

## OTTOMAN LEXICAL OBSOLESCENCE IN THE ARABIC DIALECTS OF THE GALILEE REGION

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### Abstract

The author of this article has focused over the last fifteen years on various research projects among Arabic-speaking communities in the Galilee and on other dialects and languages of the Arab world and the Middle East. The linguistic fieldwork that has been conducted, described and analyzed in this article seeks to find the patterns of obsolescence of Ottoman-Turkish lexica in this region, where the Ottomans ruled for approximately 400 years.

**Key Words:** Ottoman, lexica, Galilee, Arabic dialect.

### 1. Hypothesis and Aim

The Ottomans ruled the Holy Land approximately 400 years, from the time of the Sultan Selim-I between the years 1516-1517 until the arrival of the British troops in 1917 in the Negev in the southern parts of the land. Yet, in the northern parts, the Ottoman rule lasted an additional year, as Haifa was occupied on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of September, 1918. Undoubtedly, this period is sufficiently long to leave lexical remnants in the Arabic speech of the population. Yet, since Turkish belongs to the Altaic language family and simultaneously also is an agglutinative language, while Arabic is Semitic, it was not easy for the Arab population to pick up this language. Additionally, only a minority of the local Arab population had a thorough command of Ottoman-Turkish (*Osmanlıca*)<sup>1</sup>. Almost one hundred years passed from that time and meanwhile the Arab population of the Galilee region underwent two further

language changes, since British rule lasted between the years 1918-1948 and left its English-language sediments, and then came the vast Hebrew-language influence from 1948 until the present.

In this research I sought the patterns of lexical Ottoman obsolescence among the Arab population of the Galilee region and its behavior<sup>2</sup>. As a dialectologist of Arabic who has been conducting linguistic fieldwork in this region over the last fifteen years<sup>3</sup>, I observed a certain decline in the use of Turkish-Ottoman vocabulary among the young generation, as I remember a more vast input of this lexicon in the elderly population in the late 1990s, and that is why I decided to explore this phenomenon with contemporary statistical research.

Therefore, I sought to explore the contemporary linguistic situation that still preserves these words, to distinguish its patterns of lexical obsolescence; to examine the characteristics of the still-used Ottoman lexica, to observe the hypothetical differences of use among female and male speakers, between the various communities of Arabic speakers, cities and villages and, of course, the theoretical distinction of lexical oblivion among the different age groups. All these should give a picture of the current use or hearing of Ottoman words. In general, this research can shed light on the patterns of lexical obsolescence of a language that no longer exists as vital and daily. Do all the words have the same prototype of oblivion? What are the semantic fields in which we can still find Ottoman words? Is the local population aware of these words and their original source?

Before beginning the research, I intended to find decisive differential diagnosis of the final results in some aspects mentioned above to enable a simple and uncomplicated analysis of the image of the prevailing situation.

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<sup>1</sup> The Lebanese film سفر برك [Beirut, 1967] tries to reflect the atmosphere of the last years of Ottoman rule in the Shuf-Mountains region in this country. The actors try to imitate Ottoman-Turkish words. Also in this geographical region we can witness the lack of command of the Ottoman-Turkish language by the locals. They cannot speak a whole sentence, while they still know certain vocabulary which is needed for their daily life.

<sup>2</sup> Compare David Crystal, *Language Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1-26. See also Amri C. Jones and Ishtla Singh, *Exploring Language Change*. (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 78-104.

<sup>3</sup> On Osmanlı vocabulary in Tiberias, see Aharon Geva Kleinberger, *Autochthonous Text in the Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Tiberias*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), pp. 28-29. Compare also the Osmanlı-Turkish glossary in Haifa in Aharon Geva Kleinberger, *Die arabischen Stadtdialekte von Haifa in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), pp. 345-346.

## 2. Implementation and Method

In this research I examined 61 words, 59 of them of Ottoman-Turkish etymons and two words that were simply invented to serve as a touchstone to the credibility of the final results, (طرجون [argūn] and شيشمار [šišmār], as having a supposedly Turkish sound). Few words given in the questionnaire were not of Ottoman-Turkish etymology<sup>4</sup>. 253 questionnaires (154 Muslims, 56 Druze, 32 Christians and 11 Jews) were filled in by my students at the University of Haifa in the course "Introduction to Arabic Language". I did not reveal the meaning of the words and I gave them one week to fill in the rest of the questionnaires in their native village or town. Some of the students filled in a questionnaire for themselves, yielding a reflection of their own knowledge of these Ottoman lexica. The words were written in Arabic letters. The students had to fill in a rubric asking whether the word is etymologically Turkish or Arabic in their opinion, to fill in details about the age, sex, education and religion of the informants, and additionally their names, phone numbers and addresses. They also were given the option to mention additional allegedly Turkish words used in their daily life. Each student had to sign a declaration that he/she filled the questionnaires according to academic rules and authenticity<sup>5</sup>.

In the questionnaires I distinguished two differential diagnoses of lexical obsolescence: "actual use of a word in daily life" and "exclusively hearing the word" without using it in normal speech in everyday life. Complete oblivion of a word was indicated as 0 and in the range of 1-10, "10" indicated a very intensive use/hearing a certain word. The students also had to supply the alleged meaning of each word and to indicate whether it is Turkish or Arabic.

<sup>4</sup> For the word كڤيرة (Ottoman-Turkish < كڤير [\*kevgir]) Peter Behnstedt, *Sprachatlas von Syrien*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997), pp. 780-78 mentions the equivalent dialectal Turkish word in Syria çumça [ladle < çömçe]. Sometimes it is difficult to find the source of an etymon of a specific word. About foreign words that penetrated the Turkish language, see Bedros Kerestedjian, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Turque*. (Londres: Son Neveu Haig, M.R.A.S., 1912).

<sup>5</sup> This theme is a subject for an independent article. Some of the students added an appendix of further Ottoman/Turkish words to the 61 mentioned in the questionnaire. This list comprises approximately an additional one hundred words, and about only 20% of them are really of Turkish etymology, e.g., أدبسر [impolite], أوضه [room], طربوش [Turkish skullcap], بويّا [shoeblack]. Some typical Syrian dialect words e.g., شلونك [how are you?] are thought to be of Turkish origins. Based on my fieldwork in this region fifteen years ago, I noticed that some Turkish words completely disappeared from daily use, e.g., سفيرلك [banishment; exile < \*seferberlik] = mobilization. It is noteworthy that none of the hundreds of Arab informants that I met up to now since 1995, knew that the Arabic dialect verb بلى [to begin] derives as a metathesis from the Turkish başla= of the same meaning.

It is noteworthy that in this paper I concentrate exclusively on the results of the Arab population, since I understand now that similar research should be made in the future among Hebrew-speaking Jews. The results were analyzed statistically and, accordingly, I will try to consolidate my final conclusions. I will annex in the appendix only the most interesting results, since the whole statistical material expands over more than 150 pages of final data.

## 3. Results and Analysis

### a. Is a Word Ottoman/Turkish or Arabic in its Origin?<sup>6</sup> [Appendix A]

Here I discuss only the words that were assumed by most of the informants (≥50%) to be Arabic and I try to find their common features. 13 out of 61 (21.3%) words fit this category. The results are between 50.2% [بلطي<sup>7</sup>] and 85% [بصمة<sup>8</sup>]. As characteristics – most of these words have an Arabic morphological structure:

■ Some words end with the common Arabic feminine ending *tā' marbūṭa*, such as داية [midwife], بلطة [axe], and بصمة [a signature with a finger]. The use of the Turkish suffix for professions, -جي, does not contradict in the informants' view the possibility of an Arabic base, e.g., بلطي [a bully], since various old-fashioned professional names penetrated Arabic speech with this suffix and it is identified by many as an Arabic marker for professions, e.g., عرجي and حنطورجي<sup>9</sup> [waggoner].

■ Words that seem to have an allegedly Arabic root and have a morphological pattern that resembles Arabic words, e.g., تطلي [marmalade, jam;

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>7</sup> See Prokosh Erich, *Osmanisches Wortgut im Ägyptisch-Arabischen* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983), p. 50. See also Gustav Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*. (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1997), p. 16. It is noteworthy that the contemporary use of أفندي in the Galilee is exclusively ironical, e.g., تعمل حالك أفندي? [Do you make yourself an Efendi?]

<sup>8</sup> Compare A. Barhélemy. *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*. Dialects de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem. (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1935), p. 48, etymologically derived from Turkish basma. See Also Aytac, *Arap Lehçelerindeki Türkçe Kelimeler*. (Istanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1994), pp. 38-39.

<sup>9</sup> This word derives etymologically from the Hungarian *hintó* [see-saw; chariot], see Geva Kleinberger, *Die arabischen Stadtdialekte von Haifa*, p. 346.

in contemporary Turkish normally as "sweet/s" - namely, a slight meaning-shift], as the prefix -ت proceeds the root  $\sqrt{\text{طلي}}$ .

▪ Arabic preposition as a prefix to a Turkish word [ $< * \text{zor}$ ], e.g., بالزور [hardly].

▪ Words that have also a root in Arabic, e.g.,  $\sqrt{\text{قبضاي}}$ <sup>10</sup> [a thug,  $\sqrt{\text{قبض}}$  = to catch].

▪ Some words are completely merged into the Arabic lexicon and are thought to be etymologically part of it, e.g., ختیار [old man], شاكوش [hammer] and مندیل [headscarf].

## b. Use of Words in Ascending Order<sup>11</sup>:

1) This parameter was checked in the following correlation:

▪ General average of the hearing of the words [hence: hearing]: the allegedly Turkish words that were invented in this survey were at the bottom of the list (شیشمار 0.61/10 and طرجون 0.63/10). Other words that conclude this list are شكرلمه [candy, 0.28/10, even less than the two invented words], یازجي [a writer, 0.64] and زنجين [a rich man, 0.70]; the words at the top of the list are برغل [bulgur, 7.66], دغري [straight, straight-on, 7.88], while ختیار [old man, 8.36] is the word that is most heard.

General average of the use of words: شكرلمه [candy, 0.15], یازجي [writer, 0.16] and دولمه [stuffed vegetables, 0.25], and only then come the two invented words طرجون [0.33] and شیشمار [0.34]; the most frequently-used words in the list are مندیل [headscarf, 6.79] and دغري [straight, straight-on, 7.47], and the list concludes with the most-used word, ختیار [old man, 8.04].

▪ General average of hearing among the Druze communities: The lowest result for words heard used by others is شكرلمه [0.08], followed by the invented words طرجون [0.37], دولمه [0.55], یازجي [0.55 too] and the invented شیشمتار [0.60]; the top of the list is conquered by برغل [7.72], دغري [7.97] and ختیار [8.45].

General average of actual use among the Druze communities: The lowest results are شكرلمه [0.07], یازجي [0.13], and دولمه [0.17], and only then appear the two invented words طرجون [0.20] and شیشمار [0.40]; at the top of the list we find مندیل [6.82], دغري [7.39], while the most-used word is ختیار [8.05].

▪ General average of hearing among the Moslem communities: The lowest results for the words heard used by others are as follows: شكرلمه [0.28] and then the two invented words شیشمار [0.62] and طرجون [0.63]; the words most heard are برغل [7.64] and دغري [7.87] and the most heard is ختیار [8.34].

General average of actual use among Moslem communities: The lowest results are شكرلمه [0.15], یازجي [0.16], and دولمه [0.25], and only then appear the two invented words طرجون [0.33] and شیشمار [0.34]; at the top of the list are مندیل [6.78], دغري [7.45], and the most-used word is ختیار [8.02].

▪ General average of hearing among the Christian communities: The lowest result is شكرلمه [0.29] and then directly appear the two invented words, طرجون [0.58] and شیشمار [0.63]; The most heard are برغل [7.62], دغري [7.84] and ختیار [8.32], which is the most-heard word.

General average of actual use among the Christian communities: the lowest results, in ascending order, are شكرلمه [0.15], یازجي [0.17], and دولمه [0.26], and only then appear طرجون [0.27] and شیشمار [0.35]; at the top of the list are مندیل [6.72], دغري [7.47], and the most-used word is ختیار [8.00].

General average of hearing among males: the lowest [6.76] result is شكرلمه [0.28] and then directly appear the two invented words, شیشمار [0.62] and طرجون [0.63]; the results at the top of the list are: برغل [7.62], دغري [7.85], and the most-heard is ختیار [8.33].

General average of actual use among males: the lowest results are شكرلمه [0.15], یازجي [0.16], and دولمه [0.25], and only then come the two invented words طرجون [0.33] and شیشمار [0.34]; at the top of the list appear as most-used مندیل [6.76], دغري [7.43] and the most-used word is ختیار [8.01].

<sup>10</sup> Turkish *kabadayı*. See Aytaç, p. 79.

<sup>11</sup> Appendices B1 and B2.

▪ General average of hearing among females: the lowest result is شكرلمه [0.28] and then the two invented words شيشمار [0.61] and طرجون [0.63]; at the top of the list are برغل [7.66], دغري [7.88] and ختيار [8.36].

General average of actual use among females: the lowest results are: شكرلمه [0.15], يازجي [0.16], and دولمه [0.25], and only then come the two invented words طرجون [0.33] and شيشمار [0.34]; the most-used in ascending order are the same as those for the males regarding place: منديل [6.79], دغري [7.47] and ختيار [8.04].

General average of hearing among villagers: the lowest results are in the following ascending order: شكرلمه [0.22], the invented words طرجون [0.58], يازجي [0.63], دولمه [0.64] and the invented word شيشمار [0.65]; at the top of the list are: برغل [7.58], دغري [7.85] and the most-heard is ختيار [8.34].

General average of actual use among villagers: the lowest results are شكرلمه [0.08], يازجي [0.17], دولمه [0.18], and only then come the two invented words, طرجون [0.27] and شيشمار [0.36]; at the top of the most-used are: منديل [6.77], دغري [7.45] and ختيار [8.04].

▪ General average of hearing among town-dwellers: the lowest result is شكرلمه [0.29] and then the two invented words طرجون [0.58] and شيشمار [0.63]; at the top of the list are برغل [7.62], دغري [7.84] and ختيار [8.32].

General average of actual use among town dwellers: the lowest results are شكرلمه [0.15], يازجي [0.17], دولمه [0.26], and only then appear the two invented words, طرجون [0.27] and شيشمار [0.35]; at the top of the list are: منديل [6.72], دغري [7.42] and ختيار [8.00].

2) General interim consequences: there is not much difference between all groups: normally those words that had the lowest and highest results are the same word with slight differences in the ascending order. Yet, within the list itself between the two extremes, we find very slight differences in the ascending order of the words. It is worth mentioning that the words that had the most prominent standard deviation, both in hearing and actual use, were حاووز

[basin, hearing: standard deviation of 3.83, use: standard deviation of 3.99], ياي [spring/joint, hearing: standard deviation of 3.94, use: standard deviation of 4.10] and the most prominent in this category was the word أوجاق [furnace, hearing: standard deviation of 3.98, use: standard deviation of 4.19]. This indicates that those three words have the highest rate of differentiation among all the categories discussed. We can make the differential diagnosis and say that some of the informants still keep the old meaning of the Ottoman word, while others give the word modern semantic meanings, as in the case of حاووز, which meant in the Galilee in the past, during Ottoman rule and especially in villages, "a trough," while it shifted the meaning today to " [a general] basin". The word ياي also has a high rate of standard deviation among the informants since it had in the past the meaning "spring/joint", while today many informants interpret it as a vocative word indicating surprise. The word أوجاق indicated formerly an old-fashioned furnace which is not used in all places currently, but still is used in villages where the weather is relatively cold, and normally is not used in the towns. This is why the standard deviation of this word is lower in villages, while there the word with the highest rate of standard deviation is ياي and not أوجاق.

### c. Condensed Data Table (CDT)<sup>12</sup>

This table supports the results in b 1) and 2), while it changes the data into averages. Thus we can see that the general average of hearing of all categories is much higher than the average of actual use of the words in daily life (4.34 versus 3.19). This data indicates the process of obsolescence, since one can hear a word more than one uses it. It might be interpreted at this stage that the elderly Arab speaker uses the words more than the younger speakers, so they can understand him, yet they do not use the particular word anymore. In any event, the standard deviation of actual use is lower than the standard deviation of hearing and it confirms again this assumption. Generally, rates lower than 5.00/10 may denote low results and an accelerated process of oblivion.

When we analyze the results of all other parameters we find a very interesting phenomenon: there is only very slight divergence in the category of

<sup>12</sup> Appendix C.

religious communities [Druze: hearing: 4.35, and actual use: 3.25, Moslems: hearing 4.33, use: 3.26 and Christians, hearing: 4.30, use: 3.24). There is also a very slight difference on the basis of gender: Female informants hear and use only slightly more Ottoman words than the male informants (females: hearing: 4.34, use: 3.27 versus males: hearing: 4.31, use 3.24). Also the tendency of standard deviation regarding female and male informants is almost the same. When we analyze the results comparing villages and towns, we find here most surprisingly the same results (villages: hearing: 4.30, use: 3.25 versus towns: hearing: 4.30, use: 3.24). The same tendency of almost identical results we find in the category of education, where there are only very small differences among those informants who studied a few years in a school and those who studied longer and even those who completed academic studies. Even the deviation standards in this category are surprisingly very minor (compare Appendix C). And finally – the same tendency is preserved in the category of geography, as no significant differences were found between the various sub-regions in the Galilee (yet there is a minimal and insignificant slightly-higher result in the Lower Galilee).

Surprisingly, the differences in all categories are trivial. Thus, the overall picture shows a region homogenous in various aspects (sex, geography, education and religion) regarding the vitality versus oblivion of the Ottoman lexica.

#### d. The Criterion of Age<sup>13</sup>

The sole criterion in which we can find noteworthy divergence is age. Generally speaking, we can see that elderly informants seem to preserve more Ottoman lexical remnants. The more a word is deep in the obsolescence process (<3.5), the propensity of an oblivion process is more evident. In words that naturalized within the Arabic language, like those which appear at the top of the tables, e.g., ختیار - the process of obsolescence is less palpable. For example, when we consider the graph of the word طلمبة [pump], we can see a significant descending feature according to age, yet the behavior of the parabola is not linear – namely, there are some stations of ascending peaks. We can see that there are certain age groups in which there is a temporal ascending of the remembrance of the word, yet the general tendency is descending toward total oblivion. This graph tendency can be labeled the *Undulation Behavior of Obsolescence* [hence *UBO*]. The same tendency for this word is found in the Druze community. Yet, for the Moslems the wavy peaks are more delicate, especially in the graph of the actual use. The graph of the Christian informants shows the same general tendency towards oblivion, yet the descending of obsolescence is sharper and occurs between the ages of 40 and 30. The same behavior is found regarding the word سنجي تآك [fix bayonets] and also the graph of the word قشلة<sup>14</sup> [winter army base~ prison cell~prison], where the tendency of the graph is the same, yet the shapes of the waves differ. If we analyze the graph of the Druze and Moslems for this word, we see a more linear descending regarding hearing, while the pattern of actual use of the word in daily life displays more of the *UBO*.

Words such as طابور [which today in the Galilee means *queue* and in the past in this region meant *army unit* or *army parade*] have a completely different behavior, since this word is not in serious danger of obsolescence, and therefore the graph has a more *linear pattern*. Thus, words that naturalized in Arabic speech such as ختیار, which demonstrates a high level of use in daily life, show a *pattern of revival*, which means that there was a time (approximately 50 years

<sup>13</sup> Appendices D1-D11.

<sup>14</sup> This word is pronounced differently by the informants in the Galilee region, according to their sub-dialects: e.g., in Haifa we hear *il□iṣli*, while in Nazareth we find *ilkaṣle*. Thus we can see that the Arabic article is added to Turkish names and places.

ago) when there was a tendency towards oblivion and then the word regained vitality in the language of the local Arabic dialects of the Galilee region.

#### 4. Conclusion

The current research is based on 253 linguistic questionnaires. Even when there might be a slight inaccuracy regarding the number of the informants or imprecision in the method of filling in the forms, the tendency is straightforward and transparent.

In this research we witnessed a gradual Ottoman-Turkish lexical obsolescence process in the speech among Arabic mother-tongue speakers in the Galilee. This phenomenon depends only on the age factor. Words that tend to disappear over time reflect a behavior which was called in this article *Undulation Behavior of Obsolescence*, that is, a gradual oblivion of vocabulary which has ups and downs in the short-term, but in the long-term reveals a gradual disappearance of the words which represents a tendency towards forgetfulness. On the other hand, words that had already naturalized within the Arabic dialect and become a part of its lexis do not show any tendency of disappearing and sometimes even experience revival, e.g., اختيار<sup>15</sup>. Some other Ottoman words completely naturalized in the Arabic dialects of the Galilee region, such as أنجق [almost].

This research shows that there are no significant differences in many categories - neither in the field of community parameter nor in the fields of gender, education, and urban or rural geographical localization. It shows that the Arabic of the region is homogeneous, especially in the dominion of lexical obsolescence.

Some Ottoman words change their meaning in the local Arabic dialects in the Galilee, e.g., [طابور], a word that changed its military meaning into a civilian one [battalion>queue], or بلطجي [axer > bully], or تظلي [desert, sweet>jam] namely, a *meaning shift*. In some cases we find even antonyms, as the use in the Palestinian dialects of شيله to mean "not at all", while in Turkish it means "in that

manner; so; just; of that sort; such". We find in the Ottoman word أنجق a shift in meaning, as it is used in all Arabic sub-dialects in the Galilee to mean "hardly", while in Ottoman-Turkish it means "only; but; however". Some Ottoman-Turkish words absolutely have an opposite meaning, e.g., the Ottoman-Turkish شيله originally means "roughly speaking; in that manner; so; just; of that sort; such", while in the local Arabic dialects in the Galilee it changes to "nothing; not at all".

Phonologically, the Ottoman-Turkish glossary behaves in the Arabic sub-dialects in the Galilee approximately as Arab words. Thus, urban dialects that have *Hamza* for ق, change the Ottoman-Turkish word into *Hamza*, as in the case of قنقلة<sup>16</sup>. There is a clear tendency to turn Ottoman-Turkish words that have non-emphatic consonants in the source into emphatic consonants in Arabic, e.g., we find in Arabic بصمة [a signature with the finger], while the Ottoman-Turkish word is *Basma*, with non-emphatic s<sup>17</sup>; the Arabic ش or ج replaces the Ottoman-Turkish ç, which does not exist in Arabic. Thus we find شاكوش [hammer] in Arabic replaces the Ottoman-Turkish çekiç, and because originally the *k* in this word is unvoiced, we find in the replacement in Arabic the unvoiced ش, while in the word kırbaç, the voiced *b* proceeds the *ç* and therefore we find in Arabic the twin-voiced consonant ج - hence: كرباج [whip].

Sometimes an Arabic word penetrated the Ottoman-Turkish and then entered again into the Arabic glossary, e.g., the Arabic word حوض [\*trough for the cattle<sup>18</sup>] entered Ottoman Turkish and was changed phonologically into havuz [artificial basin], then returned to the Arabic dialect in the past as trough for cattle, yet has changed its meaning currently into a water basin that is placed on the roof.

We saw that the Ottoman-Turkish words that are assumed by the informants to be Arabic in their origin tend to have Arabic morphology in their structure, while some Turkish words even receive Arabic prefixes, such as prepositions, e.g. بالزور [hardly] from Turkish <\*zor/zorla.

<sup>16</sup> See remark 11.

<sup>17</sup> Some Arabic words in the Galilee region have more emphatic or pharyngeal implementation in consonants in words that were transferred into Arabic through Ottoman-Turkish although the etymon is not Turkish, e.g. the Hungarian word *hintó* [originally "see-saw/coach/ chariot"] is a loanword in Ottoman-Turkish [هنتو or هنتو], while in Arabic the word is حنطور [a coach].

<sup>18</sup> Stanisław Stachowski, *Ibid*, S. 101.

<sup>15</sup> Stanisław Stachowski, *Studien über die arabischen Lehnwörter im Osmanisch-Türkischen*. (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1975), Teil I, S. 127. This word is apparently etimologically Arabic from إختيار then it entered Ottoman-Turkish > İhtiyar and then again into Arabic to اختيار.

There is a tendency to lexical oblivion in Army vocabulary, such as ranks, e.g., أونباشي، يوزباشي and so forth. Even words such as قشلة [winter camp] witnessed a semantic metamorphosis from "prison" or "prison cell" into exclusively a particular location in a town, where this institution was located in the past, such as Nazareth. The culinary field, on the other hand, shows on one hand a certain stability, as in the case of names of dishes such as ششبرك or برغل [a metathesis of Turkish *bulgur*], yet on the other hand we find that the word شكرله has the lowest rates of all words.

What does the future hold? What are the future tendencies? – It seems that the lexical items that are weak and do not currently maintain a solid basis (namely, those which received less than 3.00 in the field research) will die out in the near future, because of modern life [e.g., the word ياخور [stable], which is hardly known anymore]. On the other hand, words that naturalized in the Arabic dialects (namely, those that received more than 6.50) may live longer, as we have already seen with the revival of the word اختيار, which has in its turn an Arabic etymon.

This article concentrated on Ottoman-Turkish words, yet currently there is in the Galilee a gradually increasing interest in Turkish television series and movies, a social phenomenon that may create in the future a better command of the Turkish language of the local population in this region. This may lead to a new wave of loanword vocabulary. In any event, future linguistic processes as such are erratic and unpredictable. Who could predict that almost one hundred years after the end of the Ottoman period in this region, and after a transition into other ruling languages, namely English and Hebrew, we still find Ottoman-Turkish vocabulary in the Arabic dialects of the Galilee. This is particularly amazing, insofar as the local population here had no thorough command of the Ottoman-Turkish language. On the other hand, the Ottoman rule here lasted for approximately 400 years. This means that the time aspect plays an important role in the game of lexical obsolescence.

## 5. Appendices

### Appendix A: Is the Word Turkish or Arabic?<sup>19</sup>

| Original Turkish word | Primary English Meaning           | Primary English Meaning in the Galilee   | Word in Arabic | Turkish Origin? | Arabic Origin? | Not Known | Other Origin? | % Turkish | % Arabic | % Not Known | % Other |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|----------|-------------|---------|
| Kışla                 | Barracks/ Winter Shelter (cattle) | Prison/ Prison Cell/ General location    | قشلة           | 144             | 46             | 63        | 0             | 56.9 %    | 18.2 %   | 24.9 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Çiftlik               | Farm                              | General location                         | جفتلك          | 96              | 63             | 94        | 0             | 37.9 %    | 24.9 %   | 37.2 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Onbaşı                | Corporal                          | Unknown army rank                        | اونباشي        | 196             | 24             | 33        | 1             | 77.5 %    | 9.5 %    | 13.0 %      | 0.4 %   |
| Efendi                | Gentleman                         | Arrogant                                 | افندي          | 197             | 46             | 10        | 0             | 77.9 %    | 18.2 %   | 4.0 %       | 0.0 %   |
| Ahır                  | Stable                            | Hut                                      | ياخور          | 133             | 53             | 65        | 1             | 52.6 %    | 20.9 %   | 25.7 %      | 0.4 %   |
| Daye                  | Child nurse                       | Child nurse                              | دابة           | 75              | 163            | 15        | 0             | 29.6 %    | 64.4 %   | 5.9 %       | 0.0 %   |
| Tütün                 | Tobacco                           | Tobacco                                  | تنن            | 134             | 90             | 28        | 1             | 53.0 %    | 35.6 %   | 11.1 %      | 0.4 %   |
| Yok                   | No                                | "Not available"                          | يوك            | 193             | 9              | 49        | 2             | 76.3 %    | 3.6 %    | 19.4 %      | 0.8 %   |
| Ancak                 | Only/But/ however                 | Hardly                                   | انجق           | 128             | 94             | 30        | 1             | 50.6 %    | 37.2 %   | 11.9 %      | 0.4 %   |
| Birinci               | First/ First quality              | superb                                   | برنجي          | 174             | 61             | 17        | 1             | 68.8 %    | 24.1 %   | 6.7 %       | 0.4 %   |
| Karagöz               | Turkish Shadow Show/ Funny Fellow | Funny Fellow                             | كراكوز         | 165             | 55             | 33        | 0             | 65.2 %    | 21.7 %   | 13.0 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Zor                   | Hard/ Difficult                   | Hardly                                   | بالزور         | 60              | 145            | 48        | 0             | 23.7 %    | 57.3 %   | 19.0 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Bakrač                | Kopper Bucket                     | A coffee Kettle                          | بكرج           | 116             | 88             | 49        | 0             | 45.8 %    | 34.8 %   | 19.4 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Havz/ Havuz           | Artificial basin; pond            | A water basin placed on the roof /Trough | حاووز          | 96              | 121            | 36        | 0             | 37.9 %    | 47.8 %   | 14.2 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Zengin                | Rich man                          | Cunning                                  | زنجين          | 105             | 15             | 133       | 0             | 41.5 %    | 5.9 %    | 52.6 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Ocak                  | furnace                           | furnace                                  | أوجاق          | 120             | 78             | 55        | 0             | 47.4 %    | 30.8 %   | 21.7 %      | 0.0 %   |

<sup>19</sup> The first two columns on the left were not given originally in the questionnaire and they appear here in order to show the Ottoman-Turkish origin.

| Original Turkish word | Primary English Meaning | Primary English Meaning in the Galilee          | Word in Arabic | Turkish Origin? | Arabic Origin? | Not Known | Other Origin | % Turkish | % Arabic | % Not Known | % Other |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|-------------|---------|
| Hoca                  | teacher                 | Non Arab gentleman                              | خواجة          | 188             | 51             | 12        | 2            | 74.3 %    | 20.2 %   | 4.7%        | 0.8 %   |
| Süngu Tak             | Fix Bayonets            | "Under your service!"                           | سنجي<br>تاك    | 173             | 3              | 77        | 0            | 68.4 %    | 1.2%     | 30.4 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Karakol               | Police Station          | Police or military unit                         | كراكون         | 187             | 44             | 22        | 0            | 73.9 %    | 17.4 %   | 8.7%        | 0.0 %   |
| Tulumba               | Pump                    | Pump                                            | طلمة           | 124             | 21             | 105       | 3            | 49.0 %    | 8.3%     | 41.5 %      | 1.2 %   |
| ---                   | (Invented word)         | Normally unknown meaning                        | طرحون          | 120             | 18             | 115       | 0            | 47.4 %    | 7.1%     | 45.5 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Aferim                | Bravo!                  | Bravo!                                          | عفرم           | 193             | 42             | 18        | 0            | 76.3 %    | 16.6 %   | 7.1%        | 0.0 %   |
| Ağa                   | Lord; master            | Master (archaic)                                | اغا            | 223             | 16             | 13        | 1            | 88.1 %    | 6.3%     | 5.1%        | 0.4 %   |
| Bahşiş                | Tip; gift               | Tip/ Bribery                                    | بقشيش          | 161             | 72             | 18        | 2            | 63.6 %    | 28.5 %   | 7.1%        | 0.8 %   |
| Balta                 | Axe                     | Axe                                             | بلطة           | 54              | 185            | 14        | 0            | 21.3 %    | 73.1 %   | 5.5%        | 0.0 %   |
| Baltacı               | Maker or seller of axes | Bully                                           | بلطجي          | 99              | 127            | 26        | 1            | 39.1 %    | 50.2 %   | 10.3 %      | 0.4 %   |
| Bulgur                | Bulgur                  | Bulgur                                          | برغل           | 47              | 196            | 10        | 0            | 18.6 %    | 77.5 %   | 4.0%        | 0.0 %   |
| Basma                 | Printed                 | A finger signature                              | بصمة           | 26              | 215            | 12        | 0            | 10.3 %    | 85.0 %   | 4.7%        | 0.0 %   |
| Boyacı                | Dyer; shoeblack         | shoeblack                                       | بوياجي         | 153             | 61             | 37        | 2            | 60.5 %    | 24.1 %   | 14.6 %      | 0.8 %   |
| Çekiç                 | Hammer                  | Hammer                                          | شاكوش          | 91              | 137            | 23        | 2            | 36.0 %    | 54.2 %   | 9.1%        | 0.8 %   |
| Doğru                 | Straight                | Straight                                        | دغري           | 129             | 111            | 12        | 0            | 51.0 %    | 43.9 %   | 4.7%        | 0.0 %   |
| Dolap                 | Cupboard                | Wheel                                           | دولاب          | 62              | 177            | 14        | 0            | 24.5 %    | 70.0 %   | 5.5%        | 0.0 %   |
| Hane                  | House/ Building         | Rubric/ Institute/ House                        | خانة           | 108             | 101            | 42        | 2            | 42.7 %    | 39.9 %   | 16.6 %      | 0.8 %   |
| Hoş                   | Pleasant/ Agreeable     | Only in the expression خوش بوش "good relations" | خوش            | 141             | 50             | 62        | 0            | 55.7 %    | 19.8 %   | 24.5 %      | 0.0 %   |
| İhtiyar               | Aged; old man           | Old man                                         | ختيار          | 72              | 172            | 9         | 0            | 28.5 %    | 68.0 %   | 3.6%        | 0.0 %   |
| Kabadayı              | Rough fellow            | Rough fellow; bully                             | قيضاي          | 95              | 146            | 12        | 0            | 37.5 %    | 57.7 %   | 4.7%        | 0.0 %   |
| Kaymak                | Cream                   | (Several groundless                             | قيمق           | 115             | 24             | 114       | 0            | 45.5 %    | 9.5%     | 45.1 %      | 0.0 %   |

| Original Turkish word | Primary English Meaning   | Primary English Meaning in the Galilee                 | Word in Arabic | Turkish Origin? | Arabic Origin? | Not Known | Other Origin | % Turkish | % Arabic | % Not Known | % Other |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|-------------|---------|
|                       |                           | meanings)                                              |                |                 |                |           |              |           |          |             |         |
| Kevgir                | Skimmer                   | Skimmer                                                | كفيرة          | 114             | 107            | 32        | 0            | 45.1 %    | 42.3 %   | 12.6 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Kerhane               | Brothel                   | Brothel                                                | كرخانه         | 181             | 31             | 41        | 0            | 71.5 %    | 12.3 %   | 16.2 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Kırbaç                | Whip                      | Whip                                                   | كرباج          | 153             | 86             | 13        | 1            | 60.5 %    | 34.0 %   | 5.1%        | 0.4 %   |
| Köprü                 | Bridge                    | Aqueduct/ Bridge                                       | كوبري          | 125             | 66             | 60        | 2            | 49.4 %    | 26.1 %   | 23.7 %      | 0.8 %   |
| Kunduracı             | Shoemaker                 | Shoemaker                                              | كندرجي         | 139             | 99             | 14        | 1            | 54.9 %    | 39.1 %   | 5.5%        | 0.4 %   |
| Leğen                 | Large bowl                | Wash-tub; pail                                         | لجن<br>(لكن)   | 101             | 131            | 21        | 0            | 39.9 %    | 51.8 %   | 8.3%        | 0.0 %   |
| Mendil                | Handkerchief              | Scarf                                                  | منديل          | 36              | 204            | 12        | 1            | 14.2 %    | 80.6 %   | 4.7%        | 0.4 %   |
| Pabuç                 | Slipper                   | Slipper (archaic)                                      | بابوج          | 153             | 42             | 57        | 1            | 60.5 %    | 16.6 %   | 22.5 %      | 0.4 %   |
| Saadetli              | Fortunate/ Official title | Official title (archaic)                               | سعادتلو        | 98              | 48             | 106       | 1            | 38.7 %    | 19.0 %   | 41.9 %      | 0.4 %   |
| Sancak                | Subdivision of a province | Subdivision of a province (archaic)                    | صنچق<br>سنچق   | 143             | 22             | 87        | 1            | 56.5 %    | 8.7%     | 34.4 %      | 0.4 %   |
| Şekerleme             | Candy                     | (Not known!)                                           | شكرلمة         | 124             | 5              | 122       | 1            | 49.0 %    | 2.0%     | 48.2 %      | 0.4 %   |
| Şöyle                 | roughly speaking          | "Nothing, not at all"                                  | شيلة           | 119             | 104            | 30        | 0            | 47.0 %    | 41.1 %   | 11.9 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Şöyle Böyle           | "So-so"                   | "Totally not"                                          | شيلة بييلة     | 128             | 100            | 26        | 0            | 50.6 %    | 39.5 %   | 10.3 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Tabur                 | Battalion                 | Queue                                                  | طابور          | 107             | 120            | 26        | 0            | 42.3 %    | 47.4 %   | 10.3 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Yay                   | A stringed instrument     | A vocative utterance denoting surprise                 | ياي            | 126             | 68             | 57        | 2            | 49.8 %    | 26.9 %   | 22.5 %      | 0.8 %   |
| Yazıcı                | Writer                    | A family name                                          | يازجي          | 138             | 7              | 108       | 0            | 54.5 %    | 2.8%     | 42.7 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Dolma                 | Stuffed vegetables        | (Hardly known)                                         | دولمة          | 121             | 25             | 107       | 0            | 47.8 %    | 9.9%     | 42.3 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Eczane/ Eczahane      | Drugstore/ Pharmacy       | (Hardly used)                                          | اجزخانه        | 200             | 14             | 39        | 0            | 79.1 %    | 5.5%     | 15.4 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Kavurma               | Fried meat                | (Hardly used) Informants know that this is a dish name | قاورمة         | 132             | 45             | 76        | 0            | 52.2 %    | 17.8 %   | 30.0 %      | 0.0 %   |

| Original Turkish word | Primary English Meaning             | Primary English Meaning in the Galilee | Word in Arabic | Turkish Origin? | Arabic Origin? | Not Known | Other Origin | % Turkish | % Arabic | % Not Known | % Other |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------|-------------|---------|
| Nişan                 | Sign/ A distinguishing sign or mark | A distinguishing sign or mark          | نیشان          | 137             | 64             | 51        | 1            | 54.2 %    | 25.3 %   | 20.2 %      | 0.4 %   |
| Börek                 | A culinary dish                     | A culinary dish                        | ششبرك          | 149             | 89             | 14        | 1            | 58.9 %    | 35.2 %   | 5.5 %       | 0.4 %   |
| ---                   | (Invented word)                     | Too many groundless meanings           | شيشمار         | 135             | 4              | 113       | 1            | 53.4 %    | 1.6 %    | 44.7 %      | 0.4 %   |
| Dağ                   | Mountain                            | (The meaning is not known)             | داغ            | 115             | 19             | 120       | 0            | 45.5 %    | 7.5 %    | 47.4 %      | 0.0 %   |
| Tatlı                 | Dessert/ Sweet                      | Marmalade / Jam                        | تطلي           | 90              | 143            | 19        | 0            | 35.6 %    | 56.5 %   | 7.5 %       | 0.0 %   |

## Appendix B1

### General Average – Hearing – in ascending order

| General            |         |            |         | Word       |
|--------------------|---------|------------|---------|------------|
| Standard Deviation |         | Average    |         |            |
| Actual Use         | Hearing | Actual Use | Hearing |            |
| 0.99               | 1.10    | 0.15       | 0.28    | شكرلمه     |
| 1.55               | 1.99    | 0.34       | 0.61    | شيشمار     |
| 1.37               | 1.76    | 0.33       | 0.63    | طرجون      |
| 0.77               | 1.65    | 0.16       | 0.64    | يازجي      |
| 1.60               | 1.81    | 0.49       | 0.70    | زنجين      |
| 0.84               | 1.83    | 0.25       | 0.79    | دولمة      |
| 2.73               | 2.96    | 1.00       | 1.40    | داغ        |
| 2.32               | 2.72    | 0.95       | 1.41    | طلمية      |
| 2.40               | 3.01    | 1.00       | 1.45    | قيمي       |
| 2.51               | 2.71    | 1.05       | 1.48    | سنجي تاك   |
| 2.46               | 2.76    | 1.16       | 1.68    | جفتاك      |
| 3.05               | 3.21    | 1.39       | 1.82    | سعادتلو    |
| 1.42               | 2.61    | 0.65       | 1.96    | اونباشي    |
| 2.44               | 3.10    | 1.14       | 2.02    | صنچق /سنچق |
| 2.37               | 3.37    | 1.14       | 2.44    | قاورمة     |
| 2.66               | 3.29    | 1.47       | 2.55    | قشلة       |
| 2.13               | 3.08    | 1.10       | 2.57    | كويري      |
| 1.78               | 3.04    | 0.84       | 2.59    | اجزخانه    |
| 2.78               | 3.40    | 1.40       | 2.62    | ياخور      |
| 2.59               | 3.22    | 1.50       | 2.72    | يوك        |
| 2.89               | 3.53    | 1.66       | 3.03    | بابوج      |
| 2.44               | 3.24    | 1.54       | 3.16    | كرخانه     |

|                    |         |            |         |           |
|--------------------|---------|------------|---------|-----------|
| 2.55               | 3.32    | 1.72       | 3.32    | نیشان     |
| General            |         |            |         | Word      |
| Standard Deviation |         | Average    |         |           |
| Actual Use         | Hearing | Actual Use | Hearing |           |
| 1.96               | 3.26    | 1.05       | 3.47    | کراکون    |
| 2.84               | 3.37    | 2.26       | 3.77    | خانه      |
| 2.33               | 3.51    | 1.53       | 3.95    | آغا       |
| 3.01               | 3.56    | 2.12       | 4.02    | تتن       |
| 3.30               | 3.65    | 2.94       | 4.07    | خوش       |
| 3.22               | 3.65    | 2.59       | 4.19    | بویاجی    |
| 3.67               | 3.73    | 3.77       | 4.81    | بکرج      |
| 4.10               | 3.98    | 3.93       | 4.82    | أوجاق     |
| 2.89               | 3.27    | 2.89       | 4.88    | أفندی     |
| 3.33               | 3.57    | 3.43       | 4.94    | طابور     |
| 3.23               | 3.51    | 3.06       | 5.01    | خواجه     |
| 3.99               | 3.83    | 4.39       | 5.10    | حاووز     |
| 3.19               | 3.59    | 2.64       | 5.11    | دایه      |
| 3.30               | 3.51    | 3.71       | 5.17    | کراکوز    |
| 3.24               | 3.38    | 3.54       | 5.21    | بلطجی     |
| 3.52               | 3.49    | 3.66       | 5.22    | کرباج     |
| 3.65               | 3.55    | 4.26       | 5.48    | عفاریم    |
| 3.69               | 3.62    | 4.29       | 5.49    | بالزور    |
| 3.57               | 3.22    | 4.27       | 5.79    | بقشیش     |
| 3.63               | 3.50    | 4.55       | 5.83    | برنجی     |
| 3.73               | 3.63    | 4.45       | 5.86    | کندرجی    |
| 4.19               | 3.94    | 4.52       | 5.92    | یای       |
| 3.64               | 3.69    | 4.87       | 6.26    | دولاب     |
| 3.73               | 3.74    | 6.03       | 6.37    | أنجق      |
| 3.66               | 3.58    | 6.05       | 6.64    | کفکیره    |
| 3.61               | 3.37    | 5.44       | 6.64    | بلطة      |
| 3.73               | 3.62    | 6.22       | 6.76    | شيله بيله |

|                    |         |            |         |           |
|--------------------|---------|------------|---------|-----------|
| 3.81               | 3.68    | 6.45       | 6.90    | شيله      |
|                    |         |            |         |           |
| General            |         |            |         | Word      |
| Standard Deviation |         | Average    |         |           |
| Actual Use         | Hearing | Actual Use | Hearing |           |
| 3.72               | 3.60    | 6.51       | 7.03    |           |
| 3.68               | 3.43    | 6.23       | 7.18    | لجن (لكن) |
| 3.58               | 3.05    | 6.25       | 7.36    | بصمة      |
| 3.53               | 3.37    | 6.73       | 7.39    | قبضاي     |
| 3.62               | 3.35    | 6.79       | 7.44    | تظلي      |
| 3.74               | 3.43    | 6.71       | 7.44    | مندیل     |
| 3.51               | 3.17    | 6.69       | 7.60    | ششبرك     |
| 3.51               | 3.06    | 6.71       | 7.66    | شاكوش     |
| 3.11               | 2.86    | 7.47       | 7.88    | برغل      |
| 2.91               | 2.59    | 8.04       | 8.36    | دغري      |
|                    |         |            |         | ختيار     |

## Appendix B2

### General Average – Actual use – in ascending order

| General            |         |            |         | Word     |
|--------------------|---------|------------|---------|----------|
| Standard Deviation |         | Average    |         |          |
| Actual Use         | Hearing | Actual Use | Hearing |          |
| 0.99               | 1.10    | 0.15       | 0.28    | شكرلمه   |
| 0.77               | 1.65    | 0.16       | 0.64    | يازجي    |
| 0.84               | 1.83    | 0.25       | 0.79    | دولمة    |
| 1.37               | 1.76    | 0.33       | 0.63    | طرجون    |
| 1.55               | 1.99    | 0.34       | 0.61    | شيشمار   |
| 1.60               | 1.81    | 0.49       | 0.70    | زنجين    |
| 1.42               | 2.61    | 0.65       | 1.96    | أونباشي  |
| 1.78               | 3.04    | 0.84       | 2.59    | اجزخانه  |
| 2.32               | 2.72    | 0.95       | 1.41    | طللمبة   |
| 2.73               | 2.96    | 1.00       | 1.40    | داغ      |
| 2.40               | 3.01    | 1.00       | 1.45    | قيمي     |
| 1.96               | 3.26    | 1.05       | 3.47    | كراكون   |
| 2.51               | 2.71    | 1.05       | 1.48    | سنجي تاك |
| 2.13               | 3.08    | 1.10       | 2.57    | كوبري    |
| 2.37               | 3.37    | 1.14       | 2.44    | قاورمة   |
| 2.44               | 3.10    | 1.14       | 2.02    | صنق /سنق |
| 2.46               | 2.76    | 1.16       | 1.68    | جفتاك    |
| 3.05               | 3.21    | 1.39       | 1.82    | سعادتلو  |
| 2.78               | 3.40    | 1.40       | 2.62    | ياخور    |
| 2.66               | 3.29    | 1.47       | 2.55    | قشلة     |
| 2.59               | 3.22    | 1.50       | 2.72    | يوك      |
| 2.33               | 3.51    | 1.53       | 3.95    | آغا      |

| General            |         |            |         | Word   |
|--------------------|---------|------------|---------|--------|
| Standard Deviation |         | Average    |         |        |
| Actual Use         | Hearing | Actual Use | Hearing |        |
| 2.44               | 3.24    | 1.54       | 3.16    | كرخانه |
| 2.89               | 3.53    | 1.66       | 3.03    | بابوج  |
| 2.55               | 3.32    | 1.72       | 3.32    | نیشان  |
| 3.01               | 3.56    | 2.12       | 4.02    | تتن    |
| 2.84               | 3.37    | 2.26       | 3.77    | خانه   |
| 3.22               | 3.65    | 2.59       | 4.19    | بویاجی |
| 3.19               | 3.59    | 2.64       | 5.11    | دایه   |
| 2.89               | 3.27    | 2.89       | 4.88    | أفندي  |
| 3.30               | 3.65    | 2.94       | 4.07    | خوش    |
| 3.23               | 3.51    | 3.06       | 5.01    | خواجه  |
| 3.33               | 3.57    | 3.43       | 4.94    | طابور  |
| 3.24               | 3.38    | 3.54       | 5.21    | بلطجي  |
| 3.52               | 3.49    | 3.66       | 5.22    | کریاج  |
| 3.30               | 3.51    | 3.71       | 5.17    | کراکوز |
| 3.67               | 3.73    | 3.77       | 4.81    | بکرج   |
| 4.10               | 3.98    | 3.93       | 4.82    | أوجاق  |
| 3.65               | 3.55    | 4.26       | 5.48    | عفاریم |
| 3.57               | 3.22    | 4.27       | 5.79    | بقشیش  |
| 3.69               | 3.62    | 4.29       | 5.49    | بالزور |
| 3.99               | 3.83    | 4.39       | 5.10    | حاووز  |
| 3.73               | 3.63    | 4.45       | 5.86    | کندرجي |
| 4.19               | 3.94    | 4.52       | 5.92    | یای    |
| 3.63               | 3.50    | 4.55       | 5.83    | برنجی  |
| 3.64               | 3.69    | 4.87       | 6.26    | دولاب  |
| 3.61               | 3.37    | 5.44       | 6.64    | بلطه   |
| 3.73               | 3.74    | 6.03       | 6.37    | أنجق   |
| 3.66               | 3.58    | 6.05       | 6.64    | کفگیره |

| General            |         |            |         | Word      |
|--------------------|---------|------------|---------|-----------|
| Standard Deviation |         | Average    |         |           |
| Actual Use         | Hearing | Actual Use | Hearing |           |
| 3.73               | 3.62    | 6.22       | 6.76    | شيله بيله |
| 3.68               | 3.43    | 6.23       | 7.18    | بصمة      |
| 3.58               | 3.05    | 6.25       | 7.36    | قبضاي     |
| 3.81               | 3.68    | 6.45       | 6.90    | شيله      |
| 3.72               | 3.60    | 6.51       | 7.03    | لجن (لكن) |
| 3.51               | 3.17    | 6.69       | 7.60    | شاكوش     |
| 3.74               | 3.43    | 6.71       | 7.44    | ششبرك     |
| 3.51               | 3.06    | 6.71       | 7.66    | برغل      |
| 3.53               | 3.37    | 6.73       | 7.39    | تظلي      |
| 3.62               | 3.35    | 6.79       | 7.44    | منديل     |
| 3.11               | 2.86    | 7.47       | 7.88    | دغري      |
| 2.91               | 2.59    | 8.04       | 8.36    | ختيار     |

**Appendix C- Condensed Data Table (CDT)**

| Average /Standard Deviation | Hearing / Actual Use | Index              | Informants |                     |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------|---------------------|
| 4.34                        | Hearing              | Average            | General    |                     |
| 3.27                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |
| 3.19                        | Hearing              | Standard Deviation |            |                     |
| 2.94                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |
| 4.35                        | Hearing              | Average            | Druze      | Community Parameter |
| 3.25                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |
| 3.18                        | Hearing              | Standard Deviation |            |                     |
| 2.93                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |
| 4.33                        | Hearing              | Average            | Moslems    |                     |
| 3.26                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |
| 3.18                        | Hearing              | Standard Deviation |            |                     |
| 2.93                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |
| 4.30                        | Hearing              | Average            | Christian  |                     |
| 3.24                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |
| 3.18                        | Hearing              | Standard Deviation |            |                     |
| 2.92                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |
| 4.31                        | Hearing              | Average            | Males      | Gender Parameter    |
| 3.24                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |
| 3.18                        | Hearing              | Standard Deviation |            |                     |
| 2.92                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |
| 4.34                        | Hearing              | Average            | Females    |                     |
| 3.27                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |
| 3.19                        | Hearing              | Standard Deviation |            |                     |
| 2.94                        | Actual Use           |                    |            |                     |

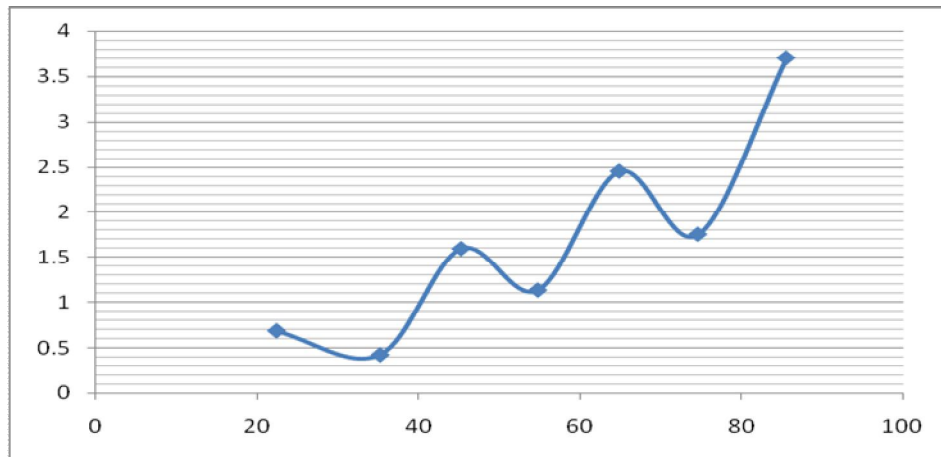
|      |            |                       |            |                           |
|------|------------|-----------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| 4.30 | Hearing    | Average               | villages   | City/village<br>Parameter |
| 3.25 | Actual Use |                       |            |                           |
| 3.19 | Hearing    | Standard<br>Deviation |            |                           |
| 2.94 | Actual Use |                       |            |                           |
| 4.30 | Hearing    | Average               | cities     |                           |
| 3.24 | Actual Use |                       |            |                           |
| 3.18 | Hearing    | Standard<br>Deviation |            |                           |
| 2.92 | Actual Use |                       |            |                           |
| 4.21 | Hearing    | Average               | Other      | Education<br>Parameter    |
| 3.16 | Actual Use |                       |            |                           |
| 3.18 | Hearing    | Standard<br>Deviation |            |                           |
| 2.91 | Actual Use |                       |            |                           |
| 4.34 | Hearing    | Average               | Elementary |                           |
| 3.26 | Actual Use |                       |            |                           |

| Average /Standard Deviation | Hearing / Actual Use | Index              | Informants                     |                     |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| 3.19                        | Hearing              | Standard Deviation |                                | Education Parameter |
| 2.93                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 4.28                        | Hearing              | Average            | Junior High School             |                     |
| 3.23                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 3.18                        | Hearing              | Standard Deviation |                                |                     |
| 2.94                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 4.31                        | Hearing              | Average            | Secondary School               | Education Parameter |
| 3.25                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 3.18                        | Hearing              | Standard Deviation |                                |                     |
| 2.92                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 4.31                        | Hearing              | Average            | High school College University |                     |
| 3.25                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 3.18                        | Hearing              | Standard Deviation |                                |                     |
| 2.93                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 4.29                        | Hearing              | Average            | Northern Coastal Plain         | Sub-region          |
| 3.23                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 4.34                        | Hearing              | Average            | Lower Galilee                  |                     |
| 3.27                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 4.25                        | Hearing              | Average            | Upper Galilee                  |                     |
| 3.19                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 4.28                        | Hearing              | Average            | Western Galilee                |                     |
| 3.11                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 4.29                        | Hearing              | Average            | Mount Carmel                   |                     |
| 3.21                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 4.24                        | Hearing              | Average            | Golan Heights                  |                     |
| 3.17                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |
| 4.36                        | Hearing              | Average            | Other                          |                     |
| 3.29                        | Actual Use           |                    |                                |                     |

## Appendices D1-D11

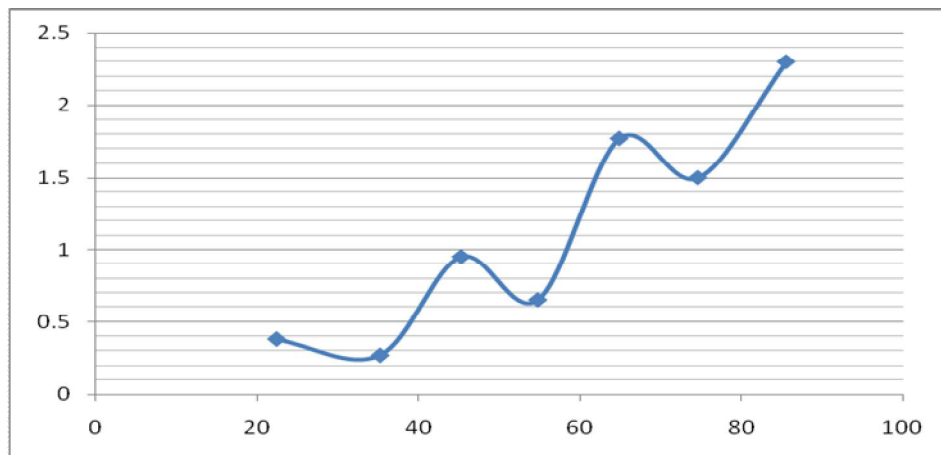
D.1.a)

ظلمبة General Average, Hearing: Age



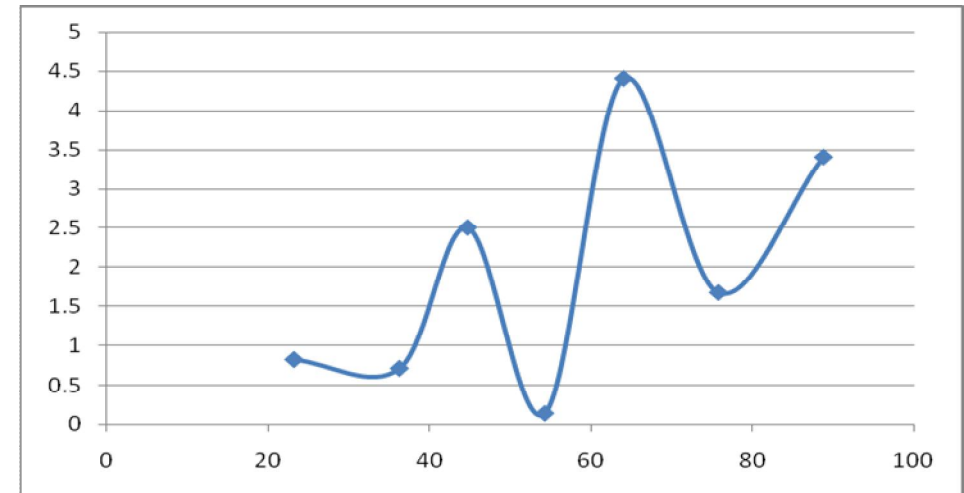
D.1.b)

ظلمبة General Average, Actual Use: Age



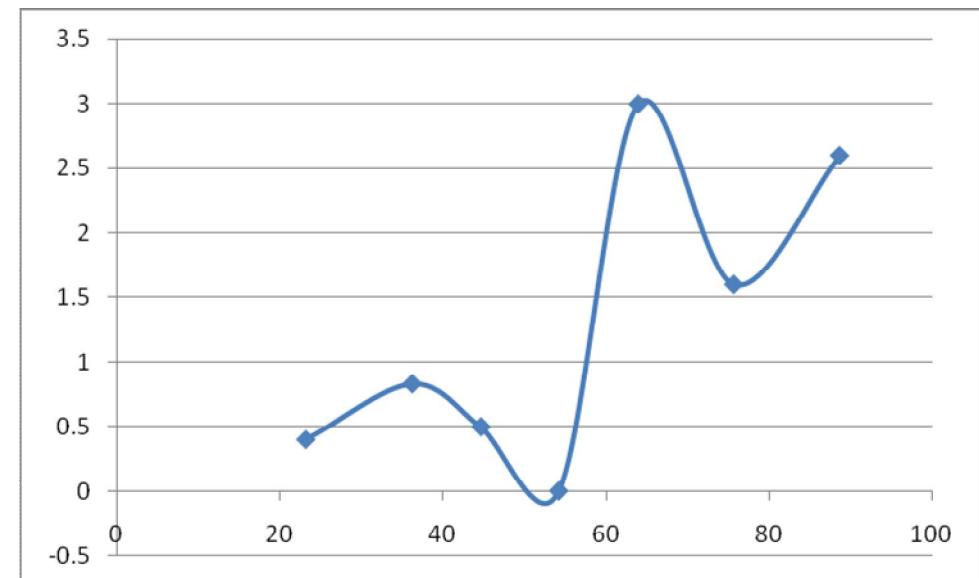
D.2.a)

ظلمبة Druze, Average Hearing : Age



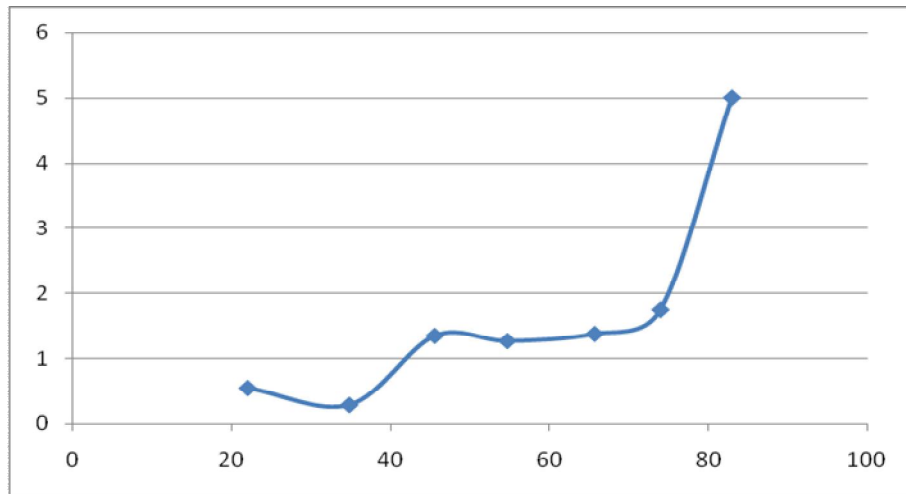
D.2.b)

ظلمبة Druze, Average Actual Use : Age



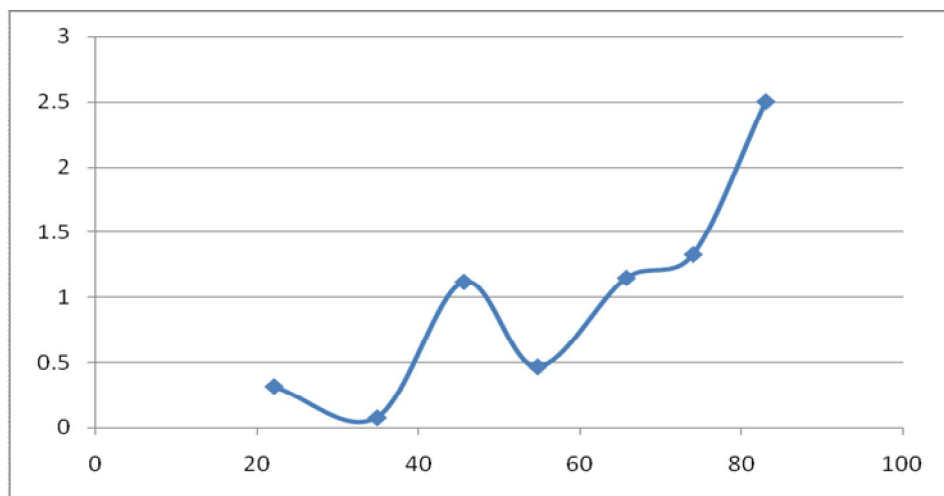
D.3.a)

طلمبة Moslems, Average Hearing : Age



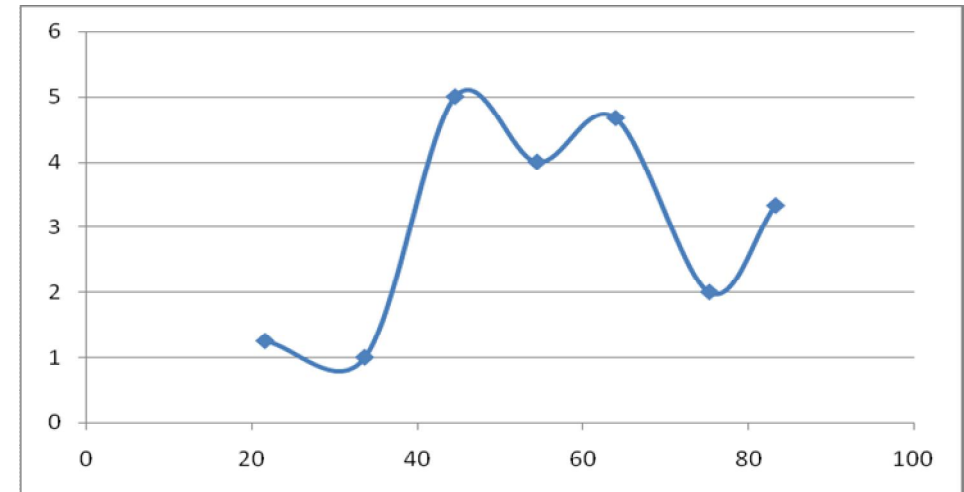
D.3.b)

طلمبة Moslems, Average Actual Use : Age



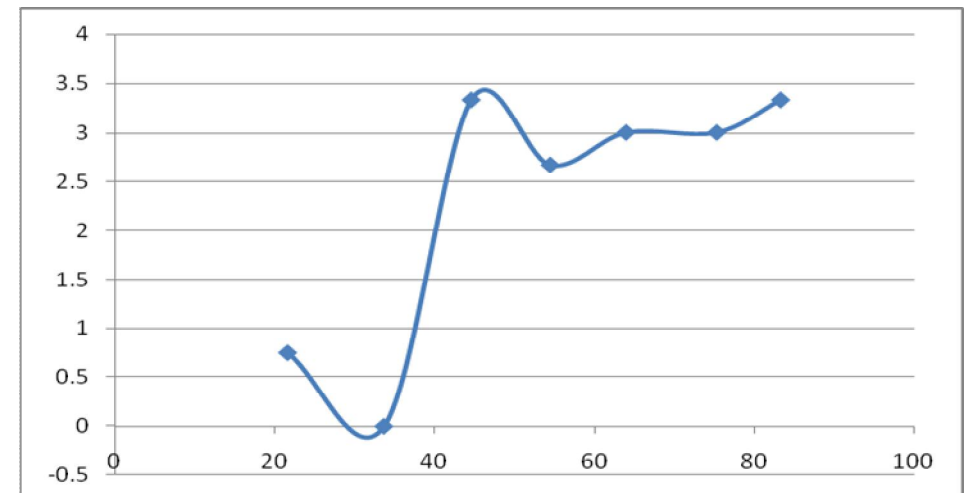
D.4.a)

طلمبة Christians, Average Hearing : Age



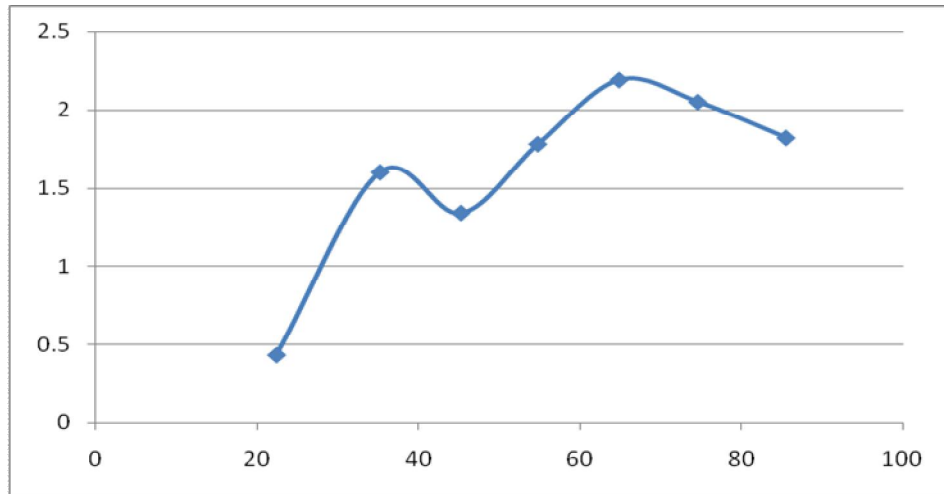
D.4.b)

طلمبة Christians, Average Actual Use : Age



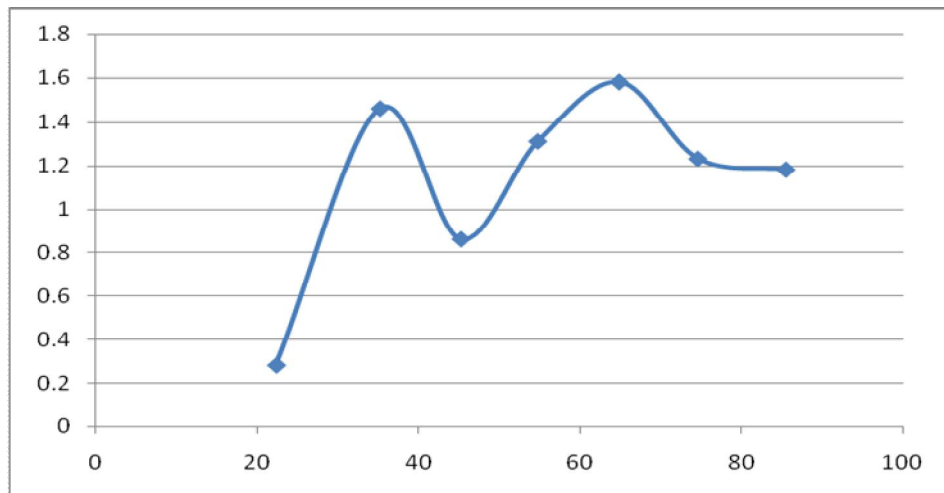
D.5.a)

سنجي تاك General Average, Hearing : Age



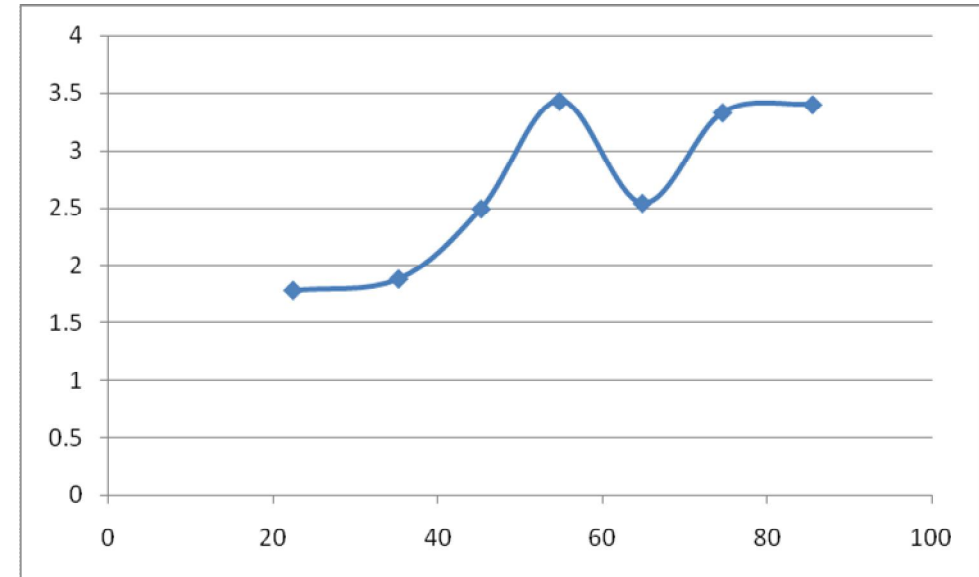
D.5.b)

سنجي تاك General Average Actual Use : Age



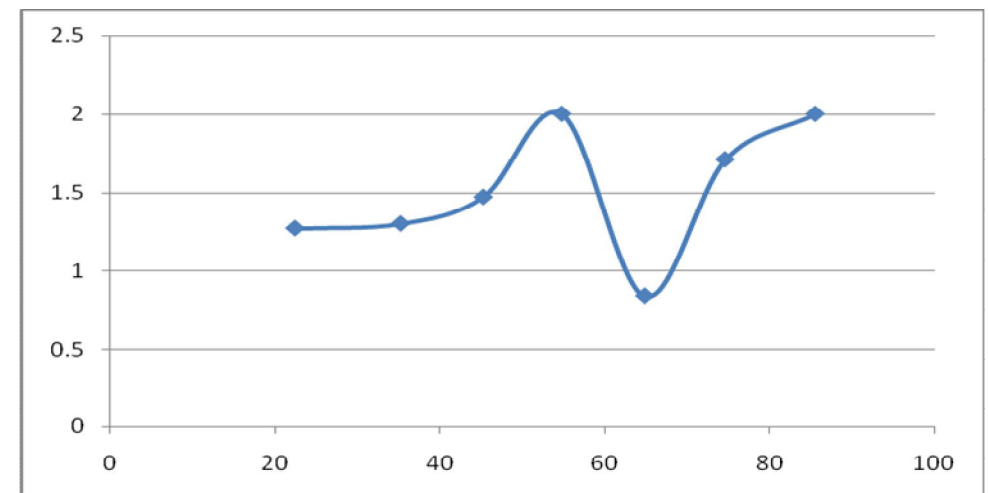
D.6.a)

قشلة General Average, Hearing: Age

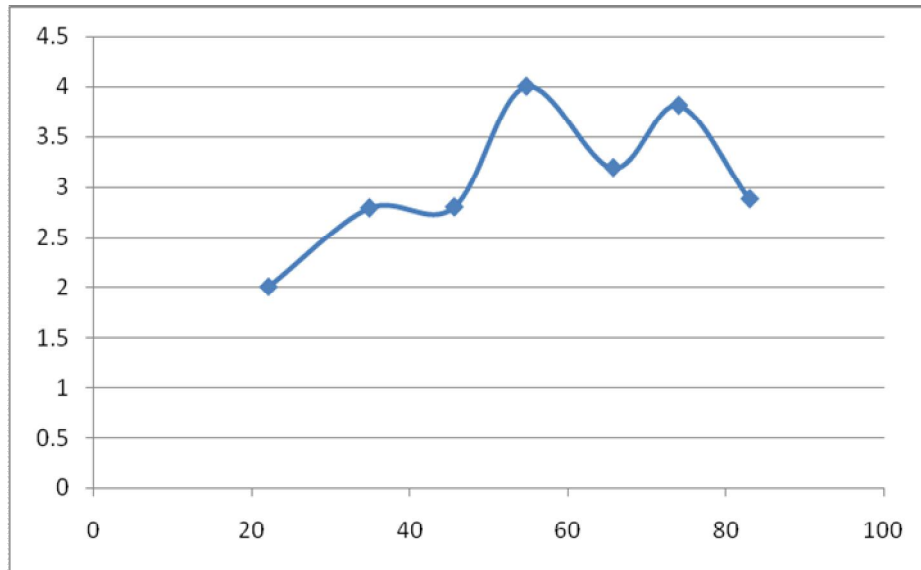


D.6.b)

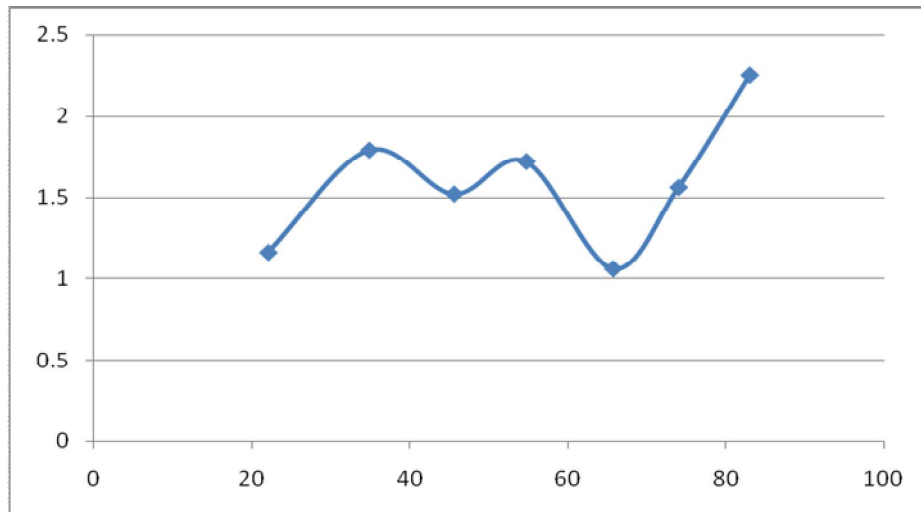
قشلة General Average, Actual Use: Age



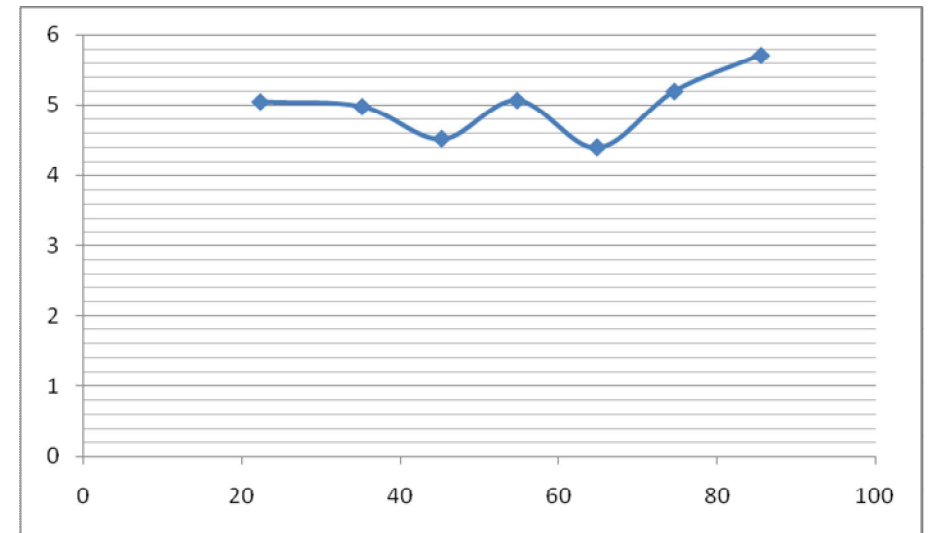
**D.7.a)**  
قشلة Moslems, Average Hearing : Age



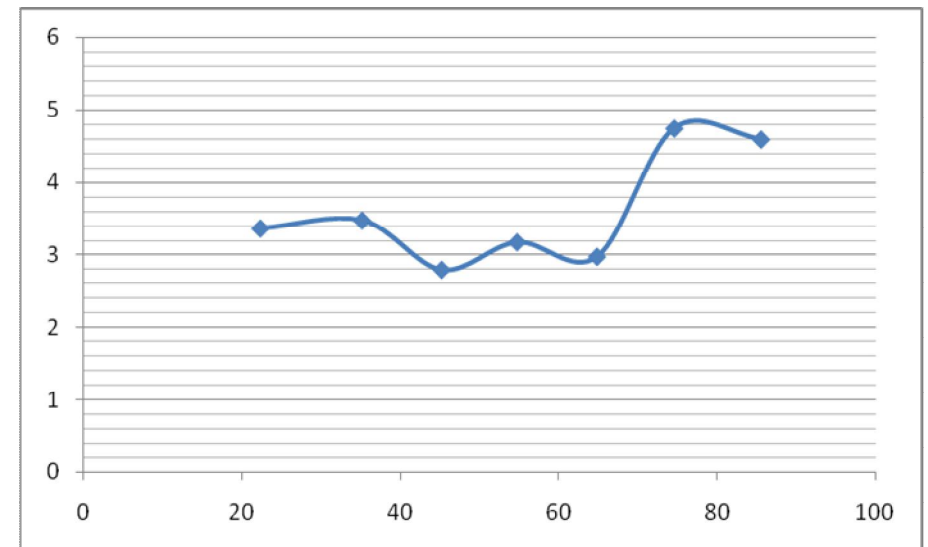
**D.7.b)**  
قشلة Moslems, Average Actual Use: Age



**D.8.a)**  
طابور General Average, Hearing : Age

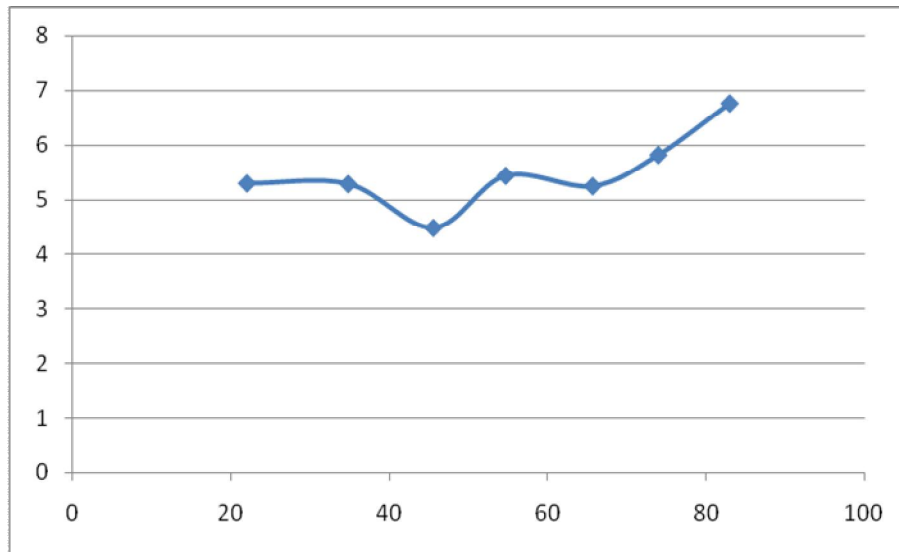


**D.8.b)**  
طابور General Average, Actual Use : Age



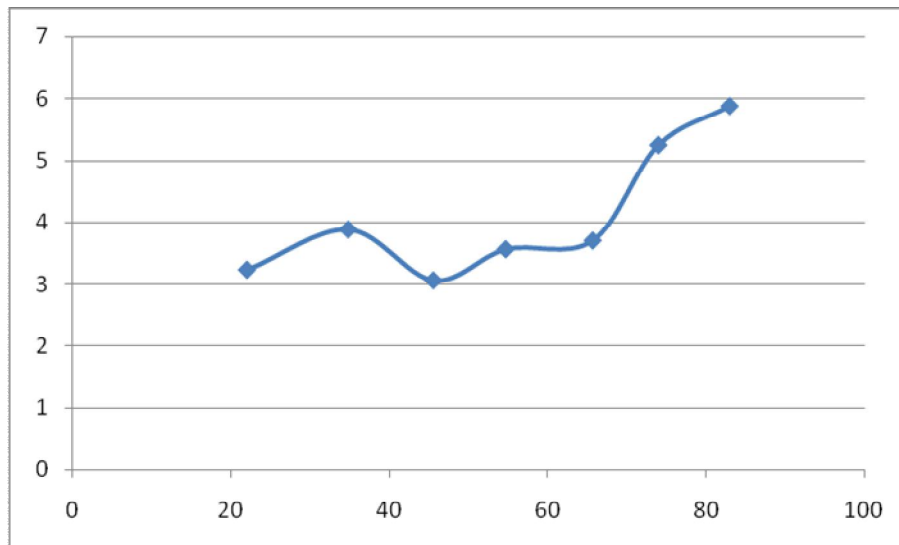
D.9.a)

طابور Moslems, General Average Hearing : Age



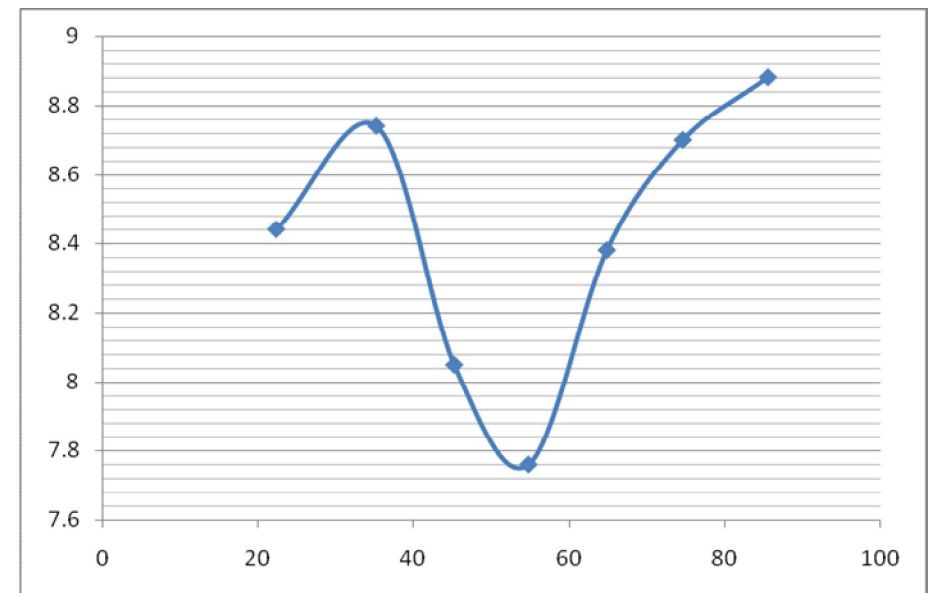
D.9.b)

طابور Moslems, General Average Actual Use : Age



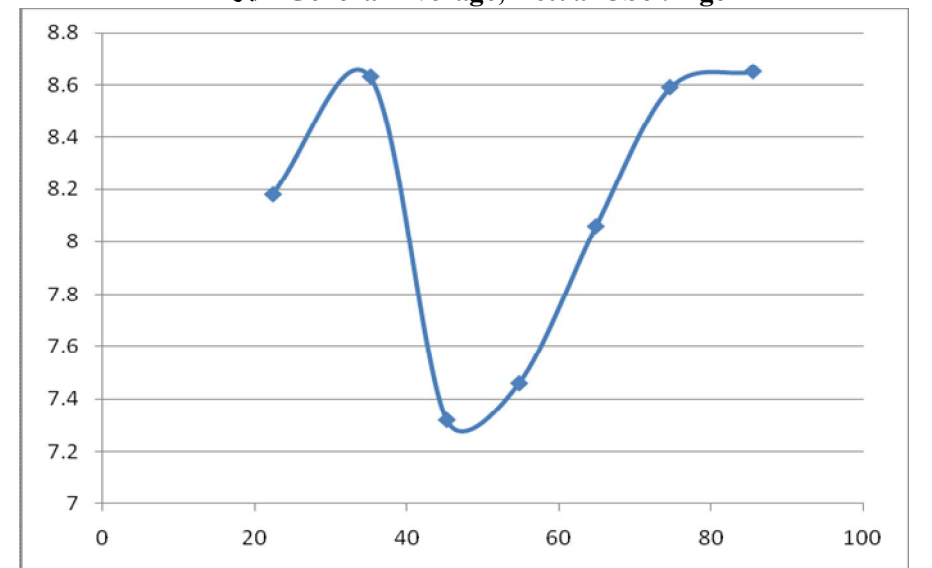
D.10.a)

ختیار General Average, Hearing : Age



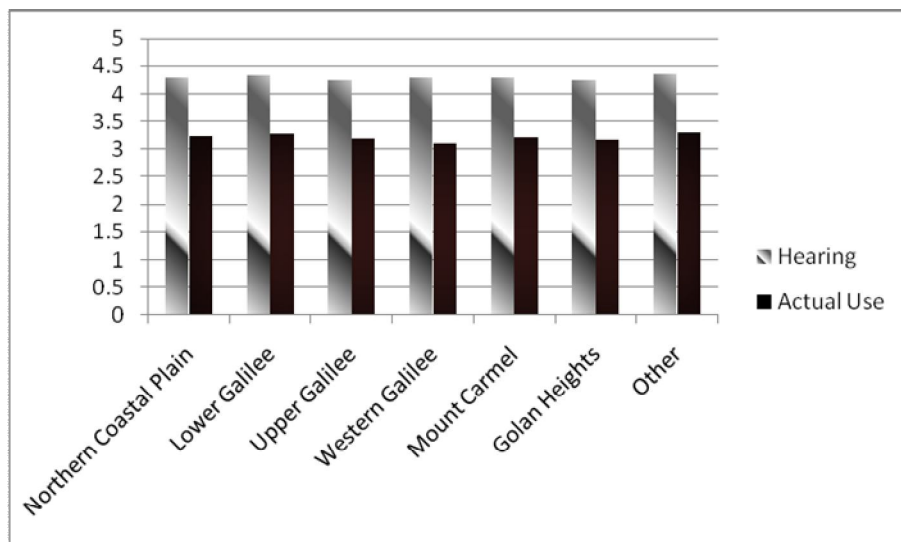
D.10.b)

ختیار General Average, Actual Use : Age



### D.11

#### General Average of Hearing and Actual Use in all Subregions of Galilee



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