

A TEXT IN THE FISHERMAN DIALECT OF ACRE (AKKO)

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1. The dialectological mosaic of Acre.

Acre figures in the Bible as Akko, the name by which it is still known in Hebrew. The city was part of the territory assigned to the tribe of Asher, but as Judges (1:31) tells us, the people of this Israelite tribe could not drive out the then inhabitants of Sidon. In crusader times, Acre (St. Jean d'Acre) was a bridge between three continents: Asia, Europe and Africa. Such was still its importance during the Napoleonic wars.

Until 1948 the dialects spoken in Acre corresponded to the different large neighbourhoods. There were places where educated locals lived and spoke a more elevated and sophisticated dialect, a mixture of the current colloquial and the *fushā* known as *luġat ilzafandiyyi*. This population, consisting of both Muslims and Christians, was concentrated along the southern and western parts of Acre, in the proximity of the sea-wall. These locations are still known in Acre as Ḥārt ilFaxūra and Sāḥit ʿabbūd. Another dialect could be found among the more popular classes who spoke a simpler dialect, leaner in glossary. On the outskirts of Acre, along the Naḡamān (Naḡmēn) River, lived a tribe called Ġawārni, a name indicating their origin in the al-Ġōr region along the northern tributaries of the Jordan river. They brought their own dialect to Acre and in the course of a few generations it amalgamated with the local Arabic dialects but still preserved some specialities. This people were ridiculed by the local Acreans as “the Ġawārnīs eat catfish in sour milk” (*ilĠawārni byāklū zarmūt bi-laban*), a sort of fish caught in the Naḡmēn River and considered by the inhabitants of Acre as a very disgusting creature. In the centre of the old city of Acre, a group of Africans living in Ḥārt liMballaṭa claimed to be of Sudanese origins, a part of the Egyptian army that conquered Acre in 1832, led by Ibrāhīm Pāšā. Some phonetical characteristics of their original dialect were maintained among the elderly, such as a weak articulation of *ǧ* and *ḥ* (*ḥ* > *h*).

The fishermen of Acre used to live in the vicinity of the harbor in places known as Sāḥit ilŽrēni, Xān ilʿumdān and Xān ilFrānž. In 1948, during the Israeli War, when skirmishes between Jews and Arabs took place in the Haifa district, many of the inhabitants of adjacent villages started to flee to Haifa and from Haifa to Acre by rafts (*zahḡafāt*) since the landroad was cut off by the Jewish army. These refugees, partly consisting of fishermen from coastal villages like Ṭaṇṭūra and Caesarea, settled in Acre. A few of them engaged in fishing, while others continued their flight to Lebanon. We cannot tell the exact influence they had on the fishing vocabulary, since it is known that fishermen along the shore of Palestine-Libanon

from Jaffa in the south to Tyre in the North used more or less the same glossary. The text presented in this article, therefore, can be regarded as a conglomerate of those shore dialects, though the informant Ḥasan Mamlūk and many others like him still belonged to the main core of native fishermen who lived for many generations in the city.

After the establishment of the civil institutes of the new state of Israel, and with the coming of Jewish immigrants from North Africa, especially Morocco and Tunisia, a new Jewish group of fishermen, who spoke a different Arabic, joined the indigenous fishermen and adopted the local Arabic fishing glossary. At the same time, the 1950's, many refugees from the Arab villages surrounding Acre which were occupied by the Israeli army, found shelter in Acre. Since the possibilities for earning a living were restricted, many of these refugees joined the fishing industry. Those were the days before the Aswan dam was built in Egypt and the catch was abundant and demanded much manpower. The refugees, together with the new Jewish immigrants, took part in the type of fishing called *žarf* (beach seine). Naturally, a process of interculturalization took place in the craft of fishing and its language. In recent years there is a strong deurbanization, i.e. a large immigration from Acre to villages in the vicinity, especially to Makir and Ždēdi.

The fishermen of Acre were known to the non-fishing population of the city as strong and healthy people, since they used to drink the blood of sea-turtles (*turrasi* pl. *túrras*). They were also considered as more expert at foretelling the weather than the radio forecasts. It is told that local women used to consult them whether to hang out their laundry.

The fishermen were grouped in *žamağāt* ("crews") headed by a *rāyis* ("captain") who usually owned the nets and the main boat, *ilimbaṭṭani*, which towed small *flāyik*. After a night of fishing, the catch was brought to the harbor where merchants auctioned the fish and paid the *rāyis* accordingly. Afterwards the fishermen would sit in the *ilžrēni*-coffee-house and distribute the money among themselves. This distribution had its own code. All the fishermen were paid equally, minus a part for the nets and the boats. The latter naturally belonged to the *rāyis* who usually got twice the portion.

2. Dialect General Characteristics.

2.1. Phonology.

2.1.1. Consonants.

2.1.1.1. A very back realization of k throughout the text.

e.g. *šarak* (1, "Fishing-Hook-and-Line"), *issamak* (2, "fish"), *yšukk* (2, "stick in"), *flūka* (8, "boat").

2.1.1.2. *q* > *hamza* in most cases, except for some loan words from *fušḥā*:

zašdiqā? (18, "friends"), *qawīyyi-qawīyyi* (24, "very strong"; three more times in 42), *taqriban* (32, "approximately"; compare *tažriban*, 16).

The situation in Acre is not as in Haifa (among all communities) and partly in Tiberias where the final hamza is weak and can be omitted. On the contrary, in Acre it is always pronounced, e.g. *zasmā?* (8, "names"), *zašdiqā?* (18, "friends").

2.1.1.3. *ž* always appears.

2.1.1.4. The dialect is characterized by a strongly velarized ς throughout (e.g. *biṣād*, 3, “can be caught”) and by a very intensive pronunciation of ξ and τ .

2.1.1.5. A slight develarization was found in some cases:

ṣunnāra, *ṣa(na)nīr* (1, “fish-hooks”), *baξid*, *baξda* (e.g. 14, 28, 36, 40, “afterwards”). Compare *baξid* < *baξd* and *baξd-mā* e.g. *baξid* < *baξd* (e.g. 30, see).

2.1.1.6. Secondary velarization in some cases:

waṣaṭ (13, “middle”), *ḡaww*, *naww* (33; 24+28, “weather, storm”), *izzḡīr*, *zḡīr*, *zḡīri*, (e.g. 7, “the little one”), *ḡuzḡāt* (3, “dusky grouper”), *ḡuzḡuṣ* (11, with article).

2.1.1.7. $q > \xi$ only once: *titmazzaξ* (< *titmazzaq*, 31, “get torn”).

2.1.1.8. No interdentalals at all.

2.1.2 Vowels.

2.1.2.1. We find in Acre 5 long vowels: \bar{i} - \bar{e} - \bar{a} - \bar{o} - \bar{u} and 3 short vowels i - a - u . The short e and o exist in foreign loan words like *farrīden* (12, “common dentex”) and *mannōren* (7, “saddled bream”).

An allophonic vowel change occurs in the proximity of pharyngeal consonants, e.g. *yoḡḡadu* (8, “they sit”).

2.1.2.2. There are rarely velarized vowels, e.g. *fī lḡaṣhur hāy* (38, “in those months”).

2.1.2.3. Long \bar{e} , originally a diphthong, is a high \bar{e} close to \bar{i} , e.g. *illēl* (4, “the night”), *ṣēd* (15, “fishing”), *ilḡēš* (19, “the army”), *b-xēr* (27, “well”).

2.1.2.4. The length of the unstressed first vowel is preserved only sporadically in the plural of participle active in the first stem, like *kāṣḡīn*; *māš(y)īn* (18, “sailing; going”).

2.1.3. Morphology.

2.1.3.1. Nouns.

2.1.3.1.1. The feminine ending (except after pharyngeal consonants) is $-i$ (as in Haifa) and not $-e$.

2.1.3.1.2. Some fish names have the structure *faξξōlen* or *faξξīlen*, like *mannōren* (7) and *farrīden* (12, “saddled bream ; common dentex”).

2.1.3.1.3. *naww* (“storm/s”) is analogous to *ḡaww* (feminine! see 33; “weather”, *faξl* forms).

2.1.3.1.4. A rare plural form, e.g. *ḡaryāḡ* (< *riyāḡ*, 29, 32, 41, 42, “winds”).

2.1.3.1.5. Two nouns of different origins merge into an identical morphological form: *baξid* (“some”) and *baξid* (“after”) become *baξid*.

2.1.3.1.6. Demonstratives: demonstrative adverbs, pronouns and adjectives, mostly have the ending *-ki*: *hunāki*, *hadāki*, *hēki* (18,21, 37, “there”) but also *hunāk* (19).

2.1.3.2. Verbs.

2.1.3.2.1. *byifʕalu* forms instead of *bifʕalu* before pharyngal consonants, e.g. *byihzaru* or *byihzru* (44, “forecast” (verb)).

1.3.2.2. A Greek noun is used as the Arabic word *biḡallin* (33, “calms down, be-calm”) from *ḡallīni*, see **2.1.5.1.2.**

1.3.2.3. *fōʕal* form in *msōgar* (38, 40, for sure).

2.1.4. Syntax.

2.1.4.1. Remnants of *tanwīn* are found in several cases in expressions with *fi zayya*.... *-zin kān*, like: *fi zayya maḡall-in kān* (15, no matter where), *zayya šayz-zin kān* (17, whatever), and in loan words from *fušḡā* e.g. *taẓẓiban* (16, approximately), *dāyman* (28, 37, 38, 40, always) and contrary to *fušḡā* also in *zamman* (17, but).

2.1.5. Lexicon.

2.1.5.1 Loan words.

2.1.5.1.1. English loan words:

bāraks (8, Eng. <“baracks”, shacks and *nēvi* (Eng. “navy”), *ḡabbōr* (18, “ship”) from Eng. “vapor” through Turkish *vapōr* (see Bartélemy, pp.27: he mentions also the forms without gemination, *babūr*, *babōr* and also *wābōr*).

Other words possible of English origin are *maṭōr* (Eng. “motor”, twice in 23) and *rādyu* (Eng. “radio”, 28, 42, 43), *winšāt* (22, <Eng. “winch”), *linš* <Eng. “launch”.

2.1.5.1.2. Greek loan words:

biḡallin “to becalm” (the sea, from *ḡallīni*).

Another etymology derived from Greek (*efólkion*, 8+24, “boat”) is *flūka* pl. *falāyek*.

2.1.5.1.3. Latin/Greek loan words:

many fish names like *mannōren* (7 <*mela nura* “black tail”=), *zisfirna* (7, <*sphyræna*, “yellowmouth barracuda”).

2.1.5.1.4. Italian loan words: *barwanzāt* (36, 37, 39, 40, “stormy winds”) from Italian *Provenza* = Provence, a northern Mediterranean stormy wind from Provence. In Lebanon those stormy winds are also called *barwanzāt* and have the same singular form *barwānza*.

Another etymology that may be derived from Italian is the verb *msōgar* (38, for “sure”) from ancient Italian *sicurtá*.

3. The Text.

1. *hāda ššaʔʔ usmu šarak, fi fi zalbu šanīr, kull ʔarbaʕ xams zamāt, yaʕni sitt mīṭūra sabē mīṭūra m'nḡuṭṭ bnayyi w šunnāra.* 2. *hāy báʕid-ma yxalliš ittašlīh, w*

báeid-ma yibda hadāk... bibdi yšukk samak, sardīni, gubbus, turǧullus, zēš-ma kān, miššān šēd issamak; birūh hāda yitšayyad fi. 3. bitšayyad yaēni byōxud hfāš, luṛṛṣāt, šargūš, yaēni zimm... ha-l...issamak illi byōkul hāda tuḡum... binšād. 4. hāda binhatt bass b-illil, yā bi-... ilmuǧrib, ṛaw bi-nuṣṣ illēl, issaqāt waḥdi tintēn b-illēl, hēk ši yaēni. 5. biži... šsubḥiyyāt, nafs ¹lihsāb biži. 6. biži birawwaē, bibīē ha-ssamakāt, b-ilmismaki bižibin, hadāk, bištri samak, tuḡum, minšān yhuṭtu kamān, min zawwal yžibu w eād-ma žarra. 7. baēdēn fi šuǧul, fi nās tištǧil b-išbāk, [1,00] thutt ¹šbāk, titšayyad ēa-ssardīni, yaēni titšayyad ēala iṣšargūš, l...mannōren, ilēirab, yaēni min žamīē zanwāē issamak izzǧir hāda, w ilmutawassiṭ w kullu: zisfirna, mallīta. 8. fi zasmāz samak ktir: gubbus, turǧullus, yaēni... bižibu ššbāk, bižibūha la-hōn la-lbāraks, bass yozēadu yxallšu ssamak zilli fi zaḷba, w byirzaēu bizarrtūha w bihuṭtūha ēala lfluka min iždīd (?). 9. w ha... hēk yaēni tazriban; bihuṭtūha hāy, b-zaḷb ilmuǧrib b-ilbaḥar, bizimūha šsubih bakir issāēa sitti sabēa w kada. 10. yaēni biddna nēidlak iyyā hāda lḥadīs willa? (laughs) 11. aǧla samak mawžūd yaēni tazriban huwwi lluzṛuṣ, hū mazbūl maṭlūb, [2,00] min žamīē iṭtabazāt, aǧla samak yaēni, biži ḡali ktir. 12. w baēdēn ilfarriden, w ilḥafīš, tazūr, ēirab, hāda kamān nōē min nōē il...luṛṛuṣ w ilhadāki. 13. fi samak ziši tāni, zarxaš, yaēni b-nuṣṣ issiēir, fi šargūš... kbir, šargūš wašat, šargūš mšakkal; fi baēd marrāt biṭlaē musēār, zumbār; hāda bass biži b-miš ...iyyāmu, bi-... baṭtal yiži la-ēinna ēa-liblād, min yōm illi ēimlu ssadd ilēali fi... (laughs); tsakkarat yaēni. amma b-iššita hāda byōxud minnu ḥabbāt yaēni b-iššbāk, biēuṣṣ fi šuǧul w ḡēr iššbāk, w ilbaḥriyyi tuṛēod yaēni. 14. illi ēindu šabaki, w zilli mā ēindu šabaki, bištri šabaki ēa-sās kamān mišān yṭalliē maēiṣtu bass, miš zaktar wala zazall. 15. amma huwwi, ēāmmatan, iṣšēd miš kwayyis, yaēni law ištāǧal fi zayya maḥall-zin kān ēāmil, [3,00] hadāk zaḥsan min šēd issamak, bi-ktir. 16. yaēni zana ¹štaǧalt tazriban zarbēin sini, w kān wala miškili yaēni, lamma lwāḥad bixalliš, lā fi ilu tazmīn, lā fi ilu ši, lā fi ilu... wala ēindu mablaǧ mašāri zayy šihir ḥitta. 17. Q: miš maḍmūn yaēni? A: miš maḍmūn, lā! fiš tazmināt yaēni mawžūdi fi lbaḥar, ḡēr zissa ždīd šāru yzammnu, ilfalāyik yaēni ziza bšir maēu ḥādīs ṛaw zayya šay-zin kān, bass! zamman zawwal ma kanš fi yaēni. 18. marra kunna kāšhīn yaēni zana w Zabū Bašir, w fi zaxūy, w ēiddit zašḥā(b)... w itnēn kamān zašḥāb, zašdiqāz, w kunna žayyīn min tariz Hēfa, w hunāki fi kān ḥabbōr ḡarzān min zamān, w zumna yaēni miš ēar fin ziḥna fi ḥabōr ḡarzān, zumna mā ihna māšīn zilla rkibna ēala lēumdān tabaēūn ilḥadīdi, tabaēūn ilḥabbōr, w ¹ḡrizna hunāki, f-hadāk izzam(ān)... [4,00] 19. zumna ṭliēna ēa-ššat, w ṭliēna stanžadna, kān šāfna wāḥad kamp mn-ilžēš, w ṭliēna la-ēindun, w btiēraf zaxadu taḥziṛāt w ma taḥziṛāt, biddun yiērafu kull ši hunāk mawžūd. 20. w baēdēn ¹rkibna b-ittaksi w žābna lbulīs yaēni axad minna taḥziṛ w kull ziši li-zannu minšān yiēraf lēš ḡrizna w... 21. w ḡallat ha il... fallatna llinš hunāki, w ḡallēna žayīn ēala ēakka b-sayyāra, žabūlna sayyāra, rkibna b-sayyāra w rižina la-ēakka rziēna. 22. raḡēna tāni yōm, tālit yōm, ruḥna, žibna axadna Fiyat, ilna ašdiqāz hōn kullin ēindin maṛākib ¹kbiri, winšāt yirfaēu, w ruḥna rafaēna llinš hād w uxra žibna žamāēa yūǧutsu. 23. yaēni ḥallu lmatōr, w ṭallaēna lmatōr ēala lmarkib, w ṭallaēna baēdēn il...linš tabaēna, ēattalnā w žibnā la-ēakka, w ¹bḏīna b-ittašlīḥ tabaēta. 24. fi marra kunna ḥāṭṭīn šbāk, ana w šadīz ili, šrik yaēni ili fi lbaḥir; Zabū Bašir; kunna ḥāṭṭīnu ṭiliē naww ēāšif, kān w kānt ēāšfi qawiyyi qawiyyi [5,00], yaēni lā yizdar yiṭlaē lā markib kbir, wala linš kbir, wala iši min ha-ššikil, w niḥna min yaēni... xifna ēala ššbāk iṣwayy, w btiēraf kant ilmaddiyyi ḡaēifi šwayy, fa-zumna ṭliēna fi lbaḥar innaww ilzāfil, yaēni riḥ, ēawāšif kānat, bēn ēakka w Hēfa, ruḥna, ṭli...žibna ššbāk, w baēdēn hōni yaēni fi ēakka fi zašḥāb zittašalu fi l... fi l... žēš...

ilbulis w fi lhadaki, la-zannu battalna nbayyin nihna, zasas ilmōž miš mbayyin, la-zinnu flūka zǧiri, linš zǧir. 25. w btiǧraf, radār w ḥatta lbulis, bizdar yfattiš kamān, mā šafnāš. 26. willa nihna baǧdēn ḥawwašna ššbāk, w zižina ǧala ǧakka w 'rziǧna w žina, w lažēna wažadna nās, yaǧni kānat malāni kulla ahil ǧakka tazrīban mawžūdi ǧa-lmūna, w zāǧdi titfarraž kif zinnu ruḥna iḥna žayin min ilbahar. 27. w ilḥamdu li-llā ḥliǧna b-xēr. [6,00] 28. b-iyām irrabīǧ; bass yiṭlaǧ šsarzi yaǧni, fi ǧādatan, ayya riḥ in kān biṭlaǧ šarzi zilla min baǧdu tšir, ǧawāšif, ǧawāšif šamaliyyi ǧarbiyyi w naḥw, zayy ma hū nēvi ǧa-bitsažžlu, w ḥāy btudxul yaǧni baǧid marrāt ǧala ǧafli hiyyi w irriḥ maǧ baǧda; 'btiǧraf innās 'btibza mithaddri lamma bismaǧu iṭtazis, bi-ha... dāyman bismaǧu, lmaḥattāt zinnu, iši ǧa-rriyāḥ w kaza, w byiǧraf sidi, ilwāḥad yaǧni xabir bi-hāy ilzašyār; amma dāziman bismaǧ ilrādyu miššān ykūn mutmazinn zaktar yaǧni... 29. biḥuṭṭ 'šbāk yaǧni, ǧād marrāt ktir bibza ǧala xaṭar; bibza sāmiǧ iṭtazis kamān miš kull ha-lzaddi biḥuṭṭ minšān maǧištu, minšān biddu hadāk, w miš dāyman btiḥzar ilzaršād ilzawwiyyi b-taǧtiyy ilxabar iššahīḥ ilkāmil; w ḥāda šši... šār fi iyyām ilǧawāšif il... zaryāḥ, innās ṭhuṭṭ 'šbāk ta-tšayyad, tistarzi, 'iṭtaliǧ mašrūfha maǧiš'tha. [7,00] 30. w hiyyā! fi nās 'iḥallt 'šbāka baǧid mā... ma-ǧidratš ṭhawwišha yumēn tlāti ḍallu ilǧawāšif iṭlaǧa. 31. tiimazzaǧ iššbāk, iši žiba, iši ma-žibāš, w šēr min ha-nnōǧ yaǧni. 32. ḥāy ilbarwanzāt bi-šahir xamsi, taqriban bišir tudxul zaryāḥ ǧarbiyyi muṭādili, w našita baǧd marrāt; yaǧni zayy ziyām il... hadāk ḥāy bzulūlha lbarwanza. 33. zēš barwanzāt? bit ḍall ḥāy ḥawāli zarbēin yōm, dāyman mutawāšli, yaǧni biǧallin 'šwayy, bi... hubb bi... ihubb irriḥ w buskut, ilmuǧrubiyyāt biǧuš fi hadāki birzaǧ budxul iššubḥiyyāt; w biḍallu zawi ṭul innhār la-zāxr innhār; zāxir innhār bi... tišfa lẓaww. 34. bitsir innās yaǧni, ḥāda min zarbēin xamsin yōm bibza x... yaǧni saǧbin ma lwāḥad, fišš safini w bizdarš yištgil kull iššugul illi lāzim yištiǧlu; ḥāy bizulūlla lbarwanzāt. 35. ḥāy ḥawāli arbēin yōm biḍdalla min haššikil; zā btiǧrif, btiṭzaxxar baǧid marrāt, btiži bi-zāx... b-šahir xamsi baǧid marrāt; b-zawāxir xamsi, b-sitti w sabǧa biḍdallha baǧid marrāt tiži sitti, w sabǧa [8,00], btiǧraf ǧala... iṭzūš btiṭǧayyar ǧalēha. 36. yaǧni mitil zissa baǧda issa la-ḥadd zissa mā xilšatiš ilbarwanzāt, ḥāy issini iḥna b-šahir tišǧa šurna, w hiyyā. 37. zabil yumēn kān fi barmazāt zawiyyi, zabil žumǧa kān fi barw... w nihna fi ššahr ittāmin w ittāsiǧ, ḥāy yaǧni btiži mitzaxxri ǧala hawa ssini, w ḥāda ḥeki; dāyman yaǧni, kull sini. 38. ḥāy msōgara lāzim tiži, dāyman dāyman, fi lzašhur ḥāy, sitti, b-zāxir xamsi, tibadiz yaǧni w baǧdēn b-šahir tamāni btibza mxallša; b-zawāxir tamāni bibza mxallša. 39. šū (b)ddak tiǧmal? tuxudla yumēn talāti zyādi, btuxudla b-innāziš yumēn tlāti, bitbaṭṭil fi lbarwanzāt, w ḥāda šši. 40. ḥāy yaǧni dāyman šarat zayy ma tzuḥl ǧār finha, hinni mitǧallmīn zayy ma inti... mitǧallmīn zintu b-ilzāmǧa, yinǧarif zinnu lbarwanzāt tiži b-ḥāda ššahir (laughs)... 41. miš bi-tnabbuz, ḥāda 'msōgar, yaǧni biǧraf, saddini, baǧid mrrāt [9,00], bt... btismaǧ iṭtaziš, innās btismaǧu k...zusmu, w bižu w bizammšu ǧala iṭtaziš, bišūfu lzaryāḥ, bišūfu lǧēm, bišūfu šū smu, wulak mafiš ši, miš ǧād tudxul riḥ zawi, miš rāḥ ykūn kaza! 42. w ḥāda btusduz b-aktar, btibza zāyil irrādyu innu fi zaryāḥ qawiyyi w žāmdi, w ziši min ha-ššikil, w bibza, btiṭlāǧiš zēš kif lāzim, li-zannu lbaḥriyyi ǧindun nazra kamān qawiyyi qawiyyi b-mašākil...mašākil ilzaryāḥ ḥāy w ilbarmazāt w iššita 43. w... ilrabīǧ, yaǧni rrabīǧ ḥāda... mā byuxdūš ḥadd wala b-iltifzyōn wala b-irrādyu wala b-ziši! 44. w byiḥzaru ǧalē lbaḥriyyi zaktar ma-byiḥizru ǧalē lzaršād ilzawwiyyi. [9,40].

4. Translation.

1. This part (of apparatus) is called a "Fishing-Hook-and-Line" and it contains fish-hooks, every four or five fathoms, that is every six or seven meters, we put an offshoot hook-and-line. 2. And after he (the fisherman) finishes fixing, after doing that, he starts to stick in fish: sardines, bogues, blue runners, no matter what there is for fishing; He goes out to fish with it. 3. He can catch golden grouper, dusky grouper, white sea bream, that is... any fish that eats this bait... can be caught. 4. This (apparatus) is cast only during the night, or at... sunset or at midnight, at one o'clock or two o'clock, something like that. 5. He comes in the morning, according to the same reckoning. 6. He leaves (the pier), then he sells the fish to a fish shop and he buys fish for bait to stick it in again, (the process) starts from the beginning and so forth. 7. Afterwards there is work, there are people who work on the nets, [1,00] who cast the nets, who catch sardines that is to say white sea bream, saddled bream, painted comber, that is every sort of tiny fishes or the middling ones like yellow-mouth barracuda and obtuse barracuda. 8. There are many fish names, like bogues, false scad; they bring nets and take them to the shacks, as they sit and pluck out the fish which are (trapped) in them, they mend them again and lay them in the boat and so forth(?). 9. That is the way it is approximately: they plunge in the sea at sunset, they pull it out early in the morning at six or seven o'clock, something like that. 10. Do you really want me to tell it to you again from the beginning? (laughs) 11. The most expensive fish to be found is the dusky grouper and it is the most common and sought after [2,00] by all social classes, it is the most expensive and considered to be very expensive. 12. Then (from the price aspect) come the common dentex, the golden grouper, the dusky grouper, the painted comber, and another sort... the white grouper and the rest. 13. There are other sorts of fish which are cheaper, something like half in price, like the diplodus fishes: the large sort, the middle one, and other sorts of diplodus, sometimes we catch meagre, bluefish, this sort does not come anymore... it does not come to our country anymore, since they built the high dam in... (laughs); So there is no more (of this sort). But in the winter, one can catch some of these fish in nets, then there is no work except (fishing) by nets and (therefore) the fishermen sit idle. 14. Those who have a net, and those who do not have one, buy a net, in order to get his living from it no more or no less. 15. Generally speaking, fishing is not good (profitable), that is if one works no matter where as a worker [3,00], it is much better than fishing. 16. I have been working something like forty years (in this job) and I did not have any problem; nowadays when one finishes, he has no (pension) insurance and nothing... and he does not even have any savings. 17. Q: You have no guarantee? A: No guarantee, no! there are no insurances in the work of the sea, but recently they began to make insurance. I mean for the boats, if he has an accident or whatever, but in the past there was none! 18. Once we were sailing, me and Abu Bašīr, and my brother and some friends were there... two other friends, close friends, we were coming from the direction of Haifa, and there was an old shipwreck, and then we did not know that there was a sunken ship, and as we were passing, and there we struck into the iron pillars of the ship and we sank there then ... [4,00] 19. We reached shore and we were crying for help, somebody saw us, from the military camp, we went up to them, and you know, they made some interrogations, because they wanted to know everything that had happened. 20. Afterwards, we took a taxi which brought us to the police (station), that is they made some questionings in order to know how did we sink... 21. And so ... We left the launch there and we came straight ahead to Acre with a car, they brought us a car, we took the car and we came back to Acre. 22. We stayed the next day and the day

after; we went and brought a Fiat, we have friends here who all own big ships, and cranes... and we lifted the launch... and we also brought some divers. 23. They dismantled the engine, we lifted the engine onto the ship and then we lifted our boat, we immobilized and brought it to Acre and we began our repairs. 24. Once we were casting nets, me and a friend of mine, that is a sea-partner of mine, Abu Bašîr, we had cast it, when suddenly a storm broke, a very strong one, [5,00] so no big ships nor big launch and nothing of the like, could go out (to sea) and we were... somehow worried about the nets, and you know, the economic situation was a bit hard, so we cruised into the gloomy stormy sea, that is to say a wind, a storm it was between Acre and Haifa... we went, brought... nets and afterwards here, that is in Acre, there were friends of ours who phoned the army... the policè and so on, because we ceased to be visible because of the waves, and because it was a small boat, a small launch. 25. You know, the radar... also the police, can fetch us and does not see us. 26. Here afterwards we gathered the nets and came back to Acre, we came back and we found people, I mean, almost all the people of Acre were there in the port, they were sitting looking at us (to see) how we came back from the sea. 27. The Lord be praised! We came back well. [6,00] 28. In spring, at the moment the eastern wind begins, normally every time when an eastern wind begins, there is a northwestern wind afterwards and a storm, according to the registrations of the navy, this (storm) sometimes happens suddenly and (that is) a wind, and you know, people are in a state of alert when they hear the weather (forecast); they are used always to listening to (various) stations, as regards winds and so on. One can be an expert, Sir, in those things, but in spite of that, they still listen to the radio in order to be more certain. 29. When one casts nets, he is often in danger, he listens to the weather (forecast), not so much, but he does it for his own living, because he wants it, and not every time the meteorological services forecast reports the real and full news and this thing... when the weather is stormy, the people cast nets to fish for their living, they make their living, (their) livelihood. [7,00] 30. Indeed, there are people who leave their nets after... they cannot gather them, because... two or three days the storms continue to blow. 31. The nets get torn, some of them can be returned and some not and so on. 32. Those *barwanzât* are approximately in May, light western winds blow and sometimes even moderate, as in the days of... they are called *barwanzât*. 33. What are those *barwanzât*? They remain approximately forty days, always continuous, then they calm down a bit until the wind blows and calms down and in the afternoon there is nothing more of it but in the morning it comes back again and remains strong all day until the day ends then the weather becomes clear. 34. The people begin to... They (the stormy winds) remain between forty and fifty days, they are hard, one...there is no ship, you cannot do the work you have to do. Those are called *barwanzât* ("stormy winds"). 35. They remain like that for forty days, yes, they can stay sometimes a little more and occur in May or even sometimes at the end of May or stay even in June or July [8,00], yes they come sometimes in June and July, you know... the weather conditions change accordingly. 36. This year, until now, those *barwanzât* are still blowing, we are in September and they are still blowing as you can see. 37. Two days ago, there were strong *barwanzât* and also a week ago... (this year) also in August and September, they come late and (change) every year, it is like that; it is always like that every year. 38. It is for sure that they have to come, always, always in those months, June or at the end of May they begin and they will be finished by August; they are finished by the end of August. 39. What can you do? They can take two or three days more or two or three days less and then there will be no *barwanzât* and so forth. 40. It always happened, that is to say they (fishermen)

know it, they are well-trained as you are... educated at the university... it is known that the *barwanzāt* come in this (specific) month (laughs)... 41. They do not prophesy, it is for sure! that is to say they know; Believe me, sometimes [9,00] you hear... hear the weather forecast [on the radio], the people hear it, what, its name [the weather forecast] and they come and look at the weather, they see the winds, they see the clouds, they see what is its name, and here, nothing! there is no strong wind! nothing [of what they said] happens! 42. And this [the fishermen's forecast] is more correct! the radio would say that there will be strong and violent winds or something of the kind, and nothing of the like happens because the seamen have a very strong insight also concerning the matters... matters of these winds and the stormy winds and the rain. 43. The spring... the spring, no one in the television or in the radio can forecast it at all! 44. The fishermen can forecast it more accurately than the meteorological service. [9,40]

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