# MEDITERRANEAN LANGUAGE REVIEW

edited by Matthias Kappler, Werner Arnold, Till Stellino and Christian Voß

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The MEDITERRANEAN LANGUAGE REVIEW is an interdisciplinary peer-reviewed forum for the investigation of language and culture in the Mediterranean, South-Eastern Europe and the Black Sea region. The editors of this periodical welcome articles, reviews, review articles and bibliographical surveys in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish relating to the following aspects of Mediterranean languages, past and present:

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# Contents

Articles	
Stefan Bojowald Zu einigen Wortspielen mit dem altägyptischen Götternamen "inpw" "Anubis"	1
Fruma Zachs & Aharon Geva-Kleinberger On the Path to Obsolescence: Children's Songs and Nursery Rhymes from the Galilean Muslim Village of Naḥ <sup>e</sup> f	7
Gisela Procházka-Eisl A Suffix on the Move – Forms and Functions of the Turkish Suffix /-ci/ in Arabic Dialects	21
Dina Tsagari & Christina Nicole Giannikas Early Language Learning in Private Language Schools in the Republic of Cyprus: Teaching Methods in Modern Times	53
Matthias Kappler & Stavroula Tsiplakou Two Cypriot koinai? Structural and Sociolinguistic Considerations	75
Walter Puchner Studien zur Geschichte und Sprache des traditionellen Schattentheaters im Mittelmeerraum	97
Book Reviews	
Jennifer Cromwell & Eitan Grossman (eds.) Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period (Stefan Bojowald)	179
Lutz Edzard (ed.) The Morpho-Syntactic and Lexical Encoding of Tense and Aspect in Semitic (GWilhelm Nebe)	182
Bo Isaksson & Maria Persson (eds.) Clause Combining in Semitic: The Circumstantial Clause and Beyond (Assaf Bar-Moshe)	200
Ablahad Lahdo A Traitor among us. The Story of Father Yusuf Akbulut (Michael Waltisberg)	204

# On the Path to Obsolescence: Children's Songs and Nursery Rhymes from the Galilean Muslim Village of Nah<sup>e</sup>f<sup>1</sup>

Fruma Zachs & Aharon Geva-Kleinberger (University of Haifa)

# Introduction

Children in Muslim and Arab societies have always been exposed to stories, nursery rhymes and lullabies, as in other cultures.<sup>2</sup> One well-known example is that of the wife of the beneficent poet Hātim at-Tā'iyy (who died at the end of the sixth century) Māwiyah al-Ghassaniyyah who told her two children a story during a harsh drought year when they could not fall asleep because they were hungry. The text uses the genre of  $ta'l\bar{l}l$ , meaning literary "distraction". Alliteration suggests a logical linguistic connection to the Palestinian lexeme  $tahl\bar{l}l$  "lullaby", which has the local dialectological synonym of  $tahm\bar{l}m$ , which is also onomatopoetic. On the other hand  $tahm\bar{l}m$  means the act of hamming, which can be connected to the act of "rocking cradles and bassinets".

In recent decades the number of endangered songs has raised, especially among the younger generation, as a result of media exposure, both Western and otherwise, globalization, modernization and easy access to popular recorded music. Thus longterm oral traditions risk lexical obsolescence and with them the disappearance of traditional local culture. These tendencies are even more apparent in Palestinian society, which is influenced by the Israeli Hebrew-speaking culture.

In general, lullabies are sung in emotional way to children from birth. Lullabies vary in style, rhythm and other linguistic components depending on their geographical distribution. However, their purpose is always the same: to develop an attachment between mothers and their children. Lullabies distract and send children off to sleep through their continuous repetition of soothing rhythms. Lullabies also introduce the infant to language, poetry and music and constitute one of the infant's first forms of verbal exchanges with caretaking adults and the social milieu (Leštarić 2006: 8). Lullabies and nursery rhymes in Arab cultures as well are a product of oral tradition and can be defined as a subgenre of oral literature and folklore (Leštarić 2006: 5). Though these songs probably dominated the world of Arab children, they are rarely preserved in written form.<sup>3</sup> They are traditionally thought of as reflecting mothers' love, and wishes for the child's prosperous future and peaceful sleep. They

We dedicate this article to the Ismāʿīl family in Naḥ<sup>c</sup>f, who opened their homes and hearts to us.
 For more on children and childhood in Islam see Giladi 1992.

<sup>3</sup> The missionary Henry Harris Jessup documented many Arab lullabies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Jessup 1882).

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touch on pain and sorrow, language learning, as well as the socialization of the child and the teaching of values.<sup>4</sup> This goes beyond the functional transition from activity to slumber and in many cases it provides the child a sense of wellbeing and confidence. Most nursery rhymes and lullabies have repeatable lines with a rhythm, and abound with animal subjects and motifs (each region with its own).<sup>5</sup> More than that, the fear of the mother for her child is reflected in saddest melodies and most melancholy texts of the lullabies. Thus, these nursery rhymes also offered stress relief not only for children but also for their mothers. Lullabies sung live, can decreasing the stress parents associate with premature infant care. The mother is singing as much to herself as to the baby. Lyrics to lullabies can indeed be interpreted as a reflection of the caregiver's emotions. When the mother sing to her child she is alone, nobody is listening, and she can express the feelings that are not acceptably expressed in society.<sup>6</sup>

Several lullabies, which are still sung by the Galilean Arab population, emphasize mothers' anxiety over losing their children. They express their fear of not being able to see the marriage of their children with their own eyes in their lifetime. Recent studies have attempted to map deeper levels of feelings, relationships and sensibilities that reveal subculture and emotional voices in the sphere of ideas and ideologies.<sup>7</sup> As Pernau-Reifeld noted, emotions are not anthropological constants but are partly historical and contextual (Pernau-Reifeld 2015: 13).

This article documents the ways in which lullabies and nursery rhymes capture the attitudes or standards that a society, or definable groups within a society (in our case the women of Nah<sup>e</sup>f), hold regarding basic emotions and their appropriate expression. This is different from examining emotions per se, which are the individual experiences of the emotions conveyed through lullabies and nursery rhymes (Stearns & Stearns 1985: 813). Specifically, it is argued that lullabies and nursery rhymes are socio-cultural and emotional repositories that can shed light on attitudes toward children and childhood. Morrison pointed out: "The experiences of children were sometimes closely linked to the experiences of women but were nonetheless different" (Morrison 2015: 97).<sup>8</sup>

This study is based on fieldwork in the Upper-Galilean Muslim village of Nah<sup>e</sup>f with three generations of women from one family.<sup>9</sup> Although our research relies on a corpus that includes 20 lullabies, we examine the structure, rhythm, content and language of five Galilean Arab lullabies and nursery rhymes, which are still preserved in some villages in the region. These are termed quintuple-chained lullabies

<sup>4</sup> For more details on the universal characteristics of nursery rhymes, see Hilton, Styles & Watson 1997: 4–8.

<sup>5</sup> For example, in Sudan some lullables from the 1970s refer to dogs (AshShareef 1995: 110).

<sup>6</sup> See for other examples http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/many-lullabies-murder-ballads/

<sup>7</sup> See for example Olsen 2015; Laffan & Weiss 2012; Liliequist 2012.

<sup>8</sup> See also Leštarić 2006: 1 and 9.

<sup>9</sup> We interviewed three generations of the Ismā'īl family: the grandmother Jamīla (aged 100), the mother Fatme Hāmid 'Ismā'īl (aged 66), and the aunt Hadīje (aged 79).

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since they constitute a chain of five songs. They are taken from the same sources although each has its own raison d'être and its own title. We argue that these Galilean Arabic lullabies and nursery rhymes are cultural and linguistically reflections that can shed light on key emotions elicited by children and childhood that can also provide a better understanding of mother-child relationships. They reveal not only the private world of mothers and children, and thus the world that children live in, but also the way women sustain their language discourse and attitudes toward children. They disclose what Walter Andrews called "traces of the emotional lives of past people by examining and interpreting the many and varied artifacts of their cultures and their actions" (Andrews 2012: 21–47).

# The Quintuple-Chained Lullabies

In Palestinian dialects a lullaby is called  $tahl\bar{l} \sim tihl\bar{l}$  or  $tahl\bar{l}i$  (plural  $tihlil\bar{a}t$  or  $tahal\bar{l}l$ ).<sup>10</sup> The verb form is in the second stem *hallal* but it is only used in the feminine form *hallalat* (perfect) and *thallil* (imperfect). In the masculine this verb takes on the slightly different meaning of "reading the first Sūra of the Qur'ān (*al*- $F\bar{a}tiha$ )"; and also the recitation of  $tihl\bar{l}li$  for a deceased person, when this tradition is accompanied by the preparation of a meal especially for the poor who have attended the funeral or have come to offer their condolences.<sup>11</sup> This verb uses the same root in the tenth stem, where it means in Modern Standard Arabic "to begin" (أستول). Additionally, the root הלל

During the recordings of the women of the Ismā<sup>•</sup>īl family we heard several lullabies on various themes. One is sung when the mother bathes her baby: it is entitled *Sālem rawwaḥ 'a-blādo* (Salem returned to his village); another lullaby sung during the bath is "Where were you bathed" (*wēn ḥammamūk*<sup>13</sup>); years later it is sung before the young man's wedding, harking back to his childhood. The third lullaby, alluding to the child's future, expresses the mother's concern over losing contact with her children when they grow up: "Oh those who go on the pilgrimage of the Prophet" (*ya-za'irīn innabi*<sup>14</sup>). We also heard a lullaby sung to a child who is ill, including references from the last two Qur'ānic sūras (113, 114 *al-Mu'awwidatāni*), to protect him; finally, the fifth is a lullaby sung during the vegetable harvest (*il-ḥalīši*) when the mother is hurrying home to suckle her baby.

<sup>10</sup> *Tahlīli* is the Galilean feminine form; see Barghouthi 2001: 1294–1295. See also Serhan 1989:
49; Serhan calls the lullabies in Modern Standard Arabic "aġānī ssarīr" (literally: "cradle songs").

<sup>11</sup> Barthélemy (1935: 872) – "*halhal, yhálhel* «pleurer une mort (: Druse)»". Compare also Denizeau (1960: 542) – "pousser des cris de joie, acclamer".

<sup>12</sup> Compare Hebrew *haleluyā*; Gesenius (1962: 182) also notes that the Arabic root  $\sqrt{h-l-l}$  has a semantic connection to the word  $\omega$  which means in this context "new moon".

<sup>13</sup> In this lullaby the child is called ayyū (< عيوق\*) "handsome".

<sup>14</sup> See Serhan (1989: 49) – a lullaby entitled قالت الغزالة للنبي (Mohammad)".

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## Structure and Rhythm

In general, the lyrics and rhythms of lullabies are simple and repetitive. Many have musical humming. The iambic meter and trochaic meter, unrelated to classical poetry are used. The songs have a religious flavour and rhythm reminiscent of that of the *mu'addin*, and repeatable lines and words. Some with trills and rhythm, some are mystical. Yet the most interesting lullabies of all are a chain of five songs. All five lullabies are improvisations by the mother and most drawn on a similar content-related reservoir

All these quintuple lullables have the same objective of sending the child off to sleep, protecting him/her from the Evil Eye, especially that of the relatives, which is the most harmful, and from disease. Sometimes the Evil Eye refers to strangers  $(\dot{g}ar\bar{a}yib)$ .<sup>15</sup> The use of this word "strangers" in the lullaby *ma-hla layāli lhana* (How nice are the nights of happiness!) creates a depressing mood.

There is no order in the singing of these five lullabies. The mother begins with one, and can switch at random to another, according to circumstances. The five lullabies are the following: "Oh eyes of the beloved" (*ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib*); "Oh bird" (*ya-tēr*); "How nice are the nights of happiness!" (*ma-ḥla layāli lhana*); "Sleep slowly-slowly, oh my love!" (*nām ninni ninni ya-ḥabībi*); and "I will sing you a lullaby" (*?Ahallílak*, *?Ahallílak*). Occasionally the lullabies contain inner rhyming:

- ninni ya-'asfūr ilžinni (Fall asleep, oh bird of paradise!)

More frequently, in each lullaby, two verses rhyme:<sup>16</sup>

*fi lhana nāmu w 'Alla yhannīku* (Sleep in tranquillity and may God make you content)

bațlub min 'Alla ssa 'ādi tižīku (I will pray to God for your happiness)

Even three sequential rhyming verses (AAA) are found:<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> A core topic in traditional Arab lullabies is the belief in superstitions such as the Evil Eye, which is found in several songs and reflects the belief that some words have magical power to harm their children. Over the centuries certain Arab lullabies became magical poetic-musical creations, and were considered powerful means of defence against the Evil Eye and evil demons (e.g., the  $g\bar{u}l$  or ginn, Nuşş <sup>i</sup>Nşēş, are often mentioned), which were an important part of the traditional local culture. The popular motif of the role is repeated in many songs. There is also a female  $g\bar{u}l$  – the  $g\bar{u}la$ . If someone gets close to her she can turn him into a stone. She loves to devour children and she cannot control this lust. There is also a dwarf called Amsis. The last one is Divas, the manipulator, who likes to fight the  $g\bar{u}l$ , which the child fears. Children can identify with him since they are small creatures that fight the  $g\bar{u}l$ . Quotes from the Qur'ān are sometimes incorporated into the songs or use the name of '*Allah* or the prophet to protect the child from the Evil Eye or from these creatures. Sometimes the language is deliberately unclear (comparable to mystical or magic language). The mention of these creatures was also intended to teach or frighten children if they misbehaved.

<sup>16</sup> See table va-'en ilhabāvib.

<sup>17</sup> See table ya-ter.

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nāmu bi-lhana w rabbi yhannīku (Sleep in tranquillity and may God make you content)
 w baţlub min 'Aḷḷa yiḥmīku (And I will pray to God to protect you)
 w baţlub min 'Aḷḷa ssa ʿādi tižīku (And I will pray to God that happiness will come upon you)

Less frequent are three rhyming verses in a four verses structure (AABA):<sup>18</sup>

fūl w fūl w hinda''a (broad bean and another broad bean and sweet clover) ša 'ro 'iš'ar w mna''a (His hair is blond and free of lice) w illi habbo bi-būso (Those who love him kiss him) w ill(i) baġdo šū bitla''a (And those who hate him – what will they gain from it?)

The mother's feelings can be sensed through the repeating verses. Each of the five contains the same ideas and even comprises or quotes the same verses with minor changes. Thus the mother can return to  $Ya-t\bar{e}r$  (Oh bird) from *Ma-hla layāli lhana!* (How nice are the nights of happiness!), since this lullaby also mentions a bird. During the recordings each participating woman tried to complete differently the verses of the woman who sang the songs.

'Ahallilak, 'Ahallilak! (I will sing to you a lullaby! I will sing to you a lullaby!), is sung to an entirely different melody. The last syllable in most of the verses is prolonged, creating an overall altered intonation inconsistent Arabic: with intonation rules of Galilean dialects, and thus with the Nah<sup>e</sup>f dialect as well. The expected syllable stress of the lullaby's title, which is repeated in the lullaby itself, does not follow the rules of Palestinian dialect: it should be 'Ahállilak not Ahallílak.<sup>19</sup> Most of the closing verses extend the final vowels, especially in verbs. Here are some examples:

- *fidda w bundu' w tūl darbak 'asirrá:k* (instead of 'asírrak) (With a [cargo] of silver and hazelnuts and I will accompany you along your way)
- yhannikú (instead of yhannīku) (Will make you content)
- *yxallikú* (instead of *yxallīku*) ([May God] guard you!)
- *yințikú* (instead of *yințīku*) (Will give you)
- $ti\tilde{z}\bar{\imath}k$  (instead of  $ti\tilde{z}\bar{\imath}k$ ) (Will come to you)
- *ykattirkū* (instead of *ykattirku*) ([May God] make you many)
- *tiḥmikū*: (instead of *tiḥmīku*) (Will guard you)

Prolongation in the closing verse occurs not only in the last syllable of verbs but also sporadically in words that belong to the semantic field of "sleep" as a noun or as a verb in various inflections:

<sup>18</sup> See table ya- 'ēn ilhabāyib.

<sup>19</sup> Normally in Palestinian dialects the first syllable that contains a vcc (vowel-consonant-consonant) at the end of the word is stressed.

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- *namú* (instead of *nāmu*) (fall asleep!)
- w ma'a ladīd innō:m (instead of innōm) (With a sweet dream)
- w ' $\bar{e}n$  il $\mu$ a'' ma-nam $\bar{a}$ :t (instead of ma<sup>20</sup>-n $\bar{a}$ mat) (Although the eyes of the Mighty never sleep<sup>21</sup>)
- nāmu ya-mma nāmú: (instead of nāmu) (Fall asleep, sweety, fall asleep!)
- ya- 'ēn il-habāyib nā:m (instead of nām) (Oh eyes of the beloved, fall asleep!)
- *w bi-lhanā namū:* (instead of *nāmu*) ([Fall asleep] with a happy dream)

This creates a soporific atmosphere  $n\bar{a}mat$  ' $\bar{e}nak$  w ' $\bar{e}ni$  ma-' $i\bar{z}\bar{a}ha$   $nn\bar{o}:m$  (instead of  $nn\bar{o}m$ ) (Your eyes have already fallen asleep, but mine have not). The use of a different type of music to chant this lullaby can be seen as reminiscent of lamentation and wailing. The mother who recited this lullaby had indeed lost her son, and during the recordings she wept. 'Ahallilak, 'Ahallilak!, is the type of lullaby that reflects mothers' fear of losing their children. This may account for the semantic field of the word tahlīla, which in addition to meaning "lullaby" in Palestinian dialects also means the reading of the first sūra (al-Fātiha) for the deceased and the traditional preparation of a meal for the poor who attended the funeral.<sup>22</sup>

#### Content

The repeatedly similes of the image of the baby or a little child are described as tiny and precious things; e.g., a bird of Paradise ('asfūr ilžinni) or a broad bean (fūl); a sweet-clover (hinda"a). Palestinian dialects have diminutive forms, but they are not found in all these quintuple chain lullables, which use similes and not diminutive words. These five lullabies seem to refer both boys and girls since many verbs appear in the plural. The mothers sing, "May God will increase your numbers," meaning "the number of children" which is understood as generalizing. The child in these lullables is described as beautiful, normally with hair of the rare blond colour that clean and free of lice. Sleep itself is called  $n\bar{o}m$ , which sometimes also stands for "dreams". The child is always loved and beloved by his mother; other relatives can be loved, albeit sometimes harmful with their envious Evil Eye. Trees figure in the lullables such as the mulberry  $(t\bar{u}t)$  and fig  $(t\bar{n})$ .<sup>23</sup> This may suggest a direct influence from the Lebanese region.<sup>24</sup> The figure of the mother in the plot of the lullabies does everything she can for her child in a "One thousand and One nights" atmosphere, as she loads camels with silver and nuts for her child. The mother's fear of possible misfortunes that may befall her child is often repeated: sadly, he or she will not reach maturity. Another possible interpretation is that some of the lullabies

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<sup>20</sup> See more details in Geva-Kleinberger 2004: 6061.

<sup>21</sup> Compare Sūrat al-Baqara, verse 255 "Neither drowsiness overtakes Him nor sleep".

<sup>22</sup> Barghouthi 2001: 1295.

<sup>23</sup> Compare to the lullaby fēn hammamūk? ("Where have you been bathed?"): hammamūni taht issirrīs ("I was bathed under the mastic tree [Pistacia lentiscus]"). This word rhymes with the word عريس (bridegroom) and plays a role in the Palestinian wedding tradition.

<sup>24</sup> See for more details Geva-Kleinberger 2017: 31-47.

were sung to sick children to calm them. The atmosphere is purely Islamic, which corresponds to the religion of the singing mothers of Nah<sup>e</sup>f. This includes the pilgrimage toponyms of Wādi Muna, the repeated names of the prophet Muhammad and the reference to other prophets such as Jesus (who is mentioned here as an Islamic prophet) and Moses. The mother utters prayers in her lullabies, without using the word "prayer" (*salā*) explicitly. This is accomplished by the repeated use of the word "may" (*rēt*) which is affixed to words meaning "health" (*sihḥa* and '*awāfi*). Health is vouchsafed by sweet sleep (ladīd innōm) and tranquillity (*nōmit fadā ilbāl*). This calm atmosphere is shattered by horrific, disturbing descriptions by the mother, when she sings to her child, "I will slaughter a pigeon-chick for you" (*t-id-baḥlak ṣūṣ ilḥamām*).<sup>25</sup>

# Language

In general, the lexicon used in the lullabies is very simple, and verses are repeated. The dialect of these women of Nah<sup>e</sup>f village was heard in both the conversations that were recorded and in the phonetics of the lullabies themselves. This rural Palestinian dialect, which during the twentieth century became semi-urban, is characterized by the penetration of the Hamza instead of the ancient \*q; but it firmly retains some *fellāhi*-remnants such as the use of inter-dentals. Analysis of the lullabies suggested that the loss of the Hamza occurred first in the Nah<sup>e</sup>f dialect. The dialect of the women's circle was more urban than the dialect of the same family's men, although this has been documented in other Galilean villages, such as in 'Arrābi and Saxnīn.

The use of the word *ninni* in the "quintuple lullabies" is quite interesting. Semantically it refers to the process of "falling asleep", for example,  $n\bar{a}mu$  ninni "Fall asleep!" This word also rhymes with *žinni*, meaning "paradise". Sometimes it can be understood semantically as "a slow falling asleep" ( $n\bar{a}mu$  ninni ninni). It is surprising that the Turkish lexeme denoting "lullaby" is also ninni, so one can reasonably assume that this word penetrated Galilean Arabic during the four centuries of Ottoman rule in the region and thus it can be a Turkish Ottoman loan word. Thus the word made a slightly semantic shift from "lullaby" to "gradual falling asleep", an interpretation, which is reinforced by its repeated syllables, which create an onomatopoetic atmosphere. Note that in other languages as Italian the word denotes "a lullaby" (*ninna nanna*); and repeated syllables have the magical effect of "sending off to sleep". These syllables are found in Greek ( $N\alpha voipio\mu a$ ) and Albanian *Ninulla* as well. Thus the same lexical use is found in several cultures around the Mediterranean Sea.

The interviews with the women we recorded suggested that the actual use of lullabies in the Galilee region is in decline. The younger generation does not know these lullabies by heart, and even the youngest children do not know them at all (young children were also present during the recordings). Today young mothers no

<sup>25</sup> Granqvist 1947.

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longer sing lullabies to their children; on the one hand it is not fashionable, and on the other they do not know the words.

ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib	Oh eyes of the beloved
nāmu ninni ya- ʿēn ilḥabāyib nāmu	Fall asleep, oh eyes of the beloved,
	fall asleep
ninni ya-'aṣfūr ilžinni	Fall asleep, oh bird of paradise!
ya- 'ēn ilḥabāyib nāmu	Sleep, oh eyes of the beloved
t-idbaḥlak ṣūṣ ilḥamām	I will slaughter a pigeon-chick for
	you
ya-ḥamām la-tṣaddi'	Oh pigeon, do not believe
baḍḥak 'alē ta-ynām	I will laugh at him, so he will sleep
fūl w fūl <sup>26</sup> w ḥinda''a	A broad bean and another broad
	bean and sweet clover
ša'ro 'iš'ar w mna''a	His hair is blond and free of lice
w illi ḥabbo bi-būso	Those who love him – kiss him
w illi baġdo šū bitla''a	And those who hate him – what
	gain will they derive from it
ya- ʿēn ilḥabāyib nāmu	Sleep, oh eyes of my beloved
fi lhana nāmu w 'Aḷḷa yhannīku	Sleep in tranquillity and may God
	make you content
bațlub min 'Aḷḷa ssa ʿādi tižīku	I will pray to God for your happi- ness
ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib nāmu	Oh eyes of my beloved, sleep
bi-ḥʃađt-'Aḷḷa w bi-ḥmāyit 'Aḷḷa w rasūlo	In the shelter of God and his Pro- phet
nāmu ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib nāmu	Sleep, oh eyes of my beloved, sleep well
nāmat 'yūnak w 'ēn ilḤa'' ma-nāmat	Your eyes slept, but the eyes of the Mighty never sleep
nām ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib nām	Sleep, oh eyes of my beloved, sleep well
nām bi-lhana w innōm	Sleep in tranquillity and deep sleep
rēt il 'awāfi tižīku ma'a ladīd innōm	May health come to you accompa-
	nied by sweet sleep
nāmu w 'Aļļa yiḥmīku	Sleep and God will protect you
(~ nāmu w 'Aḷḷa yhannīku)	(~ Sleep and Good will make you content)
rēt işşiḥḥa min 'ind 'Aḷḷa tižīku	May wellbeing come to you from God

26 According to Fatme Hamid 'Isma'īl.

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ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib nāmu	Sleep, oh eyes of my beloved, sleep well
w nōmit fađā ilbāl	In a sleep of peacefulness
nōmit 'Īsa w Mūsa	Sleep of Jesus and Moses
bi-ḥifđ ižžbāl bi-žžbāl	Like a mountain fortress
nāmu nōmit ilḥužžāž bi-Wādi Muna nāmu	Sleep as deep as the pilgrims to
	Wādi Muna sleep

ya-țēr	Oh bird
ya-ṭēr, ya-ṭēr, sallem 'aššiš bi-'ibāb ittūt	Oh bird, oh bird, say farewell nest amidst the branches of the mulberry tree
w iḥbis ʿala daġn ilḥabāyib	And please protect from the abhor- rence of relatives
la-txalli yfūt, ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib	Do not allow it enter you, the evil eye of relatives
nāmu bi-lhana w rabbi yhannīku	Sleep in tranquillity and may God make you happy
w baṭlub min ʾAḷḷa yiḥmīku	And I will pray to God to protect you
w baṭlub min ʾAḷḷa issa ʿāde tižīku	And I will pray to God that happi- ness will come upon you
ya-'ēn elḥabāyib nāmu	Oh eyes of my beloved, sleep well
bi-ḥifiđ 'Aḷḷa nāmu	Under the watchfulness of God, sleep well
bi-ḥifið Mḥammad rasūl ʾAḷḷa	And under the watchfulness of Muhammad, the prophet of Allah
ya-tēr, ya-tēr, <sup>c</sup> aššiš bi-'ibāb ittīn	Oh bird, oh bird, say farewell nest amidst the branches of the fig tree
w iḥbis ʿala daġn ilḥabāyib	May you be protected from the evil eye of relatives
ma-txallī miskīn	Do not make him destitute
nāmu yaṃṃa nāmu bi-lhana w innōm	Sleep, sweety, sleep in happiness and deep sleep
rēt il 'awāfì tižiku ma 'a laḏīḏ innōm	May happiness come to you with a sweet sleep
ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib nāmu	Sleep, oh my beloved eyes, sleep well
rēt 'Aḷḷa yhannīku	And may Allah make you happy

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ma-ḥla layāli lhana!	How nice are the nights of happiness!
ma-ḥla yaṃṃa layāli lhana	How nice, sweety, are the nights of happiness
ma-ḥla layalīku	How nice are your nights
ma-ḥla layāli lhana	How nice are the nights of happi- ness
murr w wa''if fō' ḥalítna	Fly and stay in our neighbourhood
'ūl ya-ṭēr la- 'ahli	Please tell, oh bird, my family
w 'ana kīf ḥalítna	How is our situation
ḥalítna yaṃṃa w ḥalítna b-ḥālit ilġarāyib	Our situation, sweety, is like the situation of strangers
nām ninni ninni ya-ḥabībi	Sleep slowly-slowly, oh my love!
nām ninni ninni ya-ḥabībi	Sleep slowly-slowly, oh my love!
yaļļa tadbhlak sūs ilhamām	Go ahead, since I would like to slaughter a pigeon-chick for you
'Aļļa ykabbrak w ynažžīk	May God grow you and make you survive
ya-yuṃṃa 'Aḷḷa yiḥmīk	Oh sweety, may God protect you
'Aļļa ykabbrak w ynažžīk	May God grow you and make you survive
w-yaḷḷa ynām, yaḷḷa ynām	Please fall asleep, please fall asleep
w 'Alla yiḥmīk	And may God protect you
nām ninni ninni	Fall asleep slowly-slowly
w 'Aḷḷa yiḥmīk, ya-yaṃṃa	And may God protect you, oh sweety!
'Ahallílak, 'Ahallílak!	I will sing you a lullaby!
ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib yaṃṃa 'ahallílak, 'ahallílak!	Oh eyes of my beloved, oh sweety! I will sing you a lullaby, I will sing you a lullaby
w sab' <sup>i</sup> žmāl 'aḥammiláːk	And I will load for you seven camels
fiđđa w bundu' w ṭūl darbak 'asirrá:k	With a [cargo] of silver and hazel- nuts and I will accompany you along your way
ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib nāmu bi-lhaná namú:	Oh eyes of my beloved, fall asleep
nōmi haniyyi w nōmit fađāt ilbāl	In a happy sleep and tranquillity
nāmu yaṃṃa bi-lhanā nāmu	Fall asleep in happiness
bi-riʿāyit 'Aḷḷa yhannikú:	Under the patronage of God; he will make you content

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nāmu bi-lhanā innōm	Fall asleep in a sweet dream
пāти уатта пāти	Fall asleep, sweety, fall asleep
w 'ēni ma- 'ižāha nnōm	But my eyes did not sleep
nāmu, nāmu, rē:t, rabbi yxallikú:	Please fall asleep, may God watch
	over you!
w baṭlub ʾAḷḷā, baṭlub, yaṃṃa	I pray to God, sweety, I pray
issa'ādi min 'Aḷḷā yințikú:	That happiness will come to you
	from God
nāmat 'ēnak w 'ē:ni ma-'ižā:ha nnō:m	Your eyes have already slept, but
	mine have not
rēt il 'awāfi ya-ṃṃa tižī:k	May health, sweety, come to you
w ma'a ladīd innō:m	With a sweet dream
nāmat 'ēnak yaņma	May your eyes see sleep, sweety
w 'ēːn ilḤa'' ma-namā:t	Although the eyes of the Mighty
	never sleep
nāmu ya-ṃṃa nāmú:	Fall asleep, sweety, fall asleep!
<i>w rabbi yxallikū:</i> (sic)	May God watch over you
rēt min 'ind 'Aḷḷā, ya-yaṃṃa	May it come from God, oh sweety!
issa <sup>c</sup> ādi tižikū: (sic)	And happiness will come to you
ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib nāːm	Oh eyes of my beloved, fall asleep
w bi-lhanā namū: (sic)	In a happy dream
ya-'ēn ilḥabāyib rēːt	Oh eyes of my beloved, may
rabbi yiḥmikū: (sic)	God protect you!
ya-ḷḷa yaṃṇa rabb ya-ʿalī: (sic)	Go ahead, sweety, oh mighty God
fađāt ilbāl w issiḥḥa yi ʿtikū: (sic)	May he give you tranquillity and
	health
nā:m w nāmu rē:t	Please fall asleep, fall asleep!
<i>Aḷḷa yka<u>tt</u>irkū:</i> (sic)	May God make you many
w baṭlub min 'Aḷḷā yaṃṃa	And I pray to God, oh sweety
<i>b-žāhak w ma-y 'allilkū:</i> (sic)	For your sake and may he not
	make you few
nāmu w 'Aļļā yhannikū: (sic)	Fall asleep and may God make you
	happy
nāmu yaļļa, b-rē:t	Fall asleep, go ahead, may
issa ʿādi thūtku w tihmikū: (sic)	Happiness surround and guard you!

## Conclusion

This article set out to show that lullabies and nursery rhymes are an emotional and language repository whose content and meaning should be taken into account since they reveal emotional and linguistic attitudes to children and childhood. They also present the nature and habits of the private world of mothers and their children. Our fieldwork in the Muslim Upper-Galilean village of Nah<sup>e</sup>f shows that this chain of

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five songs highlights the mothers' emotions and deep fear for their children. This is perhaps why the songs are reminiscent of a prayer or an emotional plea, as we saw in the mother's reaction to the song 'Ahallilak, 'Ahallilak!, when recalling her departed son. Clearly, concern for children is the central issue in most of the lullabies and songs in Nah<sup>e</sup>f, whose content is similar to that of some 19<sup>th</sup>-century lullabies in this region. This anxiety was driven by illness and high infant mortality. It also explains the semantic field of the word tahlīla, which in addition to meaning "lullaby" in Palestinian dialects also means the reading of the first sūra (al-Fātiha) for the dead. Finally, a comparison of Nah<sup>e</sup>f's present-day lullabies with those from the same region two centuries ago, a time when the sanitary conditions were worse (Zachs 2013: 113–128).<sup>27</sup> Koselleck noted that emotions are both indicators and factors of historical [but also language] change; they both reflect historical transformations and bring them about (Koselleck 2011: 36). This kind of research is needed for Arabic lullabies and nursery songs that may be lost forever if not documented in the near future.

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<sup>27</sup> We have only few examples of written Arab lullabies from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, mostly in the English translation of American missionaries active in the Greater Syria region. We used these songs as a point of comparison to the 20<sup>th</sup>-century Palestinian songs of Nah<sup>e</sup>f (this Palestinian region was part of Greater Syria in the 19<sup>th</sup> century). The latter appear to have been influenced by the Lebanon region. On Lebanese and Syrian lullabies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century see Jessup 1872: 3–139 (especially the children chapter), 1874, 1882; Kiyani & Hashahi 2013: 91–114; Zachs (forthcoming).

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