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The Last Informant: A Text in the Jewish Arabic Dialect of Pqīṣīn

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1. Background

Pqīṣīn is a mixed hill-top village in Upper Galilee, west of Mount Meiron (Jabal Jarmaq). Most of the inhabitants are Druze; but among a minority of Christians and a few Muslim families there is also one Jewish woman, Mārgalit (Žōhara) Zināti.¹ In 1976 three members of this Jewish family were still living in this village, whereas according to the 1931 census under the British Mandate, there were 52 Jews, 71 Muslims, 264 Christians and 412 Druze.² The name Pqīṣīn is pronounced Pqīṣīn in Modern Hebrew. The local Druze community calls it *il-Bqēša* (Little Valley) and the Christians and the Jewish informant pronounce this *il-B?ēša*.³ According to a local tradition, the Jewish community of the village never emigrated from the Holy Land to the Diaspora. For this reason there has been interest in this Jewish family since the time of the second President, Yitshāk Ben-Tsvi, who regarded the Zinātis as a symbol of ancient Jewish roots, particularly in the Galilee and in Eretz Israel as a whole. Ben-Tsvi also made an effort to preserve the village synagogue, which had been built in 1873.

During the uprising of 1936-38 the Jews of Pqīṣīn found themselves in a dangerous situation. Most of the vicinity was under the rule of Arab insurrectionist groups who accused the tiny Jewish community of cooperation with the English authorities. Some Muslims of the village wanted to burn the informant's father alive. There was a swift Jewish

¹ Born in 1928. The recording was made on 05.11.2002 in Pqīṣīn. The text is in the archive of Palestinian dialects at the University of Haifa: *il-Bqēša* 1, 0,00-7,44.

² Vilnai (1986), p. 6122.

³ On the etymology of *al-Buqaiša*, see al-Hilou (1986), p. 72: "Dieser Name wird für zwei Ortschaften überliefert, von denen die erste zu *Ṭarablūs* gehoerte (soe. von *Batrūn*) und die zweite in Galilāa zu *Ṣafad* (westl. davon). Die Namensform ist ein ar. Diminutiv zu *Biqša*, aram. *Biqšā*."

immigration from the village, as described in the text presented in this article. The village was occupied by the Israeli forces on 31 October 1948, during the Hiram Operation. Also in 1948, shortly before Israeli troops entered the village, certain Muslims again tried to set fire to the father of the informant. Seven years later, a new Pqīṣṣīn (Pqiṣṣīn ha-Ḥadašá) was established near the ancient center. It is interesting to observe that the informant prefers the Muslims to the Druze population of the village, even though it was Muslims who wanted to incinerate her father. However, the neighbours who saved her father's life were also Muslims. The Druze of the village, in the informant's eyes, were greedy and wanted to avail themselves of her father's lands, which, according to her, they still covet today. During the recording she made insulting remarks about the Druze.⁴

2. The dialect

I have always desired to study the dialects of these particular Jews of Pqīṣṣīn. Beginning in October 1998 I have made several attempts to record the informant's speech, who appeared to be the last informant, but I always encountered the strong objections of her and she did not want to participate in any interviews. Finally, in November 2002, the great moment came.⁵ The informant agreed to speak this time, because she was rehearsing a biographical play in her house. The best I hoped for was that she would talk for several minutes so that I could catch a sense of her dialect. Unexpectedly, the informant did not stop talking for over an hour with no prompting after my initial question, which was: "Could you tell us some memories of your childhood?" During the interview, which revived painful thoughts of the past, Miss Zināti, who had never married, wept several times. Not only did she eagerly share her stories, but after the recording she showed us the inner rooms, which are parts of her authentic village house, and the synagogue, which is in her charge.

The Arabic dialect of the Jews of Pqīṣṣīn, which is reflected in the speech of the last surviving fluent Arabic-speaking informant, Žōhara Zināti, completes my fieldwork on the Judeo-Arabic dialects of the

⁴ See sentence 26.

⁵ Accompanied by my colleague, the late Prof. Rafi Talmon from the University of Haifa, and the assistant of our Palestinian Dialectological Survey, Miss Yafit Marom. Thanks also to Rīma Ḥabu Žāber.

Jews of Galilee, carried out in recent years, first in Haifa and Safed and then in Tiberias.⁶ No informants remained in Shfar'ām (Shafaf'amir), the mixed village (now city) in the Zebulun Valley. In this paper I will describe the main dialectological features of the speech of the last Pqiš'īn informant.

Phonologically, the ancient *q* always turns in the informant's speech into *hamza*, as it did in other Jewish communities in Galilee. (Pqiš'īn is the only surviving Galilean Judeo **village** dialect.⁷) In the matter of *q > ?* PGJA resembles the Christian dialect of the village rather than the Druze, which still keeps the ancient *q*. As in other Jewish communities in Galilee, there is an evident tendency towards a very weak word-final *hamza*, as in *ṭari(?)* (road).⁸ The articulation of *ʃ* is very weak in all positions, i.e. *bsa(ʃ)dūna* (39, they help us). The *ʃ* even sometimes disappears and is replaced by *Sandhi*, as in *ṭiliš* (< *ṭili ʃ iṣṣit*, 58, there were rumours).

The informant always uses *ž*, as is widespread not only among Galilean Jews but also in a very wide coastal isogloss from Jaffa in the south to Iskenderūn in the north.⁹ The most prominent and idiosyncratic phenomenon of the Pqiš'īn Jewish informant is a very back *k*, not only word-final but also anywhere in the word. I first noticed this remarkable feature in Acre (ʿAkka), a peculiarity that characterizes this city and the villages in its vicinity. This very back plosive velar *k* resembles in a way the performance of **q* in other places in Galilee, such as Nazareth. Although PGJA reflects an urban way of speaking, we often find remnants of interdental velar *q̣* in Zināti's text i.e. *q̣all* (20, remained), but the interdental *q̣* is heard only in the verb *ʔaxaḏ*, though even there it is not invariably used (to take, i.e. 19, 23 versus *ʔida* < *ʔida* 39, "if").¹⁰

⁶ Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon (2000), pp. 18-40, idem (2004); idem (2005). The dialects of the Jews of Galilee are here abbreviated as follows: Haifa (HGJA = Haifa Galilean Jewish Arabic), Peqiš'īn (PGJA); Safed (SGJA) and Tiberias (TGJA).

⁷ Compare Arnold (1998), pp. 216-217 and Jastrow (2003), pp. 3-4, 0.3.2.2.

⁸ More details in Geva-Kleinberger (2000), p. 49.

⁹ Compare Behnstedt (1997, *Atlas*), pp. 6-7 (Karte 3). See Behnstedt (1997, *Beiheft*), pp. 29, 75. On the **q* and **ž* reflexes in the coastal areas of Syria, see Behnstedt (2000), p. 109. See also Bergsträsser (1915), Tafel XXII, and Procházka (2002), pp. 16-18.

¹⁰ Compare Geva-Kleinberger (2000), p. 52.

In this text are two words, *sēfa* (55, 64, hour) and *mbēriḥ* (60, yesterday)¹¹ which are common in non-Jewish Arabic dialects in other places in Israel. The loss of the emphatic *ṣ* (*tarqīq*) is found in this text in the word *sadī(?)*, e.g. *sadī?na* (30, our friend).¹²

Sometimes PGJA shortens vowels which are normally long in Galilean Arabic dialects, such as *b-ḥali* (16, myself) instead of *b-ḥāli*, and *buy* (47, my father) instead of *būy* (a Lebanese influence in vocabulary, but with a short *u*). A *hamza* at the beginning of a word disappears in *xbar* (< *?axbār*, 64, news). The same occurs in the name *?Aḥmad Maḥmūd*, when the short *a* of the preposition *la-* comes before it, e.g. *la-Ḥmad Maḥmūd* (25, to *?Aḥmad Maḥmūd* versus *?Aḥmad Maḥmūd*, 24). The long *ī* in *mīde* (< *midde*, 55, a while) now replaces an original gemination. A *sandhi* assimilation occurs in several examples in PGJA, e.g. *Bis Saḥūr* (41, < *Bēt Saḥūr*) or the frequent usage of the informant, not only in this text, of the verb *iṭṭalaṣ* or in the first stem *ḥiliṣ*, which appears also independently and might be the idiolect *?iṭṭalaṣ ṣṣīt* (< *?iṭṭalaṣ iṣṣīt/iṣṣōt* (e.g. 14, 58) the news spread).

There is a deviation in word stress in PGJA from the normal Syro-Palestinian pattern, such as *sakanná* (30, we lived) and *raḥalná* (instead of the Galilean *raḥálna*, 28, we left). In the case of **hā-hunā* (here), the long vowel *ū* is shortened and the accent is placed on the last syllable *huná* (< *hūna*, 63, here). Likewise in **hāda* there is a tendency to shorten the long *ā* and to stress the last syllable (e.g. *hadá*, 59, this). Deviation of the accent can also occur when the last syllable is long in the non-Jewish Arabic dialect of the village of Pqīṣīn, but is performed short in PGJA with the accent on the first syllable, as in *túwwar* (< **tuwwār*, 58, rebels). Another example of the deviation of the accent in PGJA in comparison with the Druze or Christian dialects of the village is *yiržáf* (36, he will return). In *baṣḏína* (2, some of us) the stress has the Egyptian mode and is not *básḏina* as in non-Jewish Arabic dialects in Galilee. Rarely in the following text is a secondary accent on a short vowel in words that contain a long vowel, i.e. *ná?alūna* (they moved us). In some examples the placing of the accent suggests a North African Arabic influence, as is found also in TGJA and, rarely, in HGJA.

¹¹ Compare Behnstedt (2000), p. 370. See also Geva-Kleinberger (2004), p. 271.

¹² See Behnstedt (1997, *Atlas*), pp. 12-13, Karte 6.

Morphologically, there are some interesting phenomena in PGJA. As in TGJA and SGJA, PGJA has the feminine ending of *-e* and not, as in HGJA, *-i*, e.g. *knīse* (27, 51 synagogue) or *sēle* (3, family/persons).

In PGJA we find the suffixed pronoun *-ku* instead of *-kon* or *-kun* (i.e. *?axalliku* 16, I will let you). This is rare in HGJA and is not found at all in TGJA. In PGJA the independent pronoun is *hinne* (39, they) rather than the *hinnen* as in TGJA or *hinne* as in HGJA.¹³

As in TGJA, the verb *?-s-d* (< **qsd*, to sit) has a unique inflection in perfect forms and in the (active) participle, as *šadna* (< *?ašadna*, 35, we sat) versus *šidna* in TGJA, or *šadīn* (31, we are sitting, the same in PGJA and in TGJA). The second stem in PGJA has normally a very weak gemination, as in all Jewish dialects in Galilee.¹⁴ Disagreement in the verb occurs several times in the text, such as a mixture of plural and singular forms, i.e. *?ižu ittuwwār yu?til ilyahūd* (3, the rebels came to kill the Jews) instead of *yú?utlu lyahūd* in the plural. The example of *banšar issayāra* (21,22, the vehicle had a puncture) is interesting, since *issayāra* is feminine and *banšar* is masculine, as a frozen usage. As in other Arabic dialects in Galilee and elsewhere, e.g. Egypt, groups of people are considered as feminine, i.e. *ilbalad waʿfe titfarraž* (14, the whole village was standing watching).

There is some interesting vocabulary in the text. The use of *knīse* for “synagogue” (27, 51) is found also in other Jewish dialects in Galilee, although the word means “a church” in all the non-Jewish Arabic dialects.¹⁵ Another peculiar usage is *sēle* or *šyāl*. It is not clear if the informant here means “a family”, “a person/persons” or “children”.¹⁶ When she says: *tōrit tamāni w talatīn, kān xamsīn sēle yahūd* (3, (during) the uprising of thirty-six, there were fifty Jewish families here), it is not clear if she means that there were fifty “families” or 50 Jews (that is to say “persons”), which we know to have been the real number of Jews during this time in Pqīfīn. Also when she says *wēn nuskun? ?arbaš šyāl šadīn bi... sēle! b-?ōḏa* (31), it is hard to know if she means “Four chil-

¹³ Compare Spoer and Haddad (1909), pp. 4-5 *-koom* and *hoomme/hoom*. See Geva-Kleinberger (2004), pp. 76-77. See also Bauer (1913), pp. 67-69.

¹⁴ See for example sentence 20 in the text.

¹⁵ In Haifa the more common word for “synagogue” among the Jews is *knīs*, whereas *knīsī* means “a church”; see Geva-Kleinberger (2004), p. 318. *knīsī* is more frequent in SGJA and TGJA.

¹⁶ Compare Egyptian Arabic in Badawi and Hinds (1986), p. 610.

dren live in... a (whole) family! in (one) room!" or "four families" who had to leave the village during the uprising.

The informant uses Hebrew words that are used also in modern colloquial Hebrew, such as ^H*pinkás kubát ḥolím^H* (52, < *kupát ḥolím* 'sick fund booklet'). The frequency of Hebrew words is very low in PGJA in comparison with other Jewish informants from Galilee. Jewish terms are normative, such as ^H*ʔarón ha-kōdeš^{ʔH}* (52, the Holy Ark in the synagogue). Such terms sometimes even contain long vowels. But the informant does not use the term ^H*bēt ha-miqdāš^H* (the Temple) in Hebrew, as do other Jewish informants in Galilee,¹⁸ but an Arabic term, *bit ilmaʔdas* (1,2). A usage of a Hebrew root in an Arabic inflection of the verb in the second stem is *biʔáttit* (65, sends signals), from the Hebrew root *a-t-t* (*ʔotét*). Here the verb takes the normal Arabic, not the Hebrew, accent on the last syllable.

3. The Text

1. *krayāti¹⁹... xliʔna hōn. w ʔabūy ʔalli xliʔna hōn, minʔiš hōn. w kān ilbalad kulla yahūd. ʔiḥna hōn sakanīn min xarāb bit-ilmaʔdas.* 2. *xarāb bit-ilmaʔdas, ʔiḥu yahūd la-hōn, w sakanu hōn. mīn ʔiyyām hadīk la-ḥadd ilhōn. baʔdīna miš sakanīn hōn.* 3. *la-ḥadd tōrit²⁰... ʔē, tōra, ^Hta-dēša má-ze tōra, ze meʔoraʔōt^H, tōrit tamāni w talatīn, kān xamsīn ʔēle yahūd.* 4. *yahūd, raḥalu kullin, ʔinhazamu. ʔiḥu ittuwwār yuʔtil ilyahūd, ʔinhazamu,²¹ w ʔiḥna ḡallēna hōn.* 5. *ʔaxadu ʔabūy, biddon yiḥri? bi-lḥāra, šān²² hēkⁱ mnišmal hōn itamtilyye.* 6. *ʔalūlo biddon yúʔutlu, kān bi-lʔawwal... ʔalūlo šāyif ilfašake²³ hāy... ilfašake hāy ixsāra ʔalēha... nixsāra ʔala wāḥad yahūdi, šaʔfet yahūdi. biddna niḥirʔak. Ya-ʔammī,²⁴ wāḥade²⁵ [1:00] tʔim w tlaʔiʔ min ʔaḡāmak, w inḥuṭṭa b-ilbaḥir.* 7. *ʔallon*

¹⁷ Piamenta (2000), p. 248.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 197.

¹⁹ Omission of the first syllable, perhaps because the word is not part of daily usage in the dialect.

²⁰ **ʔawra* > *tōra*, construct state *tōrit*.

²¹ Compare Barthélemy (1935), p. 869.

²² In other Arabic dialects in the area also *ʔašān*.

²³ See al-Barghūti (1987), II, p. 278; Barthélemy (1935), p. 610: "une cartouche".

²⁴ Barthélemy (1935), p. 555, in Syria also *yā ʔámmo*. Literally "uncle".

²⁵ A sort of humiliation, to show that a woman will do it after his death.

?abūy ?ana baxafš min ilmōt, ?Aļļa katabli Imōt¹ mniḥ, ?Aļļa katabli lḥayāt¹ mliḥ.²⁶ ḥayāti b-īd ?Aļļa tafāla, w ilmōt b-?īd ?Aļļa tafāla. ?ana miš sākin bi-arđko wala bařfadda řalēko. ?ana sāken ib-?arđi, w baḥāfiđ řa-likniře w řala ?būr ilyahūd. 8. ?iža ?alūlo ?Abu nNažīb, lāzim niḥir?ak b-ilgāz tabafak.²⁷ 9. waḥade... w wāḥad²⁸ ?axad gāz min ilbēt. ?allā la-immi: wēn tankit ilgāz? ?alatlo: šū biddku řiḥa? řaḥku řalēha. 10. ?āl žōzik bardān biddo yitdaffa. 11. ?axadu tankat ilgāz. 12. mīn ?iža... ḥama ?abūy? ři ?Aļļa b-il?awwal. ?Aļļa w řil?inibyā. 13. ?abūḥa la-Rayya, ilmisiḥme, ḥi lwaḥidi illi biřfīdni bařid ?abūy. 14. ?iz-řtallař²⁹ ... ilxabar ři-lbalad, řinno biddin yīḥir?u zZanāti, w kull ilbalad wā?fe titfarrař kīf biddin yīḥir?u Zināti w ḥū imkattaf. 15. ?Aļļa ḥamā! ... baḥki bařir ?abki.^[2:00] zayy ilMordexáy ilyahūdi! ḥāy dūr ista?žarḥa. yřall?ū... žit...?āl la? ?ana Mordexáy! 16. ?iža ?abūḥa la-Rayya, ?allon wala mumkin! wa?řfu ḥōn! ilKur?ān maktūb řinna, sabřin sina lāzem yitḥaffaz b... řala žžār, w žžarak ilimniḥ ?aḥsan min axūk liřfīd! w ḥāda žāri b-il?ariđ w bi-lbyūt w ma-fiřř ?iři biřmal řāřil la-řarab! law bařrif minno biřmal ?iři didd ilřarab, ?ana b-ḥali (řic) bářutlo, ?ana b-ḥali (řic) buřurto.³⁰ ḥāda! ḥarām titřaddu řalē! baddak tīḥir?o w tiřmallo ?iři, tafāl ?ana b-il?awwal, w il... w marati w wlādi w bařdēn timiskū! wala yumkin ?axalliku timiskū! 17. tafāl la-Kā... Kāml³¹ ?afendi,³² kān iřsulřa ḥōn b-?īd Kāml ?afendi, ḥāda kān zayy muxtār, ḥāda miř muxtār, mislim, w ḥinne kānu li?lāl! 18. ?allon biři yōm, w biřir ḥukūmet yahūd, řa btigdar tīḥmi? - iḥmi! ḥarām tú?utlu... yīḥir?ū b-innār. 19. ?iža Kāml ?afendi, ?allon dařřrū! dařřarū,^[3:00] w rāḥu kull ilyahūd w ?abūy řall ḥōn ?axađū ḥū w ?axūy řala Ḥēfa. řallēna ?iḥna ḥōn. 20. bařid yumēn bařatūlna sayyāret ?ingliz,³³ ?axadūna řala... raḥ(h)alulna³⁴ il?awāři. žibna...

See also sentence 9.

²⁶About *mliḥ* see Palva (1965), p. 94.

²⁷For more details about the genitive exponent see Talmon (2002), pp. 713-718. See also Geva-Kleinberger (2004), pp. 85-86.

²⁸More details on this subject see Blau (1960), pp. 54-55.

²⁹< ?iřallaf iřřit (the rumours spread).

³⁰Barghūti (1998), III, p. 107: "to expel". Denizeau (1960), p. 447.

³¹*Kāmil* > *Kāml*.

³²In Turkish *efendi* (of Greek origin); see *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary* (1968), p. 326.

³³Instead of *sayyāra řinglizīya*.

³⁴A very weak gemination in the second stem. See Geva-Kleinberger (2004), p. 113.

sayy... la-ššāhin, ?addēš haṭṭ bi-l?awāfi haṭṭēna b-il?uṭumbīl,³⁵ w illi ḡall ḡall hōn. 21. ?īnd il... Suḥmāta, Hōsen^H, banšar issayāra. w hinne yṭuxxu ?alēna, kān irršāš ?alēna zayy iššīta... šīfīb ?aḥki!!³⁶ 22. ?issa lamma banšar issayāra, ?twa??if issayarāt, yṭuxxu ywa??fu, fišš ?axx, bass nimši ?axx. w mīn ?illi ššāwab? biddiš ?aḥki, nāsyē mīn hū. 23. ?issa lamma tšāwabat³⁷ issayāra, ná?alūna (sic) ?ala žīb. issayāra illi tšāwabat, ḡallat hunāk. ?ahil Suḥmāta axaḡu l?awāfi min ilssayāra. illi ḡall ?axaḡū ?ahl ilbalad. 24. ssa abūy ?abil ma-yīṭla³⁸, ?ašṭa lkull la-?abūha la-Rayya, ?Aḥmad Maḥmūd. 25. ?allon ?ana bašṭi^[4:00] w il?arḡ kulla la-Ḥmad Maḥmūd. 26. ?alūlo lēš baddak tašṭi yyā? ?iḡna ?abdā³⁹ w iḡna ?ablo. mḡilla^{40, H} drūz. 27. ?allu ?ana ḡurr la-mīn ?ašṭi arḡi. ?ana baržaf šamm bāxod il?arḡ w ilbēt, ?ana baržafš, biḡall ?ilo... kamān muftāḡ likniš! ?allon ḡāfḡu ?a-liknišē w ?a-lkull. 28. ?iḡna raḡalnā (sic). 29. ?ahla la-Rayya ḡaṭṭu hōn mišzā,⁴¹ ?imma šān ma-yuxdūš il... il?arḡ ḡāy w-likniš; kān bax... yḡuṭṭu laži?īn, ma-kanš yxallūhon ?abūha la-Rayya. 30. sakannā b-Ḥēfa, mīn kān sadī?na(sic)?- Yitšḡák Ben-Tsví. 31. ?allo... Yitšḡák Ben-Tsví, ?ana baṭṭub minnak ?tsafīdna. 32. wēn nuskun? ?arbaš ?yāl šadīn bi... ?ēle! b-?ōḡa! miš zayy ilyōm bižu^H ?olīm ḡadašīm^H bašṭūhon kaṗavān, bašṭūhon dāṗ w bikūnu miš mabšūṭīn. 33. šadna arbafa b-šē... ib-dār waḡada b-?ōḡa waḡadi, kullna mn... iš?ēle. 34. Yitšḡák Ben-Tsví ittašal mafa... ra?īs baladiyyit liXḡēra. bi-liXḡēra ḡaḡdarūlna maḡallāt hunāk. sakanna b-^HNaḡli?él, Šxunāt Naḡli?él^H. 35. šadna hunāk sintēn^[5:00]. 36. sint il?arbīn rzišna. sīdī, ?abū la-būy biddo yiržāš (sic) ?a-lbalad. 37. bašid ma-rzišna, bašráfiš ib-?addēš, ?akamm šāhir, itwaffat Šlomáyt. 38. sakanna hōn kamān la-?īnd ?ē... tamān w ?arbīn, ^Hmilḡemet ha-šīḡrūr^H. 39. kamān bašatūlna maktūb ?inno niṭlaš

³⁵ This word is obsolete and not used anymore by young people. The word derives from English and was widespread among all the Jewish communities in Galilee. Rarely we find another variant, *tumbil*. See al-Barghūti (1987), I, p. 74: *?utumbil* here has the emphatic *ṭ*. In Egyptian Arabic we find *?utumbil*, see Badawi and Hinds (1986), pp.6.

³⁶ The informant wept.

³⁷ Compare the usage of the root *šwb* ~ *šbb* S. Talay (2003), II, p. 343, *šbb* VII "sich stürzen".

³⁸ The informant wept.

³⁹ From Literary Arabic *?abdā?* "former, first". See Lane (1997), I, p. 164 and *Lisān al-šarab* (1992), I, p. 29. In the text the *hamza* is omitted.

⁴⁰ Also in the Jewish dialect of Jerusalem. See Piamenta (2000), p. 261.

⁴¹ In the local Arabic dialect of the village *mišza*.

min ilbalad. kamān waʔaf abūha la-Rayya. w hinne lwaḥidīn ʔilli bsa(?)dūna bi-lbalad, w ʔida ʔislām! ʔislām ib-maḥall tāni ʔaṭlfn?⁴² w ilyahūd kamān, miš kull ilyahūd¹ mnīḥa, fi yahūd¹ mnīḥa w fi yahūd la?, hēk iddrūz imnīḥa w fi drūz miš imnīḥa. 40. ʔabūha la-Rayya waʔaf. ʔallon wala mumkin! 41. lamma ʔaṭulna lmaktūb, ʔiḥa wāḥad Saḥūri, ʔismu ʔAli Saḥūri min Bis-Saḥūr,⁴³ ʔallo wēn ha-lʔiyyām ha... ʔana badawwer ʔalē dwāra, min ilʔuds. 42. fāt ʔa-ṭṭarī(?), ʔabūha la-Rayya. ʔalna ʔilībsu awāʔi ʔarab, mišān ma-yifirfukūš. 43. ilbisna awāʔi ʔarab,⁴⁴ ʔabūy libis ḥaṭṭa⁴⁵, yaʔni... ḥaṭṭa had-ʔaxūy kamān. 44. fāt wāḥad min ḥadd ʔaxūy, ʔallo marḥaba yā šabb! ʔallo ʔahlan!. ʔallo wēn bēt Yūsif izZināti? 45. ʔallo šū biddak fi? ʔallo wala iši biddi ašūfo.^[6:00] ʔallo itfaḍḍal, ʔana ibno. 46. ʔallo wala mumkin ʔinti ʔibno, Yūsif izZināti huwwa (sic) ʔarabi hē? w ʔinti yahūdī, b-ḥakyak... la?, Yūsif izZināti huww yahūdī, iglītī, w ʔinti ʔarabi b-libsak w bi-ḥakyak. 47. ʔallo ʔana miš ʔarabi, ʔana yahūdī ʔibin yahūdī, w buy (sic) Yūsef izZināti! 48. ʔitfaḍḍal la-ʔanna ʔa-lbēt. 49. žābo ʔa-ibēt. 50. ʔižīt ʔana min ilʔēn, kanš mayy b-ilibyūt hadīk ilʔiyyām. 51. ʔalli wēn ʔabūki? ʔultillo baʔarīfiš! xifit. willik ma-xidtiš... xi... ʔa-xatixā⁴⁶... kunš ʔaʔullo ʔabūy bišalli bi-likniše. 52. xabbēna il...^H pinkās kubāt ḥolīm^H w ilhawiyyāt kullha^H b-ʔarón hakōdeš⁴⁷... 53. ruḥt nadēt la-abūy “yāba, ʔiḥa ʔinna wāḥad, ʔē...garīb w maʔá z...”. 54. ʔalli: ma-txafiš.⁴⁸ 55. ʔiḥa ʔa-lbēt, sallam ʔalē. ʔallo ʔižāko waraʔa min ʔAdīb bēk, ʔinno lāzīm ittdaššru lbalad, mīde (sic) arbaʔa w ʔišrīn sēʔa, w ʔiḍa la? bihir?ūkon maʔ ilbēt. 56. ʔalab. ʔaʔṭūna yōm wāḥad ... biširš yōm issabit.⁴⁷ [7:00] šiʔeb itsāfir yōm issabit, ʔiḥna mitdayynīn.⁴⁸

⁴² The prolongation of the *ā* in the first syllable of a participle is a rural phenomenon and very rarely found in other Jewish dialects in Galilee.

⁴³ *Bēt Sāḥūr* > *Bis Saḥūr*; village in the vicinity of Bethlehem. See *al-Mawsūfa al-Filasṭīniyya* (1984), I, pp. 450-451.

⁴⁴ This expression does not exist in the non-Jewish Galilean Arabic dialects but is used among the Arabic-speaking Jews of Galilee.

⁴⁵ See Dalman (1987), V, p.324: “In *el-kerak* und sonst im Osten ist häufig das über den Kopf gebreitete Tuch (*ḥaṭṭa*), das ich als *ḥaṭāṭa* bei den Beduinen der Gegend von Aleppo vorfand. Durch Knüpfung unter dem Kinn kann es festgelegt werden”. See also Piamenta (2000), pp. 156-157.

⁴⁶ Short *i*.

⁴⁷ In other texts the informant uses the verb *sabbat* “to hold the Sabbath”. According to Jewish religion this means not to go by car, not to light a fire, etc; according to the informant, “to make the Sabbath at another house, not in your

57. *ʔāl wala mumkin.* 58. *ʔabūha la-Rayya ma-kanš mafo xabar. ʔiliš iṣṣīʔ fi lbalad, dār izZināti yirḥalu, ʔižu la-ʔanna min ittūwwar.*⁴⁹ 59. *ʔiža abūha la-Rayya. ṣaḥīḥ ha-lʔiṣi hadá?* 60. *ʔallo: ṣaḥīḥ. ʔallo: wala mumkin! ʔana mbēriḥ kunt ʔindo.* 61. *ʔallo walla mumken. ʔallo mbala wāḥad baddo yúʔutlo.* 62. *wa ha-l-hargašá^H šaʔfet yahūd(i)!* 63. *ʔana rāḥ ʔasʔalo! ʔallo rūḥ ʔisʔalo!* 64. *b-illél rāḥ la-ʔindo ssēʔa ʔnāš b-illél, istanna waʔit tannu fāt la-ʔindo. ʔallo: lēš btúkurtu žāri Yūsif izZanāti? hāda min žil ʔažyāl sāken hōn! w walla ʔiṣi bi-Imarra la-lʔarab w ʔábilna huww sāken huná (sic).* 65. *ʔallo ṣāru šahadīn ʔalē biʔáttit⁵⁰ la-ʔṭayarāt ilyahūd w bīži xbār ilHaganá^H, baʔtik xbār dīdd ilʔarab.* 66. *ʔalú (sic) kidib ha-ḥaki, žāri bi-lʔard w žāri bi-libyūt!*^(7,44)

4. Translation

AGK: What are your memories from... the time of your childhood, here in ilBqēša? - 1. My memories from ... we were born here. My father told me that we were born here and used to live here. The whole of the village were Jews; we have lived here since the destruction of the Temple.⁵¹ 2. When the Temple was destroyed, Jews came here and lived... here, and from that time till today. Some of us do not live here (anymore). 3. Till the uprising, the revolt, you know what the riots mean, (during) the uprising of thirty-eight,⁵² there were fifty Jewish families⁵³ here. 4. Jews, they left everything, they fled. The rebels came to kill the Jews and they ran away, (but) we stayed here. 5. They took my father. They wanted to burn him in (the middle) of the neighborhood. That is why we make here the theatrical performance.⁵⁴ 6.

own village". In HGJA in first stem, *sabat-yisbit* has the same meaning (*Farḥa Kōhen*). See also Piamenta (2000), pp. 27-32.

⁴⁸ In the singular; used in HGJA *diyvin*.

⁴⁹ Compare sentence 4 in this text: *ittuwwār*.

⁵⁰ From Hebrew *ʔotét* "to send signals".

⁵¹ The informant means that in the time of the Temple the entire population of the village were Jews. She does not say if she means the destruction of the First or the Second Temple. She probably means the Second Temple. See Vilnai (1986), p. 6120.

⁵² It is meant here 1936. See Vilnai (1986), p. 6124.

⁵³ This might be "persons".

⁵⁴ In November-December 2002, the informant was playing herself in a theatrical performance in her own house in Pqāʔín, where she had lived throughout the years. The theme was the uprising of 1936.

They told him they want to kill him, at first... they told him: Do you see that bullet... it is a pity on this bullet... to waste it on a Jew, a piece of a Jew.⁵⁵ We want to burn you. My uncle,⁵⁶ one (woman) will come to remove and then to collect your bones, and then we will throw them into the sea. 7. My father told them: I am not afraid of death, God wrote me my death as a good one, he (also) wrote me my life as a good one, my life is in the hands of the mighty God and death is in the hands of the mighty God. I do not live on your land nor do I attack you. I live on my land and I protect the synagogue and the Jewish cemetery. 8. Abu Nažib⁵⁷ came to him and said: We have to burn you in your own petrol. 9. One (woman)... one (man)⁵⁸, took petrol from the house. He asked my mother: Where is the petrol. She said: What do you intend to do with it? They laughed at her. 10. He said: Your husband is cold and he wants to warm himself. 11. They took the petrol tank. 12. Who came... to protect my father? First of all, there is God: God and the prophets. 13. The father of Rayya, the Muslim woman – she was the only one who helped me after (the death of) my father. 14. As the news spread in the village that they wanted to burn izZināti⁵⁹, the whole village was standing watching how they want to burn izZināti, who was tied. 15. God saved him! When I speak I begin to cry. Like Mordechay the Jew!⁶⁰ Those are the houses that he let. They wanted to hang him... I came... “No, I am (like) Mordechay!” 16. The father of Rayya came and told them: It is not possible at all! Stop here! The Qurʾān tells us that we have to guard seventy years... our neighbour; your next neighbour is better than your far brother! And this is my neighbor in land and houses and he did not cause any harm to the Arabs! If I knew that he had done something against the Arabs, I would kill him myself, and I would expel him myself! This (man)! It is forbidden to attack him! If you want to burn him and to perform an evil deed on him, let me first... and my wife and children and then catch him! 17. Come to Ka... Kamel Afendi. The authority was in the hands of Kamel Afendi. He was like a Muchtar—not like a Muchtar, a Muslim, and (=but) they were the minority.

⁵⁵ A humiliating expression. Compare Barthélemy (1935), p. 399.

⁵⁶ Literally translated. It means something like: Oh man!

⁵⁷ The head of the Muslim fighters in the village.

⁵⁸ The informant corrected herself.

⁵⁹ The father of the informant, Yūsuf izZināti.

⁶⁰ The uncle of Esther who was to be hanged but in the end saved all the Jews. Celebrated at the *Purim* festival.

18. He said to them: One day will come and there is going to be a Jewish government and if you can protect him, so protect him. It is forbidden to burn him in fire. 19. Kamel Afendi came and told them: Leave him! They left him and (then) all the Jews left and (=but) my father stayed here. They took him and my brother to Haifa. (But) we stayed here. 20. After two days, they sent us an English car, and they took us to... they took our clothes away. We brought a car... a truck for carrying and loaded as much as we could in that vehicle and what was left was left here. 21. Near Suḥmāta, Ḥōsen⁶¹, there was a puncture in the vehicle and they (began to) fire at us and the bullets were like rain on us... it is (really) hard to speak.⁶² 22. Now, when the car had that puncture, the cars stopped, they began to shoot and stop. There were no shooting, but the moment we began to move they began to shoot at us. Who was injured? I do not want to say, because I forgot who it was. 23. Now, when the car was damaged, they transferred us to a jeep. The car, which was damaged, stayed there. The people of Suḥmāta took the clothes from the car. What was left, the people of the village took. 24. Now, my father, before he went away⁶³, gave everything to the father of Rayya, Aḥmad Maḥmūd. 25. He told them: I give all the land to Aḥmad Maḥmūd. 26. They told him: Why do you want to give it? We have the priority and we are before him. I beg your pardon, Druze.⁶⁴ 27. He said: I am free (to decide) to whom I shall give my land. If I will come, I will take the land and the house back and if I will not come back, it will stay with him... also the key of the synagogue! He told them: Observe the synagogue and everything. 28. We left (Pqīṣīn). 29. The family of Rayya placed here goats perhaps in order that nobody could take this land and

⁶¹ Suḥmāta was an Arab village in the vicinity of Pqīṣīn, which was evacuated in 1948. On its lands the Jewish village Ḥōsen was established in the summer of 1949. See also *al-Mawsūfa al-Filasṭīniyya* (1996), II, p. 547.

⁶² The informant wept.

⁶³ The informant wept.

⁶⁴ The informant told me that to this day she has many judicial problems with the Druze of the village concerning these lands. She said that until 1936 the Jews had better relations with the Muslims of the village than with the Druze. That is why she uses the word *pardon* here to express her reservations about the Druze.

the synagogue.⁶⁵ They wanted... to put here refugees, but Rayya's father did not allow them to do it. 30. We lived in Haifa, who was our friend? – Yitshák Ben-Tsví.⁶⁶ 31. He told him... Yitshák Ben-Tsví: I want your help. 32. Where should we live? Four children live in... a (whole) family! In (one) room! Not like today when the newcomers are given a caravan trailer or a house, and in spite of this they are still not content. 33. We stayed four in (one) fami(ly)... in (one) house, in one room, all of us from the same family. 34. Yitshák Ben-Tsví phoned to... the mayor of Hadera. They prepared for us, there, places in Hadera. We lived in Nahli?él, in Nahli?él neighbourhood. 35. We stayed there for two years. 36. In (19)40 we came back. My grandfather, the father of my father, wanted to return to the village. 37. After we came back, I do not know (exactly) when and in what month, Sulamith passed away. 38. We lived here also until... (19)48, the War of Independence. 39. Also then we got a letter to leave the village, and also (now) the father of Rayya stopped it. They were the only ones who helped us in the village, although they were Muslims! Muslims, although they can be bad people in another place, like the Jews, not all of the Jews are good, there are good Jews and there are others who are not, there are good Druze and there are Druze who are not good. 40. The father of Rayya stopped (them) and told them: It is impossible! 41. When we were given the letter, a Saḥūri came, his name is ʿAlī Saḥūri from Bēt Saḥūr, told him: Where are those days... I am seeking for him a lot, from Jerusalem. 42. The father of Rayya passed by and told us: Put on Arab clothes, son, that they will not recognize you. 43. We dressed in Arab clothes. My father wore a Kafiyya⁶⁷ ... and even my brother. 44. One came near my brother and said to him: Hello, oh young man! He answered him: You welcome! He asked him: Where is the house of Yūsif izZināti? 45. He answered him: What do you want from him? He told him: Nothing, I just want to see him. He told him: Welcome, I am his son. 46. He told him: It is impossible that you are his son, because Yūsif izZināti is an

⁶⁵ The informant told me that according to English law in Palestine in those days, the authorities could confiscate the house if it was totally empty. Porat and Shavit (1998), v. 9, p. 105.

⁶⁶ The second President of the state of Israel (1884-1963), who regarded the Zināti family as a symbol of the continuous association between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel. For more about his concern for the Jews of Pqñfn, see his autobiography, Ben-Zvi (1960), pp. 92-96.

⁶⁷ Also *kūfiyye*, see Dalman (1987) V. pp. 57-58.

Arab, ye! And you are a Jew, your way of speech... no, Yūsif izZināti is a Jew, I made a mistake,⁶⁸ and you are an Arab in your way of clothing and your way of speech. 47. He told him: I am not an Arab, I am a Jew, son of a Jew and my father is Yūsif izZināti!⁶⁹ 48. Welcome to our house. 49. He brought him to the house. 50. I came from the water-spring, because there was no water in the houses those days. 51. He asked me: Where is your father? I told him: I do not know. I was afraid. Oh you, you did not take... a piece... I did not tell him that my father is praying in the synagogue. 52. We hid the... sick fund book and all the identity cards in the Holy Ark.⁷⁰ 53. I went to call my father: Oh father, a (person) came to us, e... a stranger and he had... 54. He answered me: Do not be afraid. 55. He returned home and welcomed him. He told him: You got a paper from Adib Bēk, that you have to leave the village within twenty four hours and if not, you will be burnt with the (your) house. 56. He asked (for a prolongation). They gave us a whole day... because it cannot be on Sabbath. It is difficult to go on Sabbath, since we are religious. 57. He answered: It is impossible. 58. The father of Rayya did not have any news. The rumours spread in the village that the family of izZināti have to leave and some rebels came to us. 59. The father of Rayya came. "Is it really true?" 60. He told him: It is true. He said to him: It is not possible! I was yesterday with him. 61. He said to him: It is impossible. He answered him: It seems that somebody wants to kill him. 62. And this feeling: a piece of a Jew!⁷¹ 63. I will go to ask him! He said to him: Go and ask! 64. In the night he went to him at midnight, he was waiting until he entered to him (his house). He asked him: Why do you want to expel my neighbour Yūsif izZanāt? This (man) is living here for generations! He did not do anything against the Arabs and he is living here before us. 65. He told him: There are eye-witnesses that he sends signals to the Jewish planes and gives information to the Haganá,⁷² (telling them:) I will give you information against the Arabs. 66. He told him: It is a lie. He is my neighbour in land and in houses!

⁶⁸ The informant corrected herself.

⁶⁹ The informant wept.

⁷⁰ The Holy Ark in the synagogue. The informant wept.

⁷¹ See sentence 6.

⁷² The security forces of the Jewish population between the years 1920-1948.

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