A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of Central and Southern Sinai
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C.H.M. Versteegh

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A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of Central and Southern Sinai

By

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LEIDEN • BOSTON

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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations ................................................................. xi
Abbreviations and Symbols ....................................................... xv
Preface ................................................................................... xix

Introduction ........................................................................ 1
   I. General ........................................................................ 1
      a. Central and Southern Sinai in Recent History ........ 1
      b. Cultural Background ............................................... 2
      c. Present-day Distribution of Bedouin Tribes in Central
         and Southern Sinai and Surrounding Regions .......... 2
      d. Remarks on the Arrival of Bedouin Tribes in Central
         and Southern Sinai and some Remarks on their History ... 3
      e. Professional Activities of Bedouin in Central and
         Southern Sinai Today .............................................. 8
      f. Research Questions and Purpose of this Study .......... 9
   II. Fieldwork Methodology .................................................. 10
      a. Infrastructural Arrangements ................................... 10
      b. Selecting Targets for Field Research ......................... 12
      c. Selecting Informants .............................................. 13
      d. Gathering Linguistic Material .................................... 17
      e. Difficulties during Field Research ............................ 17
   III. Presentation of the Data ............................................... 18
      a. Presentation of the Data and Selecting Criteria for
         Comparison .............................................................. 18
      b. Method of Description ............................................ 19

Chapter One: A Description of the Dialects of the Ǧbāliyyah,
Awlād Saʿīd, Šawālhah, Garāršah and Ḥamādah with Remarks
on the Dialects of the Hanādwah and ʿLēgāt ........................... 21
Introduction ...................................................................... 21
   1. Phonology ............................................................. 23
      1.1. Consonants ......................................................... 23
      1.2. Vowels ............................................................. 27
   2. Stress and Phonotactics ................................................. 39
      2.1. Stress .............................................................. 39
## CONTENTS

2.2. Phonotactics ................................................................. 46
2.3. Anaptyxis ...................................................................... 48
2.4. Elision of Short Vowels ............................................... 54
2.5. Assimilation ................................................................. 55

3. Morphology ....................................................................... 56
   3.1. Nominal Morphology .................................................. 56
   3.2. Verbal Morphology ..................................................... 79

4. Remarks on Phraseology .................................................. 101
   4.1. Nunation ................................................................. 101
   4.2. Negation ................................................................. 101
   4.3. The b-imperfect ....................................................... 102
   4.4. Future Marker ......................................................... 102
   4.5. fiḥ “there is / are” .................................................... 103
   4.6. Some Conjunctions .................................................. 103
   4.7. Auxiliaries and Verbal Particles ................................ 106
   4.8. Presentative Particles ............................................... 108
   4.9. gayr ................................................................. 110
   4.10. Intensifying Particle la ........................................... 110
   4.11. bidd or widd + pron. suffix ..................................... 110
   4.12. ʿād ................................................................. 111
   4.13. yabga ................................................................. 111
   4.14. Characteristics of the Narrative Style ....................... 112
   4.15. Pluralis paucitatis .................................................. 113
   4.16. Concord ............................................................. 113

5. A Sketchy Remark on Pitch .............................................. 114

Chapter Two: A Description of the Dialects of the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil ................................................................. 115
Introduction ........................................................................ 115
1. Phonology ........................................................................ 116
   1.1. Consonants ............................................................ 116
   1.2. Vowels ................................................................. 120

2. Stress and Phonotactics .................................................... 132
   2.1. Stress ................................................................. 132
   2.2. Phonotactics .......................................................... 136
   2.3. Anaptyxis ............................................................. 139
   2.4. Elision of Short Vowels ........................................... 144
   2.5. Assimilation .......................................................... 146

3. Morphology ....................................................................... 148
   3.1. Nominal Morphology .............................................. 148
   3.2. Verbal Morphology .................................................. 162
CONTENTS

4. Remarks on Phraseology ......................................................... 182
   4.1. Nunation ................................................................. 182
   4.2. Negation ................................................................. 182
   4.3. The b-imperfect ....................................................... 183
   4.4. Future Marker .......................................................... 183
   4.5. fiḥ “there is / are” ................................................... 184
   4.6. Some Conjunctions ..................................................... 184
   4.7. Auxiliaries and Verbal Particles ................................. 187
   4.8. Presentative Particles ............................................... 189
   4.9. ġayr ............................................................... 190
   4.10. Intensifying Particle la ............................................. 190
   4.11. bidd or widd + pron. suffix ..................................... 190
   4.12. ād ............................................................... 190
   4.13. yabga ............................................................... 190
   4.14. Characteristics of the Narrative Style ....................... 191
   4.15. Pluralis paucitatis .................................................. 192
   4.16. Concord ............................................................. 192
5. A Sketchy Concord Remark on Pitch ..................................... 192

Chapter Three: A Description of the Dialects of the Taṛābīn, Hwēţāt, Ġaraḏraẖ, Tayāha, Badārāh, Dbūr and Malālḥah ............ 193
Introduction ............................................................................... 193
1. Phonology ............................................................................. 194
   1.1. Consonants ............................................................ 194
   1.2. Vowels ............................................................... 198
2. Stress and Phonotactics ....................................................... 215
   2.1. Stress ................................................................... 215
   2.2. Phonotactics ......................................................... 220
   2.3. Anaptyxis ............................................................. 223
   2.4. Elision of Short Vowels .......................................... 226
   2.5. Assimilation ........................................................ 228
3. Morphology .......................................................................... 228
   3.1. Nominal Morphology ............................................ 228
   3.2. Verbal Morphology ............................................... 250
4. Remarks on Phraseology ..................................................... 272
   4.1. Nunation ............................................................. 272
   4.2. Negation ............................................................. 272
   4.3. The b-imperfect ..................................................... 272
   4.4. Future Marker ........................................................ 273
   4.5. fiḥ “there is / are” ................................................ 273
   4.6. Some Conjunctions ................................................ 274
CONTENTS

4.7. Auxiliaries and Verbal Particles .................................................. 277
4.8. Presentative Particles ................................................................. 279
4.9. *gayr* .......................................................................................... 280
4.10. Intensifying Particle *la* ............................................................ 281
4.11. *bidd or widd* + pron. suffix .................................................... 281
4.12. ‘ād .............................................................................................. 281
4.13. *yabga* ........................................................................................ 282
4.14. Characteristics of the Narrative Style ....................................... 282
4.15. Pluralis paucitatis ...................................................................... 284
4.16. Concord ....................................................................................... 284

5. A Sketchy Remark on Pitch ......................................................... 284

Conclusions .......................................................... 285

I. Comparing Dialects ................................................................. 285
   a. Methods of Comparing Dialects ............................................... 285
II. Remarks to the Maps in the Appendix ....................................... 287
   a. Criteria for Comparison from De Jong 2000 Producing
      Differences/Similarities in Central and Southern Sinai ... 287
   b. Added Criteria for Comparison of Dialects in Central
      and Southern Sinai ........................................................................ 298
III. Isoglosses ................................................................................... 299
   a. The Identified Isoglosses in Central and Southern Sinai ... 299
   b. The Step Method to Calculate Relative Typological
      Distances between Dialects ......................................................... 309
   c. A Continuum: From Group VII Through Group VIII
      Towards Group I ................................................................. 312
   d. Multi-Dimensional Scaling ....................................................... 344
   e. ‘Bedouinness’ vs ‘Sedentariness’ ................................................. 316
   f. The Locations of Isogloss Bundles in Central and
      Southern Sinai .......................................................... 323
   g. A ‘Virtual’ Isogloss Bundle, Number –39–: BWA
      and MzA ............................................................................... 326
IV. Methods of Illustrating Dialect Differences ............................. 329
   a. Some Remarks on Methods of Illustrating Typological
      Similarities/Differences of Dialects ........................................... 329
   b. Multi-Dimensional Scaling in a Two-Dimensional Map ... 331
   c. Other Results of the MDS Plot ............................................... 332
   d. Grouping Dialects Using a Dendrogram ................................ 334
   e. What Informants Say .............................................................. 337
CONTENTS

V. A Comparison of the Dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt of Southern Jordan and the Ḥwēṭāt of Sinai ...................................................... 338
VI. Final Conclusions ................................................................................ 352
  a. The Position of Sinai Dialects in Northwest Arabian
     Arabic (the NWA-group) ............................................................. 352
Bibliography ...................................................................................................... 357
Index .................................................................................................................... 361
Appendix ............................................................................................................ 369
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Peninsula of Sinai. From: Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn. 1856. Sinai and Palestine in Connection with their History. London: John Murray of Albemarle Street. Reproduced by courtesy of the Leiden University Library ........................................ 371

Figure 2. Approximate distribution of Bedouin tribes in Sinai and surrounding regions ................................................................. 372

Figure 3. Proxscal—Euclidian Binary MDS plot of dialects of Sinai .................................................................................. 373

Figure 4. Proxscal—Squared Euclidian Binary MDS plot of dialects of Sinai ................................................................. 373

Figure 5. Alscal—Euclidian Binary MDS plot of dialects of Sinai .................................................................................. 374

Figure 6. Dendrogram of dialects of Sinai ......................................................... 375

Figure 7. Binary Euclidean distances in a proximity matrix ........ 376

Figure 8a. Dialect groups as clusters in similar shades of colours ................................................................. 377

Figure 8b. Dialect groups as clusters in similar shades of colours .................................................................................. 378

Figure 8c. Dialect groups as clusters in similar shades of colours .................................................................................. 379

Map 0. Isogloss bundles in central and southern Sinai .............................. 380

Map 1. /k/ and /ḳ/ as separate phonemes in the phoneme inventory .................................................................................. 381

Map 4. Velarization in kbār and ktār .................................................................................. 382

Map 5. Phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ .................................................................................. 383

Map 7. Raising of a in open syllable preceding A .................................................................................. 384

Map 8. Raising of fem. morpheme T .................................................................................. 385

Map 9. Reflexes of -ā′ in neutral environment ................................................. 386

Map 10. Reflexes of final *-ā′ .................................................................................. 387

Map 11. Diphthongs *ay and *aw .................................................................................. 388

Map 14. Stress in CvCvC .................................................................................. 389

Map 15. Stress in CaCaCv .................................................................................. 390

Map 18. Stress in alCaCac .................................................................................. 391

Map 20. Reflex of pattern *CI CaC .................................................................................. 392

Map 21. Raising of a in CaCîC(ah) .................................................................................. 393
List of Illustrations

Map 22. Raising of a in CaCCâC(ah) ................................................................. 394
Map 23. Raising of a in CaCâC(ah) ............................................................... 395
Map 25. Article and relative pronoun .............................................................. 396
Map 26. “mother” and “sister” ................................................................. 397
Map 27. T in construction ........................................................................ 398
Map 28. T-vowel elision ............................................................................. 399
Map 29. Analytical genitive (genitive exponent) ........................................ 400
Map 31. The independent personal pronominals of the 3rd
p. sg. masc. and fem. ............................................................................. 401
Map 34. 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix ............................................................. 402
Map 35. 3rd p. sg. fem. pron. suffix .............................................................. 403
Map 36. 2nd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix ............................................................ 404
Map 37. 2nd p. sg. fem. pron. suffix .............................................................. 405
Map 39. sg. masc. demonstrative ................................................................. 406
Map 40. sg. fem. demonstrative ................................................................. 407
Map 42. Interrogative “who?” .................................................................. 408
Map 45. Shape of the adverb “there” ............................................................ 409
Map 46. Shape of the adverb “here” ............................................................ 410
Map 47. The preposition “to” + 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. .............................. 411
Map 48. The preposition “with” + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix ....................... 412
Map 49. Numeral “one (fem.)” ................................................................. 413
Map 50. 3rd p. pl. masc. perfect ending ...................................................... 414
Map 52. Verb perfect CaCiC ....................................................................... 415
Map 54. 3rd p. pl. masc. imperf. ending ....................................................... 416
Map 55. 3rd p. pl. fem. imperfect ending ..................................................... 417
Map 57. Perfect of primae hamzah verbs ................................................. 418
Map 58. Imperfect vowel primae hamzah verbs ...................................... 419
Map 60. Perfect forms of the verb “come” ............................................... 420
Map 61. 3rd p. sg. masc. and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect
of “come” .............................................................................................. 421
Map 62. Stress in anCaCaC / aCtaCaC (measures n-1 / 1-t) ......................... 422
Map 68. Negation (predominantly) ............................................................. 423
Map 71. Occurrence of yâm, lâm for conjunction “when” ....................... 424
Map 72. Marker of consequent action (unconjugated) gām ..................... 425
Map 73. Use of widd or bidd, “want, need” ............................................. 426
Map 75. Raising of a preceding CCê ........................................................... 427
Map 76. Raising of a preceding Cê ............................................................ 428
Map 77. Mutual influence of hissing sounds ş, z and š, ž, ğ .......................... 429
Map 78. The pl. masc. personal pronominal “they” ................................... 430
Map 79. Negated personal pronominals ........................................... 431
Map 80. 2nd p. pl. masc. pronominal suffix ......................................... 432
Map 81. Pl. com. demonstrative “these” ............................................... 433
Map 82. Interrogative “when?” ............................................................ 434
Map 83. Suffixixed preposition “on him” .............................................. 435
Map 84. 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect of mediae geminatae .................... 436
Map 85. Sg. masc. imperative of mediae geminatae verbs .................... 437
Map 86. 3rd p. sg. masc. perfect of tertiae yaʾ verbs ............................ 438
Map 87. The apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. of tertiae infirmae imperfect .......................................................... 439
Map 88. Dialect groups in Sinai ............................................................ 440

For remarks on the absence of MAPS 2, 3, 6, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 24, 30, 32, 33, 38, 41, 43, 44, 51, 53, 56, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70 and 74 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai (p. 287).
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B-form</td>
<td>Bedouinized form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>communis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf.</td>
<td>confer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coll.</td>
<td>collective noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constr.</td>
<td>construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem.</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dim.</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibid.</td>
<td>ibidem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imper.</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperf.</td>
<td>imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.P.A.</td>
<td>International Phonetic Alphabet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intrans.</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-form</td>
<td>Koine form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>(translated) literally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDS</td>
<td>Multi-Dimensional Scaling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.u.</td>
<td>nomen unitatis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obj.</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perf.</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pos.</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pron.</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Statistical Package for the Social Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subj.</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suff.</td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trans.</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A  | stressed \( a \) or \( â \) |
I  | short high vowel \( i \) or \( u \)
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Í  stressed short or long high vowel (stressed i, u, ī or ū)
T  feminine morpheme (tā’ marbūṭah)
v  any short vowel
V  any short or long vowel
ṽ  any long vowel
C  any consonant; a following subscript number (1, 2, 3 or 4) refers to the numbering of the radical in the root.
X  any back fricative (x, ġ, h, ‘, h)
M  any velarized consonant (primary or secondary emphatics)
[ ]  phonetic representation between the square brackets
//  phonemic representation between the slashes
||  representation of underlying base form
*  precedes historical forms or phonemes, intermediate forms in illustrations of rule ordering, or follows a form with a remark given below
·  precedes a form not heard in the dialect discussed and the form is deemed unlikely to occur in that dialect
+  followed by…
Ø  zero
>  develops into (synchronously) or developed into (historically)
<  develops from (synchronously) or developed from (historically)
≠  does not equal
=  equals, is identical with
≈  is almost identical with
…  any combination of Vs (vowels) and/or Cs (consonants) within word boundaries
~  co-occurs with
/  co-occurs not in free variation with
#  speech pause

The list below shows abbreviations used for tribal varieties of Arabic (the asterisk ‘*’ following the abbreviation indicates that the dialect has been described or partially treated in De Jong 2000). The tribes/non-tribal dialect communities are listed here more or less from north (-east) to west and then south (see map in Appendix ‘Approximate distribution of Bedouin tribes in Sinai and surrounding regions’). Roman numbers indicate to which typological group the dialects have been concluded to belong. In brackets the names of the tribes follow in a classicized transcription:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dialect</th>
<th>group</th>
<th>name of tribe/social entity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḌA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>the dialect of the Դուլամ (of the Negev Desert, not in Sinai), as described in Blanc 1970 (Դուլամ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ṛմէլỳ, the dialect of the ṛմէլատ (Ṙстанав)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Swérkiy, the dialect of the Sawàrkhah (Sawārika)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Mallâhiy, the dialect of the Malâlḥah (Malâliḥa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AA*</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>‘Arâyšìy, the dialect of al-‘Arîš (not a tribe, but a town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nTA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Northern Turbâniy, the dialect of the northern Tarâbîn (Tarâbîn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BaA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Balawiy, the dialect of Balîy (or Bîly) (Balî)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA*</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Dwēğiyy, the dialect of the Dawāģrah (Dawâģira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA*</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Bayyâdiy, the dialect of the Bayyâdiyyah (Bayyâdiya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AxA*</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Axrasiy, the dialect of the Axârsah (ʼAxârisa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SaA*</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Smē niy, the dialect of the Samâ nah (Samâ ina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AgA*</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>‘Gêliy, the dialect of the ‘Agâylah (ʼAqâyila)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Maš ūdiy, the dialect of the Masâ ʼîd (Masâ ʼîd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AyA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>‘Ayâdiy, the dialect of the ‘Ayâydah (ʼAyâyida)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eŠA*</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>eastern Šarqâwiy, the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyya (a region in the eastern Nile Delta, not a tribe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HwA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ḥwēṭîy, the dialect of the Ḥwêṭât ( Huwayneṭât)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HwJ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ḥwēṭîy, the dialect of the Ḥwêṭât ( Huwayneṭât) in Jordan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AhA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ᾳḥaywiy, the dialect of the ᾳḥaywât (ʼŪḥaywât)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TyA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Tîhiy, the dialect of the Tâyâha (Tayâhâ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DbA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Dibriy, the dialect of the Dbûr (Dubûr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAṢ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Turbâniy of Ṣâdîr, the dialect of the Tarâbîn of Ṣâs Ṣâdîr (Tarâbîn of Ra’s Sudr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĜrA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ĝarâğriy, the dialect of the Ĝarâģrah ( Ĝarâģira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAN</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Turbâniy of Nwêbî, the dialect of the Tarâbîn of Nwêbî (Tarâbîn of Nuwayneṭî)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Volume</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BdA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Badriy, the dialect of the Badārah (Badāra or Badārā)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'LA</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>'Lēgiy, the dialect of the 'Lēgāt (Ulayqāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HmA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Ḥmēدية, the dialect of the Ḥamāḏah (Ḥamāda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŠwA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Šālhiy, the dialect of the Šawālḥah (Šawāliḥa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GrA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Garrāšiy, the dialect of the Garāršah (Qarāriša)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĞbA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Ğbāliy, the dialect of the Ğbāliyyah (Ǧibāliya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Saʿidiy, the dialect of the Awlād Saʿīd (ʿAwlād Saʿīd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HnA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Hindiy, the dialect of the Hanādwah (a non-Bedouin family in Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr) (Hanādiwa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŢwA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Ţawara Arabic: in collective reference to the dialects of the Ğbāliyyah, Awlād Saʿīd, Šawālḥah, Garāršah and Ḥamāḏah (Ţawara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MzA</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Mzēniy, the dialect of the Mzēnah (Muzayna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BWA</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Wāṣliy, the dialect of the Baniy Wāṣil (Banū Wāṣil)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ See remark *s in Introduction I.d.
PREFACE

For too long our knowledge of the dialects of the central and southern Sinai had remained scanty, and many questions about the linguistic characteristics of these dialects remained unanswered, or at best guessed after. After completing *A Grammar of Bedouin Dialects of the Northern Sinai Littoral* (published in 2000) a logical next step was therefore to research the dialects of Bedouin tribes in the central and southern parts of Sinai as well.

In 2002 I submitted a research proposal to the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (in Dutch Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, abbreviated as N.W.O.) to undertake such investigations. In the following year N.W.O. graciously made funds available for the execution of this linguistic research under their post-doctoral programme named VENI. The research proposal was submitted under the title ‘The Bedouin Dialects of the Bedouin Tribes of Central and Southern Sinai; Testing and Adapting Models of Quantitative Comparison’.

The Amsterdam Center for Language and Communication (abbreviated as A.C.L.C.) at the University of Amsterdam acted as host for my research and provided institutional support. Manfred Woidich again allowed me to profit from his extraordinary expertise in the field of Arabic linguistics and dialectology, as well as to be inspired by his thoughts on a variety of topics. I owe N.W.O., A.C.L.C. and Manfred Woidich my gratitude.

To gather linguistic data I spent 8 periods of between 4 and 7 weeks in the area. I usually rented an apartment in Dahab for my stay. For always taking care of my local needs such as a reasonably priced apartment, for answering any questions local authorities might have about my activities, and for being a good friend, I wish to thank here ‘Aliy Mḥammad al-‘Āyiš, who is the owner and general manager of Mirage Village in Dahab and who is himself a member of the Biyyāḏiyyah in the north of Sinai. In the course of time, apart from being a superb host for his guests, which comes naturally to him, he has proven himself a true friend on numerous occasions.

The person without whom my research and interpreting the results would have been impossible—and much less entertaining in any case—and

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1 The dialect of the Biyyāḏiyyah was described in De Jong 2000:chapter III.
to whom I am at least equally grateful, is ʿĪd Silim ʿĪd ‘Awdih al-Aṭraš, known by many as ʿĪd at-Tuṛbāniy. He is a member of the Taṛābīn of Ṛās Ṣadr (where he was born and raised) and he has travelled the desert since he was seven years old, when as a young boy he would accompany his father on trips to nearly every corner of the Sinai peninsula and into Jordan. His experience in desert travel made him eminently suitable to act as a guide and he could at the same time introduce me to members of the different tribes (he knows virtually every wadi and almost everyone living there). His gentle nature and sense of humor make him an ideal travelling companion, and these qualities combined with his loyalty have made him a good friend for life. Not only did he travel with me, he also made recordings for me in my absence, and sat with me—for weeks on end—behind my desk to make sure I could write it all out, word by word. He would also explain to me many details of Bedouin life in Sinai often not available in books.

For his invaluable help in producing illustrations by means of various computer programs of the SPSS, processing of the data collected during the research for this study, and for his assistance in the interpretation of the outcomes of various calculated plotted maps, I owe my gratitude to Geer Hoppenbrouwers of Hogeschool Zuyd in the Netherlands (in the province of Limburg). In our at times very frequent e-mail contact, but also during our face-to-face meetings, he brought statistics to life, and showed me that it is far removed from the dullness that I had previously associated with this discipline.

Finally, my gratitude is due to all the people who have contributed to this research as informants. Telling stories or speaking about daily activities as subjects for my recordings, or answering questionnaires may not be everyone’s favorite pastime, but my interviewees never gave me the feeling that I was overburdening them. I attribute this willingness to cooperate to the generosity of my ‘victims’ and at the same time often detected a sense of pride among them, that a westerner would come all the way from his homeland with the sole purpose of studying their speech.

Any shortcomings still remaining in this study are of course my own.

Amsterdam, 26 September 2010

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2 ʿĪd is of the Gṣār clan, for a tribal genealogy of the Taṛābīn see Bailey 1991:290.