groups in this territory is also given by Cleveland (whose study also takes Western Palestine into account). In his work Cleveland classified the dialect of Jordan as it then was, comprising lands both East and West of the Jordan river into four groups.<sup>2</sup> Taking as his distinguishing criterion the form of the 3rd person masc. imperfect /qaala" "he said", he recognised the following:-

#### Group I

He characterises it as the /yigūl/ group, which does not use the prefix /b/ and articulates /q/ as [g]. To this group belong the "Bedu" in the Eastern and Southern deserts of Jordan.<sup>3</sup>

#### Group II

The /bægūl/ group, which uses the prefix /b/, but

1. Bergsträsser, G. op. cit. map XXI, XXXII, p. 183.

2. Cleveland, R. BASOR, no. 171, p. 56.

3. Cleveland, R. BASOR, no. 171, p. 56.

also pronounces /q/ as /g/. To this group belong all the rural folk in Southern Palestine and the Jordan Valley.<sup>1</sup>

### Group III

The /bəkūl/ group, where the prefix /b/ is used, but /q/ is realised as /k/. To this group belong the village people around Jerusalem and northwards in central Palestine.<sup>2</sup>

### Group IV

The /bəʔūl/ group. The prefix /b/ is used, but /q/ is realised as /ʔ/. This group represents the smallest number of people in Jordan, namely city dwellers.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to these overall divisions, Cleveland indicates further features in which these dialects vary.

In the field of phonology, he indicates the varying realisations of consonantal phonemes, which he tabulates in a chart on p.57. Thus e.g. /t/ is realised as /t̥/ by groups I, II, and III, but as /t/ and /s/ by group IV; /j/ is realised as /j/ in groups I, II, and III, but as /ʒ/ by group IV; a /d̥/ is realised as /d̥/ by groups I, II, and III, but as /z/ and /d/ by group IV; while /d/ is realised as /d̥/ by group I, II, and III, but as /z/ or /d̥/ sometimes by group IV, /k/ is realised as /k̥/, /k/ by groups I, II, and III, but as /k/ by group IV.<sup>4</sup> He also gives details of some morphological features in addition to the forms

1. Cleveland, R. BASOR, no. 171, p. 58.
2. Cleveland, R. BASOR, no. 171, p. 58.
3. Cleveland, R. BASOR, no. 171, p. 58.
4. Cleveland, R. BASOR, no. 171, p. 58.



taken by the imperfect tense mentioned above, and some lexical items.

All four groups lack the realisation of /q/ as /j/, found among the Ghawarneh speech; on the other hand, in group III the realisation of the voiceless, uvular, plosive /q/ becomes a voiceless, velar, plosive /k<sup>1</sup>, and this realisation does not occur in the Al-Ghor dialect.

We must next consider the Eastern side of the West Bank dialects, and their relation to Al-Ghor dialect. Again, we can from the outset exclude the urban dialects, and especially that of Damascus, as described by Grotzfeld (Syrisch-Arabishe Grammatik, 1965). The reasons are much the same as those which made us exclude Western Palestinian urban speech, in particular /t/ is again realised as /t/ and /d/ as /d/, /k/ as /k/ and /j/ as /z/. Of course, there are also a number of similarities, but these are outweighed by the differences mentioned above.

### Vowels

Coming to vowels, useful pointers are fewer, but the differences in the treatment of consonants suffice to establish the divergence between the two dialects.

It may be added that, according to my own personal knowledge, the urban speech of Amman differs from Al-Ghor

dialect for much the same reasons as that of Damascus, though in some other respects it is closer to that of the surrounding countryside. In particular:-

k	is realised as	k	as in	keef	"how"
q	is realised as	ʔ	as in	ʔaal	"he said"
j	is realised as	ʒ	as in	ʒabal	"mountain"
<u>ḍ</u> and <u>ḍ</u>	are realised as	ḍ	as in	ḍalleet	"I stayed"
<u>t</u>	is realised as	t	as in	talaata	"three"
<u>ḏ</u>	is realised as	d	as in	dabaḥ	"killed"

Most of the vowels used in Amman dialect have the same features as Al-Ghor dialect, furthermore the diphthong also shows similar realisations. i.e.

ay → ee as in bayt → beet "house"

aw → oo as in xawf → xoof "fear"

however the

uu → oo as in ruuḥ → rooḥ "spirit"

in Amman speech is not a typical feature of Al-Ghor dialect. This latter example in Al-Ghor is realised as /uu/ not /oo/.

We next come to a detailed comparison of the Al-Ghor dialect with that of individual regions East of the Jordan. We shall again follow the same procedure as in our review of West Bank dialect, and begin with non-urban speech described by Bergsträsser.

When we proceed to a comparison of Al-Ghor dialect features with those found in the adjoining Irbid region, we may for a start, consult again information contained in



Bergsträsser. From this it will become clear that the relation between the two dialects is indeed close, but again it does not amount to complete identity. Both the settled and nomad people of the Irbid region show such links with Al-Ghor dialect.

Here are some significant similarities and differences in both dialects.

The spirant /t, ḏ and ḏ/ occur in both Al-Ghor and Irbid dialects. /j/ is realised as [j] in the speech of the settled people and bedouins. /k/ is realised as [ç] in both dialects<sup>1</sup>, but it is more often found /ç/ in Al-Ghor than among the settled people. The consonant /q/ is realised as [g] and [j] in Al-Ghor, but in Irbid is realised as [g] among the settled people.<sup>2</sup> The initial glottal stop of the perfect verb of /ʔakal/ "to eat" and /ʔaxad/ "to take" is elided in Al-Ghor dialect, and they thus become [kala] "to eat" and [xada] "to take", but in Irbid the initial hamza is retained.<sup>3</sup> The consonant /ʔ/ is replaced by /n/ in the word /ʔa'ta/ → [ʔanta].<sup>4</sup> "to give", this occurs in both dialects of Irbid and Al-Ghor.

The Irbid region was also, sometime after Bergsträsser wrote, investigated by J. Cantineau<sup>5</sup> as part of his survey of the Haurān dialects. This study, and especially the atlas

1. Bergsträsser, G. op. cit. map XXIII.
2. Bergsträsser, G. op. cit. map XXIV.
3. Bergsträsser, G. op. cit. map XXXIX.
4. Bergsträsser, G. op. cit. map LIV.
5. Cantineau, J. "Les Parlers Arabes Du Hōrān" Paris, 1940.

accompanying it, add a good deal of information; in particular it applies new and important criteria of distinction, both where vowels and consonants are concerned. Among consonants, Cantineau distinguishes systematically those with primary or secondary emphasis (tafkīm) from those which do not show this feature (p.85.ff.). Indeed, he states (on p.87) that the frequent occurrence of tafkīm distinguishes the Haurān dialect group from the dialect of the Syro-Palestinian settled population, among whom only /r/ becomes (mufak̄kama) by context, to any extent, /l/ only rarely so, and /m/ and /f/ never. According to this division, the Al-Ghor dialect would go with the Haurān dialect to some extent, though not totally. A few examples will illustrate the relationship of the Irbid dialect within the Haurān group with Al-Ghor dialect.

<u>Examples</u>		<u>Al-Ghor dialect</u>	<u>Irbid dialect</u> (most forms occur among nomads and settled people)
Tafkīm of     ḅ			
/sa'ba/ "difficult" (p.6)	sa'ba	sa'ba	
/rokba/ "knee" (p.7)	rkuḇa	rokḇa	
/gubba/ "dome" (p.8)	gubḇa	gubḇa	
Tafkīm of     m			
/hukūma/ "government" (p.9)	hkuuḇa	hkuuḇa	
Tafkīm of     f     (p.10)			
/masquufa/ "roofed"	masguufa	masguufa	



<u>Examples</u>	<u>Al-Ghor dialect</u>	<u>Irbid dialect</u>
Tafkim of w (p.11) /'abwa/"part of the plough"	'abwa	'abwa
Tafkim of l (p.15,16) /baṣala/"onion";/baḡla/"mule"	buṣal/baḡla	baṣala/baḡla
Tafkim of l b (p.17) /qalb/ "heart"	gaḡb	gaḡb
Tafkim of k (p.21) /dabka/ "dance"	dabka	dabka

Another topic on which Cantineau offered important new insight concerns the loss of short vowels in unstressed pre-tonic open syllables. Cantineau offers a special map (no.30) dealing with the loss or retention of such vowels, while other maps deal with realisations which illustrate the same question by implication (maps Nos. 9, 11, 12, etc) It would appear from a comparison of the data offered in these maps with relevant forms in Al-Ghor dialect, that similar principles may operate in both to some extent, though they do not apply in Al-Ghor regularly, (since Al-Ghor tends to preserve short vowels in a number of cases. Thus Al-Ghor speech does not always conform with the neighbouring Irbid region where the retention or loss of short vowels is concerned. Thus, while for (No.9) /ḡukuuma/ "government" realisations are similar in both regions [ḡkuuma] with loss of short /u/, in the case of /naḡaara/ "cave" (map No. 30)

Al-Ghor preserves the short /a/ [ṇāḡaara], Irbid loses it [ṇḡaara]. Similarly, short vowels in closed syllables before gutturals etc., which may be lost, leading to the restructuring of the syllable structure, are not treated identically, for example /raqaba/ "neck" in Irbid dialect it remains with change of /q/ → /g/, but in Al-Ghor dialect it becomes /rguba/; and /qahwa/ "coffee", in Irbid is realised as [ḡahwa] but in Al-Ghor as [ḡhawā]. Such restructuring may occur (in Al-Ghor) where no guttural is present. In other respects, Cantineau's findings do not radically modify the earlier results, obtained by Bergsträsser, relevant for this part of our study.

Our next task must be to establish the relationship between Al-Ghor dialect and the dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian semi-nomads, or former nomads, on the one hand, and those of the North and Central Arabian desert tribes on the other. For the former, we can rely on the general discussion offered by Cantineau and summarised and discussed by Johnstone,<sup>1</sup> at the local level. Cantineau's description of the Haurān dialect group involves nomad speech to the north-east of our area, while the description by H. Palva of the Balqa dialect takes us to the Central Jordan.

Taking first a look at the relations with the Syro-Mesopotamian tribes in general, we find a number of parallels,

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1. T. M. Johnstone. Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies, London, 1967.



but also some differences. Beginning with consonants:-

The affrication of /k/ as [č] and of /q/ as [j] occurs in the neighbourhood of front vowels and more especially short vowel /a/. In both dialects loss of short vowels in open syllables in non-final closed syllables, whose closing consonant is a guttural one occurs in Syro-Mesopotamian dialects, with resulting transformation of the syllable structure CaG → CGa. Similarly, /fa'ala/ → [f'ala] e.g. /raḥma/ → [rḥama] "mercy".

This again is met also in Al-Ghor dialect. Again /ʔaf'al/ similarly becomes /fa'al/ e.g. /ʔaḥmar/ → [ḥamar] "red" as it does in Al-Ghor dialect, in the case of /k, x, and r/.

Coming next to the question of the loss of short vowels in open syllables, such loss may involve short /a/ between the first two radicals /fa'ala/ → [f'ala] e.g. /ragba/ → [rgaba] "neck".

However, this change does not operate regularly or exclusively. Examples of such general tendencies can be illustrated in Cantineau's work on Haurān and Palva's on Al-Balqa district. Thus Cantineau's maps 24 and 12 illustrate respectively the realisation of /q/ as /j/ near front vowels, and the modification of syllable structure of the form /fa'ala/ → [f'ala] e.g. /saḥaly/ → [shal'a] "pot" near a guttural.

We next turn to the comparison of another Trans-Jordanian dialect with that of Al-Ghor, namely the dialect spoken in Al-Balqa, which has been treated by H. Palva.

There is a great deal of similarity between the dialect of the ḤAjarma (Al-Balqa district), and the Al-Ghor dialect. We shall briefly mention some instances below.

All the realisations of consonants used in Al-Balqa are similar to those used in Al-Ghor dialect, in particular the realisation of /k/ as [č̣] and of /q/ as [j̣] which occur in the same way.<sup>1</sup>

Vowels are generally the same; namely a, α, e, o, i and ə.

When we finally turn to the speech forms found among the great desert tribes (summarised in Johnstone's work) partly on the basis of Cantineau's description, and to which more recent theses, (like the one by Hazmy on the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe in Saudia Arabia) can be added, we find in the main that those analogies with Al-Ghor which we can observe are also found among the semi-nomads of Syro-Mesopotamian derivation. Differences against the latter are in the main paralleled also by differences against Al-Ghor. We deal with these analogies, leaving out the substantial number of alternative realisations not paralleled with Al-Ghor, except for some essentials. Among the forms of the affrication of /k/ and /q/, found in North Arabia, the realisations of /k/ as [č̣] and that of /q/ as [j̣] in the vicinity of front vowels, is found also in the

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1. H. Palva. op.cit. p.11,13.



Syro-Mesopotamian dialects.<sup>1</sup>

The pronunciation of /j/ as [y] <sup>2</sup>: This realisation does not occur in Al-Ghor, and also the realisation of /k/ and /q/ as [c'=ts] and [g'=dz] <sup>3</sup>, are not found in Al-Ghor.

Proceeding next to non-final closed syllable, whose vowel is /a/ and in which the closing consonant is a guttural, the realisation of CaG → CGa <sup>4</sup>, leads to the following type forms.

I) fa'la → f'ala e.g. /gahwa/ → [ghawa] "coffee"

This form occurs in Al-Ghor as well as in Syro-Mesopotamian dialects.<sup>5</sup>

II) ?af'al → fa'al e.g. /?ahmar/ → [hamar] "red"

This type of realisation is found again in Al-Ghor dialect and in Syro-Mesopotamian dialect.<sup>6</sup>

Coming next to the question of the loss of short vowels in open syllables, loss of short vowel between the first two radicals as, i.e. fa'ala → f'ala e.g. /ragaba/ → [rguba] "neck", this occurs in Al-Ghor as well as in Syro-Mesopotamian dialects.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, there are some features typical of Arabia, not shared with Syro-Mesopotamian and also not with Al-Ghor dialect.

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1. T. M. Johnstone op. cit, p. 2.
  2. T. M. Johnstone op. cit, p. 9ff.
  3. T. M. Johnstone op. cit, p. 2.
  4. T. M. Johnstone op. cit, p. 6.
  5. T. M. Johnstone op. cit, p. 6.
  6. T. M. Johnstone op. cit, p. 7.
  7. T. M. Johnstone op. cit, p. 7 & 8.

The type form of /maf'uul/ → [mfa'uul]

e.g. /ma'ruuf/ → [m'aruuf] "known" This form is not found in Al-Ghor dialect.

Another form /maf'il/ → [mfa'il]<sup>1</sup> e.g. /magrib/ → [mgarib] "evening". This form too does not occur in Al-Ghor.

The form /yaf'il/ (yaf'al, yaf'ul) → [yfa'il] (yfa'al, yfa'ul) e.g. /yahfir/ → [yhafir] "to dig (a well)" is not found in Al-Ghor dialect.

In addition there are some features of similarities between the recently described Harb dialect (Leeds Ph. D. thesis written by I. Il-Hazmy)<sup>2</sup> and Al-Ghor dialect. Most of the consonants occurring in both dialects are the same except for the /k/ and /q/. In Al-Ghor the consonant /k/ is realised as /č/ and /q/ as /j/; this occurrence is not found in the Harb dialect.<sup>3</sup> The secondary emphatics in the Harb dialect occur in certain environments, i.e. back vowel a, u.<sup>4</sup> The pronunciation of /j/ as [dy] is not found in Al-Ghor dialect. The preservation of /aw/, /ay/ found in both dialects, /aw/ → [aw]; /aw/ → [oo] e.g. /xawf/ → [xoof] "fear" /ay/ → [ay]; /ay/ → [ee] e.g. /bayt/ → [beet] "house" and /aw/ → [aa] occasionally e.g. /mawjuud/ → [maajuud] "found".<sup>5</sup> In both dialects the glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs occasionally as [ʔ] e.g. /saʔal/ → [sa'al] "to ask".<sup>6</sup>

1. T. M. Johnstone op. cit. p. 7

2. I. Il-Hazmy. A Critical and Comparative Study of the spoken dialect of Harb tribe in Saudia Arabia. unpublished ph. thesis, University of Leeds, 1975.

3. I. Il-Hazmy. op. cit, p. 29. 4. I. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.29.

5. I. Il-Hazmy. op. cit, p. 29. 6. I. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.29.



## Morphology

We next have to turn to deal with morphology. In considering the relation of the Al-Ghor dialect to the neighbouring dialects in this respect, we shall again proceed in the same order.

An overall view of Western Palestinian dialects will be followed by the individual cases of urban, rural and bedouin dialects found there, after which the East Palestinian dialects will be treated in general, and in particular, followed by those of the semi-nomads, and those of the nomads in Arabia.

Western Palestinian dialects again display considerable similarities, and close analogies with the speech of Al-Ghor, though some differences do exist also. Thus the basic patterns of personal pronouns except as indicated below and of verbs are similar,<sup>1</sup> or even identical with those found in Al-Ghor. None the less, the construction of the imperfect prefixed by the /b-/, frequent in Palestinian dialects,<sup>2</sup> is very rare, though it is occasionally used, in Al-Ghor dialect.

As for urban dialects, these are distinguished from Al-Ghor dialect in particular by the frequent use of the prefixed /b-/ to the imperfect. They do not use different forms to express the masculine and feminine of the 2nd and 3rd of the imperfect of the verb;<sup>3</sup> similarly they also make no distinction in this respect where pronominal suffixes to the verb are concerned.

1. Bauer, L. op. cit. p.17.  
 2. Bauer, L. op. cit. p.21.  
 3. Bauer, L. op. cit. p.18.

Such distinctions are however maintained in Al-Ghor speech. The first plural personal pronoun in towns is /niħna/<sup>1</sup>, not /ʔiħna/ and /ħinna/ as in Al-Ghor dialect. With these and some other lesser differences, urban West Bank speech again shows some important differences against Al-Ghor speech, though many analogies exist as well.

Country dialects do maintain distinction between 2nd and 3rd person masculine and feminine plural in the imperfect of the verb, and in pronominal suffixes.<sup>2</sup> The first person plural of the personal pronoun is /ʔiħna/ as in Al-Ghor (/ħinna/ is also found in Al-Ghor) but not /niħna/ as in urban speech.

The negation for a verb is /ma/ plus suffix /š/frequently e.g. /makatabš/ "he did not write", unlike /makatab/ in Al-Ghor. However, in Al-Ghor dialect they do occasionally use the suffix /-š/ though it is found only with a few words in the corpus.

In other respects, similarities between West Bank Palestinian and Al-Ghor dialect morphology, are however fairly widespread.

As for bedouin dialects, Blanc has given a very full and exact description of the speech of the Negev dialect.

We can with profit compare it in some detail with Al-Ghor dialect, even though this involves giving a somewhat

1. Bauer, L. op. cit. p. 65.

2. Bergsträsser, G. op. cit. map XXXV.



disproportionate amount of space to this particular dialect group.

### Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns occurring in the Negev dialect agree with Al-Ghor dialect, namely 1st s., 3rd masc.s., 3rd fem. s., 1st pl. plus (hinna) in Al-Ghor, 2nd masc. pl. (without /w/) in Al-Ghor, 2nd fem. pl., 3rd masc. pl. and 3rd fem. plural.<sup>1</sup> However, the rest of the forms are different. (2nd masc. s., 2nd fem.s.)

### Pronominal Suffixes

Most of the pronominal suffixes used in the Negev dialect are similar to Al-Ghor dialect except for 2nd fem s. and 2nd f. pl. where the consonant /k/ is affricated in Al-Ghor.<sup>2</sup>

### The Verb

H. Blanc stated in his paper about the Negev dialect "The shape of the endings of the perfect are invariant in the 1st and 2nd persons, but vary according to the shape of the base in the 3rd person."<sup>3</sup> This is mostly also true for Al-Ghor dialect, for in this dialect except for the 2nd masc. pl. and 3rd masc. pl. of the perfect, where we find the endings /aw/ and /uw/, which do not occur in Al-Ghor.

### Perfect bases and affixes

The perfect bases in the Negev dialect are mostly similar to Al-Ghor dialect, but in some forms differ, i.e. 2nd masc. pl., 3rd masc. pl. and 2nd fem. s.,<sup>4</sup> but in the

1. H. Blanc. op.cit. p. 130.  
2. H. Blanc. op.cit. p. 134.

3. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 130  
4. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 136

imperative, the initial hamza is used in Al-Ghor, but in the Negev dialect the vowel /i/ is used instead.<sup>1</sup>

### Imperfect bases and affixes

All the forms occurring in the Negev dialect are similarly met in Al-Ghor dialect, but there are some slight differences,<sup>2</sup> as shown in the paradigms given below.

form /katab/"to write"	<u>Negev dialect</u>	<u>Al-Ghor dialect</u>
1st p. s.	aktib	?aktub
2nd p. masc. s.	tiktib	tiktib/taktub
2nd p. fem. s.	tikitbiy	tiktbi
3rd p. masc. s.	yiktib	yaktub/yiktib
3rd p. fem. s.	tiktib	tiktib/taktub
1st p. pl.	niktib	naktub/niktib
2nd p. masc. pl.	tikitbuw	tiktbu
2nd p. fem. pl.	tikitbin	tiktbin
3rd p. masc. pl.	yiktibuw	yaktbu
3rd p. fem. pl.	yikitbin	yakitbin

### Interrogatives

There are some particles used in the Negev dialect which are similarly found in Al-Ghor dialect. e.g. /wiš/ "what", /gaddeš/"how much" but there are other particles which are not used in Al-Ghor e.g. /eeš/"what" /wiššu/ "what is it".<sup>3</sup>

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1. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 136.  
 2. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 136.  
 3. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 144.



Demonstratives

The following are the demonstratives in both dialects.<sup>1</sup>

	<u>Negev dialect</u>	<u>Al-Ghor dialect</u>	
Near object:			
masc. s.	haada/haada	haada/haad	"this"
fem. s.	heedi	haadi/haay	"this"
masc. pl.	hoodal/hoodallah	hadool/hadoola	"these"
Far object:			
masc. s.	hadaak(ah)	hadaak/hadaaka	"that"
fem. s.	heedik(ih)	hadiic	"that"

Only one demonstrative particle found in the Negev dialect is used in Al-Ghor e.g. /ar'i/ "here" /arii albint/ "here is the girl".<sup>2</sup>

Adverbs

The adverbs are of three kinds in the Negev dialect<sup>3</sup> as follows.

- 1) Adverb of time: e.g. /baakir/ "tomorrow"  
/ams/ "yesterday" /albaarih/ "yesterday"  
/daayman/ "always"
- 2) Adverb of place: e.g. /hnaak/ "there" /barra/ "outside"  
/(min)foog/ "up/over" /(min) taħat/ "down"
- 3) Adverb of manner: e.g. /kaṭiir balhayl/ "very abundant"

All these adverbs occur in Al-Ghor dialect as well.

1. H. Blanc. op. cit. p.144.  
cf. also W. Fischer. Die Demonstrativen Bildungen  
Der Neuarabischen Dialekte. The Hague, 1959, p.92, 89, 106.
2. H. Blanc. op.cit. p.145. 3. H. Blanc. op.cit. p.145.

Coming to an overall view of Eastern Palestinian dialects, we note again the existence of a link with Western Palestine as well as the existence of regional differences which may parallel regional distinctions in Western Palestinian speech; thus "what" is /eeš/ or /weeš/ respectively in adjoining zones, both in Eastern and Western Palestine. (Bergsträsser, map XXXVI). There are on the other hand, distinctions between Eastern and Western Palestine, e.g. in the use of negation /maa/ East of Jordan and /maa-š/ (both in Eastern and Western Palestine cf. map XLI,) and more complicated regional distinctions may occur (cf. map XLVI equivalents of "when") which do not easily lend themselves to geographical interpretation.

A few additional observations concerning Jordanian dialects as a whole may be found in the essay by Cleveland mentioned earlier. (Some data are mentioned among lexical items).

The interrogative particle /maada/ corresponding to classical Arabic occurs in Al-Ghor as in the Eastern Palestinian dialects. /eeš/ is found in all parts of Jordan as a synonym of /šū/,<sup>1</sup> but both of them are missing from Al-Ghor dialect, and occasionally also in the /yigūl/ group (group IV) which use /weeš/, but the interrogative particle /šloon/ is found in Al-Ghor dialect as well as in group IV.<sup>2</sup>

The adverbial particle "here" is normally expressed

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1. R. Cleveland. BASOR, no. 171, 1963, p. 62.
  2. R. Cleveland. BASOR, no. 171, 1963, p. 62.



in the Al-Ghor dialect by /haan/ and rarely by /hoon/; in group I, is /haan/. In group III it is expressed by /haana/, where the final vowel /a/ is added, and in group IV it has two variants, one is /haana/ in Western Palestine and /hoon/ in Trans-Jordan.<sup>1</sup>

The interrogative "when" in group I is /meta/, /wagteeš/ but in most of group II /waktēš/, and similarly in much of group III. (However a form like /meta/ also occurs in villages around Nablus and Northward)<sup>2</sup> /ēmta/ is mostly in group IV. But in Al-Ghor the particle /meta/ is used, similar to group I.

We will now again start with the urban type of speech best known from Damascus-Amman has not formed the subject of special enquiry. We can again observe not inconsiderable differences between Al-Ghor and urban dialects. We will give some illustrations. Thus, the personal pronoun may be compared in the following tabulation (note in particular the occurrence of /naḥna/ "we" instead of /ʔiḥna/.)

#### Personal pronouns

The analogies and differences between both dialects will appear from the tabulation below given by Grotzfeld.

	<u>Damascus dialect</u>	<u>Al-Ghor dialect</u>
1st person s.	ʔana	ʔana
1st person pl.	naḥna	ʔiḥna/ḥinna
2nd person masc. s.	ʔanta	ʔinta
2nd person masc. pl.	ʔantu	ʔintu

1. R. Cleveland, BASOR, no. 171, 1963, p. 62.

2. R. Cleveland, BASOR, no. 171, 1963, p. 62.

	<u>Damascus dialect</u>	<u>Al-Ghor dialect</u>
2nd person fem. s.	?inti	?inti
2nd person fem. pl.	?intu	?intin
3rd person masc. s.	hūwe	huu
3rd person masc. pl.	humme	humma
3rd person fem. s.	hiye	hi
3rd person fem. pl.	humme	hinne

### Demonstrative Pronoun

The similarities and differences between the two dialects can be seen from the tabulation given below.

Damascan dialect <sup>1</sup>	haada/haad	"this"
	hayye/haadi	fem. singular
	hadoole/hadool	"these" plural
Al-Ghor dialect	haada/haad	"this"
	haady/haay/hii	fem. singular
	hadoola/hadool	"these" plural
Damascus dialect	hadank	
	hadool	
	hadiik	
Al-Ghor dialect	hadaaka/daak	
	hadiic/diic	
	hado laak/hadlaak	

The demonstrative particles used in the Damascus dialect are not quite the same in Al-Ghor dialect. e.g. /halla?/, /hal-wa?t/,<sup>2</sup> "now", are not used in Al-Ghor. Among those particles used in Damascus is /hassa/<sup>3</sup> "now"

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1. Grotzfeld, H. op.cit. p.21. 2. Grotzfeld, H. op.cit. p.22.  
cf. also W. Fischer op.cit. p.149



it is similar to the Ghawaarneh speech. The particle /leeko/ (that is enough) /leekna/ are not used in Al-Ghor.

### Interrogative pronoun

The interrogatives used in the Damascus dialect are /miin/ "who", /šuu/šuuwe/ "what" and /ʔeeš/<sup>1</sup> "what". All these do not occur in Al-Ghor dialect, they use instead /man/ "who" /weeš/ "what".

### The Strong verbs

Again the realisations between the two dialects can be seen from the following tabulation given below.

<u>Fa'al</u>	/katab/ "to write"	<u>Al-Ghor</u>	Damas. <u>imperfect</u>	Damas. <u>imperative</u>	<u>Al-Gho</u>
1st p. s.		aktub	aktub	ʔktoob	{ʔuktū ʔiktib
2nd p. masc.s.		tiktib/taktub	tiktub		
2nd p. fem.s.		tiktibi	btuktub	ʔkotbi	ʔukut
3rd p. masc.s.		yiktib/yaktub yuktub	byktub		
3rd p. fem.s.		taktub	btuktub		
1st p. pl.		niktib/nuktub	nuktub		
2nd p. masc.pl.		yaktbu	byktbu	ʔktbu	ʔukutl
2nd p. fem.pl.		tāktbin	taktbu		
3rd p. masc.pl.		yaktbu	yuktbu		
3rd p. fem. pl.		yaktbin	byktbu		

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1. Grotzfeld H. op. cit. p. 23.

When we now proceed to a comparison of Al-Ghor dialect features with those found in the adjoining Irbid region. We may, for a start, again consult information in Bergsträsser's article. From this it will become clear that the relation between the two dialects is indeed fairly close, but again it does not amount to complete identity. Both settled and nomad people of the Irbid region show such links with Al-Ghor in their speech.

Personal pronoun of Irbid dialect is /ʔiħna/<sup>1</sup>, both with the sedentary people and the bedouins, but in Al-Ghor it has two variants, /ʔiħna/ which is similar to Irbid and /ħinna/.

The interrogative particle has different forms in the two dialects. In Al-Ghor dialect, the particle /weeš/"what" is used, but in Irbid dialect it is /šuu/"what" which is used by the sedentary people in the region.<sup>2</sup> The particle for "here", /hoon/ is used in the Irbid dialect by both the settled and the bedouins, but in Al-Ghor /haan/ "here" is used instead. On the other hand, the word /hassa/ "now" occurs in both dialects, and is used by the settled and bedouin.<sup>3</sup> The particle /mita/ "when" occurs in Al-Ghor dialect, but in Irbid, as I know from my own acquaintance with the dialect, they use /ʔameet/ "when", though this is not found in Bergsträsser's article.

A number of additional facts concerning the dialect both of settled people and of bedouin in Irbid region can

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1. Bergsträsser, G. op. cit. map XXXIV
  2. Bergsträsser, G. op. cit. map XXXVI
  3. Bergsträsser, G. op. cit. map XLV



be gathered from Cantineau's book and Atlas. Distinction of gender in 2nd, and 3rd pl. of personal pronouns and suffixes is mentioned in Irbid and Al-Ghor dialects.<sup>1</sup> The /b-/ prefix found in Hauran dialects is not current in Al-Ghor dialect, with the exception of a few words.

Now we come to the dialect of bedouins in particular, Syro-Mesopotamian and Syrian desert and other relevant tribes studied by Johnstone.

#### Strong verb

The perfect of the simple strong verb /fa'al/, where the first or second radical is a guttural, or the medial consonant is l, n, or r the pattern is /fi'al/ e.g. /dibaḥ/ "to kill", but not the /fu'al/ in Al-Ghor dialect which also occurs in the Syrian desert.<sup>2</sup>

#### Weak verb

Verbs with an initial glottal stop are assimilated, or rather elided in Al-Ghor, into two verb forms /ʔakal/ → [kala] "to eat" and /ʔaxad/ → [xada] "to take". This form is used also among the sheep-rearing tribes,<sup>3</sup> and the imperfect of these two forms are /yaakil/, /yaaxid/ used in all North Arabian dialects<sup>4</sup> as well as in Al-Ghor dialect.

#### Personal pronouns

In the Syrian desert, and Syro-Mesopotamia, the 3rd person masc. sing. /huwwa/, and for 3rd person fem. sing.

1. Cantineau, J. op.cit. p.32.

2. T.M. Johnstone op.cit.p.11

3. T.M. Johnstone op.cit.p.12.

4. T.M. Johnstone op.cit.p.12

/hiyya/<sup>1</sup> are used, unlike the Al-Ghor dialect where we find 3rd person sing. /huu/ and 3rd person fem. sing /hii/. However, contrast the 1st person /ʔana/ used in Al-Ghor, Syrian desert, and Syro-Mesopotamian<sup>2</sup> dialects. Furthermore, the 1st p. plural /ʔihna/ and /hinna/ is used in the dialect of Al-Ghor as well as in Syrian desert and Syro-Mesopotamian.<sup>3</sup> The suffix of the 2nd fem. sing. used in Al-Ghor is /-iç/, it is also found in the Syrian desert and Syro-Mesopotamian dialects.

#### Demonstratives

/haḏoolā/ /haḏoolāak/ used in Al-Ghor as well as in the Syrian desert.<sup>4</sup>

We next turn to the comparison of another Trans-Jordan semi-nomadic dialect with that of Al-Ghor, namely the dialect spoken in Al-Balqa, which has been treated by H. Palva.

#### Personal Pronouns

All the personal pronouns occurring in ʔAjarma dialect are the same as those in Al-Ghor dialect, except for the second variant of 2nd masc. s., 3rd masc. s., 3rd fem. s., 3rd masc. pl. and 3rd fem. pl.<sup>5</sup>

#### Pronominal suffixes

The pronominal suffixes used in the ʔAjarma dialect

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1. T. M. Johnstone op. cit. p. 13.      2. T. M. Johnstone op. cit. p. 13  
 3. T. M. Johnstone op. cit. p. 14.      4. T. M. Johnstone op. cit. p. 15  
 5. H. Palva op. cit. p. 26



are the same in the Al-Ghor dialect, in particular the 2nd person fem. sing. /ič/.<sup>1</sup>

### Demonstrative pronouns

All the demonstrative pronouns occurring in the Al-Ghor dialect are similar to the ?Ajarma dialect,<sup>2</sup> e.g.

/haada/ /haad/ "this", /haðoola/<sup>3</sup>/haðool/ "these" etc.

### Relative pronouns

The usual relative pronoun in the ?Ajarma dialect is /ʔalli/, which is similar to the Al-Ghor dialect, but in addition to maa/ma, the interrogative pronouns šuu/šu and /weš/ can also be used as relative pronouns, e.g. /anridd niḡiib saalfaato šu sawwa/ "we shall come back to the story of this man and tell what he did."<sup>4</sup> This is not the case in Al-Ghor dialect.

### Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns used in ?Ajarma dialect are man/miin "who"; weš/ʔeeš "which"; ʔəš/šuu/šu "what".<sup>5</sup> In Al-Ghor dialect the chief interrogative pronouns used are /weeš/ and /man/.

### Adverbs

Most of the adverbs occurring in the ?Ajarma dialect are similar to those of Al-Ghor dialect,<sup>6</sup> e.g. /haan/"here" /ḡaad/ "over there"; /hassa'/ "now"; /baačir/ "tomorrow";

1. H. Palva op. cit. p. 27      2. H. Palva op. cit. p. 28  
 3. cf. also W. Fischer p.106  
 4. H. Palva op. cit. p. 29      5. H. Palva op. cit. p. 30  
 6. H. Palva op. cit. p. 38ff

/meta/ "when"; /gaddeš/ "how much"; /balči/ "perhaps" and /bass/ "only/but".

(Some adverbs used in Al-Ghor are also used among the urban dialect. However, there are a few adverbs which occur in Al-Ghor dialect which are not used by the urban dialects. e.g. /baačir/ "tomorrow" and /gaad/ "that side")

### Prepositions

The most common prepositions used in the Balqa ʔAjarma dialects according to Palva<sup>1</sup> are /bil/, /fil/, /maʕ/ and /la/. All these are used in Al-Ghor dialect.

### Negation

The negative particles used in the Balqa ʔAjarma dialect according to Palva<sup>2</sup> are /maa/, /ma/, /laa/, /la/, /wala/, /baddiš/, /bihammiš/ and /məš/. Most of these are used in Al-Ghor dialect except for /baddiš/ "I do not want" and /məš/. In Al-Ghor they use instead /maariid/, /maa/, /maahuu/ e.g. /maahuu zeen/ "he is not good".

In addition to features shared by Al-Ghor with the Syro-Mesopotamian dialects, there are some shared also with Northern and Eastern Arabian dialects, investigated in Johnstone's book EADS, on whose presentation we shall base our investigation in this field. We may include the following points.

### Strong verb

The perfect of the verb of type /faʕal/ corresponds to the literary Arabic, where the first or second radical

1. H. Palva op. cit. p.40

2. H. Palva op.cit. p.42



is a guttural, or where the medial radical is l, n, or r the pattern is /fi'al/ as in /kitab/<sup>1</sup> "to write" /dibaḥ/ "to kill" is used otherwise, or /fa'al/, /fi'al/. In Al-Ghor dialect /fi'æl/ occurs in the same way, but not the other variation /fa'al/ → [fu'al]. The form of the verb /fi'il/ ← classical Arabic /fa'ila/, also occurs in Al-Ghor dialect e.g. /širib/<sup>2</sup> "to drink".

In the imperfect of the simple verb in Eastern though not in the Shammari and 'anazi dialects there is fairly regular vowel dissimilation. e.g. /yaktil/ "he kills, will kill".

#### Weak verb

The initial hamza of initially hamzated verbs is elided in certain words in Eastern Arabia, though mostly not in Northern Arabian dialects<sup>3</sup> as in /kala/ "to eat" and /xada/ "to take". These forms also occur in Al-Ghor dialect. However, the verbs initial /w/ in EA though not Northern dialects retained the /w/ in the imperfect, e.g. /waṣal/ → [yawṣal]<sup>4</sup> "to arrive", but in Al-Ghor dialect, the /w/ in the imperfect of this verb is elided, e.g. /waṣal/ → [yaṣil]

#### Personal pronouns

The 3rd person sing. in EA and Shammari dialects are /hū/ and /hii/<sup>5</sup>, this is also the case in Al-Ghor dialect.

The 1st person sing. in E.A. and Al-Ghor dialects is /ana/,<sup>6</sup> but the 1st person plu. varies in E.A. and Northern

1. T.M. Johnstone op.cit.p.11.  
3. T.M. Johnstone op.cit.p.12  
5. T.M. Johnstone op.cit.p.13

2. T.M. Johnstone op.cit.p.12  
4. T.M. Johnstone op.cit.p.13  
6. T.M. Johnstone op.cit.p.13

dialects,, from /ihna/, /hinna/, /hin/, /nihin/, /nihna/,<sup>1</sup> to /ʔihna/ or /hinna/ in the Al-Ghor dialect.

The personal suffix of the Al-Ghor dialect is /-uh/ unlike the Northern bedouin and E.A dialects in which it is /-ah/<sup>2</sup>, but both dialects E.A and Al-Ghor have the same in the suffix of the 2nd fem. sing. /-iç/<sup>3</sup> The E.A. and certain Northern dialects have various forms of demonstrative involving the element /ḏool/<sup>4</sup> similar demonstratives occur in Al-Ghor dialect /haḏool/ "these" pl. and /haḏoolaak/ "those".

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1. T. M. Johnstone op. cit. p. 14

2. T. M. Johnstone op. cit. p. 14

3. T. M. Johnstone op. cit. p. 14.

4. T. M. Johnstone op. cit. p. 15



### Lexical items

A consideration of lexical data contained in the works referred above, will give us comparatively little information of value for the question of relation between Al-Ghor dialect and neighbouring dialects.

There are indeed a fair number of lexical items which occur in Al-Ghor dialect and which also do occur in the neighbouring regions. Many of these are however common to the whole Syro-Palestinian region and thus of no diagnostic value.

However, there are some significant differences in lexis, and the list of lexical items given below involving Al-Ghor dialect and various dialects should help us to some limited extent to determine the degree of affinity between our dialect and others. In particular some of the lexical items occurring in Al-Ghor dialect show some slight differences as against the urban variants of speech (i.e. Jerusalem, Damascus, Amman, etc.)

Below we list the lexical items in the same way in which we discussed other linguistic features. We begin with Western Palestine, both town and country dialect.

A rough comparison between the lexis, in common use among townspeople and country folk of Western Palestine on the one hand, and that of Al-Ghor dialect on the other, can be made on the basis of the specimens of town and country speech given in L. Bauer's book, p. 162 ff. (Bergsträsser

adds little to study of lexis).

It can be said at once that divergencies are comparatively rare, slightly more frequent apparently where the comparison with townspeople is concerned, than where the speech of country folk is in question. In 16 pages of specimens given town speech, I have noted 15 differences; in 30 pages of peasant speech I found only 9 divergencies. So that country speech of Western Palestine would be rather closer to Al-Ghor dialect than that of the town dialect. This is indeed perhaps to be expected. Differences in country speech in particular involve common conversational elements.

We give our examples below, transcribing Bauer's words into the system of transcription used in this thesis.

<u>Town Dialect</u>		<u>Al-Ghor Dialect</u>	
sikke	p.164	ṭariig/ṭiriig	"road"
fasxa	p.166	ḡuṣun	"branch"
yima' 'i	p.166	yīṭaagi	"sound of a young lamb"
ʔizn	p.168	ʔajaaza	"permission"
xaašiš fil-ʿaskariye	p.168	daxal bal ʿaskariyya	"working in the army"
xamaššha	p.168	kala minha	"he ate from it"
maa tammiš	p.168	maa ḡall/iš	"there is nothing left"
ḥadiis	p.170	ḥači	"talking"
ṣarafo bis-salaame	p.170	gallu maʿissalaama	"he said to him go in peace"



<u>Town Dialect</u>		<u>Al-Ghor Dialect</u>	
ba'at ūaraahun	p.170	wadda waraahum	"he sends for them"
ʔujaraato	p.174	'ummaal	"assistances"
šaḳfe	p.174	giṭ'a/guṭma	"piece"
ḡooša	p.176	ṣyaaḥ	"shouting"
ṣihro	p.176	nasiibu	"relative after marriage"
zei	p.178	miṭil	"like"

A few differences can also be observed in Cleveland specimens. Of the list given by Cleveland, I noted only one word which is not used in Al-Ghor dialect, namely /munxaar/ "nose"; /xašim/ is used instead. However, /bukra/ "tomorrow" is used occasionally in Al-Ghor, but they use mainly /baačir/ instead.

No doubt a systematic consultation of other regional or urban studies concerned with Western Palestine, such as Schmidt, H. and Kahle, P., "Volkserzählungen aus Palästina" would add to the list, but perhaps not vitally affect the basic relation of similarity and difference (as I can say from my own knowledge of the dialect.)

Bauer includes only 6 pages of bedouin dialect, in which I found only one lexical difference, namely:

gašluuṭ p.208 in Al-Ghor hamuula "lousy"

On the other hand, some more information is now available from H. Blanc's study of the Negev dialect. Blanc gives some observations on lexis on pages 147, 148 of his study. Here, among 24 items listed, I found only 3

divergencies, e.g.

<u>Negev Dialect</u>	<u>Al-Ghor Dialect</u>	
ḥama	silif	"husband's brother"
afam	ʔuṭum	"mouth"
ḏiix	čalb	"dog"

This may be a little higher than the rate of divergency with peasant dialects, though the different character of the material (listed items, not coherent speech) may invalidate a direct comparison to some extent.

When we come to the Eastern side of the River Jordan, unfortunately we are hampered by the absence of good comparable data. Cantineau's study on Haurān is more interested in phonology and morphology than in lexis; the same is true for the older overall study of Bergsträsser. According to my knowledge of the two dialects of Amman and Irbid, they differ somewhat in lexical items from Al-Ghor. I shall illustrate a few differences. Many of these items are also in use in the surrounding countryside.

<u>Al-Ghor</u>	<u>Amman &amp; Irbid</u>	
nikas	raja'	"return"
guṭna	šagfi/šʔafi	"piece"
xooṣa	sikkiin	"knife"
ḏ'uuf	ʔaṭṭfaal	"children"
hduum	malaabis	"clothes"
baag	xaan	"betray"



<u>Al-Ghor</u>	<u>Anman &amp; Irbid</u>	
ṭaaḥ	nizil	"to fall"
šaglab	galab/ʔalab	"to turn over"
šann	ʔittallaʔ	"to look"
ʔraag	kahif	"cave"
gaḍab	misik	"to catch"

Palva's study of the Balqa (ʔAjarma) dialect, which is similar to Syro-Mesopotamian dialects, does involve a little lexis; the overall impression is one of very close similarity with the Al-Ghor dialect. Where lexis is concerned, Johnstone deals mainly with the Gulf area and not North Arabia, so his study is of little direct help to us under this heading. However, where North Arabian bedouin dialect is concerned, a limited comparative study of certain lexical items is available in the thesis by A. Il-Hazmy. The impression gained is that differences between Hazmy's specimens and Al-Ghor are quite significant in proportion. Here are some main examples between Al-Ghor dialect and dialects of Northern Arabian.

1) From the comparative chapter.

	<u>Al-Ghor</u>	<u>North Arabian</u>
"to take refuge" <sup>1</sup>	yalja	zeban
"to slaughter" <sup>2</sup>	ḍibaḥ	ḍekkaa
"to like" <sup>3</sup>	yihibb	ydaani
"neighbour" <sup>4</sup>	jaar	gaṣiir

1. A. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.224  
3. A. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.226

2. A. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.226  
4. A. Il-Hazmt op.cit.p.227

	<u>Al-Ghor</u>	<u>North Arabian</u>
"lung" <sup>1</sup>	fašša	riya
"to, toward" <sup>2</sup>	yamm	lamm

2) From the main chapter on lexis.

	<u>Al-Ghor</u>	<u>North Arabian</u>
"autumn" <sup>3</sup>	xariif	šifiri
"they became neighbours" <sup>4</sup>	?ijjæwaru	tigaasiraw
"nose-ring" <sup>5</sup>	zmaam	fardaha
"pipe" <sup>6</sup>	ḡalyuun	sibiil
"also" <sup>7</sup>	kamaan	kidaalak
"perhaps" <sup>8</sup>	balči	yimkin

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1. A. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.228

2. A. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.226

3. A. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.159

4. A. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.159

5. A. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.159

6. A. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.159

7. A. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.159

8. A. Il-Hazmy op.cit.p.159



S U M M A R Y  
A N D C O N C L U S I O N

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Phonology

Most of the realisations of consonants occurring in Al-Ghor dialect, and in the country dialects of the neighbouring regions in both Western and Eastern Palestine are largely the same. However, the consonant /q/ is, near front vowels, mostly realised as  $\text{[j]}$ <sup>1</sup> in Al-Ghor dialect, but this realisation does not occur in either Western or Eastern Palestinian country dialects. On the other hand, the consonant /q/ is realised as  $\text{[k]}$  in Western Palestinian country dialects; this realisation does not occur in Al-Ghor dialect.

The bedouin dialect in the Negev differ from Al-Ghor dialect in certain realisations of consonants, e.g. /k/ in the bedouin Negev dialect according to Blanc is never affricated,<sup>2</sup> but it is in Al-Ghor dialect, becoming  $\text{[ç]}$ , while the realisation of /q/ as  $\text{[j]}$  does also not occur in the Negev dialect. The realisations of /j/ as  $\text{[z]}$  or  $\text{[dy]}$ <sup>3</sup> found in the Negev dialect, are absent in Al-Ghor dialect.

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1. See above p. 64
  2. See above p. 177
  3. H. Blanc. op. cit. p. 116.

As we saw, Cleveland classified the dialect of Jordan (East and West Bank) into four groups;<sup>1</sup> all these groups lack the realisation of the consonant /q/ as [j] which is found in Al-Ghor. On the other hand not only are most of the consonant realisations in Syro-Mesopotamian dialects similar to those in Al-Ghor dialect, but in particular the realisation of /q/ as [j] is found there. Northern and Eastern Arabian dialects are also similar to Al-Ghor dialect in many respects. However, a number of realisations found in the desert, such as of /j/ as [dy], /k/ as [ts], /q/ as [dz]<sup>2</sup> are not found in Al-Ghor dialect, and where similarities do exist they can be paralleled in Syro-Mesopotamian dialects. The relation between Al-Ghor dialect and North Arabia is thus not a close one. In both Western and Eastern Palestinian country dialects, including Cleveland's, realisations of simple (short and long) vowels and of diphthongs are similar but not identical with the realisations found in Al-Ghor. Negev bedouin speech shows many differences in vowels against Al-Ghor dialect.

In phonology, we can thus say that Al-Ghor dialect is largely similar to the country dialects both West and East of the river Jordan, but not identical with them, and also has some similarities with Syro-Mesopotamian dialects, in particular where the realisation of /q/ as [j] is concerned.

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1. See above p. 181

2. T. M. Johnstone, op. cit. p. 2.



A feature dividing Al-Ghor dialect from all its neighbours is the way in which the definite article /-al/ is realised: while other dialects largely assimilate the /l/ of /-al/ to following "sun letters", in Al-Ghor dialect the definite article, when pronounced by the Ghawarneh assimilates to any following consonant,<sup>1</sup> though the non-Ghawarneh in the Jordan Valley, pronounce in the same way as the other neighbouring dialects.

### Morphology

Here also the Western and Eastern Palestinian country dialects offer many similarities with Al-Ghor, but also show differences. Thus, the prefix /b-/ is frequently used in Western country dialects, but it is only occasionally used in Al-Ghor dialect. The negative suffix /-š/ is likewise found frequently in Western country dialects (as well as Eastern dialects), but in Al-Ghor dialect is only occasionally used. The Negev bedouin dialect is similar to Al-Ghor dialect in its morphological features except for the suffix of 2nd feminine singular /-ič/ which is, according to Blanc,<sup>2</sup> not found.

Additionally in country dialects on the Eastern side of the river Jordan, the plural of the personal pronouns - which has two variants in Al-Ghor dialect, namely /?iħna/ and /ħinna/<sup>3</sup> - has only one form, namely /?iħna/; and also

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1. See above, p. 69

2. See above, p. 177

3. See above, p. 119

the prefix /b-/ is used more in Eastern country dialects than in Al-Ghor.

As against this, Syro-Mesopotamian dialects have some significant parallels to Al-Ghor dialect, in particular the use of both /ʔiħna/ and /ħinna/ as plurals of the personal pronouns. In this respect Syro-Mesopotamian dialects again supply an important parallel to an element present in Al-Ghor, which cannot be matched in the neighbouring country dialects.

The North Arabian dialects differ from Al-Ghor quite significantly from the morphological point of view; e.g. the perfect of the simple strong verb of type /fa'al/ (which corresponds to the literary Arabic) is [fi'al] or [fu'al]<sup>1</sup> in North Arabian, but in Al-Ghor dialect has only one form which is [fi'al]. In the Syrian desert area, the personal pronouns are /huwwa/ (masculine singular), and /hiyya/<sup>2</sup> (feminine singular), but in Al-Ghor have different forms which are /huu/ and /hii/. The first personal pronoun used in the Syrian desert (and in the Syro-Mesopotamian) is /ani/, /ana/ and /aana/<sup>3</sup> but in Al-Ghor dialect has only one form which is /ʔana/. The relationship is thus not a close one.

1. T. M. Johnstone. op. cit. p.11.
2. T. M. Johnstone. op. cit. p.13.
3. T. M. Johnstone. op. cit. p.13.



Lexis

Summing up our earlier findings,, we can say that there is a fairly large number of lexical items used in country dialects of Western Palestine as well as on the eastern side of the river Jordan, similar to the lexical items used in Al-Ghor dialect; but lexis is nevertheless not identical. However,, the bedouin dialect in the Negev is more close to Al-Ghor from the lexical point of view. Syro-Mesopotamian dialects, to some extent, and the Al-ʔAjarma (Al-Balqa) dialect have similar vocabulary as Al-Ghor dialect.<sup>1</sup> However,, the Northern Arabian desert dialects have very few lexical links with Al-Ghor dialect.

Overall View On an overall view, Al-Ghor dialect shows little connection with urban dialects in the neighbourhood, but thus possesses many similarities with the neighbouring Western and Eastern Palestinian country dialects, though rather less with Palestinian bedouin dialect. However,, there are also important differences, like the realisation of /q/ as [j] in phonology and the use of /ʔiħna/, /ħinna/ in morphology. On the other hand, Al-Ghor has also important links with Syro-Mesopotamian dialects, e.g. with regard to the realisation of /q/ as [j] and /ʔiħna/, /ħinna/ just referred to,, and Al-ʔAjarama (Al-Balqa) can be classed in particular as a dialect fairly close to Al-Ghor. Northern Arabian desert dialects appear only distantly connected. However,, Al-Ghor dialect is not a simple mixture between

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1. See above p. 213

Palestinian country speech and Syro-Mesopotamian dialects. Al-Ghor dialect has its own characteristics, especially with regard to phonetic realisation of the definite article, in which matter it is quite unusual. Any traces of more specific derivations from either the Ghaza region, or parts of Saudia Arabia, as maintained in tribal traditions (see above p. 29~~ff~~) are no longer observable, having been merged with other dominant linguistic traditions or developments, within Al-Ghor. (However, in the matter of intonation, a subject which could, for lack of comparable data, not be dealt with systematically, Al-Ghor is strikingly similar to desert speech.)



T E X T S

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Transcription 1

Name: Fatmih Haamid Mahmuud

No: 6

Place: Waqqaş

waḥda leeha sab'i'yaal ?u maa faradattum la winha binit,  
 laakin leeha binit min juuzha lawwal. ḥiblat min  
 'uguba sabi'yaal, ḡaluulha i'yaalha yaa yumma ?inti ḥubla  
 ?u wuddiċ ijjiibi, lazim nahar maa wuddiċ "i'yaalha sab'a  
 wassab'a buwaardiya, kull waḥad baruuttu biḡharu ?u  
 yiruuḥu idawwru alḡanaş waşeed miṭil maa tguul bahhiş hiiċa"  
 ḡaalu leeha yaa yumma ?in ċaanniċ jibti binit ḥutti ammraa  
 buwiḡha ṭṭiriij min jiddam, mita šufna ammra tuubwi ni'rif  
 ?inha bint, win ċaannu şabi ḥuṭṭi seef .... abḡaruuda,  
 haadi ?alla ifraj 'aleeha ?u jaabat waḡad, leeha ?ibnayya  
 'awijhibluuḡ ḡaa(l)at yaa yumma, ?ixwaaniċ ?in šaafu asseef  
 waḡla yaa yumma maa 'umurhum i'aawdu šiddi asaawi. yoomin  
 ṭallu wunnu asseef haay abḡaruuda, ḡaalu maa 'aad ?inxuş  
 ?aċibiir mabiihum xanna n'aawid ?u nikasu wara. ?awwal  
 jum'a taani jum'a taaliṭ jum'a raabi' jum'a bnayyitha  
 ḡaalat yaa yumma ?ana wuddi aṭuşş adawwir 'aleehum, ḡaalat  
 yaa yumma ba'diċ bint, igḡabat ḥaṭṭat zuwwaada leeha hiiċ  
 ?u 'keekit samin ?u ḥaṭṭata 'araas(h)a ?u ḡaalat yaa

baab alla ?u<sup>t</sup>fa<sup>š</sup>at ?u hii tim<sup>š</sup>i ba<sup>h</sup>h<sup>a</sup>rat winha haddahaara  
 tguul ?idweeri, tguul ix<sup>š</sup>eeša gaalat ?ag'ud bjamb ha<sup>h</sup>h<sup>a</sup>jar  
 ?alli xalagni maa yid<sup>a</sup>y<sup>i</sup>'ni ?ig'adat gaabat aššams winha  
 haddahaaraat m<sup>r</sup>aw<sup>h</sup>aat min m<sup>š</sup>arrig tba<sup>h</sup>hir. ba<sup>h</sup>haru winha  
 xayithum yaa xayyah mneen jiiti yaa man' uuntawwaaldeen  
 gaalat yaa xayya jiit adawwir 'aleeku ?u mku waj'aaneh min  
 hammku, baatat hii wiyyaahum, gaa(l)at leehum widku traww<sup>h</sup>  
 ma'i lammku yaa šeeniin bass xalliha t<sup>š</sup>uufku, gaalu xallič  
 la baačir wuddna ndawwir ganaš gizlaan, h<sup>a</sup>jal, h<sup>a</sup>maam,  
 naaxidhin leeha. raahu ma' 'ašur jaabu hagiibit gizlaan.....  
 'indha bissih "gaalu baačir mrawhiin". "indhum naar  
 m<sup>w</sup>artiinha" jat ?abbissa ib<sup>h</sup>ašat bijirha wu<sup>š</sup>axxat lamma  
 ta<sup>f</sup>at hajjam<sup>r</sup>aat. jat abbnayya tibhaš ta tu<sup>t</sup>bux laxwaan(h)a  
 lamma šaafat gaalat ?alla yif<sup>d</sup>a<sup>h</sup>ic yaa habbissa maa mxalya  
 gu<sup>t</sup>mit naar. dabba lleel, wigfat 'aha<sup>h</sup>h<sup>a</sup>jar ?u laffatat  
 winhaddaxaani m'uumadih, laffat hašuruš 'a<sup>b</sup>a<sup>t</sup>inha ?u n<sup>h</sup>arat  
 haddaxaani, yoomin jat winha guula mfa<sup>h</sup>jih haat<sup>t</sup>a juudha  
 raadiitin hiič 'ačatiffa, ?u tijriš su<sup>k</sup>kar, h<sup>a</sup>jaar ?aafya  
 raahat lahmat mnalli tujuršu ?u jirčabat 'adeedha wir<sup>d</sup>a'at  
 minnu ..... bayyaa ihmeedih mneen jitiini, walla ya looma  
 ma kaleeti manajjirra ?u ridi'ti mnaddirra laxalli jbaala  
 suud yasma'in gart<sup>i</sup>'daamič, gaa(l)at wuddi naar gaa(l)at  
 annar 'and abuuč ?imš'i 'aleeh gašgiši a<sup>d</sup>aafir ideeh ?u  
 a<sup>d</sup>aafir ijreeh ?u rmuuš 'ineeh ?u hawaajbeeh ?u xudi minnu  
 naar. mišat a<sup>h</sup>h<sup>a</sup>ziinah šiddha saawi. jat winnu ma'alif hiič  
 mišat 'aleeh gašgašat a<sup>d</sup>aaf<sup>r</sup>u ?u rmuuš i'yuunu ?u a<sup>d</sup>aafir  
 ideeh ?u a<sup>d</sup>aafir ijreeh ?u hawaajbu galla mneen jitiini  
 yu yuba gaalatlu jiit wudi naar gaal arr'a naar yu yuba  
 xadat gu<sup>t</sup>mit naar miša 'a taraf mandiilha ?u hat<sup>t</sup>at habit



sačan ?u xazagu min taħa winhajāt. ?asubuh ma' aħar asačan  
 ?u ɖall̩ yamši waṛaa lamannu jaa ɖalla yu yuba yuhmeedah  
 ?inti haan ɖaa(1)at yu yuba walla ana haan. faat 'aleeha  
 ɖaddatu ?u ga'ad ɖaalat lu yu yuba yoominnak tiiji tnaam  
 wutruuh̩ bannuum čeef yiɖdin i'yuunak ɖaal̩ wuddič̩ tidbaħiini  
 ɖaalat̩ minta abuu, gadd matraħwanatu ɖalla lamannič̩  
 tšuuifiini anam wu'uuni yiɖdin humur miṭil̩ ammiabiis ?irifi  
 ?ini nimt, ?u čam yoom tnaam ɖaal̩ šaħar wu' ašartiyyaam,  
 ɖall̩at̩ thakħhik 'araasu lamannu inčafa ?u naam, baħħarat̩  
 'a'uunu winhin yitgaadaħhin naar ɖaalat̩ xallu naayim lamma  
 yijju ixwaani, jum ixwaanha ɖaalat̩ dooku šaayfiin ?al?aaſya  
 jatni yamm ju 'abawariid ?u taxxu ?u jarru ?u ramuu baṛwaadi.

Translation

There was a woman who had seven sons, and there was also a girl from a previous husband. The woman became pregnant again. Her sons told her "You are pregnant and you want to give birth. You must on that day"(she has seven sons, and all of them are grown up, and each of them carries a rifle and goes hunting in the jungle daily.) They said to their mother, "If you have a girl, put a mirror at the beginning of the road. When we see the mirror we will know that you have a girl because girls use a mirror, so we can see the mirror glittering, and if you give birth to a boy put a rifle or sword there." When she gave birth, she had a boy. Her daughter was approaching puberty. The mother said, "O my daughter if your brothers saw the sword/ rifle they won't come back". She said to her, "What can I do? . When they come down the hill,, and see the sword/ rifle they will go back up the hill." The oldest brother said, "Let us leave." and they went. Their mother and sister waited for one week, two weeks, three weeks, and in the fourth week, when they didn't turn up, their sister said to her mother, "Maybe something has happened to my brothers, I want to go to look for them." So her mother told her, "You are still young and you are a woman." So the girl said, "Leave me alone". The girl had her provisions and she set off. She walked all day, when she looked she saw something, she said, "Maybe it's a bird or hut or



something, I will sit beside this rock." And she said to herself, "The one who created me will not neglect me." She sat until the sun set, and suddenly there was something coming from the east. She looked at them saying, "Five men." They came closer to the rock where she was sitting. They looked and she was their sister, they said to her, "O my sister where did you come from?" and cursed her parents. She said, "I came to look for you, your mother is very ill because of you." She spent the night with them. In the morning she said to them, "You have to go back with me for the sake of your mother, just for her to see you and then you may leave again." They said to her, "We don't want to go today, let us find somewhere to hunt for today, some deer, partridge, or pigeons, and we will take them to our mother." So they went all day, and in the afternoon they came and brought a bag full of pigeons and partridges. They killed them, and put the game in the bag. - She had a cat - They told her, "Today we are not going home. Wait until tomorrow night." - She had a cat ) and their camp-fire was kindled and covered with ashes, so as to keep the embers alive. So when they returned they would just open it up and make the fire, to cook food or make bread or so forth. So the cat dug the fire-place with its feet and urinated on the embers and put them out. The girl went to check the fire-place in order to cook food for her brothers. When she saw what had happened she said, "O God, may God disgrace you, cat, you've put the fire out

completely." She stayed until the sun set, then she stood on the rock. When she looked to the south, suddenly she saw a smoke-cloud, she wrapped her dress around her body and went towards the smoke. When she arrived, she found a She-Demon with wide open legs, grinding sugar or stones or something, it was one of God's monsters. She jumped on her back and ate a little of what she was grinding and she sat on her breast and sucked some milk. The She-Demon said, "O' by God had it not been for the fact that you have eaten from my pot and sucked my milk, I would have made the black mountains hear the cracking of your bones." The girl said, "I need a light." The She-Demon said, "The light is near your father, . . . Go to him cut his finger-nails, and toe-nails and his eye-lashes and his eye-brows and take from him a light." The poor girl went to him, what could she do? now she has taken the trouble to come so far and she can't go back without a light. When she arrived she found him like a monster. She went to him and cut his eye-lashes and his finger-nails and his toe-nails and his eye-brows. He said to her, "Where did you come from my daughter?" She said, "I have come for a light." He said, "That is the light my daughter." She took what she wanted - So he put some ashes in the side of her scarf and tied it up and made a hole in the scarf. The girl went back. In the morning along with the tracks of the ashes he followed her until he reached her. He said, "My daughter Hamidah, are you there?" She said, "By God, O my father I am here."



He went to her. He sat down, the father said, "My daughter scratch my head." She stretched her legs and put his head on them. She said to him, "O my father, when you go to sleep are you fast asleep? How do you sleep? What do your eyes look like." The father said, "Oh, you want to kill me." O my God, she kept saying. How can I kill you? You are my father," Until she had found out how he slept. The father said, "When you see me sleeping and my eyes strike red, like firebrands, then you will know that I am sleeping." She said, "For how long and how many days?" He said, "One month and ten days." She scratched his head until he went to sleep. She looked at his eyes, they were red like embers. She said, "Let him sleep until my brothers come." Her brothers came. She said, "O my brothers, look and see this monster he came today." So they got their rifles and shot him, and pulled him and threw him in the valley.

Transcription 2

Name: Nuura Muhammad al-Dweelaat

No: 1

Place: al-Sawalha

..... haada huu yiwajjid 'a 'alya, ?iguul "yahasi'ti ya man yi'aawinni ?u yaa man yista'iinni ?u yaaman yirud alhiml atajiil 'inni lakaan maayil," iguul, "yaa xaal analli 'iinak wasta'iinak warudda lhiml attajiil 'innak la kaan maal," iguul, "yaa xaal ?inta sigiir assin la tajhal i'da," yaa xaal been mixti ?u saayib," yirid 'aleeh, "yaa xaal xidni tijirba tara rrajal bitajaariib." haada ?ummu hattat al hizin baljara, ?abu zeed rafiiju maa i'aawid, ?umaa leeha geerhuu ?alwalad ?ismu 'aziiz wuhu?t 'ahal-faatir ?u hatt hazahaab, ?u yaa xayyi ?iwdaa'tak 'aziiz. hatu hazahaab ?u maddu yoomin wuflu. waragga tiriş la 'alya, lifu 'al'ajuuz, yoomin lifu 'aleeha gaal(1)at "weeş ilimajyyibku" "'alya yaa xayyi", "fukku 'inni", "matruuh 'ala 'alya ?irragga tiriş ?illha walleela widha tu'bur." gallha 'alya widha tu'bur, gaalat ah, gaal haool 'isriin neera, witruihi jibiili 'alya gaalatlu ana ajjibha lak. haadi sahat haalha ?u labbasat alwalad toob, ?u galla ?ana jaa'idliç mişariig al'arab winti tfuuti 'a 'alya ?u tagaddbiniyaha ?u tit'iha-l xaatim haad. "?alxaatim alli ismha 'aleeh" haadi gaamat al'ajuuz libsat hattoob ?u maddat, yapayi ibi'din yaxayaati wuddi asuuf bint axuui,



ɣaalin ya xayyaati mineen hal ʿamma itlaʿat ilʿalya, ɣaalat  
 ya ɣayi ana ʿammiččin ma tiʿirfuuni ʔu naasyiini matidru  
 ʿinni, faatat ʿaleeha sallamat ʿaleeha ʔu ɣaalat ilha hiič,  
 ʔitʿatha lxaatim, haadi yoom laddat win ism arajjaal ʿalee,  
 ɣaalat illha ween huu ɣaalat harii šarga lʿarab, ʔigʿadat  
 midda, ɣaalat illha guuli wuddi asayyir haadi ɣaaḥat  
 tsayyir, ʔiṣḥabat ḥaalha ʔu ɣaaḥat labu zeed ʔu jaabat  
 alwalad maʿaaha ʔu ḥaṭṭatu bardha. maddat alfaarda ʔi ʔarāt  
 alʿaruus yoomin i ʔarāt alʿaruus, haada lʿariis wuddu  
 yuʿbuḥa, ʔawwal leela, taani leela yiḥitt ijru ma tigbal,  
 ɣaaḥ ilwaahad šaraari, gallu tayyib ana saarli ḥaawi  
 bhalʿaruus, walʿaruus manamaaxid minnhala ḥag wala ɣaaṭil,  
 ʔamudd iidi ʿadeeha tagḥas iṣṣidd ʿinni ʿajjal. gallu haak  
 halmixraz ʔu ruuh, čannha maṣa ti ʔtiik ičtaaffa ʔu čaan  
 izzlima yi ʔtiik čaffu "haada lmixraz masmi" rawwaḥ ʿaleeha  
 ɣaam yiʿaašir biiha, ɣaaḥaḥa, yoom ɣaaḥaḥa lagga čaffu,  
 bass idʿaru bal mixraz haḍaak fihim, ɣaal xalla ḥaalu naayim,  
 haada yam ʿaṣṣab ʿaiidu ʔu ḥibb annabi wixliilu, ɣaaḥ ʿal  
 ʿajuuz xaḍa naagtu ʔu ɣaal ḥeelak ween yalḥag xaaḷu, blaad  
 yiguḷḷuulha meesara. yoom lifa ʿaleeh winnu hanaak, gallu  
 jiit ya xaaḷ, gallu jiit, taʿaššu aḍaak alleela ʔu baatu,  
 gallu ya xaaḷ ʔala ḥill ʿin ʔiidak, haada mu faahim rafiiju  
 ma yiʿaawid, ɣaal hassa wald ixti ʔasaḡar minni wiṣiir  
 ʔaṭṭayab minni bukkra yiʿaayirni ʔu iguul ʔana jibtha la  
 xaaḷi, xaaḷi ma jaabha, gallu ya xaaḷ xanni ašuuḥ ʔiidak,  
 gallu ya xaaḷi la ḥill ʿin ʔiidi, gallu ʔilla ḥill ʿin  
 ʔiidak, gallu widdak ḥill ʿinnha gallu ah. gallu ya xaaḷ

lan mutit ?idfinni hawaali ligrayya ?u xalli banaat ?ihlaal  
yizuuranni. haada bass sall almixraz minnu maat, baħašu  
leeh wudfanuu ?u rawwaħu.



Translation

.....while his heart kindled with love for Alyia ....he said, "O misery who will help me and who will shoulder part of my heavy burden which is about to fall,"... so the boy said, "O my uncle I will help you I will lend support to your falling load." "Oh my nephew you are still too young to handle enemies, and you lack of experience is likely to make you lose, 'the battle of the enemy'". The boy answered him, "O my uncle let me try, and the test of a man is by trying them, by giving them a chance". So his mother felt very sad, because the companion of Abu-zeed never came back, and he was the only son she had. The boy called Aziiz. He prepared a fast she-camel with provisions and his mother asked Abu-zeed to take good care of Aziiz.

After they loaded it with provisions they left. When they reached there they found that Alyia's wedding dance was going on. He came to an old woman, when he entered her tent, the old woman said to him, "What brings you here O my brother? My brother leave me alone, why don't you go to Alyia where the dance is taking place, and she is getting married tonight." He said to her, "Is it true that Alyia is getting married tonight?" She said yes. He asked her, "Take these twenty liras and bring Alyia here." She said, "I will bring her to you." So the old woman went and she put a woman's dress on the boy. She prepared the boy and dressed him and put a scarf on his head.

He said to the old woman, "The boy and I will be waiting for you east of the encampment and you will go to Alyia's house and give her this ring." His name was engraved on the ring. The old woman dressed and went to the wedding. When she arrived, she start shouting to the girls, "Clear my way I want to see my niece." The girls started wondering,, they said where has this aunt of Alyia's come from? So the old woman replied, "O my dear girls I am your aunt and you don't know me, you don't recognize me, you've forgotten?" And she went in toward Alyia. She greeted her and she showed her the ring and gave it to her. When Alyia looked at the ring, she saw that the man's name was engraved on it, and asked the old woman "Where is he?" The old woman answered her, "There he is, east of the Camp." They sat for a while. The old woman said to Alyia pretend you are going to the toilet. So Alyia went to the toilet. She took her to Abu-zeed and returned with the disguised boy to the wedding celebration. The old woman put the disguised boy in Alyia's place. The wedding singers proceeded and took the disguised bride to the groom's house. When they were together, the groom tried to embrace her (the disguised boy) but it wasn't easy. He tried the first night and the second night he tried to touch the bride's (the disguised boy's) leg with his leg,, her hand with his hand, but there was no response.

So he went to consult an old wise Bedouin fortune



teller. He said to him 'I have been trying for three nights to sleep with my bride but in vain. Whenever I tried to hold her hand in my hand she jumps and turns aside'. The old man "Sharaari" said to the groom 'take this piercing awl instrument.' So the "Sharaari" gave the groom the piercing instrument and said to him, "When you pretend to attack her she will show her shoulder if she is a woman and if he is a man he will stretch out his hand to fight you and this awl instrument is poisonous." So the groom went home and tried to make love to her and he threw her down on the floor, the disguised boy stretched out his hand and the groom pierced his hand (the disguised boy) with the piercing awl instrument, at that moment the disguised boy knew that the groom had discovered the secret that he was really a man. So the groom pretended he fell asleep. He wrapped a bandage round his hand and escaped. He went to the old woman and took his she-camel and followed his uncle, he caught up with them at a place called Meisara. When he arrived he found his uncle there, he said to him "Have you come" he said yes. They sat down and had dinner with Abu-ziid and Alyia and afterwards he spent the night there. His uncle insisted on undoing the bandage. The boy knew that Abu-ziid's companions would never come back now. "The son of my sister became better than I, and will mock me, and he will say I brought her (Alyia) to my uncle, my uncle did not bring her", he said to him 'O my uncle let me see your hand,' he said to his uncle, "O my uncle do not

unbandage my hand". He said (his uncle)" I must unbandage your hand", he said to him" do you want to unbandage it" (my hand) he said" yes". He said, " O my uncle if I died bury me near the village, and let the daughters of Hilaal visit me." After he finished saying this, Abu zeed removed the piercing awl from his hand, he died, they dug a grave for him and buried him and they went.



Transcription 3

Name: Ahmad dyaab šamaan

No: 24

P ace: al-Shuna l-Shamaliya

.....santa timaani w'išriin hidat ma'aai jurum, ?idahamnt  
 bizlima nhikamnt xamista'is sina, maddeeta l'xamita'is sina,  
 ?u tala'it, gabul lanhabis tijawwazt, ga'att 'ind 'eelti  
 xamista'is yoom, maddeet minhim xamsa wsabb'een šaħar  
 b'akka ?u ....walbaajyaat maddeet xamsa warba'iin šaħar  
 bnaablis, šiwiš, 'azamaan baraṭaanya, yihuṭṭu šaraayit  
 la masaajiin, haada inta weeš šugḡlak 'ašši, haddaad,  
 musarji, haaslak kulman huu muhuntu. ba'deen marati lli  
 aħsaabi ba'adha maajuudah, ya'ni ana bass jiiṭ lahaan,  
 ga'att sitti šhur, tijawwazt taani waħda ba'da diiç  
 xallafat minni walad, ?u haadi xallafat minni 'yaal tneen  
 ?u bint, ?u min yoom daaka ttaariix nuħrut nudrus, 'iiša  
 kuwoysa, ?ahsan min hiiç maa fiš, wassa' jaa'diin nišdd  
 baraadi mkees, nuħrut, nazra', gamuħ, nazra' 'adas, nazra'  
 almaajuud, wilħamdulilla 'aayšiin 'iiša kwoysa. 'ala  
 gabul 'azamaan aššyuux ?iššeex mšawwiħ haliblaad kullha  
 leeh, wiḍraa'ak minl xaam yiçsiik, ?alli widdu šiddi šidd  
 walli widdak daššru daššru, bala lyoom saarati lwiħdaat  
 kullman 'aarif arḍu. ?ana dallet maħbuus xamista'iš sina  
 ?u ma xaat arḍ, ?assa wana šidd 'and aħil umkees, ?ištareet  
 mištara min nass yiguluulhum mgaabla min šamma. ?ili  
 '(e)yaal talaata, waaħad min hal mara lawwal wiṭneen minl  
 mara haadi.

Translation

In 1928 an event happened to me. I was been accused of killing a man and was sentenced to prison for fifteen years. The fifteen years passed and then I was released. Before I was sent to prison I got married, and I stayed with my wife 15 days and then I went to prison. The fifteen years passed, during which time I spent seventy-five months in Akka (Acra), and the rest of the time was forty-five months in Nablus, as a sergeant. At that time Britain used to issue stripes according to man's professions, for instance a cook, blacksmith, plumber and so on, and everyone had his profession and stripes. Then I finished the fifteen years and was released and my wife whom I had married was still alive. That meant that when I came here I stayed six or seven months and I got married again. My first wife gave birth to one boy, and the new one to two boys and a girl, and from that time we used to work at ploughing and threshing. We lived a good life, we don't complain about it - anyone who is satisfied lives a good life - now we are cultivating land in Um Qeis. We plough and grow wheat - lentils, maize,, okkra and most other things. Thank God we live a good life.

In the old days in the time of Sheikhs, Sheikh Mishaweh owned all these lands - do whatever you like in another word its free to do what you like, if you want



to cultivate you can but if you want to leave it, leave it. Today when they divide the land into quarters everybody knows his own land. When I was in prison for fifteen years, I did not take any land, but now I cultivated with the people at "Umqeis". You see all these lands I bought from people they call them "Migaabla" from "Samma".

I have three sons, two of them are soldiers and the third one is here. I have three one of them by my first wife and the other two by my present wife.

Transcription 4

Name: 'ufa ?umm Msallam

No: 7

Place: Azumaliya

bii m̄ara leeha ?ar̄ba' i'yaal,, w̄alar̄ba'a mijawwziin, m̄arta  
 l̄čabiir ?alla mi't̄iiha wmi'im 'aleeha. ḡaalat yaa  
 mweemti d̄baḥinna iḡleesi, ṣaxal, ?arrnab. ?alčanna haat̄ta  
 'eenha 'ala dyuuk. ḥaaṣlak zeenaat, teeḥat leehin.  
 ?ukmušattin ?u r̄buṭṭatin ?u rumattin balxazaana, ?u weeš  
 truuh̄ tid̄baḥ leeha, jooz ?ijreewaat ?id̄baḥat, ḡassalat,  
 ?it̄baxat,, ḥat̄tat haan ṭaasa whaan ṭaasa. 'ind ma xall̄aṣat  
 zamm̄at ?abiriij, wzamm̄at aṣabuuna ?u raahat tḡassil 'adeen  
 'ammitha. ḥat̄tat jiddaamha lakil, kalat all̄i kalatu,  
 ḡaalat leeha yamma ta'aali taḡaddi ḡaalat ana taḡaddeet,  
 ba'ad ma kalat, xad̄at al baaji ?u raahat kabbatu lalja'ariin  
 raah̄ azzimaan, ?al'amma maat̄at, alčanna ṣaar̄at 'amma,  
 ?a'ammah bint ḥaraam laač̄in alčanna bint ḥalaal. muḡa sina,  
 santeen, ḡaalat al'amma laččanna ta'aali id̄baḥiina jooz  
 id̄dyuuk had̄laak. ?ukmušattin, ?id̄baḥattin, ?u ṣax̄ṣanat al  
 mayya wiḡsalat wnad̄dafatin wiṭ̄baxattin, haan ṭaasa whaan  
 ṭaasa jiddaamha ba'ad ma xall̄aṣat, ṭalla'at jooza dyuuk, ?u  
 ḥat̄tat̄in 'ala ṣiiniyya jiddaamha. yoom taḡdim haad̄i jooz  
 ijreewaat, yoom twaxxir jooz dyuuk, ḡall̄at 'ahaddidaan,  
 ḡaalat w̄alla ya mweemti ?inti maa msaawya š̄i, ?ana yoom  
 ḡagaddim 'aleehin jooz ijreewaat ?u yoom aṣaxxir jooz id̄dyuuk.  
 ?ana miḥtasfa, ?u maač̄il ḥaali.



Translation

There was a woman, she had four sons and all of them were married. The wife of the eldest, God gave her everything. The mother-in-law said one day "Oh my daughter-in-law why don't you kill a kid goat or a rabbit?" The daughter-in-law spotted the two cockerels which she indicated. They were good. She call them and caught them (the cockerels) and tied them and threw them in the cupboard, and what she did she do for her, she killed a pair of puppies instead. She washed them, cooked them and each of them she put in a pot. When they were ready and cooled down she took a jug of water and some soap in order to allow her mother-in-law to wash her hands. She washed them then put the meal in front of her, and she beckoned her daughter-in-law to come and eat, but the daughter-in-law said to her "I have had my lunch". She ate as much as she could and the rest she took it away (with respect to the listener) and threw it away (to the dogs). The time has gone and another time has come. The mother-in-law died and what resulted was that the daughter-in-law herself became a mother-in-law. The mother-in-law was wicked, but the daughter-in-law was good. After a year or two the mother-in-law told her daughter-in-law to kill for her those two cockerels. She caught them while she was sitting enjoying her coffee and cigarette, She cooked them and she boiled hot water and cleaned them, and put them in pots,

one in each. Then she put them in front of her, and took them out of the pots and put them on a tray, and placed it before her. When she started eating she remembered what she had done to her mother-in-law. Whenever she went to eat she imagined that instead of the two cockerels there were two puppies,, she did this for a while and her daughter-in-law noticed this strange action and asked her "What's the matter?" and the mother-in-law said to her "You have committed no wrong, but I, in the past, did something wrong to my mother-in-law, that is to say, I cooked two puppies for her instead of the two cockerels. I asked you to do the same in order to test you to see if you would do the same thing as I did, but you are a good woman and I asked God to forgive me for what I did to my mother-in-law in the past."



Transcription 5

Name: Sulyman al-'uzbi

No: 17

Place: al-Mashari'

ʔaʔwʔal mintahaana kunna ʔarraatiin, ʔabbu abbaður haan,  
 ʔabbaður 'indhum ɖulm iswayya, ʔalla la yihammilna  
 ʔeebithum, ba'deen lifat ʔagǵzawiyya, ʔarwala, ʔiskanu  
 haana, ʔu ɖabbu haddinya ʔu ʔaarat iddinya dinya wannaas  
 naas. ʔabbaður min ɖulumhum ʔingta'u mimmarra. haɖoola  
 ʔagǵzawiyya ʔalla yi'lam bihum tagwa 'indhum, ʔartara,  
 wijma'u haalum ʔu ʔurna yadd wiħda ʔalumaara wiħna  
 yaffallaħiin, haadi kunna yadd wiħda, ya'ni ween ma miša-  
 lamiir nimši ma'u 'azzeena 'aššeena nimši ma'u manixallaas  
 'innu, ba'deen ʔaarat mnaawašaāt bweena ʔu bween ʔaššagar,  
 ʔaššagar yiǵazuuna wiħna niǵaziihum,, ʔaššagar yinhabu mina,  
 wiħna nanhab minhum. ba'deen ʔaarat haadta 'azimaan  
 ʔurkiyya 'aleena haana, ʔu lifat ʔadoola, haħħaħħat  
 'abasiir ʔaħħasan 'azimaan ʔijjmaal heeša min sima'  
 wabbǵaal, wšuuf ʔa'arab, mnaɖɖiiɖ fallat, ɖall bišiir  
 ʔhaalu bhabbeet. ǵallulhum, lan ruħta na ʔaaħat ʔagǵzawiyya  
 ʔumma ma ʔuulni bhabbeet ʔism agǵzawiyya idall ħayy. ʔu  
 ʔarra haǵǵoor haad balla wibseefu. ba'deen ʔitišabna  
 ʔiħna waǵkuura, bišiir šaadd ʔarɖ igullulha? aħħbuga, ta'ddu  
 yakkuura wuddhum yanhabu ħalaal bišiir, ʔaħħarraħħiin  
 misilħiin ʔalli ħnaak,, yoom ʔaarat ʔammnaawaša ʔigtalu

waahad minnhum, looman ʔigtalu, fizʔat ʔakura ʔu jarradat  
 mnardaha lardha wistahallu ʔattbuga. saar ʔaššyaah  
 laggzawiyya, fizʔat ʔaggzawiyya kullha ʔaffallaheen  
 raaʕbiin ʔirkuub mharciin leena taxx, waggzawiyya min taaha.  
 ʔaggzawiyya mitirsa, lifa ʔabu hamad yaʔni šeex ʔabblad.  
 waʔʔabaa ʔaddraaʔu waseef ʔaʕatfu, waʔtaxx ʔaleeh min fajj  
 ugamiij. loomin šaaf hiiča, lifa ʔabu hazzaaʔ wazulum  
 mhatihča, gaal wuššu, gaal, ʔabu hamad šaal ʔattbuga ʔu  
 tifzaʔ ʔaggzawiyya ʔu nuʔrudhum balli tiʔrfu, yoom kasarnaahum  
 ʔistahalleena ʔardna.



Translation

At the beginning of our lives we were farmers. First the tribe of Al-Badur lived here. They came, they were unjust people, may God forgive us for maligning them. Then Al-Ghzawiyya, Awwala came and lived here, and they attracted people from different places, and the world and the people became real (liveable) under their protection.

Due to their injustice, the Badur became extinct. Those Al-Ghzawiyya, God knows, were pious, they prattled, they gathered together and we became united, the princes and the farmers become united, and wherever the prince went we followed him whether the cause was right or wrong, and we wouldn't abandon him.

Then there was a clash (battle) between us and the Saggur. The Saggur raided us and we raided them. The Saggur looted our property and we in turn looted theirs.

Then an event happened to us during the Turkish rule, and the government came and stayed (with forces) at Basheir El-Hasan's home. At that time camels and mules were commonly used (I beg the listener pardon), and you see the folk of Basheir El-Hasan at that time who ran away because of adversity, but Basheir stayed alone at his home. He said if "I leave here the tribe of Al-ghzawyyia will be finished, but if I stay here the name of Al-ghzawyyia will remain alive," and because of his unflinching attitude he gained the land of Ghor. He earned it with God's help and

with his sword.

Then we clashed with Al-Kuura, (Basheir used to cultivate the land known Al-tabaga). Al-Kuura attacked us, they wanted to steal Basheir's cattle. The farmers who were there were armed. When the actual clash started, they killed one of them. When they killed him, Al-Kuura mobilized themselves and occupied Al-tabaga. The Al-ghzawyya heard the news and they hurried to the scene of the battle. The farmers were attacking from above and they shot down at us, and the Al-ghzawyya who formed a barricade to protect themselves. The chief, i.e. the prince Abu-hamad came, and he folded his cloak on his arm and put his sword on his shoulder and he went away made a passage while under fire from all sides. When he saw what was happening, Abu-Hazza came to where the men were stationed. He asked "What did Abu-Hamad say?" They said "he went to Al-tabaga and the Al-ghzawyya gathered, and we drove them (the attackers) back." When we defeated them we regained our land.



The names of the informants:-

The names of persons are spelled here according to the conventions used in the main body of this thesis. Place names are however spelled as they are given on the map of Jordan, compiled and drawn by the Department of Lands in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and published in 1948.

1. Nuura Muḥammad al-Dweelat.  
     Age: 40 years  
     Place: al-Ṣawalḥa  
           Housewife
2. Miryam Saalim al-Faraj.  
     Age: 70 years  
     Place: al-Sheikh Ḥusein  
           Housewife
3. Miryam Ṣhadeh al-Furjan.  
     Age: 40 years  
     Place: al-Manshiya  
           Housewife
4. Faḍiyyah al-Fahad al-Gweesim.  
     Age: 65 years  
     Place: al-Rayāḥna  
           Housewife

5. . Fatmih Sallman al-Gaasin.  
 Age: 75 years  
 Place: al-Mashari'  
 Housewife
6. Fatmih Haamid Hmuud.  
 Age: 70 years  
 Place: Waqqaṣ  
 Housewife
7. 'ufa ṭumm Msallam.  
 Age: 75 years  
 Place: Azumaliya  
 Housewife
8. Mnaawer ṭamfaḍi al Gaasin.  
 Age: 75 years  
 Place: al-Mashri'  
 Farmer
9. Muḥammad al-Fazza' aḥḥwaraat.  
 Age: 100 years  
 Place: Um Aziḡan  
 Farmer
10. 'arif al-Znaati.  
 Age: 87 years  
 Place: Wadi al-Yabis  
 Schooling: He went to school when he was very young.  
 Landowner. He went to Syria at the time of the Versailles conference.



11. Abdel gaadir Ibraahim al-'teeš.

Age: 60 years

Place: Danya

Farmer

12. 'Abdalla 'li Mršid.

Age: 55 years

Place: al-Nanshiya

Schooling: very little

Farmer

13. deefalla al-hindaawi.

Age: 65 years

Place: Abu 'ubayda

Schooling: very little

Farmer

14. Saalih Muḥammad al-Muusa.

Age: 50 years

Place: al-Ḥarawiyya

Farmer

15. S'uud mifliḥ al-Xaaldi.

Age: 110 years

Place: Azumaliya

Farmer

16. Sulayman Saayil al-Bawaṭi.

Age: 75 years

Place: Waqqāṣ

Farmer

17. Sulayman al-ʿuzbi.  
 Age: 80 years  
 Place: al-Mashariʿ  
 Farmer
18. Sulayman ḥasan al-ʿalaajma.  
 Age: 75 years  
 Place: al-Ṣawalḥa  
 Farmer
19. Sallman al-ṭweesaat.  
 Age: 40 years  
 Place: al-Zunaliya  
 Farmer
20. Raaṣid Muḥammad al-nʿeem.  
 Age: 80 years  
 Place: al-Ṣawalḥa  
 Farmer
21. Xaalid ḍyaab al-rabiir.  
 Age: 70 years  
 Place: al-Shuna al-Shamaliyya  
 Farmer
22. Ḥseen al-Ṣhaab.  
 Age: 75 years  
 Place: Mʿadi  
 Schooling: very little, and he is a  
 Chief of his tribe.



23. Hamad <sup>†</sup>dyaab al-dal'ci.  
 Age: 90 years  
 Place: al-Shuna al-Shamaliya  
 Farmer
24. Ahmad <sup>†</sup>dyaab šamaan.  
 Age: 75 years  
 Place: al-Shuna al-Shamaliya  
 Farmer
25. Ibrahim al-Falaah<sup>†</sup> abu-ḡooš.  
 Age: 75 years  
 Place: Abu 'ubayda  
 Farmer
26. Muḡammad Slemaan al-Falaah<sup>†</sup>.  
 Age: 70 years  
 Place: Danya  
 Farmer
27. Daahir Slemaan al-ḡarag'iir.  
 Age: 110 years  
 Place: Dair 'alla  
 Farmer
28. Barakaat al-Falaah<sup>†</sup> al-'adwaan.  
 Age: 100 years  
 Place: al-Shuna al-Janubiya  
 Farmer

29. Khalid al-Fahad al-'adwaan.

Age: 77 years

Place: al-Kafreen

Farmer

30. Ibrahiim Muḥammad al-n'eem.

Age: 75 years

Place: al-Ṣawalḥa

Schooling: very little



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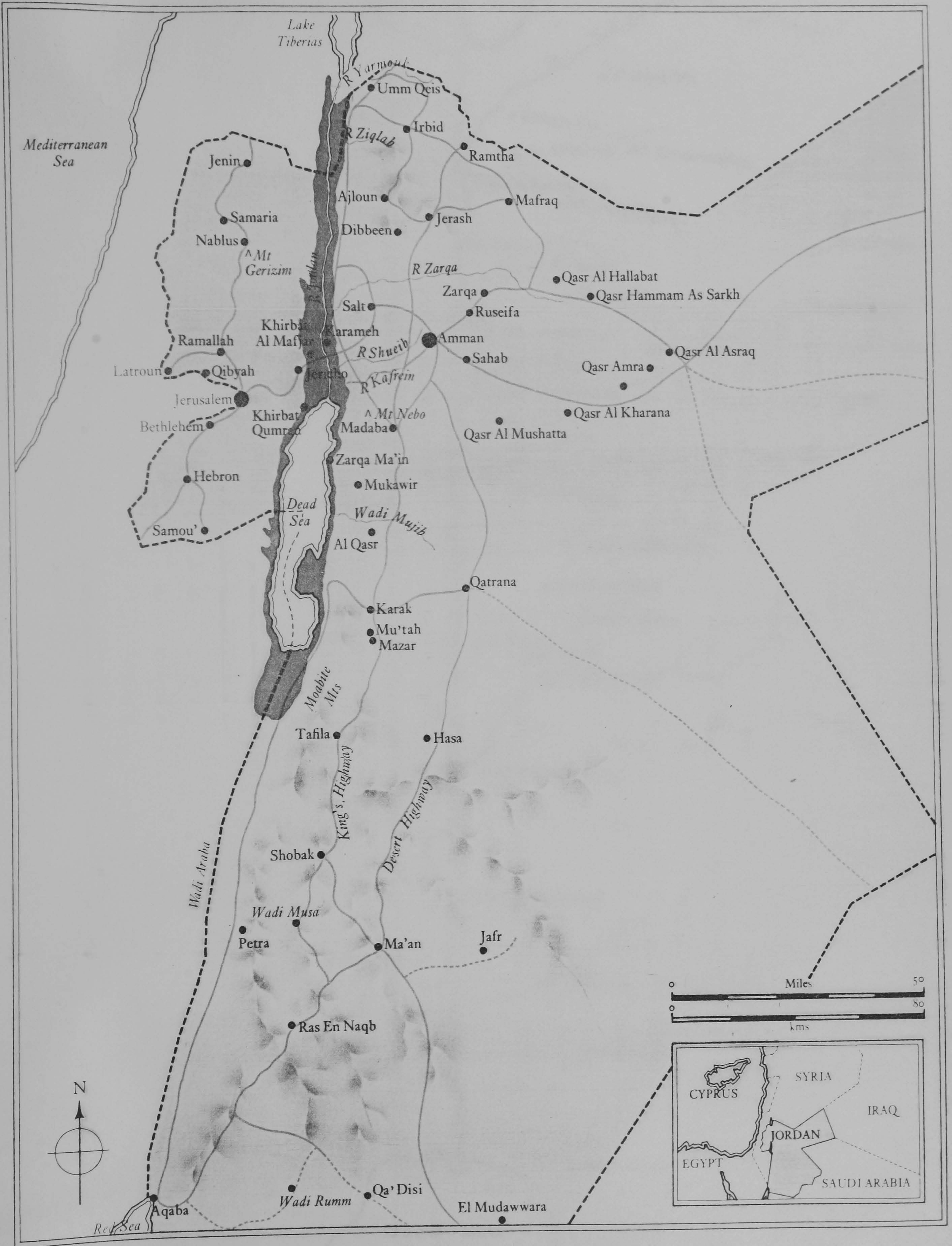
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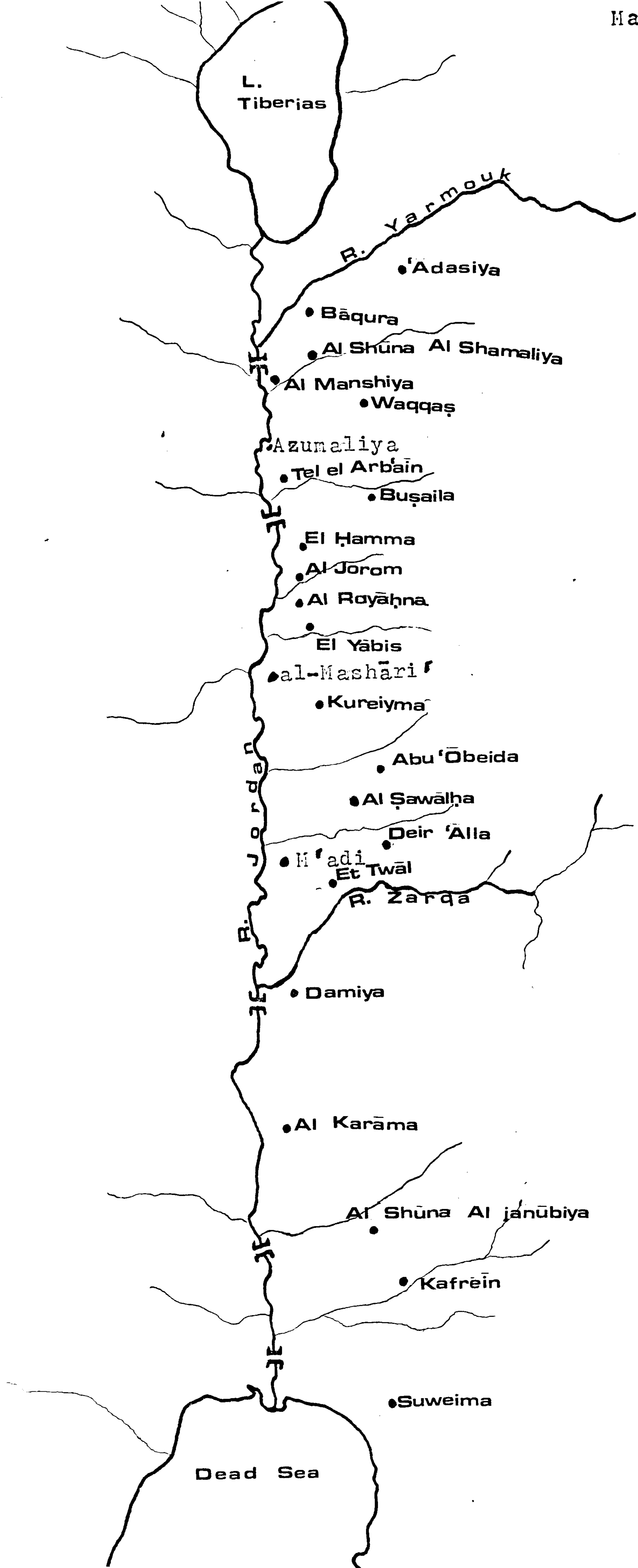
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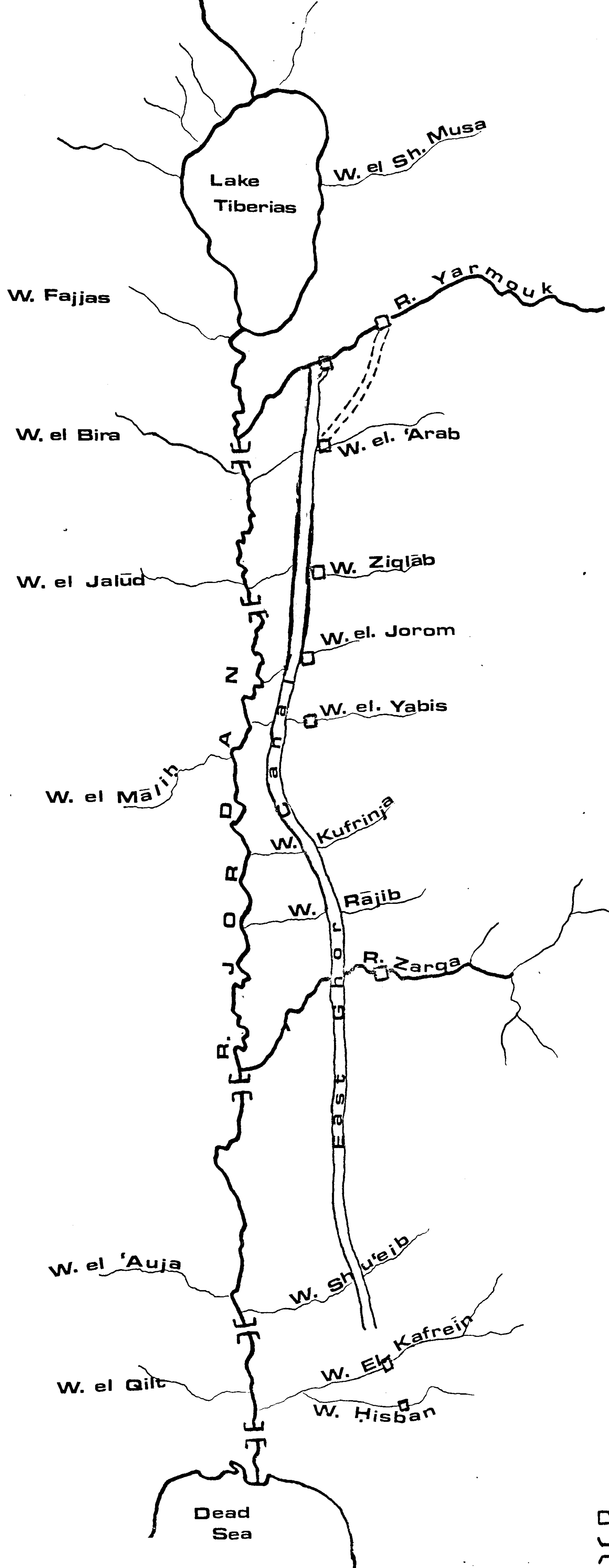


MAP 1









□ Dams  
} Bridges