THE SPREAD OF PREPAUSAL LOWERING IN GALILEAN ARABIC

ORI SHACHMON AND NOAM FAUST

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM
UNIVERSITÉ PARIS 8 & SFL (CNRS)¹

Abstract

This paper discusses the lowering of the high vowels /i,u/ to [e,o] in final syllables in Palestinian Arabic. Such a shift is actually well documented in the literature with regard to final unstressed CVC syllables. Yet whereas previous studies have not stated a clear prosodic condition on the shift, we bring evidence that in the Galilean dialects discussed the shift is clearly conditioned and occurs in the pre-pausal position only. In addition, we show that the same shift occurs in two other positions, viz. final CV and CVC,C, and that it is not merely qualitative but quantitative as well, so that lowering of /i,u/ to [e,o] often involves certain lengthening, yielding [eː,oː] respectively. In the last section of this article we provide a uniform account for vowel lowering and lengthening in the three types of syllable mentioned. We show that in the pre-pausal environment an additional templatic position is added to the last vowel; and since this position cannot be realized through vowel lengthening, a lowering agent is inserted instead.

1. Vowel Lowering and Vowel Lengthening in Levantine Arabic

Many Syro-Palestinian dialects exhibit restrictions on the occurrence of /i,u/, which regularly alternate with [e,o] in final CVC position (Garbell 1958: 315; Grotfeld 1965: 12; Levin 1994: 34; Watson 2011: 3010). Such CVC syllables are never stressed, in accordance with the stress patterns of most Syro-Palestinian dialects (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 182), in which the last, non-final vowel of the word is only stressed if in a heavy syllable (i.e. CVC or CVCC).

In this study we checked the lowering environment CVC in context and pre-pausally among speakers of three Galilean dialects,

¹ At the time of the writing of this paper, the second author was also affiliated with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
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namely those of Nazareth, Kafr Qara‘ and Sakhnin. The data presented below were all elicited and measured by us. According to our findings, apart from the lowering of /i,u/ to [e,o] in final CVC syllables, vowels in this position are also clearly longer than their non-low counterparts and other short vowels, whether stressed or not, by around 40ms. They are nevertheless far inferior in length to lexically long vowels, which can go up to 200ms. In what follows we use the symbol [:] to represent this half-length of [e,o] in final CVC position. In this position [e,o] are in complementary distribution with [i,u], the former exhibit additional — though restricted — length.

\[(1)\]
\[
a. \quad [\text{kútoːb}] \quad \text{‘books’} \quad c. \quad [\text{míseːk}] \quad \text{‘he held’} \\
   \quad [\text{kutúhoːm}] \quad \text{‘their books’} \quad [\text{misíkhoːm}] \quad \text{‘he held them’} \\
b. \quad [\text{údroːs}] \quad \text{‘study!’} \quad d. \quad [\text{íktéb}] \quad \text{‘write!’} \\
   \quad [\text{udróshoːm}] \quad \text{‘study them!’} \quad [\text{iktóbliː}] \quad \text{‘write to me’}
\]

It is worth mentioning that gutturals may also induce vowel lowering, as in the examples /xli’na/>[xle’na] ‘we were born’; /iḥna/>[eḥna] ‘we’; or /biḥku/>[beḥku] ‘they speak’. However, such lowering depends purely on the consonantal environment and is not a positional effect. Such cases of environmental lowering are not marked in our text samples, and we therefore transcribed /šawāri’/ and /da’āyi’/ even when realized [šawāre’] and [da’āye’].

2. The Prosodic Prominence of the Final Position

It is by no means surprising to find lengthened vowels in a final, preconsonantal position. The final position is one of prosodic prominence in many languages, and final closed syllables very often do not behave like non-final ones, where one would not expect length. We submit that lowering in this position is related to the extra length typical of (pre-pausal) final closed vowels (Hardcastle et al. 2013: §2.2.2).

\[
\text{Final (pre-consonantal) position} > \text{lengthening} + \text{lowering}
\]

2 Some of the data for this paper were collected with the support of a grant from the Israel Science Foundation (grant 1192/14).
According to the autosegmental framework of Government Phonology (Kaye et al. 1990), length can be achieved through spreading, i.e. the propagation of a segment into a following slot. Lowenstamm (1996) proposes that such spreading is only possible under ‘licensing’ from a vowel in the following syllable. For instance, in Qaraqosh Neo-Aramaic (Khan 2002), vowels are long in open syllables, whether stressed or not, e.g. [gdaːɾḑil] ‘he is putting it’. This is because they are ‘licensed’ by the following vowel. In contrast, vowels in medial closed syllables, even stressed ones, are short, e.g. [‘uxlu] ‘eat! (pl)’ because ‘licensing’ cannot hold above a consonant cluster. Vowels in unstressed final closed syllables [yːxu] ‘eat! (sg)’ are also short, because there is no following vowel to license their length.

In the Galilean dialects which we have checked we found that the last vowel before the pause tends to be lengthened. In order to realize this additional length, the vowel must spread. However, just as in Qaraqosh Neo-Aramaic, in the final CVC position there is no following vowel to license spreading. We submit that in such cases, the lowering agent /A/ of Element Theory (Kaye et al. 1985, Backley 2011) is inserted as a repair strategy to realize the additional length. The combination of the underlying high vowel /i/ or /u/, the additional length and the inserted /A/ agent yields the mid [eː] or [oː] respectively. In other words the insertion of the /A/ agent is an alternative to length through spreading.

3 For a more theoretic and representationally-oriented account of the present argument see Faust (forthcoming), which includes a comparison of the situation in central Palestinian Arabic and Galilean dialects, as well as a study of similar effects in Qaraqosh Neo-Aramaic.

4 All of the above is true only of non-lexical length. Lexical length is attested in the dialects discussed here in closed syllable, both medial, as in [bīsāfru] – ‘they travel’, and final, as in [nām] – ‘he slept’.

5 ‘Onset’ refers to the consonant or consonants that begin the syllable; ‘Nucleus’ refers to the vowel at the heart of the syllable; and ‘Rhyme’ groups together that vowel and a following consonant, as in [kālbi] ‘my dog’.

This proposal is illustrated in (2) below. The capital letters in the upper part of the diagram stand for the constituents of standard syllabic theory: O=Onset, N=Nucleus, R=Rhyme. The nucleus is dependent on the rhyme. Every constituent is associated to one or more timing slots, represented by x’s, and these timing slots are associated to segments. The lengthening process adds another timing slot at the nucleus, but the default position of the nucleus is not marked at this level.

| i+A>eː | u+A>oː |

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Lowering of /i, u/ in final CVC position has been documented in several dialects of Palestinian Arabic (see section 1 above), yet none of the previous studies has explicitly referred to the prosodic conditioning of this shift or distinguished between pre-pausal and contextual position in this regard. This distinction is essential, since in the Galilean dialects discussed here lowering was found to be clearly restricted to pre-pausal position. In (3) below the vowels in bold
occur in the same syllabic position, yet it is only the pre-pausal version which exhibits a lowered and lengthened variant.

(3)

a. [kútəb] 'books'
   [kútub xāli] 'my uncle’s books'
b. [mísək] 'he held'
   [mísik xāli] 'he held my uncle'

Vowel alternation as a means of marking pause has been reported since the second half of the twentieth century with reference to various Arabic dialects of a rural nature (Fleisch 1974; Behnstedt and Woidich 1985, vol. 2 maps 38–44; Borg 1977). Most of these reports relate to dialects spoken in Lebanon and Egypt, yet Blanc (1953) and more recently Shachmon (2011, 2013) have proven the productivity of pausal vowel alternation in Palestinian Arabic as well.6

As mentioned, in the dialects we examined lowering was found to be restricted to pre-pausal position only. We have not examined this aspect in other Palestinian dialects, where CiC>CeC and CuC>CoC is reported to occur in all positions (e.g. the urban dialect of Jerusalem, see: Levin 1994: 25–6). However, our impression is that these new findings cast a doubt on the existence of CVC lowering in context in many other dialects of the discussed area. It is worth mentioning that in Damascene Arabic lowering of /i,u/ to [e,o] is said to be the rule, and in certain final CVC syllables the lowered vowel is also regularly lengthened. This is the case in the imperative, which is pre-pausal by nature, and in which the vowel is stressed, for example [hmēl] ‘carry!’ (but /yiḥmil/>[yəhmēl] ‘he carries’), or [ktōb] ‘write!’ (but /yuktub/>[yəktōb] ‘he writes’) (Grotfeld 1965: 12). This lowered-lengthened vowel of the imperative is in fact one of the hallmarks of Damascene Arabic.

Finally we would like to stress that the pausal phenomena discussed are not categorial. Rather, their realization is decided by the pace and rhythm as well as by the length of the break in the flow of speech. Even so, we argue that lowering and lengthening of /i,u/ to [e,o] are characteristic of pre-pausal position in these dialects, as evident in the sample texts in section 5 below.

6 Blanc (1953) discusses the dialects of the Druze population of Galilee, which actually originates in Syria and Lebanon, a fact which explains several distinctive features in their dialect.
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4. The Shift of /i,u/ to [eː,oː] in Positions other than Final CVC

In what follows we show that in the Galilean dialects under discussion the shift of /i,u/ to [eː,oː] has spread beyond the CVC position and may be detected in two additional environments, viz. final CV and final CVC,Ci positions. In these environments, too, lowering and lengthening take place pre-pausally, a fact which may be taken to corroborate our conjecture in section 4 below, where we provide a uniform account of all three cases of lowering to additional length. Importantly, we have so far not observed final CV lowering or final CVC,Ci lowering in Palestinian dialects out of Galilee.

4.1. Final CV

That /u/ and /o/ are phonemically distinct in many Palestinian dialects may be easily exemplified by minimal pairs like /kátabu/ 'they wrote' vs. /kátabo/ 'he wrote it' (examples in Jerusalem Arabic). The situation in Galilee is somewhat different: in the Galilean dialects we studied, high vowels in this position undergo the same process of lowering and lengthening as the pre-pausal CIC and CUC discussed above. Thus, one observes [kátaboː] for both 'they wrote' and 'he wrote it', which effectively creates homophony between the two words. Note that the lengthening of /o/ in the case of 'he wrote it' is phonetic, and is common to both Galilean and Jerusalem dialects regardless of vowel height.

In the Galilean dialects the lowering of /u/ to [oː] in final CV is by no means restricted to the 3.past.pl suffix; just as in the CVC case discussed above, it holds for every underlying final high vowel which occurs in pre-pausal final CV. Thus the high vowel /i/ is regularly performed as [eː] in pre-pausal CV syllables, regardless of their morphological origin.

7 The additional lowering environments discussed here are mentioned in a recent unpublished dissertation (Zu‘bi 2015), though they are not consistently linked to length. See additional reference to that dissertation below.

8 Final CV lengthening in pause is also typical of Classical Arabic, see: Birkeland 1940: 8, 27; Fischer 1967: 47, 52. That said, the formal resemblance does not necessarily imply retention of a shared archaic feature, and may better be explained as an independent development at different times throughout history.

9 Such lowering is on occasion accompanied by secondary diphthongization, as exemplified in /žārṭi/> [žārteː y] ‘my neighbour’ in our sample text below.
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(4)

a. /bēti/ [bēteː] ‘my house’
b. /inti/ [inteː] ‘you f.sg’
c. /ˈirmi/ [ˈirmed] ‘throw!’
d. /layāli/ [layāleː] ‘nights’
e. /ʽāli/ [ʽāleː] ‘loud’

The feminine ending corresponding to OA tāʾ marbūta represents a special case of the shift discussed. In many Palestinian dialects, the feminine ending is regularly subject to imāla of the type a>e in non-emphatic, non-pharyngeal environments. However, in some dialects of Galilee, including that of Nazareth, the vowel of the feminine ending is raised up to [-i], as in /inNāṣri/ ‘Nazareth’. This ending, just as any [-i] of final CV syllables, alternates in the dialects studied with [-eː] in pre-pausal position, i.e. [innāṣreː#], as exemplified in the sample text below. Note that the Galilean pre-pausal alternant [eː] is clearly longer than the regular, contextually-indifferent /e/ of the feminine ending in other Palestinian dialects:

(5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jerusalem</th>
<th>Nazareth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[madrase]</td>
<td>[madras] - [madrase#] ‘school’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Previous indications for /i,u/ lowering in final CV syllables may be found in Blanc (1953), who mentions (p. 39) that in the Druze dialects of Galilee /u/ in final CV syllables often yields [o], with the example of šāfo which means both ‘they saw’ and ‘he saw him’. Similar cases in the dialect of Nazareth have recently been mentioned by Zu’bi (2015), who documented an alternation of final i-e and u-o, which ‘depends upon the speaker and upon the speaking pace’, adding that the latter alternant ‘occurs in pause and in slow speech’ (pp. 108, 161). Zu’bi also mentions cases of pausal lengthening and diphthongization (idem, pp. 108–9).

4.2. Final CVC,C

Pre-pausal CVC,C is another configuration in which we found the alternation of u-o,# and i-e#. In the Galilean dialects studied, the vowel before the geminate regularly lengthens and lowers in pause. Since geminates tend to simplify in final position, the final CVC,C syllable is in actuality CVC and thus allows the lowering and lengthening described above. This is shown in the elicited sentences in (6),
examing the behaviour of the geminate verb /ykibb/ ‘pour’ in the dialect of Nazareth, and its counterpart /ykubb/ in Sakhnin, in different prosodic positions:

(6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nazareth</th>
<th>Sakhnin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ykb 'áwi 'ale]</td>
<td>[ykáb 'áwe 'ale]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[má ykeb#]</td>
<td>[má ykeb#]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[má ykdbo:]</td>
<td>[má ykdbo:]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note, that in Nazareth stress may shift from the final syllable, which is no longer felt heavy, to the preceding one, as exemplified in [má yke:b] above.

Finally, we note that comparable cases of vowel lowering in final syllables have been described for various Syrian and Lebanese dialects (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 179). For example, the Shiite dialects of South Lebanon exhibit forms like /tárki/ > [tárke#] ‘Turkish’; /kalbi/ > [kalbe#] ‘a female dog’; or /ibnu/ > [ibno#] ‘his son’ (Fleisch 1974: 224, 266). Against this background, the documentation of such shifts in Palestinian Arabic may be taken to demonstrate the geographical continuum of North Levantine Arabic dialects, and to indicate the geographical spread of certain phonological traits southwards, traits which gradually become more present in North Palestinian Arabic. To our knowledge, ours is the first published work to report on the spreading of the pre-pausal lowering in Palestinian Arabic beyond the CVC position, and to relate all cases of lowering to additional length.

5. Pausal Effects: Formalization

In section 2, we showed how the lack of licensing in the pre-pausal position, coupled with the additional slot representing the length added by the pause, results in both the lengthening and lowering of the last vowel. To account for the spread of the shift from CVC position to CV and CVC\(_2\)\(_i\) positions in the Galilean dialects examined, we now show that the same reasoning holds in these two additional positions.\(^{10}\)

\(^{10}\) For a view of the pausal effects as an additional abstract consonant in various Arabic dialects see Blanc (1953:76); Grotfeld (1965:15); and Bloch (1969:144).
**Final CVC syllables.** We begin by recalling the case of final CVC, represented again in (7) below. As explained in §2 above, extra length is typical of pre-pausal final syllables. While length may be achieved by spreading, this is only possible under ‘licensing’ from a vowel in the following syllable. In the case of final CVC syllables the final nucleus is empty, and so when the additional slot (underlined) is inserted, it cannot be engaged by spreading. The repair strategy used in order to achieve length in this case is the insertion of a lowering /a/ agent, and the result is – as shown above – a mid-vowel, which is either u+A>o: or i+A>e:.

\[
\begin{align*}
CiC+P & > Cig^pC > CeC \\
CuC+P & > Cug^pC > CoC
\end{align*}
\]

Again, these lowered vowels are clearly longer than their non-low counterparts or other short vowels, yet they are far inferior in length to lexically long vowels.

(7)

![Diagram of Final CVC syllables]

**Final CV syllables.** The addition of the pausal position – represented below as \(x^p\) – to the final CV syllable, has the same effect. As shown in (8), again there is no licensing of the final vowel, and the same repair strategy is applied.

\[
\begin{align*}
Ci+P & > Cig^p > Ce: \\
Cu+P & > Cug^p > Co:
\end{align*}
\]

(8)
In a comparable manner, some Lebanese dialects diphthongize — rather than lower and lengthen — final high vowels in the same environment, and /i,u/ are pronounced [ay,aw] (Fleisch 1974: 223, 224, 266). Diphthongization in this case may be seen as another repair strategy, an alternative to length through spreading which is impossible in this position.

Final CVC,C_C, syllables. In standard syllabic theory, geminates are represented as coda-onset clusters, the term ‘coda’ designating consonants closing a syllable. In Government Phonology, as we already saw, final consonants are onsets; the term ‘coda’ is therefore used only for consonants closing non-final syllables, i.e. the first of the two copies of the underlying geminate, e.g. /kubb/. Such codas are represented as occupying a timing slot associated directly to a branching R, as in (9). When the pausal effect adds a timing slot, again the additional slot cannot be engaged by spreading since it is not licensed, and A-insertion proceeds.
Note that an additional effect in this case is the subsequent delinking of the left copy of the final geminates (barred line in (9)), which follows from the general principle that no rhyme may contain three timing slots (this also occurs word-medially, e.g., /yfatšu/ = [yfatšu] ‘they search’).

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{CiCiCi+P} & \text{Ci\textsuperscript{P}CiCi} \\
\text{CuCiCi+P} & \text{Cu\textsuperscript{P}CiCi}
\end{array}
\]

In the present context, it may be added that we have observed in these dialects other cases of compensatory lengthening and lowering due to the impossibility of gemination, such as [maḥaːl] for /maḥall/ ‘place’, or [ʽaːmāl] for /ʽammāl/ — the present continuous indicator.\textsuperscript{11} We leave this phenomenon to further study.

6. Text Samples

The following samples were recorded at the Hebrew University in April 2015. The speaker is Ms Dima Abu l’Asal, a Christian Arab woman in her late twenties who was born and raised in the city of Nazareth in Galilee. She was instructed to tell a story or two from her childhood.\textsuperscript{12}

**Text 1 – In the Garbage Container**

ṣāḥibt-eː# illi hi kamān kānat žārt-eː# friend-SG.F-my REL she also be:PRF.3SG.F neighbour-SG.F-my
My friend, which was also my neighbour,

xli’na sāwa, inwaladt iq-naḥ is-sínɛ# be-born:PRF.1PL together be-born:PRF.1SG in-same DEF-year we were born together, I was born in the same year [as she was].

w-la-l-yōm ba’d-na șabb-āt șabb-āt șabb-āt șabb-āt, and-to-DEF-day still-us friend-PL.F friend-PL.F friend-PL.F friend-PL.F Until today we are still friends, friends, friends, friends,

\textsuperscript{11} Compensatory lengthening has not been hitherto observed in Palestinian Arabic, but is well known in other Semitic languages. In Biblical Hebrew, for example, the form /mi’ên/ – ‘he refused’ (Exodus 7, 14) is realized as [meː’ēn] due to the resistance of gutturals to gemination.

\textsuperscript{12} We are grateful to Ms. Abu l’Asal for approving the publication of these texts. We also wish to thank Ms Livnat Barkan for her help in preparing the glossing and English translation.
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il-na ṣāḥb-āt sitti w-‘īrin sine#: šāhīb-t it-tufāli.

to-us friend-PL.F six and-twenty year friend-SG.F DEF-childhood we are friends for 26 years, [she is] a childhood friend.

kānu aḥalī-na kīr yāzhū-l-na agraːd,

be:PRF.3SG.PL relative:PL-our much bring:IPFV.3PL.M-to-us thing:PL

Our relatives used to bring us things very often,

ya’ni barb-āt w-hāy ili-šagl-āt, il-bārbi,

mean:IPFV.3SG.M Barby-PL and-DEF-thing-PL DEF-Barby

that is to say Barbies and things like that, Barbies,

w-adaw-āt mubax, ta’rif l-il-lu’ub w-hāy

and-tool-PL kitchen know:IPFV.2SG.M to-DEF-play and-DEM:F

i-šaglāt.

DEF-thing-PL

and kitchen tools, you know, to play and things like that.

b-yōm mm il’-‘ayyam-āt ibna xtafēna

in-day of DEF-day:PL-PL we disappear:PRF.1PL

One day we disappeared.

usm-a Lubna šāhīb-t-i ana w-Lubna xtafēna

name-her Lubna friend-SG.F-my I and-Lubna disappear:PRF.1PL

Her name is Lubna, my friend. Lubna and I disappeared

mm il-bēt, w-tab’an ana miš mitzakkir-t-a

from DEF-house and-naturally i no remember:ACT.PTCP-SG.F-her

from the house, and naturally I don't remember it

‘ašān ana kunt kīr ‘izgīr-i

because I be:PRF.1SG very little-SG.F

because I was very little,

kunt ya-dōb arba’ ‘is-in, xams ‘is-in.

be:PRF.1SG VOC-hardly four year-PL five year-PL

I was hardly 4 or 5 years old.

ixtafēna ana w-Lubna mm-ilbēt w-‘imm-i

disappear:PRF.1PL I and-Lubna from-DEF-house and-mother-my

Lubna and I disappeared from the house and my mother

tdawwir ‘alē-na w-‘imm Lubna tdawwir ‘alē-na

search:IPFV.3SG.F for-us and-mother Lubna search:IPFV.3SG.F for-us

was looking for us, and Lubna’s mother was looking for us,

w-‘aṣṭ-i tdawwir ‘alē-na, w-yūlā’u la-barra

and-sister-my search:IPFV.3SG.F for-us and-go.out:IPFV.3PL to-outside

and my sister was looking for us, and they went outside

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w-yənədən# Dīma w-Lubna, Dīma w-Lubna.
and-call:3PL. Deema and-Lubna Deema and-Lubna
and called: ‘Deema and Lubna!, Deema and Lubna!’

kunna b-‘alb satl iz-zbāli illi mawzūd ’and-na
be:PRF.1PL in-middle can DEF-garbage REL find:PASS.PTCP.SG.M at-us
We were inside the garbage can which lies

b-‘alb il-hāra, ’ammāl-na mi-nlamlim aqrād
in-inside DEF-neighbourhood PROG-we IND-gather:IPFV.1PL thing:PL
in the middle of our neighbourhood, we were gathering things

‘alalān nil‘ab bêt ‘byāt b-īt-saglāt,
in.order play:IPFV.1PL house house:PL with-DEF-thing:PL
in order to play a house, houses, with the things,

il-wasax illi mi-nlā‘ār b-satl iz-zbāłeːr#.
DEF-dirt REL IND-find:IPFV.1PL-[him] in-can DEF-garbage
dirt that we find inside the garbage can.

fa-marra wāḥdi Lubna b-tiṭla‘ min satl iz-zbāli
and-time one:F Lubna IND-go.out:IPFV.3SG.F from can DEF-garbage
And at a certain moment Lubna went out of the garbage can

w-bi-t‘al-l-hin biyyā-na bōn! b-satl iz-zbāli
and-IND-say:IPFV.3SG.F-to-them here-we here in-can DEF-garbage
‘a‘dana.
sit:PRF.1PL
and said to them: “here we are, here!”. We were sitting inside the garbage can.

tuftūːl-i kānat ‘b-‘alb satl iz-zbāléeː#.
childhood-my be:PRF.3SG.F in-middle can DEF-garbage
ti’dar tiḥkāː#.
be.able:IPFV.2SG.M say:IPFV.2SG.M
My childhood was inside the garbage can, you can say.

w-iyyāːm-a kunna niṭla‘ satl iz-zbāli ana w-iyyāː-ha
and-day:PL-her be:PRF.1PL go.up:IPFV.1PL can DEF-garbage I and-ACC-her
In those days we used to climb on the garbage can, me and her,

nu‘ud nu‘r‘us
sit:IPFV.1PL dance:IPFV.1PL
we used to sit and dance

‘a- s-siyyar-āt it-tāl-‘a w-in-nāẓl-eː#.
on DEF-car-PL DEF-go.up:ACT.PTCP.SG.F and-DEF-go.down:ACT.PTCP.SG.F
in front of the cars which were going up [the road] and down [the road].
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Text 2 - All of my Grandparents

*iḥna īyliʿīna minšaq-a min ʿēli tāni*,
we family-our be.split:.ACT.PTCP-SG.F off family other[-SG.F]
Our family descends from a different family,

ʿēli tāni illi bi mawzūd-i b-il-ʾasīl fi rRēni,
Family other[-SG.F] REL she find:pass.pTCP-sg.f in-DEF-origin in Reine,

qaryi žamb innāṣri ktīr ʿarīb yāni inti
village near nazareth very close mean:IPFV.3SG.M you:SG.M
a village near Nazareth, very close, that is one may

ʿam b-tihki ṣan xamsī daʾīyī safar ʿmn inNāṣre:#.
PROG 1ND-talk:IPFV.2SG.M about five:PL ride from nazareth
Say it is five minutes ride from Nazareth.

hī min dār Farrāj.
She from family Farrāj.
It [belongs] to the Farrāj family.

b-tihku innu iḥna axadna i-laqab tabaʿ Abu lʾAsal,
1ND-say:3PL.M that we take:PRF.1PL DEF-nick.name of Abu lʾAsal
They say that we received the nickname of Abu lʾAsal [in the following way:]

kān fi sīd mil-li-syād ʿand-u binit
be:PRF.3SG.M there.is man from-DEF-man:PL at-him daughter
There was a man and he had a daughter

ʿum-a ʿAsali kānat ʾktīr bilwi w-kān
name:her ʿAsali be:PRF.3SG.F very beautiful-SG.F and-be:PRF.3SG.M
whose name was ʿAsali, she was very beautiful and he

ʾktīr yḥībb-a.
very love:IPFV.3SG.m-her

fa-kānu dallin
and-be:PRF.3PL remain:.ACT.PTCP-PL

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ynādū
call:IPFV.3PL.m[-him]

loved her very much. So they kept on calling him

Abu ʽAsali Abu ʽAsaleː, w-min bunāk aža ʽalē-na…
Father ʽAsali father ʽAsali and-from there come:PRF.3SG.M on-us
ʽAbu ʽAsali’, ʽAbu ʽAsali’, and since then [the name] came to us…

ʼaxad ʽalē-na l-ʼus:w:m#, sirna Abū lʼAsal.
start:PRF.3SG.M on-us DEF-name become:PRF.3SG.M Abū lʼAsal.
They started calling us by this name, we became “Abū lʼAsal”.

amman iḥna lʼaṣil lʼaṣil lʼaṣil kamān ʽāylit-na
As for us, most originally our family

min dār Firrāţ illī binnī ʼaṣil-hin ʼīn irRēni.
From family Firrāţ REL they origin-their from Reine.

bass iḥna mn innārī, yaʼni ana kīf b-aʼrif
Just we from Nazareth mean:IPFV.3SG.M I how IND-know:IPFV.1SG
But we are from Nazareth, how do I know?

innu kull iž-ždūd-eː#, mn inNāṣreː#
That all DEF-grandparent:PL-my from Nazareth
Since all of my grandparents are from Nazareth.

Text 3 - Jealousy

b-atzakkar lamman axū-y xileː’. ana kunt
IND-remember:1.SG when brother-my be:born:PRF.3SG.M I be:PRF.1SG
I remember when my brother was born. I was

ʼumr-i arbaʼ ʼin-in, lamman ǧīrit minn-u w-ṣirit
age-my four year-PL when be:jealous:PRF.1SG of-him and:begin:PRF.1SG
four years old when I was jealous of him and started

bidd-i ašrab kamān ana b-ilʼ-aninī kunt
want-my drink:IPFV.1SG also I in-DEF-bottle be:PRF.1SG

amik
grab:IPFV.1SG
wanting to drink also from the bottle, I used to grab

ilʼ-aninī w-arūb la-ʼand imm-i haʼul-l-ha bidd-i
DEF-bottle and-go:IPFV.1SG to-at mother-my tell:IPFV.1SG-to-her want-my
the bottle and go to my mother and tell her that I want

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\[ \text{ašrab} \quad b\text{-il-ánini} \quad zāyy \quad axī-y, \]
drink:IPFV.1SG in-DEF-bottle like brother-my
want to drink from the bottle like my brother,
\[ aw \quad bidd-i \quad arža‘ \quad amuṣ \quad b\text{-il-maṣāṣa}. \]
or want-my come.back:IPFV.1SG suck:IPFV.1SG on-DEF-pacifier
or that I want to suck on the pacifier again.

\[ \text{ktīr ġīrit} \quad \text{minn-}a\# \quad \text{w-kānat} \quad \text{-git-e}\# \quad \ldots \quad \text{b-innu} \]
very be:jealous:PRF.1SG of-him and:be:PRF.3SG.F jealousy-my ... in-that
I was very jealous of him. My jealousy was [expressed in] ... that
\[ bidd-i \quad asāwi \quad ṭağl-āt \quad illī \quad bā \quad b\text{-i} \text{mal-ha}, \]
want-my do:IPFV.1SG thing-PL REL he IND-do:IPFV.3SG-her
I wanted to do things that he did
\[ inn-i \quad ašrab \quad ūnīni \quad ašrab \quad b\text{-il-ánini} \quad b\text{-il-maṣāṣa}, \]
that-i drink:IPFV.1SG bottle drink:IPFV.1SG in-DEF-bottle in-DEF-pacifier
to drink from a bottle, drink from a bottle, the pacifier,
\[ aw \quad amuṣ \quad il-maṣāṣa \quad b\text{-summ-i} \quad amuṣ-ha \]
Or put:IPFV.1SG DEF-pacifier in-mouth-my suck:IPFV.1SG-her
\[ w-hāy \text{ il-īyā}. \]
and-DEM:F DEF-thing:PL
or put the pacifier in my mouth, suck on it, and alike.

Addresses for correspondence: ori.shachmon@mail.huji.ac.il; noam.faust@univ-paris8.fr

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