Interesting Pausal Forms in the Speech of Muslims and Christians in Kufʳ-Kanna

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to describe the system of vocalic variants in pause pertaining to speakers of Arabic in Kufʳ-Kanna (AKK) and in this regard to determine the features that characterize the AKK. As in Nazareth, the incidence of pauses in AKK varies and depends on the content, the listener and the speaker’s intentions. In AKK I detected pausal forms in the speech of middle-aged and elderly Muslims and elderly Christians. In addition to changes in consonants and vowel quality in their speech, in pausal position final syllables also undergo other modifications as compared to the contextual forms.

Unlike in Nazareth, four further types were identified in AKK: (1) lengthening of short vowels in final position: -Cv > -Cv̄; -CvC > -Cv̄C; lengthening of normal and anaptyctic short vowels in final closed syllables: -CvC; (2) devoicing of voiced consonants in word-final position; (3) glottalization after consonants and vowels in word-final position; and (4) aspiration: addition of (h) in pausal position where the word ends in long vowels.

Key words: Arabic dialects – Pausal forms – Syllables – Long vowels – Short vowels – Christians and Muslims.

1. Kufʳ-Kanna

Kufʳ-Kanna is a village in Lower Galilee, about six kilometers northeast of the city center of Nazareth. In 1968 it was declared a local council. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, as of December 2019, 22,751 residents live in Kufʳ-Kanna. 89.2% of the residents of the village are Muslims, 10.7% are Christian (mainly Greek Catholic and

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1 Cf. AWADE 2008. The historical material about Kufʳ-Kanna originated from Wikipedia (see bibliography below). The reliability of the material was tested back to the sources from which the material was taken.

2 On the website of the Central Bureau of Statistics, 2019.
Greek Orthodox), 0.1% are Druze.

Kufr-Kanna has an industrial zone that employs hundreds of workers from the town and the region, with large factories and manufacturers of various products, such as solar and electricity plants, block factories and tire factories.

1.1 History
The ancient settlement Kanna is already mentioned in the Egyptian letters of Tall al-ʿAmārna. During the First Temple period there was a Jewish settlement there, as well as during the Second Temple period. Josephus Flavius, who lived in the village, fortified it when he was governor of Galilee during the Great Revolt, archaeologists found evidence of which. After the destruction of the Second Temple, beginning with the Amoraim (sic) and throughout the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods, there was a Jewish settlement. In the Byzantine period, Christians also began settling there, and the remains of a church from the 6th century were discovered.

In the Middle Ages the settlement also is mentioned as a road station between Egypt and Syria, and in the sixteenth century as a flourishing and wealthy settlement in which the village had dyeing houses. According to the Turkish census conducted in 1555, 65 Jewish families lived in the town, some of them exiles from Spain, in addition to 375 Christian families. Apparently in the seventeenth century the Jewish settlement ended. In the 19th century the Catholic Church was built on the ruins of the ancient 6th century church and a Greek Orthodox church also was established in the settlement.

1.2 Kufr-Kanna in Christianity
Since the middle ages there is a wooden barrel which has been associated with the biblical account of Jesus changing water into wine at a wedding. Some researchers suggest Xirbat Qānā to the north of the Bet Netofa Valley as the site. The village has two nearby churches that commemorate the event—the Franciscan Catholic Church of the Marriage and the Greek Orthodox Church. There are three other churches in the village: (1) the Church of the House of Bartholomew, (2) the Franciscan Apostle and (3) the Church of the Melkite Quarter. In the south of the village a spring used to be the only source of water for the village. The place was admired by the pilgrims who pointed to it as the source from which the water was drawn to fill the urns at the wedding ceremonies of the poor.

At Dalman’s time (1921) the consecration of Kufr-Kanna was associated with the Franciscan settlement of Nazareth in 1620. In the 19th century, the inhabitants established their church in the village. In the War of Independence Kufr-Kanna was the center of Arab gangs that raided Jewish settlements. Their control over the important roads in the heart of Galilee disrupted Jewish transportation and in March 1942, a military unit moved out of Ilaniya on the village. In 1948 after the conquest of Nazareth, Kufr-Kanna also surrendered without a battle.

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3 So it is in the Bible: John 2:1-11.
2. Fieldwork and informants

The pausal forms in AKK are similar to those that occur in Nazareth: Lowering of short vowels $i$, $u$, $e$, $o$ in final syllable, lengthening of short vowels $-Cv > -Cv\#$, $-CvC > -CvC\#$ in final position, diphthongization, raising of low vowels in the syllable $-CvC\#$ and addition of $(h)$ in pausal position where the word ends in consonant or short vowel.\(^4\)

In Nazareth ($Z\U B\I$ 2017) pausal forms occur in the speech of middle-aged and elderly Muslims and elderly Maronites: In addition to changes in vowel quality in their speech, in pausal position final syllables also undergo other modifications relative the form in normal speech (context form). For example, lengthening, diphthongization and aspiration (in cases of vowel changes) occur as a secondary step after a change in the vowel, and they relate with it.\(^5\) It is worth noting that, in the speech of these groups, the closed syllables often undergo only a change of vowel quality, but this may also be accompanied by lengthening. Finally open syllables have changes in vowel quality and secondary changes such as diphthongization.\(^6\)

In Nazareth, in the speech of Muslims and Maronite Christians, words occurring in pausal position may undergo different kinds of change according to syllable type. Five types were identified: (1) lowering of $i > e\#$ and $u > o\#$; (2) lengthening of $(u >) o > o\#$, $(i >) e > ê\#$ and $(i >) â > â\#$; (3) diphthongization: a falling diphthong $i > ï\#$, $â > â\#$, $ê > ê\#$ and $ê > ë\#$, addition of final $w/y$: $-a > -aw\#$, $-u > -ow\#$ and $-i > -ey\#$, $êy\#$; (4) raising of vowels $â > ą\#$; and (5) aspiration where the word ends in short vowels and consonants: $(-i>) -e > -eh\#$, $-C# > -Ch$.

In this paper I intend to describe only further pausal forms which I recorded in Kuf\=r-Kanna and that do not occur in the Arabic of Nazareth. Thus this study is a complement to the other one on Nazareth. To the best of my knowledge the phenomena found here have not been documented anywhere in the area, i.e. in the Palestinian dialects.\(^8\) Thus the present paper is the first to examine this dialect with its documentation of interesting linguistic forms.

I conducted my fieldwork among a Muslim and Christian population in Kuf\=r-Kanna, north of Israel. It consists of live recordings of informants who live in Kuf\=r-Kanna, including especially extended, continuous texts of various types, which give a naturalistic representation of daily speech. The recordings contain stories, jokes, customs, life stories, etc. The informants were of various backgrounds (academics, high school graduates, and illiterate people) varying in age (young 15-25: 5 males and 5 females, middle-age 26-50: 5 males and 5 females, adults 50+: 5 males and 5 females) and gender. The overall length of the tape-recorded material amounts to approximately 5 hours.

It is assumed that the varied recorded texts will constitute an accurate representation of

\(^4\) The sign $\#$ means pause here.
\(^5\) Cf. $Z\U B\I$ 2017.
\(^6\) Ibid., 163-167.
\(^7\) Ibid.
\(^8\) Some phenomena have been attested among Bedouins (see below). It is worth noting that the informants in this study are not of Bedouin origin.
the dialect of the village that comes into daily use by the residents, especially when the
recorded are natives of the village along with their parents and grandparents. These people
speak the dialect of the village from birth, studied and worked there all the time and were
usually not subject to external linguistic influences.

3. Pausal forms in AKK

In AKK pausal forms are common in the speech of middle-aged and elderly Muslims and
elderly Christians similar to what is happening in Nazareth. The existence of the
phenomenon among this age group is subject to various speculations. It can be assumed
that the immigrants from Lebanon who came to the place brought with them this
phenomenon in the past, which is also common in Lebanon (Zu’bi 2017: 167-168). This
phenomenon has been preserved among the elderly to this day. Another possibility is the
existence of the phenomenon originally in the village itself (ibid.) especially among the
middle-aged and elderly whose language has started to have little effect over time on the
young people who sometimes prefer the ‘prestigious’ forms. As is well known, young
people are always subject to linguistic change as a result of their studies and work,
especially outside the village (see details in § 4 below).

In the speech of people in AKK words occurring in pausal position may undergo
different kinds of changes according to the type of the final syllable. In AKK, we can
distinguish two types of pauses: minor pause (short pause) in which one alternation occurs:
changes in vowel quality such as lowering of short vowels, and a major pause (long pause)
in which two alternations occur such as diphthongization where changes in vowel quality
and the addition of a final consonant occurs.

3.1 In pausal position, the following further alternations occur in AKK

3.1.1 Lengthening of short vowels -Cv > -Cv#, -CvC > -CvC# in final position:
a) Lengthening of normal and anaptyctic short vowels in final closed syllable -CvC:

| vowels in context form | lengthening in pause | example | translation |
|-----------------------|----------------------|---------|-------------|
| -CVC                  | > -CVC#              | mażlis > mažlīs# | ‘council’ |
|                       |                      | gudr > gudr#   | ‘a pot’    |

On the origin of pausal forms in Nazareth see Zu’bi 2017: 167-168.
Cf. Nazarene Arabic in Zu’bi 2017.
On Nazarene Arabic see ibid. Cf. LEWIN 1969; PROCHÁZKA 2002, 2006.
Although this phenomenon exists elsewhere, this phenomenon has not been documented to date in
Palestinian dialects and is therefore important to describe it here. Cf. also LEWIN 1969: 17; PROCHÁZKA
2002: 63; 2006; Zu’bi 2014: 109; EAD. 2017: 163-164; EAD. 2021: 326-327.
My corpus includes examples with the short vowel \( i \) (\( CiC \)).

3.1.2 Devoicing of voiced consonants in word final position:\(^{13}\)
Voiced consonants, except the nasal consonants, become devoiced in word final position as in the following:\(^{14}\)

Table 2

| consonants in context form | changes in consonants in pause | examples | translation |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|-------------|
| -\( C \)                   | \( \Rightarrow \) \( \tilde{C} \) # | \( wāh\)ad > \( wāh\)\( a\)\( h\) (\( wāh\)\( a\)\( h\)\( h\)) | ‘one’ |
|                           |                               | \( k\)\( a\)d\( a\)b > \( k\)\( a\)\( d\)\( a\)\( b\) (\( k\)\( a\)\( d\)\( a\)\( b\)) | ‘he lied’ |
|                           |                               | \( f\)\( a\)\( g\)\( a\)d > \( f\)\( a\)\( g\)\( a\)\( \tilde{a}\) (\( f\)\( a\)\( g\)\( a\)\( \tilde{a}\)) | ‘he lost’ |
|                           |                               | \( m\)\( ā\)\( r\)\( i\)\( g\) > \( m\)\( ā\)\( r\)\( i\)\( \tilde{g}\)\( i\) (\( m\)\( ā\)\( r\)\( i\)\( \tilde{g}\)\( i\)) | ‘who passes/goes’ |
|                           |                               | \( i\)\( l\)\( y\)\( a\)\( h\)\( ī\)\( ī\) > \( i\)\( l\)\( y\)\( a\)\( h\)\( ī\)\( ī\)\( \tilde{a}\) (\( i\)\( l\)\( y\)\( a\)\( h\)\( ī\)\( ī\)\( \tilde{a}\)) | ‘the Jews’ |
|                           |                               | \( i\)\( l\)-\( b\)\( ā\)\( d\) > \( i\)\( l\)-\( b\)\( ā\)\( \tilde{d}\) (\( i\)\( l\)-\( b\)\( ā\)\( \tilde{d}\)) | ‘the distant’ |
|                           |                               | \( i\)\( l\)-\( ā\)\( m\)\( ī\) > \( i\)\( l\)-\( ā\)\( m\)\( ī\)\( \tilde{a}\) (\( i\)\( l\)-\( ā\)\( m\)\( ī\)\( \tilde{a}\)) | ‘the south’ |
|                           |                               | \( g\)\( ā\)\( w\)\( a\)\( b\) > \( g\)\( ā\)\( w\)\( a\)\( b\)\( \tilde{a}\) (\( g\)\( ā\)\( w\)\( a\)\( b\)\( \tilde{a}\)) | ‘the prince’ |
|                           |                               | \( r\)\( u\)\( z\) > \( r\)\( u\)\( s\)\( s\) (\( r\)\( u\)\( z\)\( s\)\( s\)) | ‘animals’ |
|                           |                               | \( r\)\( u\)\( z\) > \( r\)\( u\)\( \tilde{s}\) (\( r\)\( u\)\( \tilde{s}\)) | ‘rice’ |

\(^{13}\) Cf. ARNOLD 2013. This phenomenon had been attested in the dialects of the Bedouin in Negev. Cf. BLANC 1970, II: 6; HENKIN 2010: 14. Part of the population of the village are Bedouins who immigrated to the village in the past. There is a neighbourhood there called the “Bedouin Neighbourhood.” These Bedouins have linguistic features in common with the Bedouins of the Negev (for this see ZULBI, forthcoming). In this article I only describe the phenomena that exist in the village. This article does not intend to discuss the source of the phenomena but some explanations are provided below. This topic will be reserved for future research.

\(^{14}\) Cf. JASTROW 1978: 98; ARNOLD 1998: 172, comment 327; PROCHÁZKA 2002: 63; 2006. It is reported for Bedouin dialects in Israel, see ROSENHOUSE 1984: 77.
As mentioned above, this phenomenon has been documented among Bedouin in the Negev and in the north. As mentioned above, part of the population of the village is Bedouin immigrants living in their neighborhood. A logical explanation of the phenomenon is the effect of the Bedouin dialect on the dialect of the village elders. Moreover, the most logical is the explanation that only the elderly will be affected by this dialect which is considered non-prestige among the young people. We therefore find this phenomenon only among this age group.

The shift of \( r \) to \( x \) may be an influence of Hebrew, in which Hebrew speakers articulate \( g \) or \( x \) instead of \( r \). According to Kreitman (2008: 121-122) in her experiment/study on Modern Hebrew: “initially \( r \) was used as the voiced counterpart of \( x \); \( r \) and \( x \) are used for convenience for what is assumed to be uvular segments: \([x]\) being the uvular voiceless fricative and \([r]\) being a uvular segment. There is some evidence from child language acquisition that \( r \) may be the voiced counterpart of \( x \), based on confusion of the two phonemes. Moreover, based on evidence from Biblical Hebrew, it has been claimed that \( x \) is a voiceless velar fricative and \( r \) in MH is its voiced velar counterpart (Blanc 1964, Chayen 1972). Others claim that both \( x \) and \( r \) in MH are uvular (Berman 1997, Bozman 1972, 1978). In other words, both the place and manner of articulation of these two segments are disputed. While there is no debate that \( x \) is a fricative, the nature of \( r \) is not so straightforward. Bozman (1972, 1978) claims that \( r \) is a uvular fricative while Berman (1997) claim that the MH \( r \) is a uvular trill. In either case, \( r \) behaves as a sonorant phonologically and therefore, cannot be used as the voiced counterpart of the uvular voiceless fricative \( x \).

In light of the disagreement regarding the \( r \), it is possible in our case to assume a Hebrew influence, since the informants are in daily contact with Hebrew speakers in all areas of life such as, work, studies, cultural life and more.

### 3.1.3 Glottalization in word final position

Glottalization after vowels and consonants in pausal positions in word final position:

| context form       | change in pause | translation     |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Kuf\(r\) Kanna     | > Kuf\(r\) Kanna\(\#\) | ‘Kuf\(r\)-Kanna’ |
| il-\(l\)`ad\(\#\)  | > il-\(l\)`ad\(\#\) | ‘the customs’  |

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15 Cf. Arnold 2010: 232. This phenomenon had been attested in the dialects of Bedouin in Negev. Cf. Blanc 1970, II: 6; Henkin 2010: 13.
3.1.4 Aspiration

a) Addition of \([h]\) occurs in pausal position where the word ends in long vowels. The addition may be accompanied by shortening the long vowel in the last syllable:

Table 4

| vowels in context form | aspiration in pause | examples   | translation       |
|------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------------------|
| -ʔū                    | > -ʔūʰ#             | šū > šūʰ#  | ‘what’            |
| -ʔī                    | > -ʕī#              | btiği:lī ġalī > btiği:lī ġalīʰ#  
                       |                      | fī > fīʰ#          | ‘you boil him a lot’       |
                       |                      |            | ‘there is’        |

4. Origin of the pausal forms in AKK

In Palestine some pausal forms are unique to Galilee. As stated in the paper about Nazareth, one possibility is that this phenomenon originated in the rural areas which surround Nazareth (such as Kufʳ-Kanna). Another interesting possibility is that this phenomenon may have originated in Lebanon and reached Galilee (especially Nazareth and the surrounding villages) by immigrants who settled there. A third possibility is that this phenomenon originated in the Arabian Peninsula and reached Kufʳ-Kanna, Nazareth and other places by Bedouins who moved to Palestine and settled there. Another explanation may be that this phenomenon has always existed in the speech of the inhabitants of the region regardless of external influences, but no researcher has discovered it or written about it before. Thus, it may be that other regions and other groups are characterized by this phenomenon and therefore it is worth expanding the study of this phenomenon. I assume that this last option is the most logical in this context, but additional possibilities can also be raised for the spread of this phenomenon.

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16 It is important to note that the \(h\) in \(fīʰ#\) in the last example in the list is not an attached pronoun and this word differs from \(fī\) with the meaning ‘in it, with it’.
17 This phenomenon had been attested in Bedouin dialects in Negev. Cf. HENKIN 2010: 14. Cf. also ARNOLD 2010: 232; ZUʿ.Region forthcoming. According to the behaviour of this dialect, we expect a diphthongization instead of an aspiration in the example ġalī > #ġaliy vs. ġaliʰ# just like Nazareth.
18 Cf. the pausal forms of Nazareth in ZUʿ.Region 2017.
19 Ibid.
20 Cf. § 3 above. See also ZUʿ.Region 2017.
21 Cf. ZUʿ.Region 2017.
22 See ZUʿ.Region, forthcoming.
From the research I conduct in different areas of Israel, I meet different people from different areas. I found, for example, this phenomenon among some of my informants in the city of Acre whose dialect has not yet been studied. In my opinion, if a particular phenomenon has not been documented and/or a particular area has not been studied, it does not mean that the same phenomenon does not exist. Despite the many studies conducted in the past, there is still a lack of research in various parts of Israel. It is possible that in the areas studied so far no one noticed this interesting phenomenon and/or this phenomenon did not interest those researchers.

And to the question: why has this phenomenon been documented only among the elderly? It may be that at the time the entire population was influenced by the new dialect of the new inhabitants/immigrants. Apparently over time it is preserved only in the dialect of the old people, as the young people are prone to linguistic changes and are influenced by innovations in the field, they may prefer the ‘prestige’ of the language and it is not considered ‘prestige’ compared to different areas where this phenomenon does not exist.

5. Summary and Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to describe the system of vocalic and consonantal variants in pausal positions pertaining to speakers of AKK and to determine the features that characterize the AKK in this regard.

In AKK, pausal forms occur in the speech of middle-aged and elderly Muslims and elderly Christians. In addition to changes in consonants and vowel quality in their speech, we have seen that in pausal position final syllables also undergo other modifications relative the form in contextual form. As stated earlier (see § 3 above), common phenomena with the dialect of Nazareth were found here; these phenomena were mentioned in this article without detail (for details see Zu’bi 2017), e.g. the closed syllables often undergo only a change of vowel quality, but this may also be accompanied by lengthening (see § 3 above); final open syllables have changes in vowel quality and secondary changes such as diphthongization (see § 3 above).23

In the speech of Muslims and Christians, words occurring in pausal position may undergo different kinds of change according to syllable type.

The pausal forms described above are quite rare in Palestine. Till now only pausal final imāla a > i > e had been attested in central Palestinian dialects. Glottalization and devoicing of consonants have been attested in Bedouin dialects in Negev. Lowering of short vowels, lengthening of sort vowels, diphthongization and aspiration have been attested lately in the Arabic of Nazareth,24 while other pausal forms that are documented in the current paper (such as of voiced consonants and glottalization) were hitherto unattested in Nazarene Arabic. Such forms which had been attested in Nazareth and Kufʿr-Kanna were hitherto unattested in other Palestinian places/dialects.

23 Zu’bi 2017.
24 Ibid.
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I believe that these issues are worth investigating in further places in Galilee rather than Nazareth and Kufr-Kanna. It would be also interesting to find out whether these features can be confirmed for other Arabic dialects in Palestine.

6. Sample text

The informant is a Muslim, who was born in 1942 in Kufr-Kanna. He visited the elementary school in Kufr-Kanna. He is married and has many children. He cultivates his land. He is a kind and tactful spokesman who welcomed me at his house with great hospitality.

| Sample                                      | Translation                                    |
|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| (1) ṯanal w 'īsin xamse 'alf w ti's'niy w    | Twenty three, May 1942. As Muslims our problem  |
| iṯn en 'arb'ān. 'assa 'il... muštīla ḫa      | is that God presented us in the Islamic era with |
| 'iḥna 'il-ʾislām 'Ala' an'am alēn b-          | a belief in fate and destiny. We stopped        |
| fārit il-ʾislām min'āmin bi-l-qafāº w        | using the modern, honourable and               |
| il-gadar wa-lākin 'arukha l'-adāt il-ḥadījī w | decent habits and presented them to our         |
| iš-karīfī w il-karīmēº w 'ahdīnāha la-ʾcxwānna il-mashīye w il-yahū. w 'tartāha'º bi-l'-adāt illi miš 'ilna. bi-l'-awwal ḫaqāna niktafī bi-l-gafrīl, 'nhibb baʾaḏīn, 'iť-ťaʾāxey, 'iť-taʾāwun, 'iť-rḡiš il-xubīr wāḥat, kubbāyṭ il-mayy wāḥadi. 'il-kull minna ni'laf baʾeḏna w niʾman la-baʾeḏna. | Christian and Jewish brothers. We acted         |
| (2) ḥatta miš žā... miš 'axūy wala 'ammi      | according to habits which are not ours’. In the  |
| wala xāley, žārak, žārak il-garīb wala 'axūk  | past we were happy with little: We loved each  |
| l-i-twāl bi-l-ḵayā la-r-                      | other, there was fraternity and cooperation.    |
|                                              | The loaf of bread was one, the glass of water   |
|                                              | was one. We all were accustomed to each other   |
|                                              | and trusted one another.                        |

25 In dialectological studies the hamza ‘ is not transcribed, because according to its historical development it has fallen and disappeared from speech. In my text the hamza will only appear when it is articulated by the informant.

26 In his speech, the informant pronounces the ḍ as interdental ḏ throughout the recording.

27 i > e in this example since it is not an original i, i.e. i (< i) = ey, i (< a) = e.

28 This verb is used in Galilee in the sense of “feeling comfortable to use, to use a certain thing widely.” The source of the verb can be the Arabic verb īrtāha ‘to feel comfortable’ from the root ṭwēh.

29 See footnote 27 above.
The informant makes a pause here.

ražul: ‘iqla kāḍaquṭ,30 ṣagad ‘arglo w ‘arglo w karāmto. w il-yām ‘il-kifāb mašān. w il-mar’a ‘iqla kāḍbat, ‘iqla kāḍbat dawwā’at ‘aqla mā tamluk. bi-l-a’wval bāgēna ‘ala... ‘a-z-zirā’a, l-‘hrāq ‘il-bayādir, ‘il-ḥasīdi w n’tazz b-hāy il-ḥayā. ja-hal-yām fīši. bitibbi ‘aṭṭīflik ‘uwrā?

(3) Kufṣr Kanna bi-l-māqey balaṭ min l-bi-lād il-mugaddasi w lā tazāl. bīžu min ‘Amērka yzurūha, bīžu min kull ‘aḥā il-‘ālam. fī gisṣa ‘illey ‘il-masīḥ hāwval il-mayy ‘lī xamr’r, ‘ir-rūf il-xub’r w (is-)samaki ‘aṭ’amun ‘arb’n. Kufṣr Kanna kānat bi-l-a’wval ḫawalēḥa badāwey, fī mātīgā hōna bi-l-kāna il-hāwval hānāḥa ẓāḥal Sīx sakamu Ẓīha Zayādīne w ḡabāhū al’il Kufṣr Kanna ḡarbiy il-‘ān.

(4) fī ‘ābd kān ‘ind il-‘amīr kaffa ḡaḍīr ‘ala ṭalaṭ ‘atfål, w ẓ-ṭalaṭ ṣaft ninni raddadu dādawwī ‘ělt il-‘Amāra. w wāhād tabb bi-l-zayādīnī šarg il-‘Urdun w intaṣarat. Kufṣr Kanna kānat bi-l-mi’āt, ‘il-yām ḫawela xamsa w ‘iṣrīn ‘aft, bi’r’asha mālīs w il-‘amal ṭīḥawwal la-balaḍīyī w ḫiṣṣālu bukānuw ‘ir-ra’īs il-kāley ‘iṣṣāla bukān fālīḥ w bikamīl miṣwāru bi-l-xēr w il-barākey.

(5) ‘ën Kufṣr Kanna ‘iḥna bāgēna sāknīn31 ẓīrān il-‘ān w lā yazāl ‘iḥna ẓīrān il-‘ān min šarga. ‘ën Kufṣr

There is a story that <here> Jesus turned the water of Kufṣr around Kufṣr <people>. In the past there were Bedouins <who lived> around Kufṣr, here in the south there is an area called ‘Gabal Six’. Zayādīne lived in it and killed the people of Kufṣr-Kanna to the west of the spring.

There is a slave who was <i.e., served> the prince, he presented a pot of food to three children, and the three children renewed the family of Amāra. And one went to the Zayādīne <family> in the east of Jordan which <then> expanded. Kufṣr-Kanna had hundreds <of people>;; today <it contains> about twenty five thousand. It is headed by a council and we hope that it will become a municipality and we hope that they will .. we hope <that> the current head <of the council> will be successful and continue his good and blessed way.

<Regarding> the well of Kufṣr-Kanna: we came to live near the well and we are still <living> near the well to the east. In the past, <the people> and the herd

30 The informant makes a pause here.
31 It is probably a Standard influence: ā instead of a in the first syllable: sāknīn vs. saknīn.

Translation

important things> for man: If he lies, he will lose his land, his honour and his dignity. And today lying is much. And if the woman lies, if she lies, she will lose the most expensive <thing> she has. In the past we <relied> on agriculture, ploughing, threshing floors, harvest and we were proud of this life. But today <these things are> not here <i.e., do not exist any longer >. Would you like me to add something?

In the past, Kufṣr-Kanna <was> one of the holy villages, and it still is. They <i.e., visitors> come from America to visit it, they come from all over the world. There is a story that <here> Jesus turned the water into wine. The loaf of bread and the fish fed forty <people>. In the past there were Bedouins <who lived> around Kufṣr-Kanna, here in the south there is an area called ‘Gabal Six’. Zayādīne lived in it and killed the people of Kufṣr-Kanna to the west of the spring.

There is a slave who was <i.e., served> the prince, he presented a pot of food to three children, and the three children renewed the family of Amāra. And one went to the Zayādīne <family> in the east of Jordan which <then> expanded. Kufṣr-Kanna had hundreds <of people>;; today <it contains> about twenty five thousand. It is headed by a council and we hope that it will become a municipality and we hope that they will .. we hope <that> the current head <of the council> will be successful and continue his good and blessed way.

<Regarding> the well of Kufṣr-Kanna: we came to live near the well and we are still <living> near the well to the east. In the past, <the people> and the herd
Pausal Forms in Kufr-Kanna

Sample

Kanna bi-l-māqey kānū yūsrab(!) minhā Ḷufr Kanna w ḫalāl Ḷufr.

Kanna, ‘il-Ḥēb, ‘il-Miṣḥad tīḏi tīsrab minhā. ‘il-yōm xirbat w ġūdat, ġawwā’atha Makarōt32 w ir-‘a’s il-ḏāy w illī maqā w illī gablu. ‘il-yōm fiṣší ’ēn. mayyitha kānat tiges ṭūmmān Ṣaffūrī, mayyit Kufr Kanna. ‘il-yōm fiṣší. mašhūra bi-r-ruṃūn, na’um w lā yazīl ruṃūn... ḥār alāyā ṭūmmān... ḥār alāyā ṭūmmān... maštāl ruṃūn Kanna. Kufr Kanna la yi’la’ alēhīn.33

(6) lamma ẖatallu l-Yahūd ‘ana baga ‘umrī sitt ‘tinī. ḥayāt sidey mm il-fa’ilahīn il-mašḥurīn. w ‘indu Ḥawwēla ‘sīrīn rās bagar. ǧarbat il-midṣa ‘ind il-Miṣḥad, ʿaḥl Ḷufr Kanna gabbat. gabliha b-yuṃnī kānū Ṣaffūrī ḥaẓīn. xallu ‘ind ḏār ‘aḥbāy ‘arba’ xamīr ġawvaḥb. lamma ḥaẓāt Ḷufr Kanna waṣṣaḥān ‘aḥīy la-šḥāḥu la-šḥāḥu w ihna ḥamalna w nūnna a-l-‘Zēr. ḥayāt sīlī galiḥīn ‘ana biddā ‘amūt ‘ana w ḫaṭ-tarāṣṭ hīn. biddīs yōklūhin34 klāb Rabb il-ʿālamīn b-zabal Ṭūrān. sakkar il-ḥāb ‘alēhīn, w ‘aḥbāy w pāmēn samalā ‘a-l-‘Zēr.

(7) ʿaḥl l-‘Zēr iswālu la-bāḥy, kaffalu l-

Translation

of Kufr-Kanna used to drink from the well of Kufr-Kanna, <and also> the Ḥēb, Miṣḥad used to come <and> drink from it. Today it is spoiled and lost. Makarōt spoiled it as well as the current head, the former <head>, the previous <head> and <also the head> who preceded him. Today there is no spring. Its water was used to irrigate the pomegranates of Zippori, <i.e.> the water of Kufr-Kanna. Today <there> is no <well>. <Kufr-Kanna> is known for its pomegranates. Yes the pomegranates still <exist there>... That is a saying <that> there are no pomegranates better than those of Kufr-Kanna, and there is no olive oil better than that of Kufr-Kanna.

When the Jews occupied <the region>, I was about to become six years old. My late grandfather <was> one of the famous farmers. He had about twenty cows. <When> the cannon fired on Miṣḥad, the people of Kufr-Kanna were afraid. Two days before, the Ṣaffārī fled. They left four <or> five animals at my father’s house. When <the people of> Kufr-Kanna fled, my father distributed them (= the animals) among his friends and we departed to l-ʿZēr. My late grandfather said to them, “I want to die with the animals here. I do not want that the dogs of God eat them in the mountain of Ṭūrān. He closed the door on them, and my father and my uncles went north to l-ʿZēr.

The people of l-ʿZēr are the maternal uncles of my

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32 The superscript H means “Hebrew”.
33 The superscript S means “standard Arabic”.
34 I.e., the Israeli water company.
35 According to the behaviour of this dialect, we expect the short vowels u or o instead of the long vowel ū in the first syllable: yōklūin vs. yuḵlūin, yolkūhin.
36 I.e., the people of the ‘Ṣaffārī’ neighbourhood in Nazareth who fled from Zippori when the Jews came. Afterwards they came and are settled till now in Nazareth.
Sample

I.e., Arab folk singer.

Translation

father. They took care of the wells. <There was> a woman, whose origin is from Ṭuʿān, called Ṭuʿāb, she took care of the wells. <There> was with... my father and my maternal uncle, called Abu Ṭuʿāb Lāfī, removed the lock. We went down under the olive grove. On the second day one of the people who removed the locks came, who is ‘Ali l-Ǧiyām Abu Ḥṣēn. He said to him, “my uncle, are you here?”

This land is ten <or> fifteen acres for the people of Kuṭr-Kanna. We stayed two <or> three days. My late father came and took stock of the village <then> he said <that> there was ‘nothing’, <so> we collected ourselves and returned.

In the weddings of the past, a few people brought haddāyī. <People used to present smūdī <to the visitors> at the wedding, and <it was> rare <that there was someone> who put rice <on it>, like pine nuts today, and they <used to> distribute them to the visitors. Today people are similar. <The one> who has <money> and <the one> who has no <money> want to arrange a wedding and they compete who <will arrange> a bigger wedding and who will slaughter more <than the others> and the lying <reaches> the clouds.40 And this is destructive. Many marry <and> after their children have children they <still> have a debt, and <even the one> who sells a plot of land cannot pay off the debt.

By means of the father, the paternal uncle and the maternal uncle. Dissimilarly, today he must meet <lit., sit with> her and she <must> meet <lit., sit with> him. I am the servant, my late uncle’s wife from the second floor called me and said to me, “that <one>”. I did not know

37 It is probably a Standard influence: ā instead of a in the first syllable (rāzān vs. raṣān).
38 I.e., Arab folk singer.
39 I.e., semolina.
40 I.e., too much.
Sample

bitgulli haqīk. ba'rīfḥāš. 'ażī bidd ʾaṣīq 'ażīa w niẓim, 'aṣāha t-āni buqullha hāḍa ʾarīsik. dašṣarat saṭl il-mayy w inḥazmat, w hēk kanat. là kanu yi'rfu yi'tarrafu 'ala ba'aqḥin wala haddi wala waddi. 'ala siṯ il-'imm w il-'abw w il-'ēle, 'il-'ēle. lamma fi' inwān fišš ta'alḥ. baqā l-yām bi'tarrařow 'a-t-talafrūn w il-'antarnet w hāḍa marfūṭ, w illi biži... w hā ṭili bižib il-mašākil w il-ṭalāk w ḥatta l-fīrag gabĪ b-furat il-xuṭābe hāydlā ḥay il-'umūr hī.

Translation

her. <When> I came to take her brother <with me in order> to invite <people to the wedding>, her second brother said to her, “that <one> is your bridegroom”. She set down a pail of water and then ran away. And it was like this. <In the past> they did not know <or> were not introduced to each other and anything. <It was> based on the renown of the mother, the father and the family, the family. When there is an address,41 then it would not be difficult. Today they introduce themselves by the telephone and the internet and this is unacceptable. And <the thing> which... and this creates the problems and the divorce and the separation even before <the marriage, i.e.> during the engagement period, these are the things <today>.

The bride did not say, “no”. Yes, <sometimes> she said “no”. Yes, but it was so rare that she refused and said, “no”, that “I do not want this wedding”. No, in respect of fathers. In the past they <used to> force her, and this was wrong. I admit that it was wrong. Why? because everything <that comes> by force will not succeed. I do not love my cousin, why must I marry her, why? If there is an interest <for me to marry my cousin>, it is ok. But no, they were... there is a saying, “the cousin drops her off the horse”. But this is wrong. I admit that it is wrong. <I think she should> choose, choose <the one> who fits her.

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41 I.e., established family.
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