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
Rudolf E. de Jong

B R I L L

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

A stressed a or ā
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 ṭārīḥah)
v any short vowel
V any short or long vowel
ŷ 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, ḥ, ḵ, ḥ)
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>ĐA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>the dialect of the Ɗullām (of the Negev Desert, not in Sinai), as described in Blanc 1970 (Zullām)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rmēlīy, the dialect of the Rmēlāt (Rumaylāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Swērkiy, the dialect of the Sawārkah (Sawārika)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Mallāḥiy, the dialect of the Malāḥah (Malāliḥa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AA*</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>‘Arāyšiy, the dialect of al-‘Ariš (not a tribe, but a town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nTA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Northern Turbāniy, the dialect of the northern Taṛābīn (Tarābīn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BaA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Balawiy, the dialect of Balīy (or Biliy) (Balī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA*</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Dwēɡriy, the dialect of the Dawāɡrah (Dawāɡira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA*</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Bayyādiy, the dialect of the Bayyādiyyah (Bayyādiya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AxA*</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Axrasiy, the dialect of the Axārsah (‘Axārisa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SaA*</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Smē niy, the dialect of the Samā nah (Samā ina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AgA*</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>‘Gēliy, the dialect of the ‘Agāylah (‘Aqāyila)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Masūdiy, the dialect of the Masā id (Masā id)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AyA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>‘Ayādiy, the dialect of the ‘Ayāydhā (‘Ayāyida)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eŠA* near</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>eastern Šarqāwiy, the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyyya (a region in the eastern Nile Delta, not a tribe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HwA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Hwētiy, the dialect of the Hwētāt (Huwaytāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HwJ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Hwētiy, the dialect of the Hwētāt (Huwaytāt) in Jordan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AbA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Aḥhaywiy, the dialect of the Aḥhaywāt (‘Uḥaywāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TyA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Tihīy, the dialect of the Tayāha (Tayāhā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DbA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Dibriy, the dialect of the Dūr (Dubūr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAṢ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Taṛābīy of Ṣadr, the dialect of the Taṛābīn of Ṣās Ṣadr (Taṛābīn of Ra’s Sudr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĞrA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ğarāğriy, the dialect of the Ğarāğrah (Ğarāğira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAN</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Taṛābīy of Nwēbī, the dialect of the Taṛābīn of Nwēbī (Taṛābīn of Nuwaybī)</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>Badrīy, the dialect of the Badārah (Badāra or Badārā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'LA</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>'Lēgiy, the dialect of the 'Lēgāt (Ulāyqāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HmA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Ḥmēdiy, the dialect of the Ḥamāḏah (Ḥamāda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṢwA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Ṣālhiy, the dialect of the Ṣawālḥah (Ṣawālḥa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GrA</td>
<td>VII</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĞbA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Ğbāliy, the dialect of the Ğbāliyyah (Ğibāliya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASA</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Saʿidiy, the dialect of the Awlād Saʿīd (Awlād 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>ṬwA</td>
<td>VII</td>
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</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 * in Introduction I.d.
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.¹ 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 ‘Īd Silim ‘Īd ‘Awdih al-Aṭraš, known by many as ‘Īd at-Tūrānī.² He is a member of the Taḥābīn of Ṭūs Sadr (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

² ‘Īd is of the Gṣār clan, for a tribal genealogy of the Taḥābīn see Bailey 1991:290.
INTRODUCTION

I. General

a. Central and Southern Sinai in Recent History

Over the past twenty years the development of the tourist industry in the area has acquired such speed, that, as an arabist with a special interest in the dialects of Bedouin tribes, I could no longer sit idly by and watch these dialects slowly disappear. In less than two decades Šarm aš-Šēx and its surrounding areas on the southern tip of the peninsula has developed from a sleepy village of fishermen with only a few hotels from the times of Israeli occupation and catering for a few thousand visitors a year into a major attraction for literally hundreds and thousands of tourists from around the world, who go there for the favourable climate,1 water sports and for some of the world’s most spectacular dive sites. This development started from Na‘āmah Bay, which lies some 5 kilometres more or less to the east of the village Šarm. After this bay had been filled with hotels, more hotels and tourist villages were constructed between Na‘āmah Bay and Šarm, on the plateau between the village and the lighthouse, and farther east from the bay into the direction of the airport. Today there are more than 150 hotels and resorts in the area and more are under construction.

With the development of the tourist industry, thousands of mainland Egyptians flocked into the area to work in the newly built facilities, easily outnumbering the original inhabitants, most of whom are of the Mzēnah tribe. The Bedouin themselves usually work in jobs like driving taxis, guiding tourists on desert safaris, etc.

The numbers of members of Bedouin tribes in Sinai are not certain. Since, to the best of my knowledge, official numbers of Bedouin inhabitants do not appear in state publications,2 the numbers given here are estimates.3

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1 Temperatures during the day vary from around (minimum) 18 or 19 degrees C. in winter to 40 degrees C. or more in summer, see www.holiday-weather.com (accessed 10-18-2010).
2 I have only seen total numbers of inhabitants published, which include ‘immigrants’ from the Egyptian mainland.
3 Von Sarnowski 2004:388 estimates the number of Bedouin in South Sinai at 19,000–27,000. EEAA 2003:3 based on the population census of 1996 estimates the number of
b. Cultural Background

The central part of Sinai, on the Tih plateau, is inhabited mainly by tribes who speak a group I dialect-type (see De Jong 2000:Chapter I). Tribes inhabiting the lower coastal areas on the Gulf of ‘Aqaba and the Gulf of Suez are also speakers of this dialect-type. The higher mountains towards the south are inhabited by tribes who are often collectively referred to as Tawara (or Ṭuwara). Most of these tribes immigrated at different times in history coming from the Arabian Peninsula or (via) Palestine and (today’s) Jordan. Of some of these tribes in Sinai today, relatives can still be found in the northern part of the Ḥiḡāz, across the Gulf of Aqaba, in present-day Saudi Arabia. Other tribes arrived in Sinai via the mainland of Egypt.

Like the Bedouin in northern Sinai, Bedouin in the centre and south of Sinai are culturally much more part of the larger area known as Arabia Petraea than of Egypt, to which Sinai belongs in a political and administrative sense, and as G.W. Murray (1935:256–257) remarks, “among themselves, they can distinguish each tribe and subtribe by their looks and dialects…”.

c. Present-day Distribution of Bedouin Tribes in Central and Southern Sinai and Surrounding Regions

With an approximate north-south length of 380 kilometres and an east-west width of about 210 kilometres, the surface area of Sinai is some 61,000 square kilometres.

The majority of Sinai’s inhabitants (the total was estimated at 360,000 in 2007) are found along the Mediterranean coast in the north, who live more or less along the main road al-Ganṭarah (on the Suez Canal in the west)—Rafah (on the border with the Gaza Strip in the east). Of this total, more than one third today live in North Sinai’s capital city al-Ariš.


Bedouin in the Governorate of South Sinai to be in the range of 20,000 to 24,000 and their number is projected to reach 53,800 souls by the year 2017 (ibid.:6).

For other general remarks on the cultural background of Sinai Bedouin, see also De Jong 2000:3–4.

Some 300,000 in the north, 60,000 in the south. Numbers are quoted from the Executive Summary and Recommendations in Egypt’s Sinai Question, Middle East./North Africa Report N°61 of 30 January 2007, International Crisis Group, see www.crisisgroup.org (accessed 10-18-2010).
tribes in present-day Saudi Arabia just across the Gulf of ‘Aqabah and in Jordan are also indicated on these maps (these are also included in the map below): in the far north of the Ḥiǧāz and in the south of Jordan we find Ḥwēṭāt (on Bailey’s map spelled as Ḥuwayṭāt), with to their south (just east of the Ṭīrān islands in the mouth of the Gulf of ‘Aqabah) the Masāʾīd and (a little farther to the southeast, along the Arabian Peninsula’s west coast) Bīlī. These tribes are also found in Sinai today: the Masāʾīd live in and around the village of Ġilbānah in the northwest, Bīlī (transcribed as Bāliy on the map below) are found not far south from the main road al-Gaṅṭarah—al-ʿAriṣ, in an area named Ġarīf al-Ġizlān near ar-Rawādah in the central northeast, and the Ḥwēṭāt live in the areas as indicated on the map below.

On the map below I have also indicated the presence of three (sub-)tribal collectives not indicated on the map in Bailey: the Ġarāǧrah, whom I interviewed in the area near Wādiy as-Sīg named al-Malbad, the Dbūr, whom I found residing not far south from the road leading through the Mitla pass to Naxl,7 approximately forty kilometres to the west of Nīxl, and also the Malālḥah, who live near the border with Israel in the northeast of Sinai. Another name not indicated on Bailey’s map is that of the Hanādwah, who are actually a family said to be of non-Bedouin origin8 living in Wādiy at-Ṭūr inside the territory of the Awlād Saʿīd.

d. Remarks on the Arrival of Bedouin Tribes in Central and Southern Sinai and some Remarks on their History

Most of the tribes of Sinai came to the area between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries.9 The history reported for the Ǧbāliyyah is undoubtedly one of the most sensational of the tribes in Sinai:10 one hundred men with their wives and children are said to have been recruited in 530 CE

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6 The different communities are referred to here as ‘tribes’, although I am aware that in some cases ‘tribal confederation’, ‘sub-confederation’, ‘sub-tribe’ or ‘clan’ would be more appropriate terms.

7 My Turḫāniy informant Eid told me that the name for the Mitla pass is actually derived from Uṃṃ Iltah “(the region) with the tamarisk tree”. Bailey (1991:344) gives the same etymology. The town of Naxl in central Sinai is referred to among Sinai Bedouin as Nīxl.

8 Literally their name means “Indians, i.e. (originally) from India”, but this could not be verified.

9 The dating is in this paragraph is quoted predominantly from Bailey 1985.

10 The quote in Bailey 1985:26 of the German geographer Carl Ritter is another example of a sensational claim: the ‘Azāzmah are claimed to be the “aboriginal inhabitants” of the Negev.
Approximate distribution of Bedouin tribes in Sinai and surrounding regions
in the land of the Wallachians1 (another document mentions Byzantium (ar-Rūm) and Egypt) by the Emperor Justinian I (c. 482–565 CE) in the pre-islamic period to serve and protect St. Catherine’s Monastery together with one hundred men with their wives and children who were sent to Sinai from Egypt. After about one thousand years almost the whole tribe had converted to Islam. They remained, however, in the service of the Monastery.12

The estimated times of arrival of Bedouin tribes in central and southern Sinai appearing in this study are (as reported in Bailey 1985;13 tribal names are given in my own transcription;14 in notes some details of their origins, histories, etc. will be given):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Estimated time of arrival</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ğbāliyyah<em>¹, Ḥamādah</em>²</td>
<td>pre-islamic period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badārāh<em>³, Tayāhā</em>⁴, Baniy Wāṣil*⁵</td>
<td>10th (perhaps earlier) through 13th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣawālhāh<em>⁶, Āwlād Sa’īd</em>⁷, 'Awārmah<em>⁸, 'Lēgāt</em>⁹</td>
<td>14th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taṛābīn<em>¹⁰, Garāṣāh</em>¹¹</td>
<td>16th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥwēṭāt<em>¹², Mzēnah</em>¹²</td>
<td>17th c. (at the latest)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ For further information on the Ğbāliyyah, see also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:621–622 and 639–640 and Maiberger 1984:139–149. For an extensive account of their origins, history and present, Hobbs 1995 (especially 139–174) is recommended.

*² For more background information on the history and origin of the Ḥamādah, see also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:620. They are today a small tribe who are involved in mining activities in their mineral-rich area east of Aḅuw Znēmah, like in Wādiy aṣ-Ṣahaw.15 (see also remarks under *⁵). Šuqayr 1916:107 writes that before the arrival of the Ṣawālhah they were in control of the region. After the Ṣawālhah had arrived, the 'Lēgāt became their protectors.

*³ In present-day Romania the larger region around Bucharest, between the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube river.

*⁴ See Bailey 1985:33–35. Maiberger 1984:147–148 quotes Johann Ludwig Burckhardt writing that until well into the eighteenth century a few Ğbāliy families had remained Christians.

*⁵ See however Stewart 1991, where caution with regard to Bailey’s conclusions is advised.

*⁶ For dates of arrival of tribes in northern Sinai, see Bailey 1985 and De Jong 2000:14–15. For more information on the tribes of the central and south of Sinai, see also Šuqayr 1916:106-120.

*⁷ At-Tayyib 1997:290 lists them as one of the oldest tribes present in Sinai today. See also Šuqayr 1916:107, where also the presence of at-Tabanah, as the original inhabitants of the ‘garden of Fēṛān’, and al-Mawāṭrah is reported, and who in a distant past have their roots in the Ḥamādah. I have not heard the names of these former two groups mentioned during the research for this study.
At-Ṭayyib 1993:620 actually spells their name as al-Badārā (بدر, with final ‘alif maqṣūrah, but it is spelled as بدرة in Šuqayr 1916:107). They are a very small tribe, who are reported to have moved from their earlier abode on Gabal ‘Iḡmah (on the central Tīh plateau), where they lived together with (and were allies of) the Tayāha. When they fell out with the Tayāha, they allied with the Saḥayyāḥ (a sub-tribe of the Aḥaywāt). Šuqayr (ibid.) suggests that perhaps the name ‘ ‘Iḡmah is derived from the word (from the same root ‘-g-m) describing their speech as “improper Arabic”: luġah ‘aḡāmiyyah.

The Tayāha are a relatively large tribe. At-Ṭayyib 1993:566 reports that they came to Sinai with the Banū Hilāl (of Adnānī origin)17 and that they were among the first tribes to ‘settle’ on the Tīh plateau. After the Taṛābin had arrived there, several wars were fought over control of the land. Sawārkah, Biliy, Rmēlāt, Samā’nah are mentioned as allies of the Tayāha in these wars. For some time they were also allied with the Ḥwēṭāt against the Sawārkah. For further details on their history, presence in other countries etc., see ibid.:565–570 and also at-Ṭayyib 1997:227–233.

They are reported, also in at-Ṭayyib (see 1993:622 and 1997:292),18 to be one of the oldest tribes in Sinai. They are said there to have fought numerous wars against the Hamādah over territory and that both tribes severely weakened each other in the process. After these wars they agreed on a division of the land to the north and south of Wādiy Fēṛān, which was then later largely occupied by (the various sub-divisions of) the Sawālḥah.

G.W. Murray 1935:243 writes that the original inhabitants of southern Sinai “are said to have been Beni Suleiman, and the Hamada and the Beni Wasil [in my own transcription: Baniy Suleiman, Ḥamādah and Baniy Wāṣil]. Not long after the Arab conquest of Egypt, the Sawalḥah and the ‘Aleiqat [in my own transcription: Sawālḥah and Lēgāt] were living in Sharqiya […], from which they regularly raided south Sinai to carry off the dates of Feiran or to graze their camels wherever there had been rain. One year, these two tribes migrated en masse into the peninsula where they succeeded in conquering the Beni Suleiman and the rest, some of whom fled while others were absorbed into the conquerors […] [T]he two tribes quarrelled and victory was inclining towards the Sawalḥa when there arrived from Arabia seven tents of the Muzeina [in my own transcription: Mzēnah], the remnant of a noble tribe flying from the results of a blood feud. These asked permission of the Sawalḥa to share their grazing. But this the Sawalḥa refused, unless the Muzeina paid them tribute. So the proud Muzeina went off to join the ‘Aleiqat and both tribes together overcame the Sawalḥa in a battle fought in the Watia Pass [in my own transcription: Watyah. The pass is located at appr. 28.41.40 North and 33.58.53 East, see Google Earth] on the main road to the Monastery. A sensible compromise then took place by which the three tribes divided the peninsula among them.”

In the map below I have indicated the Sawālḥah as a separate entity positioned in the area where Bailey 1985:23 indicated the presence of the ‘Awārmah. I have not met people who claimed to be members of the ‘Awārmah9 (see also the quote from G.W. Murray 1935 in the previous remark).

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16 Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:620 adds a footnote reporting that some Aḥaywāt claim that the Badārah are originally of Aḥaywīy origin. See also Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:290–291. Today they are found in ar-Ramlah near Gabal Ḥmayyir, which is part of the ‘Dividing Valleys’ between the Tīh Plateau and the Sinai Massif, see Greenwood 1997:27 (figure 3-I), The geomorphic regions of Sinai.

17 The Banū Hilāl were led by their legendary commander ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ when they conquered Egypt in the seventh century CE.

18 Their origin is reported to be Qaḥṭāniy, through Ğuḍām and Banū ‘Uqbah.

9 At-Ṭayyib 1993:642 actually mentions the ‘Awārmah as one of the four sub-tribes of the Sawālḥah: al-‘Awārmah, al-Maḥāsinah, ar-Raḍāwinah and an-Nawāṣirah (in my transcription: ‘Awārmah, Maḥāsınah, Raḍāwınah and Nawāṣır). For the history and origin
Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:681–682 (see also 1997:360–367) relates a story describing how the Awlād Saḥīd joined the tribe of Ṣawālḥah during their days in the Ḥiǧāz, after which they came to Sinai together. In ibid. it is also reported that a branch (named Awlād Sayf) of the Awlād Saḥīd are originally Masaḥīd.

For a short history of the origin, present location(s) and activities of the ‘Lēgāt in Sinai,’ see also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:701–711 and 1997:475–489. Aṭ-Ṭayyib (1993:710 and 1997:487) however quotes Ahmad Luṭfī as-Sayyid in his book qabāʾil al-ʿarab fī miṣr on the date of arrival of the ‘Lēgāt in Sinai as being in the tenth century Hijrah (i.e. appr. in the sixteenth century CE) (see also quote from G.W. Murray 1935 in remark 8 above).

The large tribe of at-Taṛābīn in earlier times occupied land in central Sinai, but later, in the eighteenth century, expanded and moved into different directions at the expense of other tribes claiming their territories for themselves.24

The Garāršah are said to be a section of the Ṣawālḥah (see Bailey 1985:33; I have heard the same from my own informants).

Bailey (1985:28–29) reports that the ‘Awārmah, Awlād Saḥīd and Garāršah are ‘jointly known as the Ṣawālḥah’.23 Bailey (1985:33) also reports a war that took place around 1600 between the Ṣawālḥah and ‘Lēgāt.

The Ḥwēṭāt in Sinai are only a small group,24 but large numbers of the Ḥwēṭāt live as an amalgam of sub-tribes or clans of various origins in southern Jordan and the far northwestern region of Saudi Arabia just south of the border with Jordan. According to Von Oppenheim, they occupy a special place among the Bedouin tribes in terms of genealogy. They are said to be offspring of an Egyptian man Ḥuwayṭ, who traveled to Aqabah where he fell ill. He was then given shelter by a member of the Baniy Aṭiyyah (who are still also today found in Jordan). When Huwayt had recovered from his illness, he stayed in Aqabah, and managed to guile the Baniy Aṭiyyah out of their profitable business of

of the Ṣawālḥah see aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:623–644. See also Maiberger 1984:141 (paraphrased), where he mentions the ‘Awāreme (who are said to be the sub-section of the Ṣawālḥah who originally conquered the area), the Qarārese (Garāršah in my transcription) (who—as owners of the best palm orchards in Wādiy Fēṛān—were the richest among the otherwise destitute Ṭawara), and the Awlād Saḥīd as sub-sections of the Ṣawālḥah. The name Ṣawālḥah derives from the prophet (an-nabī) Sāliḥ, from whom they claim descent. Together with the ‘Lēgāt the Ṣawālḥah secured an income (in the form of bread paid by the monks) as ‘Protectors’ of pilgrims en route from Cairo to the monastery.

They are for instance reported to be allies of the Mzēnah and Ḥamāḏah and to have been in territorial disputes with the Ṣawālḥah.

Their name Taṛābīn is said to derive from their place of origin Wādiy at-Tarabah or the town of that name, located to the northwest of aṭ-Ṭā’hif in present day Saudi Arabia. Today sections of this tribe are also present in the Gaza area and the Negev Desert, see also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:554–564. Stewart 1991:306 also mentions that the Taṛābīn were part of the Baniy ‘Atiyya.

Bailey 1985:25 reports that they moved into ‘Ayyādiy territory to their west (now Taṛābīn of Rūs Ṣadr), the Mzēnah to their south (now Taṛābīn of Nwēbī’) and Ṣḥaydāt, Gbārāt (now found to the north of Gaza) and Rmēlāt (in my own transcription) to their north (now northern Taṛābīn). In turn, they had their ‘own place in drought-ridden central Sinai taken over by the Ahaywāt, although not by conquest’, see ibid. For more on the Taṛābīn see also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:575–570 and aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:210–226.

I have treated them as separate entities, in conformity with how informants themselves defined their affiliations.


See Von Oppenheim 1943:291.
protecting grain transports from Syria to pilgrimage stations. Only part of them became nomadic, and only at a later point in history.\footnote{12} The Mzēnah are reported (see Bailey 1985:33) to be originally of /halfringleftAdnānī (northern Arabian tribes) origin, but they later (between the 14th and 16th centuries) joined the Qaṭānī (southern Arabian) Ḥarb. For a description of their origins, history, presence in Sinai and other locations, see also at-Ţayyib 1993:687–700 and 1997:368–474. (See also the quote from G.W. Murray 1935 in remark \footnote{15} above).

e. Professional Activities of Bedouin in Central Southern Sinai Today

Many of the Bedouin who live near or on the coast of the Gulf of ‘Aqabah make a living in the tourist industry. The focal point of this industry is Šarm aš-Šayx, where hundreds of thousands of tourists come for sunshine and diving, every year generating billions of dollars of income for the Egyptian economy. Most of this money is, however, earned by mainland Egyptians and relatively very little trickles down to the local Bedouin population. Bedouin work mainly as taxi drivers, desert safari guides, and run small businesses like rental shops for diving equipment, cafeterias and small restaurants or sell souvenirs and camel rides. Only few Bedouin have seen opportunities to start their own hotel businesses or larger transport companies for tourists.\footnote{27}

About an hour’s drive from the airport of Šarm aš-Šayx, Dahab also takes its share of tourism revenues, albeit a mere fraction of the money made in Šarm. Farther to the north in Nwēbi, which is about a two hours’ drive from Šarm airport, and along the coast stretching towards Ṭāba, much money has been invested to develop the tourism industry by (again predominantly) mainland Egyptians, but ever since the second intifāḍah\footnote{28} many of the tourists from or via Israel that would come to this area have stayed away.\footnote{29} The result is a coastal area filled with half-finished concrete constructions, lying untouched while investors wait for better times. Only a limited number of hotels and a handful of holiday camps run by local Bedouin are open for the few tourists who do come.

\footnote{12} For a description and list of sub-sections of the Ḥwēṭāt in Jordan and mainland Egypt, see Von Oppenheim 1943:291–308. For more information on their background and history, see Maulvi Al-Haq, Al-Huwaytat in: Encyclopaedic ethnography of Middle-East and Central Asia (Vol. I):287–289.

\footnote{27} Most of the larger tourism businesses are controlled by mainland Egyptians.

\footnote{28} The second intifāḍah started at the al-/halfringrightAqṣā mosque in late September 2000.

\footnote{29} As part of the Camp David Accords, Israelis (and other tourists entering from Israel at Ṭāba) are allowed to travel into Sinai and visit the east coast of Sinai and its towns (including Šarm aš-Šayx and St Catherine’s Monastery) on a 14-day permit available at the border. Israeli authorities (the Counter Terrorism Division) have however issued warnings to their citizens not to travel to Sinai due to the threat of terrorist attacks.
On the coast of the Gulf of Suez more tourist facilities are being developed. The focal point for this business in this area is Ṛās Ṣadr (the name of the town is usually spelled ‘Ras Sudr’ on road signs) and the coast to its south. These facilities mainly cater for holiday makers from Cairo, Ṛās Ṣadr being only a two and a half to three hours’ drive away from the capital.

Other sources of income for Bedouin include fishing, herding small cattle, some modest crop farming in a karm,30 transporting fresh water from the mountains to hotels and also smuggling.31 Nowadays members of Bedouin tribes also find employment in development projects like the large scale South Sinai Regional Development Programme (SSRDP), which is funded by the European Union.32

f. Research Questions and Purpose of this Study

The volume in hand is the second on Bedouin dialects in Sinai after the first volume, which is on the Bedouin dialects of the northern Sinai littoral. The primary aim of this study is to give a synchronic description of the Bedouin dialects of central and southern Sinai and thus to complete the description of the Bedouin dialects of the Sinai Desert.33

This study is also aimed at testing the hypothesis that dialect-typological group of Northwestern Arabic dialects, as proposed by Palva 1991, continues farther south into Sinai, and to investigate the type of differences

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30 Lack of fresh water is one of the main problems in Sinai (in 2005 southern Sinai had been without any significant rainfall for fifteen years). Several kinds of fruits and vegetables are grown, as well as poppies and marihuana (in more isolated places) for the production of drugs. These crops are grown on ground water (delivered by means of drip irrigation), but due to the lack of rain and the large quantities which have already been trucked to Šarm aš-Šayx for the tourist industry, the ground water has already run out in several places. In some areas rain-fed agriculture is sometimes possible in sdūd (sg. sidd “dam”). See also fn 129, p. 104.

31 This is said to include drugs (I was told that in January 2008 1 kilo of marihuana cost LE 50.-, 1 wījīyāh (about 6 or 7 in a kilo) of opium LE 450.-, both locally grown in the central areas, and a kilo of heroine LE 70,000.-), and even women, who come on charter flights to Šarm (many from Russia and the Ukraine) to work in prostitution in Israel. Smuggling of fire arms and explosives is also said to take place.

32 A total of 64 million Euros has been allotted to this project by the European Union. For more information, see webpage http://www.eu-ssrdp.org/ (accessed 10-18-2010).

33 There are publications, however, which partially fill this gap: Nishio 1992 gives a basic vocabulary of the speech of the Ĝbāliyyah, Stewart 1990 is a very valuable collection of texts (in transcription, and with translation in Stewart 1988) on customary law recorded mainly among the Ahaywat, but also some of the other tribes. Stewart 1987 gives some texts and provides a sketch of the dialect of the Ahaywat. Material presented by Stewart was incorporated into De Jong 2000. Material presented by Nishio will be referred to in descriptive chapter I below.
which exist between the NWA dialects in this area. A similar related ques-
tion is how far the Negev-type (the dialect of the ّullām) can be con-
cluded to stretch into Sinai.34

In northern Sinai a continuum of dialects with an east-west dimension
was identified as constituting the transition of a largely Bedouin dialect-
type (that of the Negev spoken by the ّullām as described in Blanc 1970,
or the group I-type as described in De Jong 2000) towards the much more
sedentary type as spoken in the eastern part of the Nile Delta, such as
as described in Abul Fadl 1961, Woidich 1979 and 1980 and in Behnstedt and
Woidich 1985).35 The sedentary characteristics of the western dialects in
the north, in particular those of group III (i.e. BA and AxA), are very likely
to be due to dialect contact with sedentary dialects of the eastern Delta.

Another question to be investigated in this study is therefore whether
similar sedentary influences can be traced in the dialects of the central
and southern Sinai, which are geographically so much farther removed
from sedentary dialects spoken on the Egyptian mainland than the dia-
lects of group III.

In De Jong 2000:283 the pronominal suffixes -"k for the 2nd p. sg. mas-
culine and -k for the sg. fem. found in group II of the north were surmised
to be a feature more typical of southern Sinai dialects. Another question
is therefore whether this is indeed the case, and if so, how widespread
this feature is.

A secondary purpose of this study is to apply the ‘step’ method introduced
in De Jong 2000:614–621 to the dialects of central and southern Sinai and
compare these to results of comparisons of the same dialects with the
help of techniques of multi-dimensional scaling and clustering by generat-
ing a dendrogram.

II. FIELDWORK METHODOLOGY

a. Infrastructural Arrangements

As a ‘base’ to work from for my field research I had chosen the small town
of Dahab, situated on the east coast of Sinai and more or less half way
between Šarm aš-Šayx and Nwēbi’. The advantage of this town is that it

34 This question was already posed in Blanc 1970:2.
was within reasonable travelling distance from the locations I wanted to visit for my recordings, while at the same time I was able to more or less ‘mix in’ with the numbers of tourists who come to spend a holiday in Dahab.\footnote{At the time of my field trips the town of Nwēbi had almost no tourists, and my chances to keep a low profile would have been much slimmer, while the town of Šarm aš-Šayx was too heavily infested with security personnel (the town regularly hosts international conferences and summit meetings) to remain relatively unnoticed.} On most of my visits I used a rented car from Cairo, while for recordings ‘off the beaten track’ I would sometimes rent a Toyota pick up truck, which handled remarkably well in sandy conditions. On other occasions I was able to bring a 4 X 4 vehicle (a Mitsubishi Pajero). With this vehicle I could visit Badārāh in the area of ar-Ramlah and 'Lēgāt and Ḥamāḏah in other hard-to-access areas in the central western parts of southern Sinai.

In Dahab I would rent an apartment with a desk, where I could write out my recordings with my guide and main informant Eid and where I would also occasionally conduct recording sessions with informants.\footnote{Most of the recordings were however conducted \textit{in situ}.}

Recordings were made with digital recorders (2 Apple iPods and an Archos recorder)\footnote{These were about the size of a pack of cigarettes.} in MP-3 or WAVE format. To make sure speech was recorded properly, I always used extra cassette recorders making simultaneous recordings.\footnote{Although the sound quality was excellent when set to the maximum sampling rate, the Archos recorder I used (with an external Soundman ‘Kopfmikrofon’) was quite difficult to operate, especially in conditions without light. After pressing the wrong invisible button, this could result in loss of the recording. The iPods were much easier to handle with a Griffin iTalk click-on microphone.} The advantages of digital recordings are many: almost instant copies on computer become possible (without loss of sound quality), no wear and tear of audio tapes, and the recorders were easy to recharge with special cigarette lighter adaptors in a car. Other advantages are that recording of a speaker would not have to be interrupted to flip or change an audio tape, so that the speaker would be less actively reminded of the fact that he was being recorded. At ‘home’ in Dahab I would usually burn copies of these recordings on CD, and work with these copies on CD players (with extra battery powered Sony speakers) to write the texts out on my computer with the help of my friend Eid. The computer I used was an Apple G4, on which I had installed the necessary fonts for transcription and which were created by Manfred Woidich.

After my experiences with chances for permission for my research in northern Sinai, I had decided not to apply for official permission to...
conduct my research in the centre and south, but to simply maintain as low a profile as possible. To remain friends with military or security personnel manning road blocks, a pack of cigarettes, or a bottle of water could work miracles.40

b. Selecting Targets for Field Research

During the research needed for this study the same assumption was made as for the previous research in northern Sinai: that the dialect of members of the same tribal collective will not be substantially different in different locations within the same dirah (or ‘tribal area’). At the same time, some differences did show up in places inside the same dirah.

An example of such differences showing up among speakers of the same tribal collective is the treatment of ‘original anaptyctics’ in initial position in the suffixed preposition $m(i)$ “with” (see ** in chapter I, 3.1.16.) in different areas inside the dirah of the Ġbāliyyah; speakers of Ġbāliyy who live near the monastery tend to say e.g. for “with him” $im^i \bar{u}h$ (where $i$ is an anaptyctic vowel), while speakers of Ġbāliyy in Mrēr (in Wādiy aš-Šēx) will more regularly stress the anaptyctic as in $im^i \bar{u}h$ (which leads to the conclusion that the morphophonemic base of the in the latter case is actually $[im']$). Another example are the genitive exponents in use for ‘indirect annexation’ among speakers of the Mzēnah. Speakers of Mzēniy living in /Dmacronbelowahab and near to the coast will generally use $\bar{sugl}$, while speakers of Mzēniy living more inland will more regularly use $hagg$ (see chapter II, 3.1.11.). When such differences did show up among speakers of the same tribal collective, separate mention of this is made in the descriptive chapters.

To select the tribal communities to be approached for this study, I made an inventarisation based on the map in Bailey 1991 (also in Bailey 2009). I would then go out to the tribal areas where these collectives were to be found, and would try to conduct interviews with speakers after having been introduced to them by my guide and travelling companion Eid al-Aṭraš.41 In the course of my research I would sometimes also hear

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40 If one passes through a road block three times a week, every time claiming a different purpose of the journey, such as Gabal al-Banāt, St. Catherine’s Monastery, the Blue Desert, or some other local attraction, one sometimes has to prop up one’s credibility with a little present.

41 The method of selecting informants, topics discussed during interviews, some of the difficulties associated with field research and the general methodological approach are described in De Jong 2000:20–21 and 23–30.
names mentioned of tribal collectives not indicated (or known by another name) on the map in Bailey 1991, I would then go to the dirahs of these collectives to conduct interviews with speakers there as well. I would not attempt to subsume such collectives under a larger collective (like the Dbūr, of whom it is reported that they are a sub-section of the Ḥwēṭāt, or the Badārāh, of whom it is said that they are originally Aḥaywāt, or in any case lived in close contact with a sub-section of the Aḥaywāt for a considerable length of time), but I would simply accept the way speakers identified themselves, at face value, so to speak.42

I did however take note of the remarks I had heard about the origins of such smaller collectives, and at a later stage compared the typological position of such a sub-group with that of their original (usually) larger tribal collective with the help of Multi-Dimensional Scaling plots. Not surprisingly perhaps, such collectives show up relatively near each other in such Multi-Dimensional Scaling plots (see in the appendix below, where DbA is plotted in the immediate vicinity of ḤwA and BdA shows up very near AḥA), which means that such tribal collectives show relatively few differences in a linguistic sense (for other remarks made by informants, see Conclusions, IV. e.).

c. Selecting Informants

Informants for interviews were—like so often in Arabic dialect research—selected on the basis of practical considerations: those who were prepared and able to be interviewed were invited to cooperate. Due to the conservative nature of Bedouin society, interviewing women was often not possible. Like in other areas of Sinai, women spend most of their time inside their homes or at a younger age herding goats and sheep. In towns like Ḍahab and Nwēbi‘ younger girls can often be seen trying to sell locally produced souvenir trinkets like bracelets, purses, etc. to tourists. Approaching a woman who is alone—e.g. when she is out herding goats and sheep in the desert, or shopping in town—is regarded as extremely bad manners and is for Bedouin themselves even punishable under customary law (أُقِصَاعُ الغُرْفِي in Arabic).

There were a few exceptions: of the Tayāha I interviewed an elderly lady. This was possible because my guide and main informant Eid (Īd) knew her personally, as he had spent time in prison with her son for more

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42 After all, if speakers do not identify themselves as belonging to a certain larger (or smaller) tribal group, or another group altogether, who am I to suggest that they should?
than a year. I have also often spoken to the mother of my main informant Eid, a Tuḥbāniyyih of appr. 65 years old.

Below the persons who were more or less formally interviewed during this research (their ages at times of recording follow in brackets) are listed. These interviewees are referred to by their first names only:

**Group I**

*Taṛābīn Nwēbi* Šēx ʻŠēš (47) (Nwēbi) + several Tuḥbāniy visitors from around Nwēbi and Wādiy Watîr in his mag’ad. The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TAN.

*Taṛābīn Ṛās Ṣadr* Ḫd (33) (Ṛās Ṣadr) (+ 4 or 5 of his friends of appr. the same age in Ṛās Ṣadr/Aбуw Ṣwayrah, his mother, appr. 60). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TAṢ.

*Ǧarāǧrah* Ṣwēlim (35) (born in Ṛās as-Sīg); Ǧamāl (appr. 32) (born in Wādiy as-Sīg); Mḥammad (appr. 32) (born in Wādiy as-Sig); Silmiy (53) (born in al-Malbad/Wādiy as-Sīg). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ĞrA.

*Tayāha* Mḥammad (34) (recorded in Aбуw Ṣwayrah); Slēm (49) (Ṛās aš-Šēṭān, from Ṛās Bēd appr. 105 km south of al-‘Ariš); Xiḏr (appr. 65) (recorded near (northeast of) at-Ṭarfa); Xiḏr (32) (northeast of at-Ṭarfa). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TyA.

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43 Many Bedouin men have spent time in prisons, often even without official charges.
44 "More or less formally" should be interpreted to mean that I conducted recording sessions with them. Often enough though, I met people during my travels with whom I chatted and on whose speech I would then later—immediately after the conversation—take notes if I was certain to which tribal groups they belonged, e.g. several Mzēnah in ʻAyn Ḫuḏrah, a couple of Ḥwētāt on the main road through the Mīṭla pass, Ḥamāḏah on the way from the Ǧabal Ḥmayyir area to Wādiy Liḥyān, several ʻLēgāt near the area where I had interviewed Badāṛah (in the Ǧabal Ḥmayyir area), Awlād Saḥi’d near al-Buwayb, just south of Wādiy Fēṛān, Taṛābīn in Ḫabab, etc.
45 Since I used to rent an apartment in Ḫabab during the several periods of my field research, I have spoken with and listened to many more individuals than those listed here. I would then also usually ask them about their tribal backgrounds. Many of these speakers were of course Mzēnah, but also members of other tribes of Sinai (including tribes from the north) can be found in this town.
46 Appr. coordinates are 28.44.15 North and 33.58.48 East.
Malāḥah  Xidr (80); Salmān (appr. 30); Zāyīd (67); all three from al-Madfūnih/Nagš Sabānīh, very near (appr. 300 metres) the border with Israel. The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is MlA.

Hwēṭāt  Slēmān (46) (born and living in al-Ǧidy); Mḥammad (born in al-Ḥammih, 20 km east of al-Ǧidy); ‘Īd (28) (born and living in al-Ǧidy). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ḤwA.

Dbūr  al-Ḥaǧǧ Farāq (62); ‘Awḍih (appr. 45, though claims to be 60); Slēmān (appr. 35); Mḥammad (appr. 40, born in Trayfijih). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is DbA.

Badārāh  ‘Atiyīyah (60) (born on the Tīh plateau); Silmān (55) (born on the Tīh plateau). Both from ar-Ṣālah, near Ġabal Ḥmayyīr, some 10 to 12 kilometres almost due west from Ġabal Fōgah. The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is BdA.

Group VI

Mzēnah  Hasan (54) (from Dahab); Mḥammad (from Dahab/‘Aṣalah) (appr. 28); ‘Āyīd (25) (from Dahab/ ‘Aṣalah); ‘Abdallāḥ (appr. 34) (from Dahab); Frayīg (appr. 40) (on main road St Catherine’s police post and appr. 30 km west of the police post at the intersection of the Nweβī’/Dahab road and the east-west route to St Catherine’s monastery). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is MzA.

Baniy Wāṣil  Mḥammad (60) (born in Wāḍiy Tammān, to the southeast of Wāḍiy at-Tūr, about 30 km from the main road to Šarm); Sālim (25) (born in the mountains east southeast of at-Tūr, near Wāḍiy Sli). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is BWA.

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47 Coordinates appr. 29.02.52 North and 33.33.38 East. I have also spoken to four other men of the Badārāh, but could not make recordings on that occasion. When sufficiently zoomed in, their four or five tents are visible on Google Earth as white rectangles (the tents are nowadays made of flour sacks donated by USAID). Three more tents (white and brown) are visible at 29.02.36 North and 33.34.18 East.

48 Coordinates are appr. 28.48.18 North and 34.17.56 East, see Google Earth.

49 Depending on dialect, this may also be pronounced as Wāḍiy Islah, Wāḍiy Aṣalah or Wāḍiy Sliy. See 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5. in the descriptive chapters below. In Šuqayr 1916:69 the name is spelled in Arabic as جملا.
Group VII

Hanādwah  Ğim’ih (29) (born in Wādiy Fērān); Ḥamd (also known by his nickname Mundiy) (26) (born in Wādiy Fērān); Slēmān (64) (born in Wādiy Fērān). All were interviewed in Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr, a few kilometres to the northeast of aṭ-Ṭūr, Ḥamd was also recorded on several occasions in Dahab. The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is HnA.

Garāršah  Maḥmūd (24) (from il-Ḥiṣwah, Wādiy Fērān); Ğid (22) (from il-Ḥiṣwah, Wādiy Fērān); Ḥsēn (54) (from il-Ḥiṣwah, Wādiy Fērān); Ḥsēn (24) (from il-Ḥiṣwah, Wādiy Fērān); Mūsih (24). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is GrA.

Ḥamāḏah  Maḥmūd (30) (born in Sēl Bā’ba’); ‘Awwād (55) (Wādiy Liḥyān); Sa’ad (36) (Wādiy Liḥyān). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ḤmA.

Ǧbāliyyah  il-Ḥaǧǧ Msallam (67) (from Brēgah, between Fērān and Ḥiṣwah/Wādiy Fērān); Mūsa (28) (Wādiy iṛ-Rāḥah, appr. 3 km north of the monastery); ‘Aṭwah (30) (Wādiy iṛ-Rāḥah); Silēmān (27) (St Catherine village); Silēmān (36) (Mrēr, appr. 30 km into Wādiy aš-Šēx from the police post at St. Catherine’s); Ābuw Ḥmēd (38) (Mrēr). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ǦbA.

Awlād Sa OUND Ğid (35) (from Wādiy Șlāf. 2 years ‘i’dādiy in Ṭūr); Niṣṣār (appr. 65) (from Wādiy Șlāf); Maḥmūd (appr. 60) (from Wādiy Șlāf). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ASA.

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50 Ḥiṣwah is in Wādiy Fērān, coordinates are appr. 28.43.13 North and 33.36.33 East, see Google Earth.

51 The mouth of Wādiy Ba’ba’ is just to the northeast of Ābuw Rdēs and just to the northwest of Wādiy Maḡārah. Coordinates are appr. 28.54 North and 33.15 East on Google Earth. The area of Uṃṃ Buǧmah is well known among geologists for its manganese deposits. Already in pharaonic times, in the general area around Sarābīṭ alXādim and in Wādiy Maḡārah turquoise was mined.

52 Wādiy Liḥyān (not indicated on Google Earth, but located appr. at 29.01 North and 33.25 East) is some kilometres (north) from Wādiy Mukattab, which is appr. at 28.50.58 North and 33.25.35 East and to the southwest Sarābīṭ alXādim. In this wadi there are several Nabataean and Byzantine rock inscriptions.
Ṣawālhah Ḥsēn (38) (born in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fēṛān); Ğim’ih (18) (born in Aḥuw Rdēs, lives in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fēṛān); ‘Aṭwah (36) (born in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fēṛān). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ṢwA.

Group VIII

‘Lēgāt Sa’ād (appr. 40) (born in Sarābīṭ al-Xādim); Xiḍr (appr. 35) (from Sarābīṭ al-Xādim); Mḥammad (33) (from Sarābīṭ al-Xādim); Slēm (appr. 42) (from Sarābīṭ al-Xādim). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ‘LA.

d. Gathering Linguistic Material

In principle, the mode of operations described in De Jong 2000:23–30 was followed for this research as well.

e. Difficulties during Field Research

Problems connected to conducting research in Sinai have been referred to before, and since the times of my previous research in northern Sinai, matters in this respect have hardly changed for the better. If anything, local authorities have become all the more wary of foreigners who exhibit no particular interest in diving and/or sunshine.

At the same time, however, it seems that gradually the realisation has been sinking in that such foreigners too come in a variety of shapes, and with a variety of interests, and that not all of them are out to smudge the reputation of Egypt, but may have a genuine academic interest.

Apart from the known difficulties associated with field research needed for dialect studies in Egypt, additional complications arose when tourist facilities in southern Sinai became the target of terrorist attacks.

Three simultaneous suicide bomb attacks took place in Dahab on the 24th of April 2006 (it was the early evening of the very day I had arrived there for more field work). Before these attacks, on the 7th of October 2004, the Hilton hotel in Tāba, campsites north of Nwēbī / Rās aš-Šayṭān had been targeted, which in turn came more than a year after on the 23rd of April 2005.

53 See also remarks in De Jong 2000:18.

54 Although I transcribe Nwēbī, as a transliteration for Arabic on road signs, Dr Frank Stewart (in personal communication) advised me to correct this to read Nwēbīḥ (as is his practice in several of his publications). I have chosen however to maintain my original transcription.
of July 2005 bombs had exploded in Šarm aš-Šayx (of which one was a large car bomb driven into the reception area of the Ghazala Gardens Hotel). All in all, more than a hundred people lost their lives in these bombings, and hundreds more were wounded.

Since security forces almost immediately suspected Bedouin involvement in these attacks, thousands of Bedouin were rounded up and put under detention in al-‘Ariš. Only after several months, when the involvement in the attacks of 2004 of a few members of one of the Bedouin tribes had become clear, three suspects were (within a matter of days) tracked down in the desert near the mountain range of Ṣadr al-Ḥayṭān (to the east of Rās Ṣadr) with the help of members of different Bedouin tribes, who had decided to assist authorities in their hunt to testify to their abhorrence for the terrorist acts ascribed to these three. The suspects died in the shootouts that ensued. Many of the estimated three thousand Bedouin who had been rounded up, however, remained in custody for a long time.

In the weeks following such attacks it was usually impossible to go out into the desert and look for informants to interview. On several occasions my regular informant Eid was taken from my car at one of the roadblocks and locked up in prison or a police station, until some influential local tribesmen could be found to go there and seek his release. After a few of these incidents (he was arrested three times in the four weeks immediately after the Dahab bombings), we decided to work on recordings that we already had instead, and not to venture out of town until the situation had quieted down. This should in part explain why the average number of speakers is a little lower than during my previous research in northern Sinai. On the other hand, the number of Bedouin inhabitants of this southern region is also considerably smaller than in the north.

III. Presentation of the Data

a. Presentation of the Data and Selecting Criteria for Comparison

In this volume the data are presented in a manner similar to the method followed in De Jong 2000. As a very useful tool for linguistic description, the method used in Blanc 1970 is also followed here.

The emphasis again tends to be on differences between dialects, rather than shared characteristics. A selection of features which show up as dif-

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55 For remarks on this issue, see De Jong 2000:31.
ferences between dialects in the area is then represented in maps in the appendix of this volume. As parameters for comparison, the same features that were selected (from publications on surrounding dialects) to serve as criteria in De Jong 2000, have been used here. The purpose is to facilitate direct comparison with dialects of the northern littoral (described in De Jong 2000) and to this end the numbering of the paragraphs in the volume in hand runs parallel (with a few minor modifications) to the numbering used there.

This also implies that in some cases no information is given in some of the paragraphs due to the fact that such information was not available, or the situation is different in the dialects discussed in the volume in hand. For a discussion on the selection of criteria for comparison, see De Jong 2000:30–50.

In De Jong 2000 the identified area of transition (the ‘continuum’) between ‘Bedouin’ dialects of the type such as that spoken in the Negev (the dialect of the Ḍullām, described in Blanc 1970) was reflected in the gradual disappearance of certain ‘Bedouin’ dialectal features. The selection of criteria was in part also directed at illustrating the presence of such a continuum. For the sake of comparability, I have used the same criteria here, and although they do not produce the same or another type of transitional area of Bedouin vs non-Bedouin (or ‘less Bedouin’), most of these criteria proved useful to illustrate differences in the central and southern area as well.

b. *Method of Description*

The methods and terminology used in this study are the same as those used in De Jong 2000. For a succinct description of these, see ibid.:50–54.
CHAPTER ONE

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE ĞBĀLIYYAH, AWLĀD SAʻĪD, ȘAWĂLḤAH, GARĂRȘAH AND ḤAMĂDĂH WITH REMARKS ON THE DIALECTS OF THE HANĀDWAH AND ‘LĔGĂT

INTRODUCTION

In 1992 Tetsuo Nishio published a basic vocabulary of the dialect of the Ğbāliyyah tribe in the central south of Sinai. More recently Roy Bernabela of the University of Leiden sent me his BA-thesis (2009) which contains four highly entertaining ģūl-stories recorded from Ğbāly speakers near St Catherine’s monastery. Many references in this chapter will be made to Nishio 1992 and I have also included remarks on data found in Bernabela 2009. We shall see that many of the information listed there for ĞB is corroborated by the findings of the research lying at the basis of this chapter. Where differences do turn up, many of these can be ascribed to differences in interpretation of the phonological system and therefore also in methods of transcription. To refer to forms listed in Nishio 1992 I shall use my own phonological transcription (such as ġ for j, š for ʃ, d for ď, etc., except where differences—mainly in representations for vowels—between Nishio’s transcription and my own may be relevant for a variety reasons, e.g. final -ɛ has not been replaced by (in my transcription) -i(‘), -e(‘) or -a and the vowels e or ə have not been replaced by a or i, etc. Where phonological implications are connected to adaptations in transcriptions, these are expounded in accompanying lines.

In this chapter I hope to shed some more light on the questions that may have arisen from Nishio 1992, and additional material is presented including material on neighbouring dialects: the dialects spoken by the Awlād Sa‘īd, Șawălḥah and Garărșah. With some reservation, I have also added the dialect of the Ḥamādăh to this group, which I have numbered as VII. Although there are some differences, these dialects show a large number of similarities justifying their treatment as one typological group. In addition, the chapter contains remarks on the Hanādwah, who are one of the families said to be of non-Bedouin origin living in Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr (just to the northeast of the town of aṭ-Ṭūr).
I have not made recordings in the town of at-Ṭūr, since it is a mixing bowl of various Egyptian dialects from the mainland.  

For the sake of brevity, the dialects of the Ġbāliyyah, Awlād Saʾīd, Șawâlḥah, Garâršah and Ḥamâdah will be collectively referred to as ṬwA (Ṭuwara Arabic). The dialect of the ‘Lēgāt is not included in ṬwA here, although often (in other publications) the tribe of the ‘Lēgāt is also regarded as part of the Ṭuwara (i.e. tribes inhabiting the region known as at-Ṭūr).  

The ‘Lēgāt are a relatively large tribe, and live on the Gulf of Suez and farther inland as direct neighbours with the much smaller tribe of Ḥamâdah. Their neighbours to the north are the Taṛābīn of Ṛās Šadr. In a dialect-typological sense, their dialect takes up a middle position between the dialects of ṬwA and HnA on the one hand, and group VI on the other (see MDS plots in the appendix). The dialect of the ‘Lēgāt, which is concluded to be a separate group (VIII) in this study, will be referred to as ‘LA.  

The dialect of the Mzēnah and that of the Baniy Wāṣil are treated separately in chapter II (as group VI).  

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1 Being the capital of the governorate South Sinai, a large proportion of its inhabitants are mainland Egyptians, who work there as civil servants.  
2 This is not to say that the dialectal varieties found there, or whatever has resulted so far from contact between the different varieties, would be uninteresting. A description of the linguistic dynamics found in this town would however deserve much more space than can be afforded in this study.  
3 Von Oppenheim 1942:156 mentions the tribes of Șawâlḥah, ‘Lēgāt, Ġbâliyyah and Mzēnah as parts of the Ṭuwara. For a brief summary of their history, see Von Oppenheim 1942:156–166. See also Malberger 1984:139–149 on the different tribal collectives that inhabit the region of southern Sinai. Ibid.:156–157 mentions Baniy Wāṣil as an off-shoot of Baniy ʿUgbah of the Hiğâz and as one of the oldest tribes of the Ṭūr area, having arrived there after the Ḥamâdah.  
4 Although the diṣrah of the Taṛābīn of Šadr borders directly on that of the ‘Lēgāt to their south, the majority of Taṛābīn live in the northern part in and around Rās Šadr and Aḥuw Șwayrah leaving the southern part of Tuṛbāniy territory (along the coast on the Gulf of Suez) near ‘Lēgiy territory virtually uninhabited.  
5 I have concluded on linguistic grounds that the dialects of the southern part of Sinai (i.e. excluding group I dialects) can be assigned to three different groups.
1. Phonology

1.1. Consonants

1.1.1. Inventory of consonants

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of ṬwA, HnA and 'LA is identical with that of group VI (described in chapter II):

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<tr>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labdent.</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>intdent.</th>
<th>postalv.</th>
<th>palatal</th>
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<th>uvul.</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

plosive       b  t  d   k  g (q) (’)
emph.         ț
nasal         m  n
fricative      f  s  z  ț  d  š (ž)  x  ĝ  h  ĉ
affricate      ś (ž)  đ
trill          ĭ
emph.          r
lateral        ī
emph.          ĭ
glides         w  y

vd = voiced, vl = voiceless, emph. = emphatic/velarized

* The greatest difference with the phoneme inventory of group I is the presence of both phonemes /k/ and /ḳ/, which is also a feature of group II in the north (see De Jong 2000:248, 282–285) and of dialects of group VI. Like in MzA (see chapter II), a minimal pair bētḳ—bētik (i.e. a strictly phonological representation being /bētḳ/—/bētik/) “your (sg. masc.—sg. fem.) house” isolates /k/ and /ḳ/ as phonemes in ṬwA and also in HnA and in ‘LA.

1.1.2. Interdental fricatives /t/, /d/ and /d/

Like in almost all Sinai dialects, reflexes of *ț and *ḍ are interdentals ț and ḍ (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð] respectively). Examples listed below can be heard in all dialects discussed here.

Examples of /t/ for *ț are: ktār “many (pl.)”, ṭalāṭin “thirty”, tūm “garlic”.

* The conclusion of vowelless personal pronominal suffixes is drawn from the fact that suffixation of these pronominals will result in consonant clusters, which then draw stress onto a directly preceding short vowel, e.g. wālād + ḫ > wālāḍkh “your (sg. masc.) son” and wālād + ḫ > wālāḍkh “your (sg. fem.) son” (see 2.1.1.1. and NOTE in 3.1.12.2.). This is in contrast to the pron. suffix -kh for the sg. masc. in the Naḏḏi dialect of the Dawāḡrah of the north, where a final cluster -Ck will not attract stress onto the directly preceding vowel, e.g. wālādkh “your son”, rabbna yikrimk “may our Lord have mercy on you” (see De Jong 2000:434–435 and 450–451).
Examples of /ð/ for *d are: tāxîn “you (pl. fem.) take”, bḍār “seeds” (but see remark below) and qān “ear”.

There are also exceptions: “refrigerator”7 and “ice; snow” are with plosive t (for * t) in ṬwA and ‘LA: tillâjâh and talîj.

The reflex for *t may be s—mainly so in lexemes which must have been borrowed from or through a dialect whithout interdentals, like Cairene8— as in masalan “for instance”, masal “(wise) saying”, ḥâdsih “accident”, mērūs “inherited” (see also remark in 1.2.4.1.), yisîg bēhuṃ “he trusts them”, sâbîh “fixed (sg. fem.)” and for z for *zd, as in bīzr “seed” and bīzrih “seed (n.u.)” (though pl. bḍār! and budrî “seeds (like powder) from a palm tree” (the latter in HnA) and kaza “such and so”.

Emphatic interdental /ð/ (I.P.A. velarized [ð̥]) is the reflex of both *d and *zd, e.g. (as the reflex of *zd in) Rama/dmacronbeloẉān “Ramadan”, itna/dmacronbeloẉ/dmacronbeloẉifhi ʾ# “you clean it (sg. fem.)”, dāf “guest” and ‘uirîh “its (sg. fem.) width” and (as a reflex for *zd in) thāfîd ‘îleh “you protect it” (but mîhaftî!), xu/dmacronbeloẉriy “type of green tobacco”, ‘awaq “compensation”.

Like in group VI, ẓ is the current reflex in lexemes like mwaẓẓaf “civil servant”, zabîṭ “officer”, b-izzabît “precisely”, bînẓabbiṭ “we do a proper job”, niẓâm “system”. Some other examples are: btîzar “she becomes lucky”, naẓarîytuḳ “your (critical) vision”, bîybawwiẓha “he ruins it (sg. fem.)”, maẓbūṭ “precise(ly)” and maḥafūẓ “well-kept”.9

In ṬwA and HnA the sg. masc. demonstrative (ḥā-)da ~ ẓi “this (sg. masc.)” is not velarized. Also ḥâda (~ less frequent da or ẓi) in ‘LA lacks velarization.

1.1.3. Velar stops /k/ and /ɡ/

Like in all other dialects of Sinai, *k and *q have unafffricated reflexes k and g.

In ṬwA, HnA and also in ‘LA k and k are heard and all have a minimal pair showing phonemic opposition bêt’k “your (sg. masc.) house”—bêt’k “your (sg. fem.) house”.

In HmA the suffix -kiy for the 2nd p. sg. fem. is also used (though not -ak for the sg. masc.), but mainly when ṣ precedes, e.g. warâktîy “behind you

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7 For “freezer” I recorded flēzar in SwA.
8 For the following examples in Cairene Arabic, see Hinds and Badawi 1986.
9 For ĠB Nishio 1992 reports ḍ for *zd in bidr (p. 18 (III-16)), ḍ in m(u)waḍdaf (p. 58 (VIII-40) and haḍaf, yâhaḍaf (p. 96 (XIV-26)). The emphatic plosive ḍ (pp. 5–6 (I-42)) is reported in ḍêḍ, ḍyūḍ “breast” and in ġâdbān “angry” (p. 116 (XVI-22)).
(sg. fem.)", fīkiy “in you (sg. fem.)” and ʼilēktiy “on you (sg. fem)” (the latter ~ ʼilik). In ’LA too this allomorph -kiy varies with -k when ʾ precedes.

In the word “cigarette” we hear ʿ rather than ġ (recorded in GrA, ĠbA and BWA): sgārah (pl. sagāyir).

1.1.4. Post alveolar affricate /ġ/

The fricative allomorph ž (I.P.A. [ʒ], i.e. without the initial full closure of [d]) for /ġ/ is very frequent in ŢwA.10 It was not heard in HnA or ‘LA.

1.1.5. Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/

Glottalization of the emphatic ʿt was not noticed as a characteristic of ŢwA, HnA or ‘LA.

1.1.6. Glottal stop (hamzah)

The reflex for *ʿ in the verb ask is ʾ in ŢwA, HnA and ‘LA saʿal, yasʿal." In *raʾs “head”, loss of ʾ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel rās in all dialects. The pl. is rūs in ĠbA, ŠwA, HnA and ‘LA, but pl. ryūs in GrA, ASA and ḤmA.

Reflexes of the pl. pattern CiCaC (or CuCaC) are often áCCaC in ŠwA, GrA, ASA and HnA (e.g. áḥgan “injections”, álšnaṭ “suitcases”, árkab “knees”, ánxor “noses”). The hamzah that precedes this initial a- (e.g. # ʾanxor) is dropped when it directly follows a consonant, e.g. (i)lášnaṭ “the suitcases”.

In ĠbA I have only recorded šnaṭ as in hāt iššnaṭ “get the suitcases!", (i)līnāb “the grapes", (i)liḥgān “the injections".12 Similar forms are current in ‘LA.

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10 Bernabela 2009 transcribes ž throughout his texts for ĠbA.
11 Also reported for ĠbA in Nishio 1992:73–74 (X-9).
12 For ĠbA Nishio 1992:38 (V-35) recorded (šaṇṭāt ~) šonaṭ as pl. for šaṇṭa. Similarly (p. 36 (V-25)) plurals are (šōkāt ~) šowak, (p. 34 (V-9)) (pl. of gollɛ) golal “water jars", (pl. of ḥōṣa) (ḥōṣāt ~) ḥowaṣ, (p. 143 (XX-11)) “knife”, (pl. of ḥallɛ) (ḥallāt ~) ḥelal (p. 34 (V-10)) “cooking pot”, Ṽogja (pl. of Ṽogja) (p. 143 (XX-11)) “point, dot” etc., but lōṣa “room” (with (originally) the article incorporated in the stem as a first radical) and the pl. form coined on the pattern aCCaC alwasdmacronbeloẉ (p. 26 (IV-6)). Of these pl. forms only the last strikes me as proper ĠbA. The other plurals of the pattern CiCaC are likely to be K-forms; such plurals are also current in e.g. Cairene.
1.1.7. Secondary velarization

There is a clear lack of velarization in ASA, SwA, GrA and HnA forms rikbih, ärkab (pl. rkb in ḤmA and ĠbA) “knee(s)”. All dialects discussed in this chapter have a pl. demonstrative dill (-iḥ) “these” (although ~ duḥm for pl. masc.) and also the sg. masc. demonstrative is without velarization: (hā-) qa ~ qī “this”.

Velarization spreads into the long ā in kubbāyih in all dialects, except in ĠbA and HnA (there kubbāyih) and in all dialects, except ‘LA, the pl. forms of kitaṭ “much, many” and kibīr “big; old” both lack velarization: forms are ktār and kbār (ā is just below I.P.A. [ɛ]) and also kamān “also” is not velarized. In ‘LA, the pl. for kibīr is velarized, while the pl. for kitaṭ is not: ‘LA forms are kbār (I.P.A. [kbaːr]) and ktār (I.P.A. [kθaːr]).

Imperatives of the verbs “eat” and “take” are clearly velarized, i.e. and (u)kul, (u)kliy, etc. and similarly so in ‘LA, but there without the initial u-.

Imperatives of the verbs “eat” and “take” are clearly velarized, i.e. and (u)kul, (u)kliy, etc. and similarly so in ‘LA, but there without the initial u-.

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Badāṛah “name of a neighbouring tribe”, ’amār “enough (said to politely refuse tea or coffee)”, nār “fire”, nahāṛ “daytime”.

Like in group VI, velarization is prevented by (even when elided) i following an ār sequence within morpheme boundaries, e.g.: wārid “having watered” and wārdih “having watered (sg. fem.)”, šārib, (pl.) šuwārib “lip”, imbāriḥ “yesterday”, bārdih “cold (sg. fem.)”, bikāriği “coffee pots”. Examples in ’LA are: sāriḥ “having taken the small cattle out to graze”, ārif “knowing”, ūriṭ “ploughing”, šārib “lip” and taḡārib “experiences”.

Also sequences rā are generally not velarized when (vanished) i follows in the next syllable within morpheme boundaries or precedes. Examples listed for group VI are also heard in ṬwA and HnA. More examples are: farāšīḥ “loaves of bread baked on the šāz (= ṣāḡ)”, zrā’ah “agriculture”, darāhim “money”, ḏrā’ (< *dı́rā’) “arm”, mifṭirǟt or mifijīṭr ǟt “having eaten breakfast (pl. fem.)” and also (in ASA) zērān, pl. of zūr “throat”. Examples in ’LA are: iǧrān “feet”, rā’iy “herdsman”, Garāṛsiḥ “name of tribe”.

1.1.9. Nasal n

No remarks.

1.1.10. Devoicing of final voiced stops, liquids and nasals in pause

Devoicing of final voiced stops liquids and nasals in pause is regular in ṬwA, HnA and ’LA.

1.2. Vowels

1.2.1. Inventory of vowel phonemes

The inventory for vowel phonemes in ṬwA, HnA and ’LA contains three short vowels and five long vowels:

short:  i     u     long:  ĩ   ū
        a

[13] iǧr, pl. iǧrān “foot”. The root ʾ-ğ-r is also current for “foot” in dialects of the Šām, see e.g. Hava 1982.
1.2.2. Long vowels

1.2.2.1. Allophones of long vowels ĕ and ĩ
Unlike in group I dialects, and like in group VI, phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ is rare in ṬwA, HnA and ’LA.

The phonemic status of /ē/ and /ī/ can be established with the same minimal pairs as in group VI.

A difference with group VI is that diphthong *au has also been monophthongized to /ō/, even in positions preceded by emphatics or back spirants (see also 1.2.4.).

The risk of homophonic clash of low reflexes of *au and high realizations of /ā/ is largely avoided;¹⁴ low realizations of /ē/ occur after emphatics or back spirants and are then near I.P.A. [ɛː] (indicated here as ǟ, e.g. xār “good”, ḥāṭ “walls”), but realizations of /ā/ following emphatics tend to be near [ɑː] and /ā/ following back spirants (if not velarized, like in e.g. xạ̄f [xα:f] “he feared” and ǥạ̄b [γα:b] “he was absent”) are nearer to [aː], e.g. ḥāl “state” and ḡām “he floated”.

1.2.2.2. Allophones of long vowels ō and ū
Like diphthong *au, diphthong *aw has been monophthongized to /ō/, even when it is preceded by emphatics or back spirants, (see also 1.2.4.).

The minimal pairs for group VI also isolate phonemes in ṬwA, HnA and ’LA.

In positions influenced by velarization, /ū/ is realized relatively low, near I.P.A. [ʊː], but /ō/ is realized even lower: in that case /ō/ tends to be lowered to near I.P.A. [ɔː], e.g. xɔf “fear” and ḥɔl “year”.

In verbs with wāw as C₁ the diphthong aw has usually been monophthongized, as is illustrated in e.g. nōgaf “we stand” and also tōgid “you light” (both in ṬwA, HnA and ’LA). In all dialects discussed here the imperative of w-’y “pay attention, take heed” has an initial diphthong: aw’in rūskin/ ryūskin “mind (pl. fem.) your heads!”.

1.2.2.3. Allophones of long vowel ā
The long vowel ā may have a realization as high as somewhere between I.P.A. [æː] and [eː]. This occurs in neutral positions and is not dependant on following by i or i in the next syllable (but within morpheme boundaries), e.g. firsāhah “loaf of bread from a sāġ” and also the realization of /ā/ in zimān “in the past”, ṭyyām “days”, ḥayāh “life” and sīyāl (raised a in

¹⁴ The word ‘avoided’ is not intended to imply a conscious choice by speakers.
sayāl) “acacia tree”. Realizations of /ā/ are not noticeably different when 
i follows in the next syllable (within morpheme boundaries), as in 
ysābig “he races”.

ā in velarized environments is realized near I.P.A. [aː], as in rāsi “my
head”, dārī “my house” and ḡārī “my neighbour”.

The difference in realizations of ā in rāsi and rāsiy may be explained by
recognizing either /ā/ and velarized /ạ̄/ as separate phonemes, or /r/ and
velarized /ṛ/ as separate phonemes. A similar difference in the realization
of ā (and r) is found in e.g. the pair fāris (I.P.A. [ˈfær̩s]) “knight”—fār
(I.P.A. [ˈfær̩] “mouse; rat”.

1.2.2.4. *Shortening of long vowels*
Like in group I dialects, shortening of unstressed long vowels is a charac-
teristic of allegro style of speech in ṬwA, HnA and ’LA as well.

1.2.3. *Short vowels*

1.2.3.1. *Isolating phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/*
Minimal pairs producing the phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/ in ṬwA, HnA and
’LA are listed below. In a number of (near) minimal pairs /i/ and /u/ can
be isolated as phonemes, but these are only found in closed syllables:

- Xiḍr “male given name” – xuḍr “green (pl. com.)”
- xirm “long species of fish” – xurm “hole”
- gurb “nearness” – girbih “watersack”
- ḡibb “kiss!” – ḡubb “love”
- sīf “zero” – ṣaf “yellow (pl. com.)”
- šigguh “his guest section of the tent” – šuggah “fishing net”

Minimal pairs to isolate /a/ on the one hand, and /i/ or /u/ on the other
hand are much easier to find, e.g.:

- ḡabb “grain” – ḡubb “love”
- ḡatt “he placed” – ḡutt “place!”
- šadd “he pulled” – šidd! “pull!”

An additional minimal pair is (verbal measure 4) yinʾim “bestow favours”—
(verbal measure 1) yunʾum “become soft”.

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15 Bernabela 2009:13 gives IPA [ɛː] in neutral environments, [aː] following ʾ and ḡ, and
[əː] in velarized environments.
1.2.3.2. Phonetic factors influencing the quality of I

In principle, distribution of short high vowels $i$ and $u$ is governed by the same rules as described for group I in De Jong 2000:70–74: a short high vowel tends to be $u$ in velarized and/or labial environment, otherwise $i$.

In the pl. com. forms for colours and physical defects all dialects show $C_1uC_2C_3$ as the pattern, i.e. like in MzA of group VI. Only in ĞBA both ‘i$\text{my}$ and ‘u$\text{my}$ were recorded for “blind”.16

All dialects of group VII (except ASA and ḤmA, see 3.2.2.3.) have only $u$ as imperfect vowel of primae hamzah verbs; $y\dot{a}xu\ddot{d}$ and $y\dot{a}k\ddot{u}l$ “he takes” and “he eats”. In ‘LA imperfect forms both with $i$ as well as $u$ were heard.

Also $u$ in the sg. masc. imperative: $k\ddot{u}l$ and $x\ddot{u}d$ “eat!” and “take!” (resp.) and clear velarization, caused by the ‘vanished’ $u$:17 $x\ddot{u}d\dot{y}$ and $k\ddot{u}l\dot{y}$ (sg. fem.), $x\ddot{u}d\dot{v}$ and $k\ddot{u}l\dot{v}$ (pl. masc.) and $x\ddot{u}l\dot{n}$ and $k\ddot{u}l\dot{n}$ (pl. fem.).

Imperfect forms of mediae geminatae verbs recorded in group VII corroborate the rule formulated in De Jong 2000:72–73: $u$ appears near primary and (potentially) secondary emphatics, while $i$ appears in neutral environments.

Examples listed for group VI may be heard with the same high vowels in ṬwA and HnA. Some additional examples are: ($u$ in) $yru\ddot{s}\ddot{a}$ “pile up”, $yru\ddot{g}\ddot{g}$ “flatten”, $ybu\ddot{x}x$ “spit”, $yx\ddot{u}\ddot{r}$ “leak water”, $yhu\ddot{k}\ddot{k}$ “rub” and ($i$ in) $ydzi\ddot{z}$ “push”, $yhi\ddot{g}\ddot{i}$ “run away”, $y\ddot{g}\ddot{i}\ddot{z}\ddot{z}$ “shear (wool of sheep)”, $y\ddot{g}\ddot{i}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ “test”, $y\ddot{i}z\ddot{z}$ ‘ala “hurt”, $y\ddot{si}\ddot{n}$ “sizzle (in hot oil)”, $y\ddot{h}i\ddot{l}\ddot{l}$ “be ḥalāl”, $y\ddot{g}\ddot{i}\ddot{f}\ddot{f}$ “become dry” and $y\ddot{si}\ddot{g}\ddot{g}$ “split”.18

1.2.3.3. Morphological conditioning of the short high vowel

Morphological conditioning of the high vowel is like in group VI.

The exception to morphological conditioning noticed in group VI is also in group VII found in some forms coloured by the extreme velarization caused by the pronominal suffix -k or -uk. Examples in group VII are (a measure 1 medial geminate verb) $wala yhu\ddot{m}\ddot{m}\ddot{u}\ddot{k}$ “don’t let it bother you!”, (colouring of the suffixed fem. morpheme -it-) $nuxr\ddot{u}\ddot{t}\ddot{\dot{k}}$ “your nose”, $\ddot{\dot{s}}\dot{u}\ddot{g}\dot{l}\ddot{u}\ddot{\dot{\dot{t}}}\ddot{\dot{\dot{k}}}$ “yours (sg. fem.)”, and (colouring of i in the act. participle of measure 3) $ana mk\ddot{a}\ddot{w}\ddot{u}\ddot{n}k$ “I’m fighting you”.

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16 Nishio 1992:2 (I-9) reports ‘mī (which must be a misprint for m‘ī) for ĞBA.


18 It is not clear why $y\ddot{d}u\ddot{g}\ddot{g}$ “punch”, $y\ddot{l}\ddot{u}\ddot{g}\ddot{g}$ “hit” is usually with $u$, while $y\ddot{si}\ddot{g}\ddot{g}$ is with $i$, but similar variation was noticed for the high vowel in the contiguity of k (e.g. $yf\ddot{i}k\ddot{k}$ and $yf\ddot{k}\ddot{k}$ “untie”, but in different dialects) see De Jong 2000:73–74. Cf. also the verb $k\ddot{a}\ddot{t}$, and the imperfect is then $y\ddot{k}\ddot{i}\ddot{t}$ or $y\ddot{k}\ddot{u}\ddot{t}$ “go downstream in a wadi”, as reported for group I dialects in Chapter III, 1.2.3.2.
1.2.3.4. **Allophones of short vowels**
Allophones of short vowels do not differ much from what was described for group I in De Jong 2000:74–77, although some allophones, notably of /a/, may appear in environments different—or are more frequent, or less frequent—than those in group I.

1.2.3.4.1. **Allophones of /i/**
Allophones of /i/ are like those described for group VI.

1.2.3.4.2. **Allophones of /u/**
Allophones of /u/ are like those described for group VI.

1.2.3.4.3. **Allophones of /a/**

1.2.3.4.3.1. /a/ in non-raised positions
Allophones of /a/ in non-raised positions are like those described for group VI.

1.2.3.4.3.2. Raising of (*)/a/ preceding long stressed vowels
Like in group VI, /a/ is raised in a great number of stress-preceding positions in ṬwA, HnA and also ‘LA:

- preceding stressed Ci: ġirid “palm leaves”, midinah “town”, digīg “dough”, xīfīf “light”, iris “bridegroom”, hirid “parrot fish”, and also ʿlīy “male given name *ʿAlī” and verb forms nīsit “forgot”, ligit “I found” and even 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae yā’ verbs iṣil “I carry” irīd “I want” (see remark * below).

  Such raising is not inhibited by any phonetic factors, but is optional, as may be concluded from many examples which show /a/ in such positions as well, e.g. katir “much, many”, kabir “big; old”, taxīn “thick”, tawīl “long, tall”, dagīg “dough”, xamīs “Thursday”, hadīd “iron”.

- no instances were recorded of raised /a/ preceding stressed CCi: bāṭṭīx “watermelon”, sakkinah “knife”, barmīl “drum”, Katrīn “(St.) Catherine” and also gārniṭ “octopus” (similarly in ‘LA).

- (preceding stressed Cē): ʿilēkum “on you (pl. masc.)”, ligēnāh “we found him”, mīṣēt “he walked”, fidēt “I sacrificed”. In ‘LA raising of /a/ preceding ē in the suffixed preposition ʿala was not observed: ʿalēha “on her” (but there was raising in ʿilūh, see remark *4 in 3.1.16.).

- (preceding CCē) middēt “I stretched”, sawwēt “I made” and istamīrīnēna “we continued”, istaʿiddēt “I prepared”.

|---|---|

19 Such raising is not consistently reported for ĠbA in Nishio 1992. Among isolated examples there, however, is: sawwēt “I made” (p. 99 (XIV-37).
(preceding stressed Cā): midāris “schools”, misāfih “distance”, filāyik iṣṣēd “(small) fishing boats (with sails)”, biḥāyim “cattle (pl.)”, ḍibāyih “animals for slaughter”, digāyig “minutes”. In ṬwA such raising also takes place (but is less frequent than in ṬwA and HnA): gibāyil “tribes”, but manāṭig “regions”, maṣāyix “sheikhs” and ḡawālig “carpets”.

(preceding stressed CCā): niǧǧāṛ “carpenter”, tillāǧah “fridge”, zihgānīn “fed up (pl. masc.)”, šigṛā “white (sg. fem.)”, tūrma “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”. In ṬwA such raising occurs mainly in neutral environments: kislān “lazy”, wiġ ān “suffering pain” and suwwāg “driver”, but ’aṭšān “thirsty”, ḡalṭān “wrong”, ḡalbān “poor, destitute”, fallāḥ “farmer” and also (but without apparent phonetic factors inhibiting raising) ᵉb’ān “having eaten one’s fill”.

(preceding stressed ā): ma tiḥatkūṃš “not under you”, ma tiḥáthiš “not under her”, ḡilāy “on me”, ḡimál ḡq “your camel” and in ṬwA ḡimál “camel”.

(preceding stressed u): uṣṣ “I enter”, uguṣṣ “I follow tracks” and in ṬwA ḣiluh “on him” (see remark *4 in 3.1.16.).

(preceding stressed ā, verb forms) išidd “I pull”, išiff “I wrap” (see remark * below).

In ṬwA and HnA stress in perfect forms of verbal measures n-1 and 1-t is inwálkal, ittáfag, etc. (see 2.1.1.1.). The article is not stressed in a sequence ilCvCv(+) (see 2.1.1.).

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20 Some examples of such raising reported for ǦbA in Nishio 1992 are: rijjāl “man” (p. 48 (VII-11)), fillāh “peasant, farmer” (p. 59 (VIII-44)), keslān “lazy” (p. 110 (XV-31)), defyān “warm” (p. 123 (XVII-32)), telfān “slender” (p. 125 (XX-25)) and wusxān “dirty” (p. 152 (XXI-30)), but no raising in hallāg “barber”, najjār “carpenter”, ḥaddād “smith” (p. 58 (VIII-37, 38, 39)), ḡaṭāra “aeroplane”, barrād “teapot” (p. 99 (XIV-37)), ḡaḍbān “angry” (with ḍ!) (p. 116 (XVI-22)) and makkār “cunning” (p. 148 (XXI-8)).
In 'LA stress in verbal measures n-1 and 1-t is like in group ṬwA and HnA: inwákal, ittáfag, but in 'LA the article—like in groups I and VI—is stressable in a sequence alCvCv(+), e.g. álǧimal “the camel” and áddawa “the medicine”.

Again like in groups I and VI, when a follows stressed i in closed syllable, it is raised in ṬwA, HnA and 'LA, as in imperfects of measures n-1 and 1-t: yínḍirib “he is beaten”, yittifig “he agrees”.

* Forms like axušš, aḥuṭṭ, ašidd, aliff etc. may also be heard in ṬwA, HnA and 'LA, but it is not possible to conclude here whether raising of a (> uḥuṭṭ, išidd, etc.) is optional, or whether forms without raising are actually loans from a dialect where such raising does not take place (like e.g. Cairene). The same holds for variation in forms like ugūm–agūm “I rise” and išīl–ašīl “I carry”.

1.2.3.4.3.3. Raising of the feminine morpheme (T)

The a of the fem. morpheme is regularly raised in neutral environments and reaches a phonetic value near I.P.A. [ıh]. Such raising is basically a pausal phenomenon. Examples are: ilká’akah diy bya’aḡinha aḡin mażbiṭ xālis “(for) this ka’akah he kneads the dough extremely well”, tíšluḥ swayyah nihā w swayyah nihā bitkūn il’ariḍ ... sux-nat “you take it out, a bit here and a bit here (i.e. there) and the ground will have become hot”.

Examples with raising in pause ḥilwah ḥilwah bitna/dmacronbelow/dmacronbelow ilmi/dmacronbelow/dmacronbelow dih “...good, good, it (sg. fem.) cleans the stomach” and lamma btínḫišiy tamir ... bingūl ‘aléha šannih “when it is stuffed with dates ... we call it a basket”. Examples in 'LA: hāda kamān gabīlt i’Lēgāt ... bārdūk faḍākīh “this is also the 'Lēgāt tribe ... there too” and ‘irf adḏeď min bi’d, ţāy min iblād tānyih “he knew that the guest came from far, that he had come from another land.”

In velarized environments such raising does not take place, e.g. ḥlāṭ pentru “on the wall”, nḡārah “carpentry”. ṭxa’llha ḣalīḍah “you make (lit. let be) it (sg. fem.) thick”, nafs ilgīṣṣah “the same story”.

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21 And like in group VI, in the verb forms yínḍirib and yittifig, the raised a will again ‘surface’ as a when in closed syllables, e.g. yínḍárbuw and yittáfguw, see also 3.2.3.1.1.

22 Nishio 1992:XV reports šimālah up to I.P.A. [ɛ] in ḠBA. My impression was that it could reach up to [ı] in ḠBA, and often with a following glottal stop when final [ɛ] represented final -ā or -ā’.
In ṬwA and HnA raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ɣ and h, e.g. wās’ih # “wide (sg. fem.)”, sab’ih # “seven”, ilFāṭihih # “the Fāṭihah surah”, ḏibīḥih “animal for slaughter”.

1.2.3.5. Prosodic lengthening of short vowels
To express extra emphasis, such as on long durations of time, long distances, great quantities and the like, speakers often prosodically lengthen short vowels. Examples are: la ḥa::dd sanah xamsih “(I was in school all the time) until the fifth year” and ûṣallūḥ ‘ala nnāṛ kidiy lamma: yanšaf “they cook it over the fire like this (all the time) until it dries”.

1.2.4. Long vowels and diphthongs

1.2.4.1. Monophthongization of diphthongs *ay and *aw
In positions not influenced by velarization, or preceded by X, older diphthongs *ay and *aw have in most cases become monophthongal ē and ō with realizations near I.P.A. [eː] and [oː].

Examples of /ē/ for *ay are: ilitating “two”, bēn “between”, lēlih “evening”, sēl “flood”, ḡwēl (dim. of ġāl) “little side” and examples for ō for *aw are mōt “death”, yōm “day”, fōg “above”, sōdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, gōmah “(manner of) standing up”.

When *ay and *aw are preceded by X or velarized consonants, they have been monophthongized to be /ē/ and /ō/ as well, but are usually realized a little lower than I.P.A. [eː] and [oː], just above [ɛː] and [ɔː].

Examples are (for /ē/) ān “eye, ǟn “little children”, ḥātah “wall”, xār “good”, sād “hunting”, ḏāf “guest”, tār “birds”, and verbs ḥaṭṭāna “we placed” and īṣṭārāna “we bought” and (for /ō/) ḥoːl “year”, ḥōdaǧ “male given name Ōdah”, ṣḍaf “fear”, ṣṭ “sound; voice”, though when h precedes, īː or /ōː/, it is near I.P.A. [eː] and [oː] (resp.), as in Aḅuw Ḥēb “name of a snake charmer (of the Aвлād Sashalfringleftīd)” and hōdaǧ “camel litter (formerly used for the bride in a wedding procession)”.

In a few cases the diphthong *aw has a /ē/ reflex: méǧūd (though ~ mawǧūd, root w-ǧ-d) “present”, mérūs “inherited” (root w-r-t, see remark in 1.1.2.) and also mēṛakah (root w-r-k) “leather riding cushion supporting the lower leg”.

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, mawǧūd “present (adj.)”, aw’a “watch out!”23 and also taybīs

23 In ṢwA, ASA and HnA aw’a is conjugated: aw’a tans!, aw’iy tansiy!, etc. “don’t you forget!” In the other dialects it was left unconjugated for number and gender, e.g. aw’a tansin “don’t you (pl. fem.) forget”.

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“drying”. The advantage is that arrangement of root consonants in the various morphological patterns has remained transparent.

In ‘LA the form zṛaygān “dark-coloured thoroughbred camel” was recorded, which is probably a loan from group I type dialects.24

The suffixed preposition lay “to me” and also bay “with me” are actually better interpreted as lay + y and bay + y.

1.2.4.2. Isolating long vowels /ī/, /ū/, /ā/, /ē/ and /ō/ as phonemes

Phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ in neutral environments is not characteristic of ṬwA, HnA or ‘LA.

Minimal pairs to isolate phonemes in group VI also work here:

\[dēr\] “monastery”—\[dīr\] “turn (trans.)”—\[dūr\] “turn (intrans.)”—\[dōr\] “floor (in a building)”—\[dāṛ\] “house”
\[gable \text{ “bring it!”—gable “his pocket”—gable “he brought it”}\]
\[gōm\] “enemy tribe”—\[gūm\] “get up!”

Suffixed prepositions lay “to me”, ělay “on me” and fay “in me” are actually better interpreted as final ay + y; fayy must have been formed in analogy to the former two forms.

In law “if” and aw “or” the diphthong has remained intact.

1.2.4.3. Allophones of ā

Like in the dialect of the Taṛābīn of group I, ā in neutral surroundings is realized as near I.P.A. [ɛː]. Unlike Turbāniy, however, ā in open syllable and neutral surroundings does not need Ci following within morpheme boundaries for such I.P.A. values to be reached.

In MzA this [ɛː] for ā is reached also when āC is morpheme-final, e.g. kōtār “many (pl. com.)”, šgāg “compartments of the tent”, ḥbāl “ropes”, šāsīgh “screen” and also wāḥid “one”, sārīh “out grazing (goats and sheep)”, nāgtī “my she-camel”.

1.2.4.4. Reflexes of final *-ā(‘)

Like in group VI, the reflex of final *-ā in neutral environments in ṬwA and HnA is often -ī’. Like in group VI, stress will be on the vowel of a heavy sequence that precedes, but in in group VII this includes vowels that were originally anaptyctic and which have become part of the morphophonemic base.

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24 See Stewart 1990:286 (glossary). A wḍayhān is a light-coloured thoroughbred he-camel, see ibid. 276. A clue for these forms to be of group I origin is the hypochoristic -ān suffix in these names, see De Jong 2000:153.
Another difference is stress in a sequence CaCa(C) in VI and CaCá(C) in VII. Examples of such differences in stress are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group VI and ‘LA</th>
<th>Group VII</th>
<th>“winter”</th>
<th>“the evening prayer”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šti’</td>
<td>ištī’</td>
<td>salāt</td>
<td>salāt ilī šti’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group VI ‘ištī’ , group VII and ‘LA ’ášti’* “dinner”
* When a directly precedes the reflex of final *-ā(’) in open syllable, it is usually not raised. More often, forms are like il’àša’, ilğáda’a. Forms with raising ’ášti’, ýáde’ were recorded in pause and only in GrA and ȘwA. Unraised forms ýáda’a and ‘aska’ were heard in sandhi.

Other recorded examples with raised reflexes of final -ā(’) are: if’i “viper”, Wādiy İśli’ (stressed on initial I-) “Wādiy Isla” gì “he came”, ilbunn đi “these coffeebeans”, tiţihibi “you get it (sg. fem.)”, ‘ala gadd hālni’ “as much as we can afford”, ifṭarni “we had breakfast”. Comparable examples in ‘LA are: gì, (i)IFn’ih and also (i)Ifn’iy “the viper”, álwalad đi “this boy”, ýambhi “next to her”, biddni “we want” and ilkrih “the wages”.

Refluxes of final *-ā(’) preceded by velarized consonants are not raised, have remained long and are often cut off—especially in pause—by a glottal stop. Examples are: (sg. fem. forms of colours) xa/dmacronbelowrā(’) “green”, bēgdā(’) “white” and (optionally) raised a in syllable preceding final ā in the examples zirgā(’) “black (lit. blue)”, himrā(’) “red” and sifrā(’) “yellow”. Similarly, sg. fem. forms of physical defects are hamgā(’) “stupid”, tarmā(’) “gap-toothed”. Such examples are also available for ‘LA.

When no phonetic factors interfere, raising of final *-ā(’) in sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects will reach (stressed) -íy, as in e.g. (colours) sōdíy “black; bad”, šaḥabíy “sand-coloured”, ýabşób “dark” and (physical defects) hélíy “cross-eyed”, háblíy “dim-witted”, aržíy “limping (sg. fem.)”, amýíy “blind” and šölíy “left-handed”. Such examples are also found in ‘LA.

N.B. “here” is nihā(’) or nihâniy in TwA, HnA and ‘LA, but also hiniy was recorded in ȘwA, ASA, HnA, (only once in) ḤmA and K-form hina or hinih in all dialects.

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In dialects of group I raising (there to final -ѝ) is inhibited by (underlying) a preceding in open syllable. In group VII raising to -ѝ tends to be prevented by a preceding in open syllable (see remark * above in 1.2.4.4.). Examples are: ʾiddáwa “the medicine”, issámá “the sky”, (verb forms) ʾfáda “he sacrificed”, máša “he walked”, sáwa “together”, istáwa “it became cooked” and also ʾána “I”.

In ’LA some examples are: ʾáddawa “the medicine”, álʾaša “the dinner”, máša and ʾána.

The forms with raised final *-ā (>-ѝ) do not only occur in pause, but also in sentence-medial positions. Such raising is therefore concluded to have led to morphological restructuring, e.g. ihna ittašálîn it buh “we contacted him”, hatta lîf ʾî ma tagdarš tuktulhî “even the viper you cannot kill”.

The (often unreleased) glottal stop following the final vowel is not only regular when this vowel is stressed, but occurs also when it is unstressed.

When suffixed, raising in the verb form ʾgi “he came” will be absent, e.g. law ʾgáʾk dixîl “if somebody comes to you as a daxîl”. Similarly, when kri is suffixed, final -ѝ will be -ā+, e.g. krâh “his wages” and krâ ʾk “your wages” (example from ’LA).

1.2.4.5. Allophones of long vowels ē, ī, ō, and ū

1.2.4.5.1. Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on ī and ū

Primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following ī and ū towards (resp.) I.P.A. [eː] and [oː] and like in group VI such lowering is clearer in the case of following ū; with following ī it is less clear, but an on-glide is clearly audible.

Reflexes of *ay and *aw, also when following velarized consonants, have been monophthongized to be /ě/ and /ō/, but their realizations tend to be lower: nearer to I.P.A. [eː] and [oː].

1.2.4.5.2. Off-glide in ē and ī

The same type of off-glide in /ě/ and /ī/, as described for group VI, may also be heard in ṬwA, HnA and ’LA.

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26 See Blanc 1970:124 (13) and De Jong 2000:82.
27 A daxîl is someone who seeks refuge (e.g. after having committed a crime) in the house of someone else. The ‘host’ is then obliged to take care (lodge him, and if necessary, defend him) of his daxîl for three days (and one third of a day) and seek legal assistance to have the problem of his daxîl resolved.
1.2.4.5.3. **Off-glides in ō and ū**
The same type of off-glides in /ō/ and /ū/, as described for group VI, may also be heard in ṬwA, HnA and LA.

1.2.4.6. **Diphthongs**
ṬwA, HnA and LA have two diphthongs: iy and uw. Older diphthongs *ay and *aw have been monophthongized as /ē/ and /ō/.

1.2.4.6.1. **Reflexes of *ay and *aw**

1.2.4.6.1.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw in neutral environments
In positions not preceded by or velarized consonants *ay and *aw have usually become ē and ō, cf. 1.2.4.1.

1.2.4.6.1.2. Reflexes of *ay and *aw in non-neutral environments

1.2.4.6.1.2.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw preceded by X.
Cf. 1.2.4.1

1.2.4.6.1.2.2. Diphthongs *ay and *aw preceded by velarized consonants.
Cf. 1.2.4.1

1.2.4.6.2. **Diphthongs -iy and -uw**

1.2.4.6.2.1. Reflexes of final *-ī and *-ū
Final diphthongs -iy and -uw, which in part reflect older *-ī and *-ū are best heard in lento speech and occur both in sentence medial as well as in sentence final positions. In allegro forms these diphthongs tend to be reduced to -i and -u (I.P.A. [i] and [u], i.e. not lowered [ı] and [ʋ]).

The reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries, as described for group VI, has not taken place in ṬwA, HnA or LA.

Examples of diphthongs iy and uw created by anaptyxis are: mašiy # “walking” and # iyxāf “he fears” and hašuw # “filling, stuffing”, xaṭuwtēn “two steps” and # uwlād “children”. In the latter three instances, one may also hear the diphthong iw.

Instances of final -iy as reflexes of *-ī are like those reported for group VI.

Like in group VI, many final yā’ verbs with an i-type conjugation in the perfect have adopted—though often only partially—an a-type perfect in ṬwA and HnA. Examples are maša “he walked” (but mišyit “she walked”), nása and násat (but also nisyit) and also ligiy ~ lag “he found”, ligyit ~ lagat “she found”, etc. (for further detail, see 3.2.2.5.1.). In LA maša was recorded with a regular paradigm of the a-type and ligiy with a regular i-type paradigm.
Final -iy may also reflect older final *-ā’ in the pattern *CaCCā’ for physical defects: ‘arḡiy “limping (sg. fem.)”, hablíy “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, `amýy “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCā’) sódíy “black”, šaḥabíy “sand-coloured”.28

Apart from nihā (-niy) for “here”, the form híníy is also often heard (though not recorded in ‘LA).

Final -iy reflects final *-ī in bíriy “innocent”, final *-iy in šábiy “boy”, gáwiy “strong” and níbiy “prophet”, *-ay in šíy “thing” and also the nisbah-ending for the sg. masc., e.g. Su`ūdiy “Saudi”. 28

2. STRESS AND PHONOTACTICS

2.1. Stress

2.1.1. Rules for word-stress

Stress in ṬwA and HnA is of the máktabah-type. Rule order is the same as in group VI.

Verbal gahawah-forms of the i-type imperfect, like yáḥartuw “they plough”, receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

The rules for ṬwA and HnA are (for GBA there are exceptions like īššti “the winter”):

1. Like in group VI.
2. The domain of stress is formed by either:
   a. the last two syllables of a word, also if this includes the article il- as the penultimate syllable,
   b. or the last four syllables, when these are without article, or verbal pre- or infixes, but including suffixes,
   c. or, in the presence of a verbal in- or prefix, the last three syllables including the vowel of the syllable preceding the in- or prefix, but only when the verb form is an imperfect or a participle. When the verb form is perfect, the vowel of the prefix or the vowel preceding the infx is not stressable.

28 Also in GbA 1992, see ?arji (sic.) (a misprint for—in my own transcription—‘arḡiy) on p. 7 (1-61).
3. Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequences are stressed.
4. The following types of ‘heavy’ sequences occur: vCC(C) and ĭC(C) (including ĭ(h)).
5. The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed (see examples in 2.1.1.1.)
6. In the absence of a heavy syllable, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left.

The exception made for resyllabification of CaCaCv(C) sequences in MzA of group VI is not necessary for ṬwA, HnA or `LA, since such sequences are not resyllabified.

In ḤmA the presumably older stress system is being replaced by the system described above. The older stress system—much (but not totally) like that described for group I—is characterized by the following forms:
wálad, náxaḷ, kátab, rágabah, náxalah, yáharit, yáharțuș, ábalad, ál’asə’, ilíši, šnax, áśsnax, áŋgusal, yínģisul, inģásalu, ástağal, yişiğil, ištágalu, kátabatuș, rágabatuș and yá’arağuw.

In `LA the article is a stressable unit (e.g. álğamal, but forms like ilğámal were also heard, though less regularly), but unlike other dialects that may stress the article, `LA does not allow stressing of initial vowels in the perfect of measures n-1 and 1-t. `LA is thus the only dialect in Sinai with a stressable article, but which does not allow stress on initial vowels in the perfect verbal of measures n-1 and 1-t.

2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences
Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are in ṬwA and HnA: īšši “the winter” (ǦbA), il’așa “the dinner, ilif “the viper” (second i is originally anaptyctic), šalāt ilíši “evening prayer”, ilálab “the tins”, mádrasah “school”, ištágal “he worked”, itṭafag “he agreed”, inģásal “he was washed”, ilbáṣal “the onions”, ilwálad “the boy/son”, itṭafaguw “they agreed”, inģásalu “they were washed”, hşyi “rocks”, šolíy “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and šahaby “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”.

As far as stress in reflexes of *CiCa(C) is concerned, ‘LA appears to be in a process of transition; when the first C is not a sunletter, an anaptyctic vowel will separate this C and l of the article, when the article precedes. Although stress rules specify that the vowel of the article should then

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29 In `LA the form ilihşi “the rocks” was also recorded.
be stressed (being the vowel in the ‘underlying’ heavy sequence \( \text{vCC} \)), the anaptyctic may receive stress instead (see scenario 1 below). When the first \( C \) is a ‘sunletter’ no anaptyctic appears, since the \( l \) of the article assimilates to this ‘sunletter’. The vowel of the article is then stressed (see scenario 2 below). Schematically:

**scenario 1:**
\[ *C_{\text{iC}}mC > C_{\text{mC}} > \text{v}l + C_{\text{mC}} > \text{v}lC_{\text{mC}} > \text{v}lvC_{\text{mC}} \]
\[ \text{v}lvC_{\text{mC}} \text{ or } \text{v}lvC_{\text{mC}} \]

**scenario 2:**
\[ *C_{\text{iC}}jC > C_{\text{CjC}} > \text{v}l + C_{\text{CjC}} > \text{v}C_{\text{CjC}} > \text{v}C_{\text{CjC}} \]
\[ C_{\text{i}} = \text{‘sunletter’ consonant} \quad \text{vl} = \text{article } \text{it- or al-} \]
\[ C_{\text{m}} = \text{‘moonletter’ consonant} \quad \text{v} = \text{stressed short } \text{v: } \text{i or á} \]
\[ \text{v} \,_{\text{s}} = \text{anaptyctic vowel colouring with the following vowel} \]
\[ \text{v} \,_{\text{s}} = \text{originally anaptyctic vowel, after having become stable and part of the morphophonemic base, and is therefore stressable} \]

When anaptyctics preceding forms with initial \( C_{\text{m}} \) have become stable and the anaptyctic has become part of the morphophonemic base as the initial vowel, this new initial vowel will be stressed if it is part of a heavy sequence.

A next, or parallel step in this development is anaptyctics becoming stable base vowels where they precede CC; a cluster \( \# \text{ CC} \) or \( \text{C CC} \) needs to be resolved, so that an anaptyctic will be inserted preceding the last \( C \) of such a cluster. The anaptyctic—colouring with the base vowel of the following noun—can thus become stable, and therefore become part of the morphophonemic base and be stressed, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>origin</th>
<th>elision</th>
<th>cluster</th>
<th>anaptyxis</th>
<th>stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( *\text{dura}r )</td>
<td>( \text{dra}r )</td>
<td>( \text{C + dra}r )</td>
<td>( \text{C v' dra}r )</td>
<td>( \text{ádra}r ) (( \text{v' dra}r ))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the article is then prefixed, the resulting form will be \( \text{alá' dra}r \) “the sorghum”, since the new base vowel prevents the prerequisite of contact of \( l \) and the ‘sunletter’ \( d \) for assimilation to take place. Another example is \( \text{alán}gər \) “the potholes”.

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30 Such colouring of the anaptyctic was also reported for group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:270.
31 In fact, this development is also a more rigorous application of the rule that base forms can only have initial C- or (’)\( ν \); there is a phonotactic constraint barring initial CC.
Forms in ‘LA are: īššti, ḏāša, ilīf’ih, īlišī – īlīšī, ālāgar “the watersacks” (but alángar “the potholes”), ālābar “the needles” and also alādrāh “the sorghum”.

Other forms with heavy sequences in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA: ūmmūk “your mother”, šti “winter”, zēn “good”, zēnh “good (sg. fem.)”, zēnīn “good (pl. masc.)”.

2.1.1.2. Examples of stress in words without heavy sequences

2.1.1.2.1. Stress in CvCvC(v)

Stress in (C)vCv(C):32

(’)vCvC: ūkul “eat!” , ûgum “stand up!” , īšil “carry!” , ánām “go to sleep!” , āбар “needles” (“I come” is iğiẏy). ‘LA forms are: kūl, gūl, gūm, šīl, nām.33 CvCv(’): ‘āša “dinner”, máša “he walked”, dáwa “medicine” (“stick” was recorded as asa). The same forms are found in ‘LA.

Cv CvC: ḡāmal “camels”, šāḡar “trees”, ḡātas “he dived”; wāgaf “he stood up”, wārag “paper” and šābīy “boy”, bīrīy “innocent”, tārīy “moist; soft” (“he goes” is yīğiẏy, also in ‘LA). In ‘LA both types of stress are heard: walād or wālad, although the latter stress type is more current.

2.1.1.2.2. Stress in (C)vCvC(C) and (C)vCvCvCvC(C)

(C)vCvCvC(C): xāšabah “piece of firewood”, ḍārabaw “they hit (perfect)”, bāladuh “his country”, nāsath “she forgot him”, ma nāsatuś “she did not forget him” (the latter two not in ’LA), and gahawah-forms āhamar “red”, nā’āgīy “ewe”, ā’ārag “lame”, āḥarīt “I plough”, gāhawah “coffee”.34 (C)vCvCvCvC(C): ḍārabatuw “she hit him”, ma ḍārabatuś “she did not hit him”, rāgabatuh “his neck” and gahawah-forms gāhawatuh “his coffee”, tā’āragin “you (pl. fem.) sweat”.

Ilxāšabah “the piece of firewood”, ilbátawiy “the Bedouin (sg.)”, (gahawah-form) innāxālah “the palm tree”, ibtāhafruw “they dig”, īštāgalat “she worked”, inbāṣatūw “they rejoiced”, ittāfagat “she agreed”, taqāwwazat “she got married”, takāllamuw “they spoke”.

32 When v, in this pattern is not preceded by C, it is underlying |a|.
33 Forms of the mediae infirmae verbs like gum / úguṃ or gum / úgum were checked, but were rejected as not proper ‘LA.
34 Stress reported for Įba in Nishio 1992 is the same, see p. 146 (XX-30 and 33). However, ibid. p. 7 (I-61) reports (in my transcription) a’raḡ “lame” (without gahawah-vowel).
2.1.2. Exceptions to the stress rule

2.1.2.1. Stress on reflexes of *-āʾ and *-ā

Like in group VI (and also in group IV, see De Jong 2000:428), reflexes of *-āʾ, which have not been raised due to phonetic factors described in 1.2.4.4., will be stressed, when they have remained long and thus form a heavy sequence, e.g. xaḍrāʾ(ʼ) “green (sg. fem.)”, šifrāʾ(ʼ) “yellow (sg. fem.)”, bēḍāʾ(ʼ) “white (sg. fem.)”, girʾāʾ(ʼ) “bald (sg. fem.)”, īwārāʾ(ʼ) “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”. Such stressing is regular in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA. 35

In phonetically neutral surroundings, final -āʾ of sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects is raised to -iy (see 1.2.4.4.). Such raised -iy reflexes are then stressed, even if (other) heavy sequences precede, e.g. sōdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, šadfīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, hawlīy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)”. Notice however stress in hínīy “here”, although more regular for “here” is nihā. Also in a gahawah-form, in which the gahawah-vowel has resolved the cluster forming the heavy sequence, the reflex of -āʾ receives stress: (šaḥbāʾ >) šahbīy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”. These forms are current in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA.

Reflexes of final *-āʾ(ʼ) that are short -aʾ or -iʾ are stressed in conformity with the rules in 2.1.1.2. When no heavy sequences precede, e.g. (forms in ṬwA and HnA) ḫilʾāšaʾ “(the) dinner”, ḫiljādaʾ “(the) lunch”, (is)sámaʾ “the sky”,36 but with heavy sequences available: īšstiʾ “the winter”, šalāt īlʾšiʾ “(base form is iʾši) “evening prayer”, īlifʾiʾ “the viper” and Wādiy Īsliʾ (stress on initial I) “Wadi Islah”.

Note: there is variation, however: (only) in ĠbA and ḤmA forms with stress on the final vowel like šalāt īlʾšiʾ “evening prayer”, īlifʾiʾ “the viper”, waqt īšstiʾ “the winter time” and Ġabal iGniʾ37 “the mountain of canals/ water ducts (situated in the Maḡārāh area)” were also heard.

Since heavy sequences always precede within word boundaries, raised reflexes of pronominal suffixes will not be stressed, e.g. mnākulhiʾ “we eat it (sg. fem.)”, šufttiʾ (< šuft + ha) “I saw her”. Verbal endings that developed from *-ā also remain unstressed, e.g. šuftiʾ “we saw” and mášaʾ “he walked”. The reflex of final *-āʾ(ʼ) will only be stressed if it is the only vowel available, e.g. īlwālad dīʾ “this boy”, ġīʾ “he came”.

35 Nishio 1992 reports the same in terms of stress and raising for ĠbA, see p. 16 (XX-30 to XX-35), e.g. (in Nishio’s transcription) ḥamrā and sûdī.
36 Nishio 1992 reports the same type of stress in ĠbA, see e.g. p. 119 (XVII-1) sáma, but does not indicate stress in ġadɛ and shalfringleftašɛ.
37 In Turbāniy dialect this mountain is referred to as Ġibāl iḠniy; gnīy is a pl. form < *qināʾ.
2.1.2.2. *Stress on final nominal *-īy reflexes in *CaCiy

In ṬwA and HnA, reflexes of the pattern CaCiy are CaCiy or (after raising the short vowel a) CiCiy are stressed on the penultimate, which is in conformity with the rules formulated in 2.1.1.2.

2.1.2.3. *Stress in al/il + *CaCiy

Prefixing an article to a CaCiy sequence has no consequences for the assignment of stress in ṬwA and HnA, e.g. īnnibiy or īnnābiy “the Prophet” and issābiy “the boy”. In ḤmA ānnibiy was recorded and in ĠbA ānnibiy.

šabiy (pl. šibyān) “boy” with suffixes: šabīyyuḳ “your boy”, šabīyyī “my boy”, šabīyyhuṃ “their boy”.

2.1.2.4. *Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms

In ṬwA, HnA and ṢwA stress in gahawah-forms is like in group VI (naxāḷha “her date palms”, gāhawatuh “his coffee” and (i- and u-type gahawah-imperfect verb forms) yā’āgnuh “he kneads it” and táxabṭin “you (pl. fem.) knock”.

Resyllabication of sequences CaCaCatv (> CaCCitv) is not a characteristic of ṬwA, HnA or ṢwA.

2.1.2.5. *Stress in vCCICv

Like in group VI, a short high vowel is not dropped from a sequence vC C ICv and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.1.2., e.g. bitjázzizuh “you sow it” (of watermelon seed, by inserting each seed into its own hole in the soil). In this example reduction of the geminate is clearly audible.

An example in ṢwA is biyballilūha “they make it (sg. fem.) wet”. For active participles of the verb ta’aknan “be irritated”, see 2.4.4.

2.1.3. *Stress units

2.1.3.1. *Stress in combinations with preposition min and negated personal pronominals

Like in group I, the preposition min may form one stress unit with the following word, as in mín-taḥat “from below”, mín-ki/dmacronbelowiy “from this” and mín-ihniy “from here” (the latter BWA).

In negated pronominals stress is as follows (recorded in HnA, ṢwA, ĠbA, ASA):

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38 Nishio 1992 lists many gahawah-forms for ĠbA as well, e.g. (p. 19 (III-31) gahawe, (p. 28 (IV-25)) faḥam “charcoal” and verbs: (p. 101–102) (XIV-54)) yaxalaṭ “mix”, (p. 102 (XIV-55)) yahafer “dig” and (p. 115 (XVI-19) yaḥazen “be sad”, etc.
Negated pronominals recorded in ḤmA are: māhū, māhī, mintih, mintiy, mānī, miḥna, mintuw, mintin, māhuṃ, māhin.

In GrA direct elicitation yielded the following forms: māhū, māhī, mantih, mantiy, mānī, māhuṃ, māhin, mantum, mantin, mahīš, mahīnš.

In ‘LA the single negation with preceding mā is current. Elicited forms are: māhū, māhī, mantah, mantiy, mānī, māhuṃ, māhin, mantuw / mantum, mantin, mahīnš.

2.1.3.2. Enclitically suffixed prepositions l and b

2.1.3.2.1. Enclusis of the suffixed preposition l

Enclitic suffixation of the suffixed preposition l occurs regularly. Examples are: yugʿūd-luh šaharān talātih “it stays (for itself) two or three months” (GrA). ibyāxūd-luh btā sāʿtēn “he spends about two hours” (ḠbA), biyṛūḥū-luh “they go to him” (ṢwA), aṛawwiḥ-luh giddām ʾilmī ʿād ib yōm aw yōmēn “I go to him one or two days before the appointment” (ASA) and naḥafīr-luh “we dig (a hole) for it” (ḤmA).

Such enclitic suffixing was found to be especially current in HnA, e.g.: ibyībhā-luh mōsim “there is a season for it” (ḤmA), innās bitgūm taḥašā-luh . . . ḥašiy “people then stuff it (properly)” (ḤmA), imwāzżaf byāxud-luh talātmiyṭ īğnēh “a civil servant gets (for himself) three hundred pounds” (ḤmA).

An example in ‘LA is: biyṭallī-luh “he gets out for him”.

2.1.3.2.2. Enclusis of the suffixed preposition b

Enclusis of suffixed preposition b is less current than that of suffixed l, but does take place, e.g. mistaḥtīr-buh “making fun of him” (ASA), w inḡammīs-buh “and we dip (food) with it”, timšī-buh “you go with him” (ḤmA), ibyiḥtimmū-buh htimām ǧāmid “they attach great importance to it” (ḤmA).

In ‘LA it was not recorded.

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39 Negation in GrA is usually constructed with single mā, without -š(i), see also 3.1.12.3. and 4.2.
2.2. Phonotactics

2.2.1. The gahawah-syndrome

2.2.1.1. The gahawah-syndrome: a-insertion in *aXC sequences

Like in many dialects of Sinai, the gahawah-syndrome is active in ṬwA and HnA. Some of many examples are: šāḥar “month”, ṣalāt ʾilmāgārab “prayer at sunset”, bāʾad “after”, byaḥṭatibha “he gets engaged to her”, aḥa-bal “stupid”, aḥawal “cross-eyed”, ṣahabīy “sand-coloured”, tāḥat “under”.

In ‘LA we see similar forms, but stress may be on the vowel of the second syllable, e.g. naxāl “palm trees”, Saʾād “male given name”.

2.2.1.2. Morphological categories showing variation

The gahawah-syndrome is active in forms of the past participle (i.e. where Ω1 = X: maXC 2ūC3) like maḥafūr “dug”, maḥarūm “pierced”, maḥabūs “imprisoned”, maḥatūt “placed” and maʾagūl “reasonable”, maʾadiid “few, countable” and maqasūb “forced, compelled”, but also maẓūn “stored”, Maḥmūd “male given name” and maṣṭūbah “engaged (sg. fem.)”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC 2vC3(ah): maqarib “time of sunset”, maxdaζan “storage place, but also maqarib, maxzan and maḥgār “stone quarry”.

Examples in ‘LA: maʾarūfīn “known (pl. masc.)”, maḍarūm “pierced”, maṣṭūbah “engaged (sg. fem.)”, maqarib “time of sunset”, but also maḥṭūt “placed”.

2.2.1.3. Morphological categories in which the gahawah-syndrome is not active

In ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA the gahawah-syndrome is not active in derived verbal measures. Examples are like those listed for group VI.

Examples of the absence of the gahawah-syndrome in elatives are: aḥsan “better/best”, aḥla “more/more beautiful, sweeter/sweetest”, aġlab “more/most” (and also aġlabiyyah “majority”), aġla “more/most expensive” and the name Aḥmad.

40 Nishio 1992 cites numerous instances of the gahawah-syndrome for ĞbA too, but there are also exceptions, such as aʾraq “lame” (p. 7 (1-61)), taʾbān “tired” (p. 41 (VI-9)), lağwe “language” (p. 72 (X-1)), raḡwe “bubble, foam” (p. 125 (XVII-48)), wahlā “mud” (p. 127 (XVII-64)) and verbs like awaq, yaʾwaq “bend” (p. 99 (XIV-41)) and xīlis, yaxläs “end” (p. 103 (XV-4)) and other forms. N.B. the imperfect of a (there measure 1) verb like ʾata, yaʾṭi “give” listed on p. 82 (XII-1) is best interpreted as an i-type, with here a as transcription of the allophonic realisation of i under influence of the ʾayn (in my own transcription this would be yiʾṭiy). A similar example is (also measure 1) ʾazam, yaʾzim “invite” (p. 90 (XIII-21)), which in my own transcription would be ʾazam, yiʾzim.
The gahawah-syndrome also usually remains absent in loans from Standard Arabic like *yaḥṣal* “it happens” and another measure 1 verb *yaʾmal* "he makes, does”.

The fem. morpheme in construct state becomes -at when it follows XaC (also where *a* is a gahawah-vowel), so that the sequence CaXaCat is the result. When such a sequence is directly suffixed with a vowel-initial suffix, the resulting CaXaCatv sequence is not resyllabified (contrast possible resyllabification in MzA of group VI). Examples are *naxaḥatī* “my palm tree” and *gāhawatuh* “his coffee”.

2.2.2. **Articulatory delay in the realization of alveolar sonorants (liquids *l*, *r* and *n*)**

2.2.2.1. **Articulatory delay in the realization of *r*: the bukāra-syndrome**

Examples of bukāra-vowels are (underlined): *azaṛag* “dark brown”, *tagara lFāṭihah* “you recite the Fātihah”, *duġiriy* “straight ahead, right away”, *tzaġiriṭ* “she ululates”, *ygōṭirin* "they (fem.) go", *xuḍiriy* “type of cheap green tobacco (smoked in rolled cigarettes)”.

Examples of the bukāra-syndrome inhibiting the elision of a preceding high vowel are *l āxir innahāṛ* “until the end of the day” and *indawwir ilḥamal* “we look for the camel”.

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukāra-syndrome creating vowels: *fi ḥgaṣir*\(^\text{42}\)* ibtaxazín-luḳ “in the storage you store it for yourself” and *fi ḫidir ib ṣalāḥ “all of it in the pot”* and in ‘LA Ṣadir ilḤēṭān “name of a mountain range, south of Umm Iṭlah’\(^\text{43}\)* pass”.

2.2.2.2. **Influence of *l***

Like *r*, *l* may also be involved in inhibiting elision of the short vowel. Examples are (preserved vowels underlined) *ibyinzil isSwēs* “he goes down to Suez”, *hādiy btākil ilṣawbū* “this one (fem.) eats jerboa” (though also *ibtākl iṭwēr “it (fem.) eats small birds”) and *f-awwil ilwagt “in the beginning”. An example in ‘LA is *gāl yā raġīl ilmasal ʤī “he said ‘oh man, this saying . . . ’ ”. Examples of ‘expanded’ or ‘greater’ bukāra-vowels preceding *l* in sandhi (where the vowel is not a cluster-resolving anaptyctic as described in

\(^{41}\) Much more current for “make, do” is the measure 2 verb *sawwa*, *ysawwiy*.

\(^{42}\) *gaṣr*, pl. *gsūr*: a small cave-like hollow in the side of a mountain or *katarah* (a clay mound) used as a safe storage for goods (esp. foodstuffs).

\(^{43}\) The ‘Umm Iṭlah pass, on the main road from the Ahmad Ḥamdi tunnel near Suez to Nixl, is usually indicated on maps as ‘Mitla pass’, see fn 7, p. 3.
2.3.2.) are (‘greater’ bukara-vowels underlined): w il’akil iyamha kamān si’ib “food was also difficult (to get) in those days” and ithutuh fi ssi’in iw yug’ud-luh yôm “and you put it in the goat skin and it sits (there for itself) for a day”.

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *ibil and *ragil
The form bil or ibil was not recorded.
ragil for “man” was only recorded once in HmA and once in ‘LA, but there were numerous instances of yā raqīl. riqql or raqqāl (pl. rāqāl) is current for “man”.

2.2.2.3. Articulatory delay in the realization of n
Non-elision of short high vowels preceding n in otherwise eligible positions is quite regular, e.g. (here underlined) yūmin iygassim “when he allots” and iygūmin anniswān yāhalbīn adduwābb (i.e. not *iygūmn anniswān yāhalbīn adduwābb) “the women then (get up and) milk the animals”.

Also, an anaptyctic vowel in sandhi is often inserted in positions not covered by the anaptyxis rule (see 2.3. below). Examples are: assamin aṣṣīḥiy “the wormwood ghee”, and ibyanafa’ l albaṭin iw fīh šiǧār l aṣṣadir iw fīh šiǧār l iddišbih “it is good for the stomach and there are plants (i.e. herbs) for the chest and there are plants for (treating) a cold”.

2.2.3. Articulatory delay of ‘ayn following geminates
Articulatory delay of ‘ayn following geminates was not noticed as a regular feature.

2.3. Anaptyxis

Rules formulated for group VI are also valid for ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA. For ĞbA Nishio reports several instances of schwa resolving a consonant cluster C_a C C_b (where C C_b is a geminate), e.g. (p. 196) hi biddahe timši “she wishes to leave (or walk)”, biddane “we wish” and biddaken “you (pl. fem.) wish” and also (p. 56 (VIII-9)) non-elision of high vowels in mdarrase and mdarrasain for (respectively) “teacher (fem.)” and “teachers”.

44 dišbih is used for common cold (with coughing), a more severe cold with flu-like symptoms is usually referred to as ḥabṣah. Bailey 2009:343 (glossary) lists dishba as “the flu”.
2.3.1. Word-medial anaptyxis

Word-medial clusters (in bold print below) resulting from high vowel elision are usually—depending on the relative sonority of the consonants involved—resolved by inserting an anaptyctic vowel preceding the last two consonants of the cluster, e.g.

- $\text{yiktib} + \text{uw} \rightarrow ^*\text{yikthuw} \rightarrow \text{yikthuw} \text{ “they write”}$
- $\text{yug‘ud} + \text{uw} \rightarrow ^*\text{yug‘daw} \rightarrow \text{yug‘daw} \text{ “they sit”}$

Also when suffixation results in a cluster, this cluster is resolved, e.g.:

- $\text{tisg}^* + \text{ha} \rightarrow ^*\text{tisgha} \rightarrow \text{tisgha} \text{ “you water it”}$

* $\text{tisg}$: an apocopated imperfect of 2nd p. sg. masc. (root $s$-$q$-$y$).

2.3.2. Anaptyxis in sandhi

2.3.2.1. Anaptyxis in clusters resulting from ‘colliding’ morphological base forms

Examples of sandhi clusters of four consonants, caused by the collision of morphological base forms, which are resolved by insertion of an anaptyctic preceding the last two consonant (clusters are in bold print, cluster-resolving anaptyctics are underlined):

- $\text{sab‘ snin}$ $\rightarrow$ $\text{sab‘ isnin}$ “seven years”.
- $^\# \text{byasrah w byidwiy mi‘ gamaluh}$ $\rightarrow$ $^\# \text{ibyasrah w ibyi/dmacronbeloẉwiy mi‘ gamaluh}$ “he goes away and comes back at sunset with his camel”.

2.3.2.2. Anaptyxis in $^\#\text{CC}$ and $\text{CC}^#$

When speech pause directly precedes or follows CC, the resulting cluster $^\#\text{CC}$ or $\text{CC}^#$ is resolved (anaptyctics underlined), e.g.:

- $^\#\text{CC}$ $\rightarrow$ $^\# \text{iCC}$: $^\# \text{byasrah}$ $\rightarrow$ $^\# \text{ibyasrah}$
- $\text{CC}^#$ $\rightarrow$ $\text{CjC}$ #: $b \text{ irriği}$ #: $b \text{ irriği}$ #

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45 For the role of relative sonority, see remarks in De Jong 2000:125–26.
46 Nishio 1992 gives numerous instances in which word-medial with subsequent anaptyxis does not take place, e.g. imperatives of “write” (sg. fem.) iktibi, (pl. masc.) iktibu and (pl. fem.) ikhtib (p. 76 (X-27)), imperfect forms (pl. masc.) yoḏrōbu, (pl. fem.) yoḏroben, etc. (p. 88 (XIII-11) and also imperf. forms (pl. masc.) yinzalu and (pl. fem.), yinzalen, etc.
47 The base form is with initial consonant, which may be concluded from forms preceded by the article (its $l$ assimilates to the first consonant), e.g.: $\text{isg}gayyir, \text{i}Swēs$ and also $\text{issn}n$ (not (i)$\text{isg}gayyir$, (i)$\text{i}Swēs$ or (i)$\text{issn}n$).
An example in ‘LA is: *maṭraḥ ma timis, ʿirs “wherever you are in the evening, spend the night there (lit. throw out your anchor)” (a saying advising not to travel by night); *tims is an apocopated imperfect (root *m-s-y), *irs is an apocopated imperative (root *r-s-y).

2.3.2.3. Consonant clusters resulting from I-elision in sandhi, with subsequent anaptyxis

Some examples of clusters in sandhi after I-elision, eliminated by anaptyxis from TwA, HnA (intermediate forms with clusters are marked *):

(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined, stress has already been placed)

sámnit il ʾanz  >

(after elision of unstressed high vowel, cluster in bold print)

* sámnt il ʾanz  >

(after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)

sámint il ʾanz “the ghee of the goats”

Another example is:

(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined, stress has already been placed)

nílḥig iššāz  >

(after elision of unstressed high vowel, cluster in bold print)

* nílh ṣ g iššāz  >

(after anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)

níliḥg iššāz “we put the šāğ (on the fire)”

A similar example heard in ‘LA is *úḏryb ilmiʿzīh  > *úḏrb ilmiʿzīh  > úḏurb ilmiʿzīh “hit the goat”.

2.3.2.4. Resyllabication of word-medial CVCCICV, and of CVCCIC VC sequences in sandhi

Resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV  >  CVCICCV (e.g. yikitbuw) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVC- CIC VC  >  CVCICC VC (e.g. nílh ṣ g iššāz) is optional.

2.3.3. Exceptions to the anaptyxis rule

2.3.3.1. Unresolved consonant clusters

Like in group I, not all clusters are eliminated. Especially clusters of which the first consonant is nasal or a liquid followed by a voiceless second consonant (predominantly stops), e.g.: kalthi “I ate it (sg. fem.)”, talgha “you will find her”, kāwantnī “you fought me”, fihim? # “did you understand?”

For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:323–128.
Clusters may be left unresolved in sandhi as well, e.g. gult hēhū di! “I said ‘there he is!’” and ‘ind bētuh “near his house”.

When assimilation between the first and second consonant takes place, the cluster will remain intact as well, e.g. (in sandhi) xatt bāluƙ “you see?”.

These and other similar examples were recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA.

2.3.3.2. *The role of sonority of consonants involved in unresolved clusters*


2.3.3.3. *Some special cases with regard to anaptyxis*

2.3.3.3.1. *Consonant clusters with initial geminates*

When the first two consonants of a three-consonant cluster form a geminate, this geminate is usually (partially) reduced, e.g. (word-medial) biddha “she wants, needs”. Examples listed for group VI may be heard in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA as well.

2.3.3.3.2. *Preposition ‘ind + C*

The suffixed preposition ‘ind takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. ‘indaha (‘indihi) “with her”, ‘induk “with you (sg. masc.)”, ‘indik “with you (sg. fem.)”, ‘induhuw “with them (pl. masc.)”, ‘indihin “with them (pl. fem.)”, ‘indukum (~–uƙuw) “with you (pl. masc.)”, ‘indikin “with you (pl. fem.)” and ‘indina “with us”. The same forms are heard in ‘LA.

Clusters in sandhi are left intact, however, e.g.: ‘ind wāḥid “with someone” and in ‘LA ‘ind ‘arbānuh “with his family”.

2.3.3.3.3. *The 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. pronominal suffixes in consonant clusters*

In ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA (like in group VI) the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. -ƙ and -k (resp.) are vowelless when preceded by one consonant. This may be concluded from stress assignment, but it is difficult to conclude whether an anaptyctic is present or not; especially with a voiceless consonant preceding and a vowel following ḳ (in sandhi), there may be a voiceless anaptyctic or none at all.

Examples are arkāb’k ibyōg’innuk “your knees hurt you (sg. masc.)”, arkāb’k ibyōg’innik “your knees hurt you (sg. fem.)”. In ‘LA law arwāḥ’k ibyunguz min ‘induh “if he smells you he jumps from his place”.

When more than one consonant precedes the personal- pronominal suffixes take allomorphic shapes -uƙ (for sg. masc.) and -iƙ (for sg. fem.) e.g. xalluƙ gā’id “remain seated”, ‘induk “with you”.

49 Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-6) reports ku – ok and adds that “in rapid speech the last vowel /u/ is reduced to schwa, or often inaudible, in which case the redundant phonetic feature
2.3.4. Phonetic quality of the anaptyctic

2.3.4.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyctics
The phonetic quality of the word-medial anaptyctic vowel is a lax and centralized [ı], towards [ə], in front environments and a lax and centralized [ʋ], towards a moderately rounded [ə], in back environments.50

2.3.4.1.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyxis in clusters form "colliding" base forms
The situation in _TW_A, HnA and ‘LA is like in group VI.

2.3.4.1.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in clusters after I-elision
The situation in _TW_A, HnA and ‘LA is like in group VI.

2.3.4.1.3. Anaptyctics in clusters resulting from elision of 1 from T
The situation in _TW_A, HnA and ‘LA is like in group VI.

2.3.4.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in sandhi

2.3.4.2.1. Phonetic quality of word-initial anaptyctics in sandhi
Word-initial anaptyctics tend to have a phonetic value of near a lax and centralized [ı].

Examples listed for group VI also illustrate the situation in _TW_A, HnA and ‘LA.

In _TW_A, HnA imperatives of the verbs  Każ “take” and 恺 “eat” are úḳṣu, # ukṣṣy, # ukṣṣw, # ukṣṣin and úṣṣa, # Ṽuṣṣa, # Ṽuṣṣw, # Ṽuṣṣin.51

In ‘LA the sg. masc. is ƙul and (velarized) xuđ, but the other imperatives are the same.

2.3.4.2.2. Phonetic quality of word-final anaptyctics
Anaptyctics resolving word-final clusters have a phonetic quality near I.P.A. [ʋ] in labial and/or velarized environments. Anaptyctics in neutral environments will be near (centralized) [ı]. Examples listed for group VI can also be heard in _TW_A, HnA and ‘LA.
2.3.5. *Stressed original anaptyctics*

In the reflex of the pattern CICaC (i.e. CuCaC or GICaC) in ṬwA (except ḤbA) and HnA originally anaptyctic vowels have become part of the morphophonemic base. Stress is then placed in conformity with rules described in 2.1.1. In most cases the phonetic value of the vowel is coloured in by the vowel already present in the pattern.

Examples are (for the pattern *CICaC*) (with initial *a*-) árkab “knees”, ášnaṭ “suitcases, bags”, áštal “seedlings”, áḥgan “injections”, ánexion “noses”, áwṛaš “workshops”, ángar “pits”, álma/dmacronbeloẉ “lamps (sg. lamḅah), ágbra “water skins”, ál’aab “tins; packets”, áşwar “pictures”, áxša’ “testicles” and (with initial *i-*) íšṭi “winter”, íʃi’ “viper”, šalát íʃi’ “evening prayer”.

Forms recorded in ḤbA are more like those heard in group I (apart from the fact that the article is not stressed in ḤbA) e.g. hāt iligráb “bring the waterskins”, (i)ḥ truthful “the injections”, iššnáṭ “the suitcases, bags” and comparable stressing in the form šalát íši’ “the evening prayer” (though also íši’ was heard).52

In ‘LA there is a development in progress; in some cases the new pattern aCCaC has already come into use (e.g. áḥgan, ánagar), in other cases the pattern CCaC is still being used (see also remarks in 2.1.1.1.), e.g. álgrab “the waterskins” (not (a)lágrab).

See also stress patterns in imperative forms of the verbs (3.2.2.3.) “eat” and “take”.

Notice that the development of original anaptyctics becoming stressable and colouring with the base vowel has taken place in dialects of the Samā‘nah and ‘Agāylah in the north of Sinai (group II) as well, see De Jong 2000:270–271.

Examples of plurals with *’* as the first radical are (’)ábar “needles”53 and (’)áwaq “rooms”.

Plurals ending in *-iy* have reflexes *-iy* like in: gníy “bunches of dates”,54 ḥṣiy “rocks”,55 rḥiy “hand mills” and ʃiy “sticks”.

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52 See also remarks in 1.2.4.4. above.
53 See also Nishio 1992:16.
54 From the context it is clear that the pl. of “date bunches” is meant here. Compare also differences in stress and pronunciation in Bīr iGní’/Bīr iGníy/Bīr Ighnah (the latter stressed on I) (located at appr. 28.53.51 North and 33.43.35 East). Compare this to the different pronunciations of Wādiy Ṣlí’, Wādiy Sliy, or Wādiy Islah / Aslah (cf. 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5.).
55 In ‘LA a form íliḫši’ was recorded, which must reflect the coll. ḥaṣan (root h-s-y). I do not have an explanation for the raising of final -ṭ preceded by the emphatic šād.
In ṬwA (however, for remarks on ġbA see 3.1.16.) and HnA the preposition \(m(\overline{i})\) followed by a vowel-initial suffix will be stressed as follows, e.g. \(im'uh\), \(im'uk\), \(im'ik\), except stress is on the final (long) vowel in \(im'i\). Negated forms are stressed \(má-m\, u\, s\), \(ma\, mí\, ku\, s\), \(ma\, mí\, ki\, š\) and (more predictably) \(ma\, m\, î\, š\).

In 'LA the suffixed preposition \(m'\) will be stressed on the vowel of a vowel-initial suffix, e.g. \(m'úk\) “with you” and \(m'úh\) “with him” (for more remarks on stress in suffixed prepositions see 3.1.16.).

2.4. Elision of Short Vowels

ṬwA, HnA and 'LA are ‘différentiels’ in terms of short vowel elision. The rule is like that already formulated for group VI. The rules for morphophonemic elision are compulsory.

2.4.1. Morphophonemic I-elision

Rules given for group VI are valid here as well.

2.4.2. I-elision in sandhi

Like in group VI, morphophonemic elisions of short high vowels \(i\) and \(u\) are compulsory, but comparable elisions in sandhi are optional.

2.4.3. Cyclic anaptyxis rule in sandhi

The optional I-elision rule in sandhi may be applied after the execution of the anaptyxis rule, e.g. (the cluster is underlined and in bold print, the anaptyctics are in bold print and the high vowel eligible for sandhi-elision is underlined):

1) \(bitṭalli\, \bar{y}ūn > bïttallï, \, yūn > bïttallï, \, i\, yūn > bïttallï, \, i\, yūn “it (sg. fem.) grows flower buds”.

In this first example the cluster \(\bar{y}y\) is resolved, after which the high vowel \(i\) preceding it lands in open syllable (thus becoming eligible for elision) and is dropped.

Like in group VI, the I-elision rule may also be re-applied after execution of the rule for anaptyxis, as in the example: \(urbuṭ\, hżâmuķ > urbaṭ\, ihzâmuķ > urbuṭ\, ihzâmuķ > úrabṭ\, ihzâmuķ “fasten your seat belt”.

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* See Cantineau 1936:49.
In this second example the cluster $thz$ is resolved, after which the high vowel $u$ preceding $t$ is in open syllable (thus becoming eligible for elision) and is dropped, creating a new cluster $rbd$, which is then eliminated by insertion of another anaptyctic $u$.

Such examples are also found in ‘LA.

2.4.4. Exceptions to the I-elision rule

When $C_a$ and $C_b$ in $C_aC_bIC_b$ are phonetically close or identical, I is not dropped. An example is $bitgáázzízu$ “you sow it (of watermelon seed, by inserting each seed into its own hole in the soil)”.

Another exception to the high vowel elision rule was found through direct elicitation in ŚwA, ḤmA and HnA with the act. participles (sg. fem.) $mta'$ákniníh, (pl. masc.) $mta'$akninín and (pl. fem.) $mta'$akninät “irritated”. In ASA the i-elision does take place (with immediate subsequent anaptyxis) $mta'$akniníh, -ín, -át and in ĠbA and ‘LA both $mta'$ákniníh and $mta'$ákinñih (and $mit'$akninin / $mit'$akinnín, $mit'$akninät / $mit'$akinnät) were recorded.

2.5. Assimilation

Three types of contact assimilations can be identified: regressive (partial or total), progressive (partial or total) and reciprocal (total).57

Apart from contact assimilations of $l$ of the article $il$- or $al$- to ‘sunletters’, $l$ is also—more regularly so than in group VI—assimilated to following $ǧ$, as in $iǧǧild$ “the skin”, $iǧǧizzār$ “the butcher”, $iǧǧism$ “the body” and $iǧǧamr$ “the live embers” and $iǧǧim ah ġǧāyih $“the next Friday”. This type of assimilation may be regularly heard in TwA, HnA and ‘LA. Assimilation of $l$ to initial $k$ was not recorded.

Assimilations listed for group VI are current in TwA, HnA and ‘LA as well. Some additional examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regressive total:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$t + s$</td>
<td>&gt; $ss$</td>
<td>$ssūg$ “you drive”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t + š$</td>
<td>&gt; $šš$</td>
<td>$ššall$ “you pray”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t + ā$</td>
<td>&gt; $āā$</td>
<td>$bīḍḍall$ “you stay/keep on”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of regressive total assimilation with reduction of the preceding geminate is (recorded in ‘LA):

57 For remarks on contact assimilation involving the spread of velarization cf. 1.1.7.
Instances of regressive partial assimilation were also recorded in TwA, HnA and ‘LA.
Progressive total assimilation of initial h- of pronominal suffixes to preceding voiceless consonants is regular in TwA, HnA and ‘LA, as well as reciprocal total assimilations of the type reported for group VI, e.g. ‘arissa “her bridegroom”, maṣlahatta “her department”, taslaxxa “you skin it (sg. fem.”).

In a number of instances the mutual influence of hissing sounds has resulted in a metathesis. Examples in the dialects discussed here are šāq̄ (or šāz̄) > šāz “iron baking sheet”, sīq̄ih (or sīz̄ih) > šīz̄ih “game of sīq̄ah”. In GbA I heard both šīzn and sīzn “prison” and bitṣaggil and bitṭazzil “you record”, but in ASA I heard only basaṣḡil “I record”.

Another example of the mutual influence of hissing sounds in all dialects is: šamš “sun”, but in all dialects šaṣḡar “trees” is current.

3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of *a in CnC_iC_(ah)

Raising of a in the nominal pattern CnC_iC_(ah) occurs regularly, but is optional. Although such raising is much less regular when X precedes or follows a, it does take place in such positions. The high vowel that results from such raising is not elided.\(^{58}\)

To illustrate, some forms that were recorded with and without raising in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are: katır ~ katir “many; much”, kabır ~ kibir “big; old”, garib ~ girib “relative (related person)”, gadim ~ gidim “old”, dagīg ~ digīg “flour”, arīs ~ irīs “bridegroom”, ağīnih ~ iğīnih “dough”, ba’d ~ bi’d “far”, taxīn ~ tixīn “thick, fat”, qaʃf ~ xiʃf “light (in weight)”, xamīs ~ ximīs “Thursday”, ḡaliḍ ~ ḡiliḍ “fat”, naḍīf ~ niḍīf “clean”.

\(^{58}\) This situation is the same as what was described for group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:272–273. Nishio 1992, however, lists several instances of elisions of this vowel, as in e.g. tgl “heavy” (p. 176 (XXIV-74), ktır “many, much” (p. 176 (XXIV-74), etc. See also remark ** on (non-) elision of ‘underlying a’ in 3.2.2.1. and in verbs like nisiy and ligiy in 3.2.2.5.1.
Some forms recorded only without raising are: ḥadīd “iron”, dalīl “list (of persons)”, ṭarīg “road”, gaṭīrah “boat”, saḥīh “correct”, raxīṣ “cheap”, laʾim “mean person”, (ʾ)akīd “certain”.

Some forms recorded only with raising are: midīnih “town”, yimīn “right (direction)”, miʚīz “goat”, sirīr “bed”, fisīx “salted fish”.

3.1.1.2. Raising of a in *CaCīy (C₃ = y)
Raising of a preceding *CaCīy (C₃ = y) occurs often, but variation is still heard as well. Examples are: bīriy “innocent”, gūwiy “strong”, ʿīriy “soft”, wīliy ~ wāliy “saint”, ʿIliy ~ ʿAliy “name” and nibīy ~ nābiy “Prophet”. A form recorded in LA is guwīy.

3.1.1.2. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed i
No remarks for TwA and HnA.

3.1.1.3. Raising of a in CaCCīC(-ah)
Raising of a in CaCCīC(-ah) was not recorded, e.g. baṭṭīx “watermelon”, kabrīt “matches”, barmīl “drum”, Katrīn “(St.) Catherine”, zambīl “basket for sand”, sakkīnah “knife” and garnīṭ “octopus”. Also verbal nouns of measure 2 do not show such raising, e.g. taǧlīb “throwing out (of a line, fishing)” and (LA) tašnīn “taking aim”.

3.1.1.4. Raising of a in CaCCāC
Raising of a in the pattern CaCCāC in ĢbA and GrA is almost without exception when it concerns patterns CₐC₂C₃ and CₐC₃C₄. These patterns have been morphologically restructured as CᵢC₂C₃₄ and CᵢC₃Cᵣ. Examples in ṬwA and HnA: šiġġāl “busy, functioning”, riǧǧāl “man”, siyyāl “acacia tree”, millāḥ “salty type of herb”, niฏɡăr “carpenter”, tillāǧah “fridge”, willāḥ “lighter”, ħissās “sensitive”, ḥiฏɡāriy “pickaxe”, miḥyān “full”, siyyārāh “car”, ʿīltān “mistaken”, dībān “wrinkled (of skin of fruit)”, although also ḡalṭān and raฏġāl were recorded.60

In LA comparable forms show that morphological restructuring has not taken place, but that raising is optional: šabʿān “satiated”, raddāḥah “roast pit”, raggāṣah “dancer (fem.)”, ʿaṭšān “thirsty”, ḡalṭān “mistaken”, ṣaḥāriy “pickaxe”, ḡaṭān “octopus, mistaken”, milyān “full”, ṣaḥāry “car”, ḡalṭān “mistaken”, raฏţān “thirsty”.

59 In ĠbA ḡğ in ṣaḥāriy was several times pronounced with very little friction, and sounded more like velarized gg.

60 Nishio 1992 also lists several instances of such raising in ĠbA, but mainly in neutral environments, e.g. tillān “thin, lean” (p. 41 (VI-8)), wuฏɡān “ill” (p. 41 (VI-11)), riฏɡāl “(adult) man” (p. 48 (VII-11)), but also naฏɡār “carpenter” (p. 58 (VIII-38)) and kaslān “lazy” (p. 149 (XXI-9)). Nishio usually transcribes a in positions influenced by emphatics or back spirants, e.g. baṭṭāniyɛ “blanket” (p. 29 (IV-35)), naฏɡār “carpenter” (p. 33 (V-3)), ʿaṭšān “thirsty” (p. 23 (III-53)), ṣaḥāriy “pickaxe” (p. 33 (VII-43)) and also ḡaṭān “hungry” (root ḡ-w-) (p. 23 (III-53)).
Also in other patterns a is often raised in ŤwA and HnA when it precedes CCā, e.g.: Hibbāyāt "corns, seeds", Miṛṛāt "times" and also in the pattern for sg. fem. adjectives of colours and physical defects (*CaCCāʾ), as in Tirmaʿ “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”, Irrāʿ “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, Gilbāʿ “stupid (sg. fem.)” and Ḥimrāʿ “red (sg. fem.)”, Siṭrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, Zirgāʿ “black (lit. blue, sg. fem.)” and also Xiṭrā “green (sg. fem.)”. Though forms like xaḍrāʿ and Ḥamrāʿ were also recorded. In ‘La examples are: xaḍrāʿ, Ḥamrāʿ, Samrāʿ, but also Zirgāʿ, Tirmaʿ “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”.

Notice that raising of a in the pattern for sg. fem. for colours and physical defects may only take place when final -āʾ has not been raised to -īy, e.g. Arjīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, and also the gahawah-form Šahabīy “light coloured (sg. fem.)”.

In ASA, ŠwA, ḤmA and HnA similar raising may take place, but there it is optional and X preceding a usually constitutes an inhibiting factor, e.g. Naṣṣār ~ Nisṣār “male given name”, Raḡgāl ~ Riḡgāl “man”, Niḡgār “carpenter”, Sīlmān “male given name”, Siyyād “fisherman” (but Suṭyādīyyah “dish with fish”), Bittāniyyah “blanket”, Kislān “lazy”, Wiġ Ėy “suffering pain”, Šib Ėy “sated, full”, Zīghānīn “fed up (pl. masc.)”.

Variation or no raising in Galṭān “mistaken”, Galbān “poor, wretched”, Ayyān “ill”, Taʾbān “tired”, Malyān “full”, Ḥtšān ~ Ḥṭšān “thirsty” and in sg. fem. adjectives for colours and physical defects: Zīrgāʾ ~ Zargāʾ “black (lit. blue, sg. fem.)”, Ḥimrāʾ ~ Ḥamrāʾ “red (sg. fem.)”, Raddāḥah ~ Riddāḥah “trap net (used to catch birds)”, Saṭrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, Ḥamgāʾ “stupid, silly (sg. fem.)”, Māṛṛāt “times”, Ḥabbāt “corns, bits” and Miṅāt “the meaning of”.

The conclusion for ḤmA, ŠwA, ASA and HnA is that, just like in ‘La, such raising has not led to morphological restructuring, but is optional in neutral environments.

3.1.1.5. Raising of a in . . . CaCāC . . .
Raising of a preceding Cā is current, but is concluded to be optional, since it is often absent in more careful speech.

“minutes”, šimāl “north”, kimān “also”, dirāhim “money”, ma mišāš “he did not go”, ilifā iy “the vipers”.65

In labial environments, raising of a may also be towards [u], as in šuwārib “lips”, muwā’in “receptacles”, fiwākih “(different types of) fruit” and kumān “also”.

Examples without raising are: kamān “also”, banāt “girls”, tamām “excellent”, makān “place”, kabābiy “cups”, ganāh “small water course”, šamāl “north”, ţamāṭim “tomatoes”.

Here too, raising occurs less when l or r follows a, or X precedes, e.g.
malāyîn “millions”, salāh “prayer”, ţalāţah “three”, xalāş “ready”, salām “peace”, Garāršah “name if tribe”, farāşi “thin loaves of bread baked on a šāz (i.e. a šāği), marākib “boats”, farā‘nah “Faraos”, and ‘aşān “because”, ġaṣā “rock”, xawāği “foreigner”, Ḥamādah “name of tribe”, Ḥayāh “life”, ġazāl “gazelle”. Also when ‘ precedes, raising is not regular, e.g. (’)amākin “places”, (’)asābi “fingers; toes”. Such examples may also be heard in ‘LA.

This raising of a in open syllable directly preceding stressed ā was found to be much less current in the dialect of the Šawālḥah (ŠwA) than in the other ŢwA dialects.

3.1.1.6. Raising of a in . . .CaCá . . .

Given the different rules for stress in groups VI and VII (CaCáC and CáCaC resp.), a in open syllable preceding stressed á is not as regular as in group VI. However, when a is found in this position and in neutral environments, raising may occur like in group VI, but only optionally so, e.g. ěláy “on me”, ġimál ‘k “your camel”, tiḥāthi “under her”, ma tiḥāthiš “not under her”.

Such raising only occurs on a limited scale, however; examples of non-raising are numerous, e.g.: dabǎhtuh “I slaughtered it”, ragabǎty “your neck”, katǎbt “I wrote” and also gahawáltкуm “your (pl. masc.) coffee”.

Since the stress pattern CaCáC is current in ‘LA, many more instances were to be expected of this type of raising. Its occurrence is, however, limited. Examples are: ġimál “camel”, ġibál “mountain” and muṭár “rain”.

3.1.1.7. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed A

Like in group II of the north, raising of a towards I.P.A. [i] preceding Cá is current, but similar raising of a preceding stressed Cá is not regular in ŢwA and HnA, although in ‘LA a limited number of instances of such raising were recorded.

66 Compare C.A. af‘a, pl. afā’i (root f.-y).
3.1.1.8. *Raising of a in CaCūC*(ah)
Like raising of a towards I.P.A. [ı] in open syllable preceding Ci, a in open syllable is also often raised—usually towards I.P.A. [ʊ]—when it precedes Cū. Examples are: *buxūr* “incense”, *xurūf* “lamb”, *ḏiḥūb ṣ “south”, *ḏumūs* “food dip”, *ʻurūs* “bridegroom”, *fuṭūr* “breakfast”, *yuhūd* “Jews” and (with initial *ḥamza*) *uḇūy “my father” and *uġūy “my brother”, and also 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae *wāw* verbs *ugūm “I get up”, uġūl “I say”*. These forms may be heard in ṬwA, ḨnA and also in ‘LA. Some additional ‘LA examples are *lugūḥ* “pregnant (of a she-camel)” and *gu احد* “young male camel”.

Like raising of a preceding ı, raising of a preceding ʊ is optional; forms like *ʻaghūs* “old lady”, *ḏanūb* “south”, *ʻarūsah* “bride”, *ḥamūlih* “animal led to a party to be slaughtered”, *yahūd* “Jews” may also be heard. Such forms were recorded in ṬwA, ḨnA and ‘LA.

Notice also the form (in ḨnA) *‘abūr* in the name madrasat il-*‘abūr “the Crossing*62* School”. Since *u* of the first syllable in the MSA loan *‘ubūr* is not dropped in pronunciation, which would result in *būr* (compare e.g. *yūn < iyyūn for “eyes”, see 3.1.5.), it appears to be interpreted as raised a (which is not dropped in such positions) and the base form is concluded to be *‘abūr*. Since raising of a in such positions is however only optional, one may also hear a form like *‘abūr*. Similar reasoning would lie behind the form (also loaned from MSA) *ḥakūmah “government”*. Notice also that some surface forms of the type CaCūC are actually underlying CāCūC, with reduced ā; such shortened a for ā is not raised, examples are *mā’īn (ma’īn) “container”, nāmūsīyyih (namūsīyyih) “mosquito net”.

A gahawah-vowel in open syllable preceding Cū is not raised, e.g. *maṣṣūb “engaged”, ma’ārūf* “known”, *maḥāfīdh “well-kept”, ma’ādūs “lentil soup” (such forms were recorded in ṬwA, ḨnA and ‘LA).

3.1.1.9. *Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed u*
*a in open syllable preceding stressed ū is found much less often in group VII than in group VI. Although this may be partly due to differences in stress patterns (CvCvC in ṬwA and ḨnA as opposed to Cv%C), such ‘LA forms (which also stresses CvCc) are few.

62 The ‘crossing’, C.A. *‘ubūr*, refers to the crossing of the Suez Canal of the Egyptian army into Sinai during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War (also referred to as Ramadan War, October War or Yom Kippur War).
Some instances of \( u \)-type verbal perfects are \( \text{ġuluṭt} \) “I grew fat”, \( \text{ġuluṭtin} \) “you (pl. fem.) grew fat”.

A form quite typical for ‘LA (i.e. it was only heard sporadically in HmA and not in the other dialects discussed here) is \( \text{‘ilāḥ} \), which also appears without raising as \( \text{‘alūḥ} \) “on him” (see remark \(^*4\) in 3.1.16.). Notice here that in the absence of velarization or labialization, raising is towards \( i \), even though the stressed vowel following is \( u \).

3.1.1.10. \( a \)-raising rules combined

Combining the rules for raising of \( a \) described in the paragraphs above, we may summarize as follows:

\[
a > I / C_a C_i C_b I C
\]

\( I \) = long vowel \( ū \) or \( ī \)

\( I \) = short high vowel \( u \) if \( I \) is \( ū \); short high vowel \( i \) if \( I \) is \( ī \)

\( C_b \) = consonant capable of carrying velarization in case of raising to \( u \)

Notice the difference with the rule formulated in De Jong 2000:150; the provision of \( C_a \neq *’ \) made for the group I dialects described there is not made here, i.e. preceding “*hamzah” does not inhibit such raising in the dialects described here.

3.1.2. Reflexes of \(*C_a C_i C_b (ah)\)

For reflexes of \( C_a C_i C_b (ah) \) the following forms were recorded in Twa: \( \text{badw} \) “Bedouin”, \( \text{táḥat} \) “under” (also ‘LA), \( \text{fāḥam} \) “coal”, \( \text{waḥdah} \) (~ \( \text{wiḥdih} \) in ḠbA, ḤmA and ‘LA) “one (sg. fem.)”, \( \text{nahyih} \) “direction”, \( \text{sā’ab} \) “difficult”, \( \text{sákil} \) “shape”, \( \text{sāḥan} \) “dish, plate” (also ‘LA), \( \text{gady} \) “kid goat” (also ‘LA), \( \text{ṣadr} \) “chest”, \( \text{waʔl} \) “food” (also ‘LA), \( \text{karš} \) “(fat) belly”, \( \text{kalb} \) “dog” and \( \text{ḡidd} \) “grandfather” (also ‘LA) and \( \text{ḡifn} \) “eyelid”.

3.1.3. Reflexes of \(*C_a C_i C_b (ah)\)

\( \text{wirk} \) “thigh”, \(^63\) \( \text{kitf} \) “shoulder”, \( \text{kilmih} \) “word”, \( \text{širkih} \) “company”.

3.1.4. Reflexes of \( C_u C_i C_b (ah)\)

Some reflexes of \( C_u C_i C_b (ah) \) are: \( \text{bunn} \) “coffee beans”, \( \text{rizz} \) “rice”, \( \text{kull} \) “all; every” (also ‘LA), \( \text{umni} \) “mother” (also ‘LA), \( \text{uxt} \) “sister” (also ‘LA), \( \text{Ǧim} \) “male given name” (also ‘LA), \( \text{muddih} \) “period”, \( \text{ḫurmah} \) “woman” (also \( 63^\text{For ḠbA \( \text{wilk}, \text{wlāk} \text{is reported in Nishio 1992:7 (I-58).} \)}

\(^{63}\) For ḠbA \( \text{wilk}, \text{wlāk} \text{is reported in Nishio 1992:7 (I-58).} \)
'LA), zibdih “butter” (also ‘LA), rikbih “knee”, hinnih “they (fem.)” (also ‘LA), šuggah “a woven length of a tent (about 1 m. wide)”.

3.1.5. Absence of I in open syllables preceding stress

As is the case in all dialects of Sinai, a high vowel i or u in open initial syllables of the type CIC(V) preceding stress (on V) is dropped.

When V is a long vowel, an initial CC cluster is the result, e.g.: snīn “years”, ţūn “eyes” and ţnēh “pound (money)”, ġbāl “mountains”, gṣayyīr “short”. Such forms are regular in TwA, HnA and ‘LA.

When V is a short vowel, the anaptyctic vowel which precedes the CC cluster ‘on the surface’ has become part of the morphological base. The phonetic value of this anaptyctic is steered by the vowel that was already part of the base. Examples with short vowels are: ārkab “knees”, āḥgan “injections”, ĭf ‘ī “viper”, īsti “winter”. Such forms are regular in TwA and HnA, but in ‘LA forms like ĥgan, šnaṭ “suitcases” and ānab “grapes” are predominant, although also forms ĭf‘iy – ĭf‘ih are heard.

Exceptions to such elisions are often found in MSA loans, e.g.: niẓām (all dialects) “system”, bidāyithī ‘its (sg. fem.) beginning”, xumūl “tiredness” (GbA), niḥā‘īy “final” (GbA), siyāḥah “tourism” (HmA), ībārah ‘an “consisting of” (SwA) and ġiṣāz “glass” (although perhaps better interpreted as underlying |gazāz|) (‘LA).

Verb forms listed for group VI are also current in TwA and HnA. The verb “come” however has imperfect forms with a long base vowel i, e.g. yiǧiy “he comes”, which is again like forms in group II of the north (see De Jong 2000:307, contrast with groups I and VI, see 3.2.2.6.1.).

3.1.6. Diminutive patterns

The usual diminutives expressing ‘littleness’, ‘shortness’, ‘narrowness’ etc. were recorded as e.g. grāyīb “near”, sḡayyīr “small; young”, rʃayyi “narrow”, ʃayyīf “weak (sg. fem.)”, glayyil “few; little”, kwayyi “good”, šwayyih “a bit” and (as a common dim. used to euphemistically refer to women) hrayyim “women”.

64 The implication of such elisions is that stress was CICāC, and that it must have shifted in the course of time.
In ṢwA the viper (’ilf’i’) was also referred to as swēd illēl, lit. “the (little) blackness of night”. Other diminutives are: rišrēš maṭar65 “a few drops of rain”, ibtākl itwēr “it (sg. fem.) eats small birds”, zrēgān “dark-coloured thoroughbred camel”, yā-ḥuw šhayybī “my little friend (as a form of address)”.  

Except in the form zrēgān, the hypochoristic -ān suffix, which was recorded in some of the dialects of group I,66 was not heard in TwA and HnA.

3.1.7. Pattern aC1C2aC3

The pattern used for colours and physical (and sometimes mental) defects is (for sg. masc.) aC1C2aC3 (e.g. abyad) and aC1aC2aC3 (e.g. āhāmar, stressed on the first syllable) where C1 = X. Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

The sg. fem. forms have a C1aC2C3ā pattern, with a final -ā that has remained long and which is often in pause followed by an unreleased glottal stop (e.g. bēdāʾ, ḥamrāʾ). There is an additional a following C2 when it is X and final -ā is raised to -īy when C3 is neutral (e.g. šahābīy). Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

In the pl. com. forms for colours and physical defects all dialects (including shalfringleftLA) show C1uC2C3 as the pattern, i.e. like in MzA of group VI. Only in GbA both ‘imy and ‘umy for “blind” were heard.

Plural forms for “black” and “white” are sūd (C2 = wāw) and bīḍ (C2 = yaʾ).

3.1.8. The elative patterns aC1C2aC3, aC1aC2C3 and aC1C2a

The elative patterns are like in group VI: aC1C2aC3, e.g. aktar “more; most”, aC1aC2C3, e.g. agal “less; least” and aC1C2a (without gahawah-vowel), e.g. ahlā “sweeter; sweetest”.

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65 Notice reduplication of the biconsonantal root r-š-š with its general meaning of “spray, spatter, splash” to express. See also EALL 2009 (Vol IV):50–53.
3.1.9. Initial a

3.1.9.1. The article and the relative pronoun

The article is *il*- in all dialects and the relative pronoun is *illiy*. The article is not a stressable unit (see 2.1.1.), except in ḤmA, where the (stressable) article *al*- is used parallel to the (unstressable) article *il*-.. Examples in ḤmA are *ál ašī‘ ~ ʾil ašā‘ “the dinner”, ʾalḡada‘ ~ ʾilḡada‘ “the lunch”, ʾalḡanam ~ ʾilḡānam “the sheep”.

Examples in other dialects of ṬwA are: *ilḡámal “the camel”, táʾāqīn ilʾąġānah dīyyih “you knead this dough”.

The relative pronoun is *illiy*. Examples are: *fi Dḥāhab.w illy biyrāwḫ Uḥw lHōl*67 “there are beautiful dive sites here in Dahab. And there are those (lit. sg.) who go to the Blue Hole” and *ḥasab kimmīyāt illaban illy ’induḵ ’ād “depending on how much milk you have, of course”.

An example of how *il*- and *al*- may appear side by side in ḤmA: *nasraḥ b ilḡānam w iḥna ṣgāyyrīn. ingōṭir ilbār r yā salām iyṭubb ālμuṭar… “we used to roam around with the small cattle when we were young, we used to go to the desert, oh my goodness, and (then) the rain would fall …”.

Only in ḠB and ḤmA *l* of the article assimilates to *šti*, as in *f-iššti* “in (the) winter”. In other dialects one will hear *fi lišti*. Similarly (in ḤmA) *ḥat āššnaṭ “go get the bags!”, where the other dialects have *ilāšnaṭ*.68 An example from ASA is *hatīǧib ilāṣwar walla tānām ilēhin “are you going to bring the photos or keep them (fem.) for yourself (lit. sleep on them)?”.

‘Specifying’ *ha*- was heard used only in adverbial *halḥīn “now”, e.g. *fī buʾrān bitxāf ḫalḥīn law nizilt iššāri*, bitxāf mi lʾaṛabīyyih “there are camels that are afraid, if you would now go out on the street, they would be afraid of a car”.

In LA the preference is for *al*- and *alliy*, but *il*- and *illiy* have also been recorded. The article *il*- (with initial *i*) is heard mainly when preceding a noun with a high vowel, as in e.g. *ṣalāt ilmiġrib “the sunset prayer”, ilǐkri(‘) “the wages”, but also *ālfaras ~ ilfāras “the horse”. When the article is stressed, the vowel is usually *a* (e.g. *álḡada‘ “lunch”, ál’ašā‘ “dinner”,

67 Aḥw w lHōl—literally “the Sfmnx”—is the local name for the dive site known in English as (almost homophonic) the “Blue Hole”. The dive site is located at approximately 28.34.20 North and 34.32.13 East, see Google Earth.

68 For differences in stress inside ḠB (i.e. spoken near the monastery or in Wādiy aš-Šēx near aṭ-Ṭarfa) see remarks below in 3.1.16.
álgrab “the watersacks”), but sometimes colours with the vowel of the noun, as in šalāt īlīʿī “evening prayer” and īlīḥṣī “the rocks”.

3.1.9.2. Other instances of initial a
Forms in ṬwA and HnA are: umm “mother”, uxt “sister”, ihna “we”, (’)ábár “needles” and (’)áwad “rooms”. Forms recorded in ‘LA are umm, uxt, álabar and álawaḍ.

For a-initial plurals for the *CICaC pattern (e.g. ágrab “water skins” and ášwar “pictures”; in ‘LA álgrab was heard), see 2.3.5.

3.1.10. The feminine morpheme (T) in genitive construction
T in genitive construction is treated like in the dialect of the Samāʿnah of group II in the north. T preceded by any sequence –CaC (including C + gahawah-vowel a + C) in genitive construction becomes –CaCat. The rule is:

\[ T > \text{at} / \ldots \text{CaC}_\ldots + \text{gen.} \]

\( C = \text{any consonant} \)
\( a = \text{any a, including a produced by the gahawah-syndrome} \)

Nishio 1992:XV, however, describes a situation for ĜbA in which the phonetic quality of the T-vowel is basically phonetically conditioned: “[t]he reflex of the Classical Arabic feminine ending -ah (tā’ marbūṭa) is -ɛ (cf. in the possessive construction, [-ɛt] ~ [-ɛt] ~ [-t] except when after the emphatic consonants, or /r/, /x/, /ġ/, /ḥ/, /ʃ/.”

3.1.10.1. T in genitive construction preceded by a in an open syllable
Like in group VI, the feminine morpheme -ah ~ -ih in construct state becomes -at when aC directly precedes. Examples of aCT + suffix: (dual) sanatēn “two years” and ṛagabatuh “his neck”.

Notice that resyllabication of a sequence CaCaCTv does not take place in ṬwA or HnA (contrast MzA of group VI), whether these are suffixed verbs or nominals, e.g. ṛágabatuh “his neck” and also verb form ḍárabatuh “she hit him”.

3.1.10.2. The rule for T not directly preceded by aC or v
Like in group VI when not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme -ah becomes -it (or -t when a long vowel v directly precedes, see 3.1.10.4.) in construct state.

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The *i* of the ending -*it* may then be subject to the rule for high vowel elision, after which often an anaptyctic is inserted. Examples listed for group VI may also illustrate the situation in TwA and HnA.

3.1.10.3. *T* preceded by the gahawah-vowel *a*

Forms in which a gahawah-vowel *a* directly precedes *T* in open syllable are treated in the same way as forms in which such a preceding *a* is ‘historical’. Examples are: *gahawatī* “my coffee”, *gahawatuh* “his coffee”, *gahawāt=k* “your coffee” and *naxalati* “my date palm”, *naxalāthum* “their date palm” and *naxalāt=k* “your (sg. fem.) date palm”, etc.

3.1.10.4. *T* following *ā*

*T* preceded by *ā* yields -*āh*, e.g. *ṣalāh* “prayer” and when in construction, *T* > -*t*, as in *ṣalāt ilīši* “the evening prayer”.

3.1.10.5. Nominal ending -*it* in construction vs. verbal 3rd p. sg. perf. ending -*at*

The high vowel *i* of the nominal ending -*it* is dropped when it is in open unstressed syllable, e.g. *nāgtuh* “his she-camel”.

The low vowel *a* in verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. perf. is not dropped, e.g. *šāfatuh* “she saw him” and *ma šāfatuš* “she did not see him”.

3.1.11. Genitive marker

The genitive marker is *šuġl*, but in ĠbA also *ḥagg* was recorded in spontaneous text. Informants who claimed (when asked) that *ḥagg* was used in their dialects too were speakers of ASA and HnA. *ḥagg* does not appear to be current in GrA, ŠwA and ḤmA.

Apart from *šuġl* and *ḥagg*, K-form *btā* is often used.71

The paradigms for *šuġl* and *ḥagg* are like those listed for group VI, except the 3rd and 2nd p. pl. masc. suffixes, which are -*huw* and -*kuw* in group VI: see 3.1.12. for the suffixes in TwA and HnA. 72

A preference for the construct state instead of indirect annexation could not be concluded from the available data.

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70 For a different situation in group I, see De Jong 2000:158–160.
71 Nishio 1992:192–194 (XXVII-8) reports the same three possibilities for ĠbA.
72 In Nishio 1992:192–194 (XXVII-8) transcribes *a* as *T* vowel in closed syllables in *šoġlat + C* and *ḥaggat + C* (e.g. *šoġlatnɛ* and *ḥaggatnɛ* “our”) and *at* for *T* in open syllables: (with *T*-vowel not elided!) *šuġl*ti and *ḥaggati* “my” (though elision of the *a* is given as an option in e.g. *marr(ə)tēn* “twice” (p. 173 (XXIV-49)), but *e* in e.g. *btashalfringleft* “ours” and the *T*-vowel elided in open syllables, e.g. in *btat* “my”.

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3.1.12. Personal pronouns

3.1.12.1. Independent pronouns

In TwA and HnA the following independent pronouns are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>āna⁸¹</td>
<td>ihna⁸²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>intah⁷⁷  / intiḥ</td>
<td>intūm / intuw⁷⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>intiy⁷⁹</td>
<td>intin⁸⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>intah ⁷⁷ / intiḥ</td>
<td>intūm / intuw⁷⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>intiy⁷⁹</td>
<td>intin⁸⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hī / hiyya⁷⁵</td>
<td>hin(na)⁷⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>hū / huwwa⁷³</td>
<td>hum(ša)⁴¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In ṢwA, HnA, ḠbA and ASA the following negated pronouns are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>manīš</td>
<td>máḥniš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mántiš</td>
<td>mantīš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mantīš</td>
<td>mantinš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mahūš</td>
<td>mahūnš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>mahīš</td>
<td>mahīnš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In GrA direct elicitation yielded: māhū, māhī, mantīḥ, mantīɣ, mana, māhun, māhin, mantūn, mantin and māḥna.

In ḤmA and (additional forms in) ḠbA the forms recorded are: mānī, mintiḥ, minty, māhū, māhī, miḥna, mintuw / mintūn, mintin, māhuṃ, māhin.

3.1.12.2. Pronominal suffixes

In TwA, HnA and LA the following pronominal suffixes are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>(C)-u(h), ṽ-(h)*¹</td>
<td>-hum*⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>-ha / -hi*(h)*²</td>
<td>-hin⁸⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

⁷³ Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-13) gives "hû (~ hûwa cf. < Cl.A or Cairene Ar.).".
⁷⁴ Nishio 1992:180 (XXV-17) gives "hummo (~ humma cf. < Cairene Ar. Young people prefer this form.)" for ḠbA.
⁷⁵ Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-15) gives "hī (~ hiye ~ hiya < Cl.A or Cairene Ar.)" for ḠbA.
⁷⁶ Nishio 1992:180 (XXV-19) gives "hennɛ" for ḠbA.
⁷⁷ Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-3) only gives inta for ḠbA.
⁷⁸ Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-9) only reports the form "intu (~ intow cf. [intów])," without final -m.
⁷⁹ Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-5) gives "inti (~ intey cf. [intéy])" for ḠbA.
⁸⁰ Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-11) gives inten for ḠbA.
⁸¹ Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-1) also gives ana for ḠbA.
⁸² Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-3) also gives ihna for ḠbA.
Initial h of the suffixes (in 3rd sg. fem and 3rd pl. masc. and fem.) often assimilates to a voiceless preceding consonant, e.g. bēttuṃ “their house”.83

For allomorphs used with the preposition ‘ind, see below 3.1.16.

*1 Like in group VI, ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA have the -u(h) suffix for the 3rd p. sg. masc. (contrast with -ah/ih in group I, see De Jong 2000:164–165).

Some examples are: ṭāʾamuh ḥiluw “its taste is sweet”, udugguh “I pound it”, saḷaxnāh “we skinned it”.84

*2 Endings in -iʾ occur mainly in pause and in neutral environments.85

*3 For remarks on the use of superscript i, see remark *2 of 3.1.12.2. of group VI in chapter II. For a likely development of these suffixes see the note below these remarks.

*4 Suffixes -i and -ni for the 1st p. sg. com. are stressed. Unstressed -i and -ni also occur.86

*5 Parallel to independent pronominals, the 3rd p. pl. masc. suffix is formed with -m, rather than with -w (the latter being characteristic of group VI).87

*6 Like in the speech of older men of the Samānah of group II of the north (see De Jong 2000:282–286), final -m is regular for the 2nd p. pl. masc.88

See also verbal endings in -m in 3.2.1.1. and 3.2.1.2. below.

NOTE

The suffixes -k and -k as pronominal suffixes for the second person sg. (resp.) masc. and fem. are likely to have developed in the following manner:

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83 Such assimilations are also reported for ĠbA, see Nishio 1992:80.

84 For ĠbA Nishio 1992:73 (XXV-14) gives consonant + o and long vowel ā + (h).


86 These stressed and unstressed forms are also reported in Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-2) for ĠbA.


88 Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-10) for ĠbA also lists final -m in kom. For the pl. fem. form Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-12) gives ken.
In the verbal system of these dialects the endings -\textit{uw} and -\textit{in} are current for the pl. forms for masc. and fem. (resp.). This is the case in both the second person and the third person, e.g. (for the third p. pl.) (imperf.) \textit{y-ıkitb-uw} and \textit{y-ıkitb-in} and (perf.) \textit{katab-uw} and \textit{katab-in}, and (for the second p. pl.) (imperf.) \textit{t-ıkitb-uw} and \textit{t-ıkitb-in} and (perf.) \textit{katab-t-uw} and \textit{katab-t-in}.

In the forms above I have ‘split’ the endings of the second person pl. in the perfect forms into two separate morphemes, since we are dealing here with a reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries in which -\textit{uw} signals ‘pl. masc.’ and -\textit{in} signals ‘pl. fem.’. Logically then, the -\textit{t}- preceding these pl. morphemes, just like in sg. forms, signals ‘second person’ (apart from the fact that sg. com. also has -\textit{t}).

Parallel to this reinterpretation the pronominal system was reinterpreted as -\textit{uw} signalling ‘pl. masc.’ and -\textit{in} signalling ‘pl. fem.’. The -\textit{h}- of the third person was then interpreted as signalling ‘third person’ (masc. -\textit{h-uw} and fem. -\textit{h-in}), while -\textit{k}- was taken to be signalling ‘second person’ in the pronominal system, like -\textit{t}- in the plural suffixes of the perfect in the verbal system.

This reinterpretation could take place only after velarization/ pharyngealization of the preceding \textit{k} (due to the influence of following -\textit{uw} on this -\textit{k}-) had become stable, which resulted in the second person endings pl. masc. -\textit{ḳuw} and pl. fem. -\textit{kin}. ‘Subtracting’ the reinterpreted new pl. morphemes -\textit{uw} and -\textit{in} (just like in the verbal system) then resulted in second person pronominal suffixes to be used for the sg.: (masc.) -\textit{ḳ} and (fem.) -\textit{k}.

In dialects of group VI this reasoning by analogy (though presumably not a conscious process) was taken a step further; since -\textit{h}- signals ‘third' person, adding pl. suffixes -\textit{uw} and -\textit{in} resulted in the pronominal suffixes for the pl. (masc.) -\textit{h-uw} and (fem.) -\textit{h-in}.\footnote{See also De Jong 2000: 169, remark *3).}

Since the reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries resulted in a pronominal system that is internally quite logical,\footnote{If we accept that ‘internal logic’ of a system significantly contributes to chances of this system to be copied by speakers of dialects with a different system.} even dialects that use a different system may copy this new logical system—wholly or partially—into their own systems.

Notice that in dialects of group VII where we have pronominal suffixes -\textit{huṃ} and -\textit{hin} and verbal second person pl. suffixes -\textit{tum} and -\textit{tin} (if these are indeed ‘original’ verbal endings of the second p. pl.) comparable
reasoning by analogy has resulted in verbal perfect and imperfect endings -um (or -uṃ) and -in, as in perfect (masc.) katab-um and (fem.) katab-in, and imperfect (masc.) y-ikītb-um and (fem.) y-ikītb-in. One of my ‘Lēgiy informants explained that the -uṃ endings are used in more formal settings, such as court sessions.

3.1.12.3. Pronominal suffixes and negation

When forms with pronominal suffixes are negated with the compound negation ma...-š, we have the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>negated</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>bidduh</td>
<td>biddhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>biddhiʃ</td>
<td>biddhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>bidduḳ</td>
<td>biddkuṃ /-kuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>biddiḵ</td>
<td>biddkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>biddi</td>
<td>biddni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Notice that negated forms do not show lengthened vowels and stress does not shift (like in e.g. Cairene Arabic: ma šuftūš “I did not see him”, ma šuftahāš “I did not see her”, ma šuftināš “you did not see us”), and that the -š is simply affixed to the final vowel, even if this vowel has been raised. For this reason (i.e. the absence of lengthening), it seems fair to assume that -kum is the ‘original’ pron. suffix rather than -kuw, since one would not expect lengthening of a final vowel (-*ū < -u(w)) with affixed -š (i.e. -ūš as in -ḳūš) in a system where other vowels are not lengthened when they precede affixed -š. A form comparable to the unlengthened forms in ma bidduš, ma biddhiš and ma biddniš would have been *ma biddkuš.

Some examples of negated verb forms are:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>negated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katabatuḥ</td>
<td>“she wrote it (sg. masc.)” ma katabatuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katabáti</td>
<td>“she wrote it (sg. fem.)” ma katabátiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katábuḥ</td>
<td>“I wrote it (sg. masc.)” ma katábuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katábtí</td>
<td>“I wrote it (sg. fem.)” ma katábtíš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

91 Nishio 1992:196–197 (XXVII-21) also lists bidd, but indicates with a schwa that a cluster dd + C is resolved, as in e.g. hi biddahe timši “she wishes to leave (or walk)” and biddane “we wish”. Also in verb forms the high vowel tends not to be dropped when preceded by a geminate but is reduced to schwa (“in rapid speech”) in Nishio’s material on ǦbA, it seems, e.g. Nishio 1992:196 (XIV-27) ydawwəru, ydawwəren “they (masc., fem.) search”, etc. Such forms were not heard in my recordings.
iṭinī yyāh  “give it (sg. masc.) to me”  ma tīṭinī šyyāh
iṭinī yyāh  “give (pl. masc.) it to me”  ma tīṭinī šyyāh
iṭihi yyāh  “give (sg. fem.) it (fem.) to her”  ma tīṭihi šyyāh
iṭūha  “give (pl. masc.) it to her”  ma tīṭūha šyyāh*
ṭīhiyyāh  “give (sg. fem.) it (fem.) to her”  ma tīṭīhiš šyyāh*
ṭūha  “give (pl. masc.) it to her”  ma tīṭūhaš šyyāh*
ṭihnī ʾ  “give (pl. fem.) it (fem.) to her”  ma tīṭīnhūš šyyāh*
ṭīnnuh  “give (pl. fem.) it to him”  ma tīṭīnnuš šyyāh

* Notice the difference in phonetic quality of the vowels preceding -š; the (originally) pausal vowel is directly suffixed with -š.

Other such examples are: ukūlíhī “eat (sg. masc.) it (sg. gem.)”, (negated) ma tākūlíhiš “don’t eat (sg. masc.) it (sg. fem.)”, ukūlíhī “eat (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)” is negated as ma tākūlíhiš “don’t eat (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)”, but ukūlūha “eat (pl. masc.) it (sg. fem.)” is negated as ma tākūlūhaš “don’t (pl. masc.) eat it (sg. fem.)”.

išilhiʾ “take it (sg. fem.) away”  ma tšīlhiš / ma tšīhīš
išilh “take it (sg. masc.) away”  ma tšiliš / ma tšiliš
(i)šīlua “take (pl. masc.) it (sg. fem.) away”  ma tšīlūhaš
(i)šīlnu “take (pl. fem.) it away”  ma tšīlnuš
(i)šīlah “take (pl. masc.) it (sg. masc.) away”  ma tšīlūš*

* Notice that this form is homophonic with the negation of unsuffixed (i.e. without object suffixes) forms:

(i)šīluw “take (pl. masc.) away”  ma tšiliš

Other such examples are:

uxdîh “take (sg. fem.) it”  both negated as ma tāxduš
ūxduy “take (sg. fem.)”  ma tāxduš

and

uxdîh “take (pl. masc.) it”  both negated as ma tāxduš
ūxduw “take (pl. masc.)”  ma tāxduš

Similarly, the vowel in the pronominal suffix -na is not lengthened when it is in turn suffixed with -š, e.g. šāfniʾ “he saw us”, (negated) ma šāfniš “he did not see us” and šālūniʾ “they carried us”, (negated) ma šālūniš “they did not carry us”.

N.B.
This treatment of the pl. com. pronominal suffix -na differs from treatment of the verbal suffix -na: in contrast to the vowel of the pronominal suffix, the vowel of the verbal suffix is lengthened before -š, e.g. šufna “we
saw” is negated as *ma šufnāš* “we did not see”, and also suffixed *šufnāh* “we saw him” is negated as (homophonous) *ma šufnāš* “we did not see him”. Similarly, the negated 3rd p. sg. masc. form of the verb “come” is *ma ġāš* “he did not come”, not *ma ġiš* (cf. 3.2.2.6. below).

These remarks do not apply to LA, since LA hardly uses compound negation; negating suffixed verbs in LA is done with preceding *mā*, e.g. *mā byaḥašūh* “they do not stuff it (sg.fem.) (i.e. of food)” and *mā yākilha* “he does not eat it” and *mā byibnūh* “they do not build it” (see also remarks in 3.1.16. and 4.2. of this chapter).

3.1.13. Demonstratives

3.1.13.1. Near and far deixis
Near deixis*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.*3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>*(hā-)<em>dah</em>2</td>
<td>*(hā-)*dill(-ih)*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>*(hā-)*diy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Forms without initial *hā-* are much more regular than in group I. In dialects other than ḤmA, the forms with initial *hā-* occur mainly in the sg.
*2 In pause, and at times also sentence-medially often *di*’ or *dih*.
*3 In ḤnA the pl. forms (masc.) *innās dlew* and (fem.) *il(hr)aȳm ḍinn(-ih)* were also recorded.
*4 In ḤmA also *hādōl(-ah)* can be heard. Forms with prefixed *hā-* (also in far deixis) are more regular in ḤmA.92

In LA the form *dum* (~ *dillih*) was also elicited (but a conceivable *‘din* for the pl. fem. was rejected when suggested).

Nishio 1992:181 (XXV-24) gives *dell ~ dōl* (the latter being more used among younger speakers) and *dellet* for the fem. in ĠbA.

Notice the absence of velarization in these pl. demonstrative forms. These forms are strongly reminiscent of forms *hadella* and *hadelle* reported by Bergsträßer93 for the ‘Amārin near Wādiy Mūsa.

Far deixis*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.*2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>*dāk(-ah)*2</td>
<td>*dallāk(-ah)*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>*dik(-ih)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

92 Bernabela 2009:27 reports several instances of *dōl* for the pl. masc. and one instance of *dillah* for the pl. fem.
Like in near deixis, also in far deixis ḤmA tends to have forms with initial ḥā-: ḥāḏāk(-ah), ḥāḏīk(-ih) and ḥādallāk(-ah).

For ĞbA Nishio 1992:181–182 (XV-25 and 26) lists ḏāka ~ ḥāḏāka for sg. masc., ḏīke ~ ḥāḏīke for sg. fem. and ḏallāka for pl. masc. and dallāket for pl. fem. and adds that in the pl. the masc. form is often used “when used as subject”.

Velarization present in the forms for far deixis, but absent in the forms for near deixis, is likely to be the result of spreading from velarized ḫ.

Like in group VI, “there he/she is (lit.: has come)” or “there they are (masc./fem.) (lit. have come)” is ḥēhū ǧi, ḥēhī ǧāt, ḥēhum(ma) ǧūw and ḥēhin(na) ǧīn.

In ĞbA also the following forms were elicited:

- ḳlhrummah hikīn(niḥ) “those women (there)”
- ḡnīns hukūm(ma) “those people (there)”
- ḳbwāld hukūw(wah) “that boy (there)”
- ḳhbint hikīy(yih) “that girl (there)”

The ḫ may also be doubled. Forms recorded in ĞbA and ASA are:

- ḡukkū ǧi “there he has come”, ḡikkī ǧāt “there she has come”, ḡukkuṃ(mah) ǧūw “there they have come”, ḡikkīn(nah) ǧīn “there they (fem.) have come”.

The origin of these presentatives is probably ḥāk + ḫūr or ḫuwwa, after which ḫ + h was assimilated to ḫk and ā of ḥāk was shortened and harmonized with the vowel of the suffixed pronominal.

3.1.13.2. Specifying ha-
Specifying ha- was heard only in ḫahīn “now”.

3.1.14. Interrogatives


1) mīn, 2) ēš / ēh, 3) lēš / lēh, 4) (i)mtēh (mtēn in HmA and ASA and (i)mtēn ~ mitēn in ĞbA) and waqtēš (less regular waqtēh), 5) wēn, 6) īyāt + sg., 7) kēf*, 8) kam + sg. “how many?”, kuṭrūṣ / kuṭrēṣ “how much?”, 9) gaddēš / giddēš.

Nishio 1992 lists the following forms for ĞbA: 1) mīn (p. 183 (XXV-30)), 2) ēš ~ ē (p. 183–184 (XXV-31)), 3) lēš ~ lē (p. 184 (XXV35)), 4) mitēn (~ imt from Cairene Arabic) (p. 184 (XXV-36)), 5) wēn (~ fēn from Cairene Arabic) (p. 184 (XXV-34)), 6) ayyu (p. 184 (XXV-32)), 7) kēf (~ izzay from Cairene
Arabic) (p. 184 (XXV-33)), bkam (p. 185 (XXV-38)), 9) kam (XXV-37)) and translates gaddēš ~ gadrēš as “how far” (p. 185 (XXV, 39)).

* Bernabela 2009:21 (and in also his texts) reports several instances in ĠbA of izzāy or izzayy ~ azzayy (no instances of kēf or kif) which I attribute to adaptation by the speaker to the speech of the interviewer (who spoke Cairene).

3.1.15. Adverbs

3.1.15.1. Adverbs: “there”, “over there (far away)”, “here”, “thus”, “now”, “still”, “afterwards, after that”

“Here” is nihā(’) or nihāniy*1 (fī dī’ is also used) K-form hínih also appears and perhaps the original form is hiniy, “there” is hnūtiy or hnōtiy*2 (fī dāk(-ah) is also used, hnuh occurs less), gād, sometimes gādiy (both with open ā) is used for “over there (far away)” (the opposite being ġāy “nearby”). “Thus” is kidiy or kidiyyih, “now” is halḥīn, “still” is lissā (and K-form lissa) and “afterwards, after that” is ba’adēn.

*1 nihāniy was not heard in ĠbA. Like in group VI, when the preposition min precedes nihā’, one syllable is haploglossically dropped, e.g. mi-nhā(’) or mi-nhāniy “from here; this way (in this direction)”. Bernabela 2009:28 reports hnīt and nihīniy and a shortened form nihiy for ĠbA. Nishio 1992:182 (XXV-28), however, does report nhāni and (as a form from Cairene?) heni (~ hena) for ĠbA.

As a possible origin for the locative adverb nihā, one could think of *hinā or *hunā followed by the (postpositioned, see 3.1.9.1. of chapter III) deictic element hā, producing *hinahā or *hunahā (stressed on final syllable), after which ā of the second syllable was shortened (> *hinahā or *hunahā, see 1.2.24.), the resulting short a was raised (> *hinahā or *hunahā, see 3.1.1.5.) and the first syllable was dropped. On the historical order of these developments it can only be stated with relative certainty that shortening of ā and consequent raising of the resulting a must have taken place in that order.

*2 Nishio 1992:182 (XXV-28) reports henōt (i.e. without final -i(y)) and (as a form from Cairene?) hnāk (~ henāk) for ĠbA.

3.1.15.2. “maybe”

For “maybe” no forms based on the root x-w-f (e.g. xōf alláh) or k-w-d (e.g. kūd) were recorded, but only yimkin “maybe, possibly”.

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3.1.15.3. bilḥēl “at all”
bilḥēl “very, extremely” was heard in ĠbA only in combination with a negation in the meaning of “at all”: baṭla’ mašīy ’ana. bass b ilğamal ma šili tiš. b ʾissarāḥah, miš b ilḥēl ibu ṛān ma baridhinš “I go out on foot, but I have not gone out with a camel. Frankly, I don't like camels at all”. Another example is rawwwāḥt iddēr, iw fataḥna ṣṣubiḥ. issuwwāḥ māš ilġim’ah suwwāḥ b ilḥēl “I went to the monastery, and we opened up (i.e. their souvenir shop) in the morning. There are no tourists, on Friday there are no tourists at all”.

3.1.15.4. bišwēš “slowly, carefully”
Adverbial bišwēš was not recorded in ŢwA, nor in HnA or ‘LA. Instead, a construction like šwayyih šwayyih “bit by bit” is used.

3.1.15.5. min xōf “lest”
min xōf in the sense of “lest” (see De Jong 2000:179) was not recorded.
Instead, a construction with aḥsan was recorded in HnA: bitsawwwha, mumkin itxallha galiḏah, bass in tabga ṭfay’ah tabga ēh? aḥsan ibṭístiwiy “you make it, you could make it thick, but if it is thin it what? Otherwise (lest) it becomes cooked”.

3.1.16. Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes

Suffixed prepositions recorded in ŢwA, HnA and ‘LA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are: (suffixes -ha and -na are usually -hi’ and -ni’ in neutral environments and in ‘LA 2nd p. pl. masc. final -aw varies with final -um)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. com.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l+*1</td>
<td>sg. lēna</td>
<td>‘alāy(y)*5</td>
<td>(i)m(i’)+*6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>lēhu</td>
<td>ilēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>luk*2</td>
<td>lēkum</td>
<td>ilēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>li*3</td>
<td>lēkin</td>
<td>ilēk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The preposition l + suffix may in turn again be enclitically suffixed, e.g. biṭṭallī-luḥ “he takes out for himself”. This was however only observed with a suffix -uh.94
*2 In HmA lēk* and lēk or lēkiy.

94 In forms like gāl luḥ or gāl luḥ it is not possible to conclude enclitic suffixed: ‘proof’ of such enclisis would be stress shift or lengthening of a directly preceding vowel, as in e.g. Cairene gibtū-luḥ “I brought it for him” or ʾalīt- lu “she said to him”. Examples of such vowel lengthening or stress shift were not recorded in these dialects.
In ASA and 'LA lay.

In 'LA direct elicitation yielded (sg.) ʽluh, ʽléha, ʽluḵ, ʽlik, ʽlay and (pl.) ʽléhum, ʽléhin, ʽlékuṃ / -uw, ʽlékin, ʽléna but in spontaneous texts only forms like ʽaláh ~ ʽiláh (and also ʽalēh), ʽalēha, ʽalēkuw / -uṃ etc. occurred. In ḤmA both ʽalēh ~ ʽilēh and less regularly ʽaláh ~ ʽiláh can be heard.

In ĜbA both ʽaláy and ʽiley (compare īdēy “my hands”) were recorded.

In GrA full paradigmatic levelling has produced variant forms (for consonant-initial suffixes) ʽimiha, ʽimiḥuṃ, ʽimiḥin, ʽimiḳuṃ, ʿimiʿkin and ʿimiʿna, leading to the conclusion that the underlying morphological base is |min| in this case.

In ĜbA near the monastery and in 'LA forms without stressed original anaptyctic are current: (sg.) mʼuh, mʼuḳ, mʼik and mʼi. In Mrër (in Wādiy aš-Šēx) ĜbA forms are like those listed in the paradigm above (imʼuḥ, etc.).

In ḤmA 3rd p. sg. masc. was recorded as mʼuḥ, and 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. as mīʔk and mīʾk resp.

### Three-place pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>fīh</td>
<td>fīhuṃ</td>
<td>fōguh</td>
<td>fōghuṃ</td>
<td>minnuh</td>
<td>minhuṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fiha</td>
<td>fīhin</td>
<td>fōgha</td>
<td>fōginh</td>
<td>minna</td>
<td>minhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>fīk</td>
<td>fīkum</td>
<td>fōgkuṃ</td>
<td>fōgkum</td>
<td>minnik</td>
<td>minkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fīk</td>
<td>fīkin</td>
<td>fōgik</td>
<td>fōgkin</td>
<td>minkin</td>
<td>minkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>fīna</td>
<td>fōgī</td>
<td>fōgna</td>
<td>minnī</td>
<td>minna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In 'LA ˈfiฤy.

*2 In ASA, ĜbA and 'LA ˈfini.

*3 For “above” also min ḥard+ pron. suffix is used: min ḥardī, min ḥarduk etc.

*4 Since in negated forms (see below) the high vowels i and u are stressed, I have not interpreted these as anaptyctic vowels, but as morphophonemically present vowels (hence their notation is not superscript).

*5 Notice doubling of the n here indicating that the suffixes are vowel-initial in these cases: -uḳ and -iʔk.

### Five-place pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>warāh</td>
<td>warāhuṃ</td>
<td>ʿinduḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>warāḥa</td>
<td>warāhin</td>
<td>ʿindahā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>warāʔk</td>
<td>warākuṃ</td>
<td>ʿinduk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>warāʔk</td>
<td>warākin</td>
<td>ʿindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>warāy</td>
<td>warāna</td>
<td>ʿindi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the following notes below a few remarks follow on negated suffixed forms. These remarks do not apply to ‘LA, since ‘LA does not use compound negation; negating suffixed prepositions in ‘LA is done with preceding mā, e.g. mā warāha, mā ‘indi, etc. (see also remarks in 3.1.12.3. and 4.2.).

*1 In ASA warāha (negated ma warāhaš), but in ǦbA warahiʾ and (negated ma warāhiš).

*2 Negated forms in SwA were recorded as (sg. masc.) ma warāšš and (sg. fem.) ma warākš. Other dialects have negated forms (sg. masc.) ma warāšš and (sg. fem.) ma warākiš (compare negated ṣala+ below).

*3 Negated ma warāyiš.

*4 Negated ma warāniš.

*5 When the final vowel is raised, the vowel preceding h will be raised as well: ‘‘indihi’.

Other examples of negated suffixed prepositions in TwA and HnA are (not in ‘LA):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>negated:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘ala+*1</td>
<td></td>
<td>fōg+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēhūṃš</td>
<td>ma fōguš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēhiš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēkš</td>
<td>ma fōghīš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēhūṃš</td>
<td>ma fōguš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēhiš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēkš</td>
<td>ma fōghīš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēšš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēkšš</td>
<td>ma fōghimš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēšš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēkšš</td>
<td>ma fōghimš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ma ‘alāyš*3</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēniš</td>
<td>ma fōgiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma ‘alāyš*3</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēniš</td>
<td>ma fōgiš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Like in group VI, raising of short a to i in open syllables preceding stressed ē (as indicated here) is optional, but very regular.

As independent prepositions both ‘ala and ‘a (not only when preceding the article) are current, e.g. ‘a ğamb “aside”.

*2 In SwA negated forms are ma ‘alēšš and ma ‘alēkš.

*3 In ǦbA ma ‘ilešš was also recorded.

*4 On the status of high vowels i and u in these forms, see remark *4 to paradigm fōg+ above.
3.1.17. Numerals and counted plurals

3.1.17.1. Cardinal numbers 1–10

Independent cardinal numbers in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are (forms that precede counted nouns follow in brackets):\(^95\)

- wāḥid / wiḥdih\(^*1\),
- /tmacronbelownēn / /tmacronbelowintēn \(^*2\),
- /tmacronbelowalā/tmacronbelow,
- aṛba
- xamsih (xams),
- sittih (sitt),
- sab’ih (sab’),
- ṭamānūyih (ṭamānun),
- ṭis’ih (ṭis’),
- ‘ašarārah (‘ašar).

\(^*1\) wāḥid and wiḥdih may follow the counted noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. walad wāḥid “one boy” and bint wiḥdih “one girl”.

\(^*2\) /tmacronbelownēn and /tmacronbelowintēn may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. waladēn i/tmacronbelownēn “two boys” and idēy i/tmacronbelowintēn or idēy intēn “my two hands”.

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic t- (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. ‘ašar t-infāṛ “ten people”, ṭalaṭ t-iyyām “three days”.

3.1.17.2. Ordinal numbers 1–10

Only three ordinals were recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA: awwil, tāniy, ṭalīṭ.

3.1.17.3. Numerals: n and up

Numerals recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are:

- ihdāšaṛ\(^*1\),
- ītnāšaṛ, ṭalaṭṭašaṛ, arba’āšaṛ, xamistāšaṛ, sittāšaṛ, sabā’āšaṛ,
- tamaṭṭašaṛ, tisa’āšaṛ\(^*2\),
- išrīn, ṭalātn, arba’ān, xamsin, sittin, sab in, ṭamānin,
- tis’ān, mīyīn, mīyītn, tulmīyīn, ṭūmīyīn, xumīmīyīn, suṭmīyīn,
- subīmīyīn, tūmīmīyīn, tusi’mīyīn, alfi, alfiṇ, ālal t-ālāf, xamis t-ālāf,
- arba’ t-ālāf, sitt t-ālāf, sab’ t-ālāf, ṭanān t-ālāf, tis’ t-ālāf, ‘ašar t-ālāf, mit alfi,
- mīyītn alfi, mīyītn alfiṇ\(^*3\) (and ṭalaṭ malāyin).

\(^*1\) In ‘LA hīdāšaṛ

\(^*2\) Forms recorded in HnA have endings in -āšir. In ṢwA also shorter forms like sittā‘iš, sab‘iš and tammaṭiš were recorded in allegro speech. Informants for ASA claimed endings in -ā‘iš are more current than those ending in -āšir or -ašar.

\(^*3\) In HnA and ‘LA malyōn.

Some plurals recorded with proclitic t- are: ṭalaṭ t-ḵāl “three shapes”, ṭalaṭ t-ālāf “three thousand”, ‘ašar t-iyyām “ten days”, xamis t-ušhur “six

\(^{95}\) For numerals recorded in ĠbA in Nishio 1992 see pp. 169–175 (XXIV-2 to XXIV-71).
months”, *arba’ t-ɜrbi* “four descent groups (of a tribe)”, *ţaman t-infár* “eight persons”.

Months are usually referred to by numbers, but in SwA also *şahar Imšír* was mentioned (the Coptic month of Amshir, 6th month of the Coptic calendar).

3.1.8. **The dual**

Sufffixing -ēn (or -ān) to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. *nuşşān* “two halves”, *şaharān* “two months”, *marrtēn* “two times”, *xatīwtēn* “two steps”.

Older forms of the dual are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. *riğlēy* “my (two) legs”, *riğlēyḵ* “my (two) hands” and *idēy* “my (two) hands” and *idēyḵ* “your (two) hands”.*

* In ĜbA forms with initial *a*- were recorded: *adēy* and *adēyḵ* and also *adēhum* “their hands” (pl. *adēn*).96

3.2. **Verbal Morphology**

In the dialects of the Hamāḏah (ḤmA) and ‘Lēgāt (‘LA) several instances of -um (~ -uw) endings in perfect and imperfect for the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. masc. were recorded. The remarks on perfect and imperfect forms in 3.2.1.1. and 3.2.1.2. should be extrapolated for the entire verb system.

3.2.1. **Regular verbs**

3.2.1.1. **Regular verbs perfect**

In ḤmA and also ‘LA the verbal ending of the 2nd p. ending -tum is also often heard as a variant.

In some, but fewer instances, the ending -um was also heard being used as a variant to the ending -uw for the 3rd p. pl. masc., both in the perfect and in the imperfect. Such verbal endings are reminiscent of verbal endings recorded in the dialect of the Samānah of group II in the north.97

The final -m is also heard in the 2nd p. pl. masc. pronominals *intum* and the suffix -ḵum, and these pronominals are also current—though

96 Nishio 1992:5 (I-36) gives sg. *yid* and pl. *yīdēn/yidēn*, e.g. xamsė *yidēn*.
co-occurring with *intuw and *-kw*—in surrounding dialects of group VII GrA, ṢwA, ḠbA, ASA and HnA.\(^{98}\)

Of the two variant verbal endings of the perfect *-tuw* and *-tum* the latter appears to be losing ground to the former, while *-um* as a variant for *-uw* has almost entirely disappeared.

Like in group VI, the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. fem. ending is *-in* (including the *a*- and *i*-types of the tertiae infirmiae). The perfect ending of the 3rd p. sg. fem. may be *-at* or *-it*, depending on the vowel-type of the perfect (contrast group VI in chapter II).

Perf. of measure 1 verbs come in three types: \(C_1aC_2aC_3\), \(C_1iC_2iC_3\) and \(C_1uC_2uC_3\). The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a-type perfect*¹</th>
<th>i-type perfect*²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>kátab</td>
<td>kátabuw*⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kátabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>kátabt</td>
<td>kátabtuv*⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kátabtiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>katabt</td>
<td>katabna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ *a* may be raised to *i* in pre-stress syllables, e.g. *kitábtiy*, but such raising is less regular than in group VI.

*² The short high vowel *i* of the first syllable is actually underlying |a| and is therefore not dropped in open unstressed syllables (so e.g. not *šribt*, *šribtiy*, etc.).

Nishio 1992, however, almost invariably indicates instances of such high vowel elision from the unstressed first syllable in ḠbA, e.g. smi’t “I heard” (p. 11 (I-76)), lbist “I got dressed” (p. 13 (II-2)), šribt “I drank” (p. 21 (III-46)) and also ġrit “I ran” (p. 67 (IX-17)) as a form used by younger speakers, lgít “I found” (p. 96–97b (XIV-28)), etc.

*³ Notice the ending *-it* instead of *-at* used in group VI.

*⁴ In ḤmA (and also in LA) often *katabtum* and *šribtum*. Notice that similar forms were recorded in the dialect of the Samānah in northern Sinai (see De Jong 2000:298). *-um* endings in the 3rd p. pl. masc. perfect forms were also recorded in ḤmA (like the situation in SaA), but were rarer, e.g. haṭtum “they placed”, ištárum “they bought”, lāgum “they found”. Notice that also in the dialect of Cairo both *kabtu* ~ *kabtum* and *kabtu* ~...
morpology, verbal morphology
81

katabtum can be heard, of which the forms in –m are characterized as "sub-standard" (see Woidich 2006:75) (see also remarks on imperfect forms in 3.2.1.2. below).

3.2.1.2. Regular verbs imperfect
Like in many dialects in Sinai, the imperfect is characterized by vowel harmony in the verbal prefixes. Like in group VI, this vowel harmony is also found in the 1st. p. sg. com. of i- and u-type imperfects (contrast e.g. group I, where we have initial a- for 1st p. sg. com. in all (three) vowel types, see De Jong 2000:299).99

There are three imperfect patterns: yaC1C2CaC3, yuC1C2CuC3 and yiC1C2iC3.

The paradigms for ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are identical to those listed for group VI, but for ḤmA and ‘LA the following remarks should be added:

For ḤmA several (spontaneously produced) instances of -um (but ~-uw) were recorded for the 3rd and 2nd p. pl. masc., e.g. yḥuṭṭum “they place”, tḥuṭṭum “you (pl. masc.) place”, yiṣṭirum “they buy”, yafdum “they sacrifice”, tafḍum “you (pl. masc.) sacrifice”, yridum “they want”, tridum “you (pl. masc.) want”. When such forms were checked separately (i.e. on another occasion with another speaker), they were rejected, and forms with -uw endings were accepted only.

Also in ‘LA some instances (but less regularly than in ḤmA) of -um endings for 2nd and 3rd pl. masc. imperfect forms were heard. One ‘Lėgyi informant explained that -uw endings were used in ‘faster’ speech, while -um endings would be used in more formal speech, e.g. by a gādīy “judge”.
Notice that similar forms were also recorded in the dialect of the Šamā‘nah in the Gaṭyah oasis in the north (cf. De Jong 2000:296–309 and map 54 in the appendix). See also NOTE in 3.1.12.2.

Measure 1 verbs i-type (e.g. yaharīt) and a-type (e.g. ya‘ārag) with C1 = X have the same paradigms as group VI. Perfects and participles of these verbs hāraṯ and ʿirīg are like kātab and širīb (see 3.2.1.1.).

3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *C1aC2 C3, *yaC1C2 C3

u-type perfect*1
“grow fat”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>gūlud</td>
<td>gūlduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gūldīt</td>
<td>gūldīn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99 Nishio 1992 reports the possibility of vowel harmony for the first person sg. com. in i- and u-type imperfects in ḠbA too, e.g. aṣrob ~ oṣrob “I hit” (p. 88 (XIII-11)) and enzil “I descend” (p. 107 (XV-15)).
The Classical Arabic ‘Eigenschafts’ verb-type (which expresses a certain personal characteristic) may have \( \text{C}_1 \cdot \text{C}_2 \cdot \text{C}_3 \), \( \text{yC}_1 \cdot \text{C}_2 \cdot \text{C}_3 \) reflexes (imperfect paradigm is like that of \( \text{yu'rub} \) in MzA and BWA, see 3.2.1.2. in chapter II). This appears to be the case when the perfect is velarized. When velarization is absent, the perfect tends to be \( \text{C}_1 \cdot \text{C}_2 \cdot \text{C}_3 \) and the imperfect then \( \text{yaC}_2 \cdot \text{aC}_3 \).

A paradigm elicited in ASA is: (sg.) \( \text{túxun} \), \( \text{túxnit} \), \( \text{tuxínt} \), \( \text{tuxíntiy} \), \( \text{tuxínt} \) and (pl.) \( \text{túxnuw} \), \( \text{túxnin} \), \( \text{tuxíntuw} \), \( \text{tuxíntin} \), \( \text{tuxínna} \). The imperfect is \( \text{yutxun} \).

In ĠbA, ṢwA, ḤmA, GrA and HnA also \( \text{ğuluḍ} \) (~ \( \text{gilıḍ} \) in ĠbA) (and imperf. \( \text{yuğluḍ} \), in ‘LA \( \text{gilıḍ} \), \( \text{yuğluḍ} \), but \( \text{tíxin} \) (imperfect \( \text{yatxan} \)) and \( \text{kibir} \) (imperfect \( \text{yakbar} \)).

The short vowel of the first syllable in the perfect may be \( \text{i} \) or \( \text{u} \), but it is not dropped, and is therefore best interpreted as underlying \( \text{|a|} \).

3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles
Like in group VI, active participles in ṢwA, HnA and ‘LA are formed with the patterns \( \text{C}_1 \cdot \text{aC}_2 \cdot \text{iC}_3 \), \( \text{C}_1 \cdot \text{aC}_2 \cdot \text{C}_3 \cdot \text{ah}/\text{ih} \) (sg. fem.), \( \text{C}_1 \cdot \text{aC}_2 \cdot \text{C}_3 \cdot \text{in} \) (pl. masc.), \( \text{C}_1 \cdot \text{aC}_2 \cdot \text{C}_3 \cdot \text{āt} \) (pl. fem.).

When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: ‘\( \text{‘awiztuh} \) “she wants/loves him” and (in ‘LA) \( \text{‘rāyidtuh} \) “she wants him”. In HnA a form \( \text{‘ārǐtha} \) “she knows her” was recorded several times, instead of expected \( \text{‘ārǐtha} \).

3.2.1.5. Regular verbs imperatives
Imperatives of regular verbs in ṢwA, HnA and ‘LA are like in group VI, e.g. \( \text{áftaḥ} \), \( \text{áftaḥiy} \), \( \text{áftaḥuw} \), \( \text{áftaḥin} \) “open!”, \( \text{úg’ud} \), \( \text{úgu’diy} \), \( \text{úgu’du} \), \( \text{úgu’din} \) “sit down!” and \( \text{ǐnzil} \), \( \text{ǐnzliy} \), \( \text{ǐnzlu} \), \( \text{ǐnzlin} \) “come down!”.

3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs
3.2.2.1. Verbs \( \text{C}_1 = \text{w} \) (primae wāw)
Imperfect, perfect, and imperative paradigms for measure 1 verbs \( \text{C}_1 = \text{w} \) are like in group VI, e.g. \( \text{yōrid} \) and \( \text{yōgaf} \).

In ḤmA “stand” was recorded with an \( i \)-type imperfect: \( \text{yōgif} \) “he stands”, \( \text{yōgifw} \) “they stand”, etc.

In two instances in ASA verbs without the wāw, i.e. with an initial short vowel, were recorded: \( \text{tálid} \) “she gives birth” and \( \text{yīsīg bēhum} \) “he trusts...
them”. The latter of these is probably a loan, of which s for *t (root w-t-q) is indicative (see 1.1.2.).

aw’a may in some dialects be left unconjugated and be used more as a general particle of warning, e.g. (in GrA) aw’a tans, aw’a tansiya, aw’a tansuw and aw’a tansin “don’t you forget! (for sg. masc., sg. fem., pl. masc. and pl. fem. resp.)”.

But imperative forms were also recorded in TwA, HnA and ‘LA: aw’a rāsuk, aw’iyy rāsik, aw’iaw ryūskum, and aw’in ryūskin (although the pl. of rās in HnA and ‘LA is rūs).

In ĠbA: aw’a rāsuk, aw’a rāsik, aw’ā rūskum, aw’ā rūskin.

In SwA a particle aw’ā was also recorded with pronominal suffixes for the person addressed: aw’uṅ tans, aw’iṅ tansiya, awu’kum tansuw, awi’kin tansin (notice also the insertion of anaptyctics in the last two examples).

Participles:
Active participles have a CāC jC pattern, e.g. (with velarized first syllables) wārid, wārdih, wārdin, wārdāt “having watered”.

The passive participle for the root w-ǧ-d was recorded as mawǧūd in all dialects, but in ĠbA and SwA the form mēǧūd was also heard, and in ĠbA also the form mērūs “inherited” (see remark on root w-r- above).

3.2.2.2. Verbs C₁ = y (primae yā’)
Like in group VI, the only verb recorded with C₁ = y is yibis, yēbas “dry (intransitive)” in TwA, HnA and ‘LA.

3.2.2.3. Verbs C₁ = *’ (primae hamzah)
The two verbs “eat” and “take” have similar conjugations. Both have a limited, but clear degree of velarization in the imperfect and all dialects have u as the imperfect vowel, as in yākul and yāxu, but in HmA also i was elicited, as in yākil and yāxi. In ASA both yākil and yākul were recorded, but the base vowel u appeared to be conditioned by its phonetic environment; u only appeared when luṅ “for you” followed, as in (several

100 These anaptyctic vowels also cause the w to become vowel-initial in the surface form. In these cases the diphthong aw is clearly not treated like its product of monophthongization ŏ. For an interesting discussion on the topic of mono- or poly-phonemicity of diphthongs ay and aw in Old Arabic and in the modern Arabic dialects, see Fischer 1967.

instances of) yäkul luḫ “he eats for you” (an instance of the ethical dative, see 4.14.3.). The perfect forms are all without initial a:- kal and xaḏ.

The sg. masc. imperative may be with initial stressed ú- in all dialects except ḤmA and ‘LA as in úkul and úxud, but was also recorded as kul and xuḏ in all dialects, except in ŚwA and ASA (compare with the sg. masc. imperatives of mediae geminatae in 3.2.2.4.2.).

The sg. fem. appears with initial stressed ú- (úkliy) in ŚwA, GrA, ASA and HnA. In ĠbA it is kliy or úkliy and in ḤmA it is kliy.

Similarly, plural forms are úkluw (masc.) and úklin (fem.) in ŚwA, GrA, ASA and HnA. In ĠbA co-occurring forms are klw, klīn and úkluw and úklin102 and in ḤmA forms are only without initial u:- klw and klīn. Like in ḤmA, imperatives in ‘LA are kul, kliy, klw, klīn and xuḏ, xdiy, xduw and xdin.

Compare this to the occurrence of stressed original anaptyctics (in 2.3.5.) and the absence of a stressed original anaptyctic in the suffixed preposition m(i)’ as opposed to its presence in other dialects of this group (see 3.1.16.).

Active participles in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are with initial m:- màxiḏ, màxḏih, màxḏīn, màxḏāt and màkīl, màklih, màklin and màklāt.

The verbal noun in ṬwA and HnA is wakl “eating” (also “food”) and the passive verb “be eaten” is inwākal, yīnwīkil, but in ĠbA also intākal, yīntikīl was recorded.

3.2.2.4. Verbs C2 = w or y (mediae infirmae)

3.2.2.4.1. Verbs C2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) perf. and imperf.

Like in group VI, in ṬwA and HnA a short base vowel is characteristic for the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect and imperative forms of mediae infirmae verbs, although forms with long base vowels may also be heard.

The perfect and imperfect paradigms are like in group VI (except for the ending -tum, see above in 3.2.1.1.), but instead of sg. masc. imperfect forms t(u)gūm tgumtime in group VI, in ṬwA and HnA we hear túguṃ / tguṃ and also tūsīl / tūsi and tānām / tnām.

However, during direct elicitation, my ḤmA informants rejected suggested forms like túguṃ and tānām and only accepted the form tūsīl with difficulty. Some of my ĠbA informants rejected tānām, but forms like tūsīl,

102 Nishio 1992:91 (XIV-2) lists oxo d ~ xoď, xođi ~ xođi, oxođu ~ xođu, oxođen ~ xođen, but (p. 20–21 (III-43)) okul ~ kul. okli, oklu and oklen for ĠbA.
túguļ, túguṃ were produced spontaneously, e.g. túguṃ tíġib illaban “you then (get up) and get the milk”.

When such shorter 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms are suffixed, we get forms like e.g. tíšluh “you carry it (sg. masc.)”, ma tíšluš “don’t carry it!”, ma tišilhaš “don’t carry it (sg. fem.)”, bitḡibha “you bring her” and bți úžha “you want it (sg. fem.)”.

N.B. Imperfect and imperative forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc. with a short base vowel are not characteristic of ‘LA. If ‘LA speakers use such forms, this is attributed (by other ‘LA speakers) to the influence of speakers of other dialects. Forms claimed as proper ‘LA are (imperfect) tšīl, tnām, tgūl and (imperative) šīl, nām, gūl. Sg. fem. and pl. masc. and fem. forms are like those described for ṬwA and ḤnA, e.g. šīliy, šīluw, šīlin; gūly, gūluw, gūlin and also nāmiy, nāmuw, namīn.

Participles in ṬwA, ḤnA and ‘LA are like in group VI, e.g. šāyīl, šāylih, šāyliŋ, šāylāt.

The perfect of the verb šāf, yšūf was recorded in ṬwA and ḤnA with short vowel u only: šuft “I saw” (not recorded in ‘LA).

Verbs C₂ = y are like in group VI as well, e.g. šāl, yšīl (and šilt) (for a remark on originally measure 4 verb rād, yrīd, see 3.2.3.7.2.).

3.2.2.4.2. Verbs C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae) imperatives
Like in the imperfect, imperatives of the 2nd p. sg. masc. often have short base vowels. They may also have an initial short vowel (recorded in ĞbA) šīl ~ išil “carry!”, guļ ~ úguļ “say!” and also nam ~ ánam “go to sleep!”.

In ḠbA the sg. masc. imperative with a short base vowel may or may not have an initial vowel as well (contrast with other dialects in this group, see below). This is concomitant with comparable imperative forms of primae hamzah verbs in ĞbA, see 3.2.2.3.

The other imperatives (for sg. fem, pl. masc. and pl. fem. resp.) are: šīliy, šīluw, šīlin; gūly, gūluw, gūlin and nāmiy, nāmuw, namīn.

When the forms for the sg. masc. are suffixed, resulting forms are like: šīluh (ḠbA), išluh and (i)šilha. Dialects that have initial u- in imperative

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103 For ĞbA Nishio 1992:30 (IV-37) for “sleep” gives nām, nām (sic.), nāmu and nāmen and for “say” (p. 72–73 (X-6)) ogol ~ gol ~ guļ, guļi, guļu and guļen.

104 For ḠbA Nishio 1992:31 (IV-41) gives gom ~ guṃ ~ ugūm, guṃi ~ ugūmi, but for the pl. only guṃu and guṃen.
forms for “eat” and “take” (see 3.2.2.3.), also have initial short vowels in
imperatives of mediae infirmae verbs.

In some dialects, the initial short vowel spread through the whole para-
digm (paradigmatic levelling): in ŠwA, for instance išt iššwāl “carry the
sacks!”, ištīhi ~ šīlīhi “carry (sg. fem.) them (sg. fem.)!”, ištīha ~ šīlūha’
“carry (pl. masc.) them (sg. fem.)!” and ištīlnuh ~ šīlīnuh “carry (pl. fem.)
it (sg. masc.).” In GrA, ASA and HnA imperative forms recorded were
úgum or gūm, ugūmiy, ugūmuw, ugūmin for “stand up!”. In these dialects
(i.e. GrA, ŠwA, ASA and HnA) a short base vowel does not appear after
an initial vowel (compare this to sg. masc. imperatives in ŠwA and GrA of
primae hamzah verbs in 3.2.2.3.). In ḤmA the sg. masc. does not have an
initial vowel, but the form is gum or gūm.

Imperatives used with the verb ǧāb, yǧīb “bring” are: hāt, hātiy, hātuw,
hātin.

For a remark on the absence of shortened long base vowels in the 2nd
p. sg. masc. imperfect and imperative forms in ‘LA, see 3.2.2.4.1. above.

3.2.2.4.3. Verbs C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae) participles
Active participles of measure 1 in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are formed with the
patterns C₁āyiC₃ or C₁āyC₃ih, C₁āyC₃īn and C₁āyC₃āt.

A passive partiple recorded for gāḷ, ygūl is magyūḷ “said, spoken” (in
ASA and ŠwA) and for rād, yrīd is maryūd “wanted” (ASA).

3.2.2.5. Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae)

3.2.2.5.1. Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect
Many informants for ṬwA and HnA produced mixed paradigms for the
perfect of tertiae infirmae verbs.

In ‘LA informants kept the a-type and i-type perfects apart better.

Unmixed paradigms for the a- and i-type perfects are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>“walk” (ǦbA)*¹</th>
<th>“find” (ǦbA)*²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>māša’</td>
<td>līgiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>māšat</td>
<td>līgiyṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mīšēt</td>
<td>līgit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mīšētiy</td>
<td>līgitiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>mīšēt</td>
<td>līgīn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ The same paradigms were recorded in ŠwA and ‘LA (maša is also a-type
perfect there).
Raising of a preceding ē, as is reflected in the paradigm above, is current in the a-type perfect, e.g. mišēt < mašēt. Such raising is however optional.105

*2 Similar paradigms were recorded for yansa, nīsīy “forget”, and these were also recorded in ‘LA.

The high vowel i of the first syllable is to be interpreted as a raised ‘underlying’ a, since it is not dropped in unstressed positions. Such raising of a presumably began in positions preceding stressed ē, after which the resulting i became stable—i.e. such raising was no longer optional—and then spread through the paradigm (paradigmatic levelling) to replace a in all positions.

A mixed paradigm for the perfect of the verb “forget” was recorded in ASA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“forget’ (ASA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nāsā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nāsat/nisyit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nisīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nisītiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nisīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisyuwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisītuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisītin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisīna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the GrA informants had similar difficulties with the perfect of the verbs máša’ / mīšiy. The paradigm he produced was: (sg.) mīšiy / máša, mášat, mišēt, mišētiy, mišēt and (pl.) mīsyuw / másyuw, másyin / másin, mišētuw, mišētin, mišēna. He also produced a mixed paradigm for līgiy “find” (forms were: (sg.) līgiy, līgyit, ligīt, ligītiy, ligīt and (pl.) līgyuw, līgyin, ligētuw / ligītuw, ligītin, ligēna).

Also in HnA forms of both the i-type and of the a-type may be heard used for the perfect in verbs like laga / līgiy and nīsīy / nasa’. The verb maša is, however, clearly a-type in HnA (for a remark on measure 1 verbs, which were originally measure 4 verbs in HnA, see 3.2.3.7.1).

Paradigms for “find” recorded in ASA and ḤmA were exactly like those listed for ĠbA (above).106 Also nīsīy and mīšiy are clearly i-types in ḤmA.

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105 Nishio 1992:66 (IX-16) gives final -ɛ (as in maše) in the 3rd p. sg. masc., does not indicate glottalization of final -a in this position nor raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed ē.
106 Nishio 1992:112 (XVI-5) lists nisi “forget” as an i-type perfect.
Notice that perfect conjugations in which \(a\)- and \(i\)-types have mixed also occur in groups I and VI.

Nishio 1992, however, does list many forms with such elision in ĞbA, see remark *2 in 3.2.1.1. above. This was not observed in ĞbA by myself\(^{107}\) (cf. also remark in fn to 3.1.1. on (non-) elision of 'underlying' a in CaCiC).

N.B. Although 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfects and imperatives with shortened long base vowels (of mediae infirmae verbs) are absent from 'LA (see 3.2.2.4.1.), apocopated imperfect and imperative forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc. of tertiae infirmae verbs are current in 'LA. 'LA thus occupies a middle position between group VII dialects (which show both base vowel shortening and apocopation of tertiae infirmae) and TAṢ (Tuكباني of راس صدر) (which shows none of these).

3.2.2.5.2. Verbs \(C_3 = y\) (tertiae infirmae) imperfect
Tertiae infirmae verbs in ṬwA, HnA and 'LA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th>“find”*1</th>
<th>“walk”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yalga</td>
<td>yalguw</td>
<td>yimšiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talga</td>
<td>talgin</td>
<td>timšiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgiy</td>
<td>talgin</td>
<td>timšiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga</td>
<td>nalga</td>
<td>imšiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The type of raising of final -a (e.g. yansî) heard in group VI is not current here.

*2 Apocopated imperfects for the 2nd p. sg. masc. are very regular.\(^{108}\)

Suffixed examples recorded in ṬwA, HnA and 'LA are: algāʾk “I find you”, (apocopated) talgni “you find me”, hayalgűn “they will find you”, hayalgûk “they will find you”, hayalgînnuḳ “they (fem.) will find you”. In the latter example, \(i\) of the verbal ending may colour (towards I.P.A. [u]) with velarization of the pronominal suffix, i.e. yalgûnuḳ “they (fem.) find you”. Forms with measure 1: (apocopated) hatalghi “you (sg. masc.) will find

---

\(^{107}\) Bernabela 2009 heard ligēt “I found” (p. 66), ligîhum “he found them” (p.79) and also maligitš “I did not find”. He recognizes that ligēt is probably an a-type (with raised a in the first syllable). The paradigm of the i-type without elision of the first vowel is listed on p. 50.

\(^{108}\) Also reported for ĞbA in Nishio 1992, e.g. tagr “you read” (p. 76 (X-28)), tīg “you run” (p. 66–67 (IX-17)).
her", *hatilgāhi* (with prefix vowel *a* raised > *i*) “she will find her”, *hatalgīhi* “you (sg. fem.) will find her” (for suffixed measure 3 forms, see 3.2.3.6.1).

3.2.2.5.3. **Verbs *C*₃ = *y* (tertiae infirmae) imperatives**

Like apocopated imperfect forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc., apocopated imperative forms for sg. masc. are current in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA, e.g. *irm* (írim #) “throw”, *irmuh* “throw it (away)” and *imš* “walk; go!”. The other forms are irmiy / imšiy, irmuw / imšuw and irmin / imšin.¹⁰⁹

3.2.2.5.4. **Verbs *C*₃ = *y* (tertiae infirmae) participles**

Active participles have the patterns *C₁āC₂iy*, *C₁āC₂yih*, *C₁āC₂yīn* and *C₁aC₂yāt*. Examples are fādiy, fādyih, fādyīn, fādyat “having sacrificed”.

3.2.2.5.5. **Verbs *C*₃ = *y* (tertiae infirmae) verbal nouns**

A verbal noun of a verb *C*₃ = *y* (tertiae infirmae) is *mašy*.

3.2.2.6. **The verb “come”**

3.2.2.6.1. **The verb “come” perfect and imperfect**

The verb “come” was recorded in ḤmA as (differences with paradigms for the other dialects are given in notes; apart from these differences, paradigms for this verb are the same in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ţi<em>¹</em></td>
<td>ţum*²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ţat</td>
<td>ţin*³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ţit</td>
<td>ţitum*²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ţīty</td>
<td>ţītin*³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ţit</td>
<td>ţīna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ When suffixes follow, final -*i* will be *ā* as in *ʒāʷk* “he came to you” and *ma ʒāš* “he did not come” (see also remark N.B. in 3.1.12.3.).

*² Instead of final -*m* of ḤmA, other ṬwA dialects and HnA have final -*w*: *ʒum* and *ʒitum* (which are also parallel forms in ḤmA).

In ‘LA only *ʒum* was heard, but given the several instances of 3rd p. pl. masc. perfect forms with final -*m* (e.g. *kātabum* “they wrote”), it seems safe to assume that the form *ʒum* will also be heard in ‘LA, just as *ʒitum* co-occurs with *ʒitum* (see also remarks in 3.2.1.1. and 3.2.1.2. above). For a remark on the development of the verbal suffix -*um* see NOTE in 3.1.12.2.

Notice that the form *ʒum* is also current in Cairene Arabic.

¹⁰⁹ Also reported in ǦbA by Nishio 1992, e.g. *er* “see” (p. 9 (I-73)), aqr “run” (p. 76 (X-28)), but only imši “go” (p. 66 (IX-16)) and “run” eqr (p. 67–67 (IX-17)).
When suffixed with consonant-initial suffixes, the final -n is doubled, e.g. ġītnuhu “you (pl. fem.) came to him”, (and examples for TwA and ‘LA) ma ġīnnaš “they (fem.) did not come to him” and ma tīġīnnaš “don’t (pl. fem.) go to him!”.  

*3 Notice the long vowel i in the imperfect paradigm. In ĠbA both long vowel i and short vowel i were recorded in this verb: yiġiy ~ yiği, niği ~ niği, uği ~ uği, but only tiği as the apocopated form for the 2nd p. sg. masc. 

GrA, ŚwA, ASA and HnA have long i in the imperfect, except in GrA, ŚwA and ASA, where also tiği occurs as the shortened and apocopated form. In HnA and ‘LA only the apocopated form tiği was heard.

3.2.2.6.2. The verb “come” imperatives
Imperatives used with the verb “come” are: taʿâl, taʿâliy, taʿâluw and taʿâlin. In one instance in ḤmA taʿâluw īġuw “come (pl. masc.)” was recorded.

In ‘LA the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperative was recorded as (without final -l) taʿā (other forms in ‘LA are like those listed above).

3.2.2.6.3. The verb “come” participles
Participles of the verb “come” are: ġāy, ġāyi, ġāyi in TwA, HnA and ‘LA.

3.2.2.7. Verbs C2 = C3 (mediae geminatae)

3.2.2.7.1. Verbs C2 = C3 (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect
Mediae geminatae verbs in TwA, HnA and ‘LA have the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*1</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>xašš</td>
<td>xaššuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>xaššat</td>
<td>xaššin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>xiššēt</td>
<td>xiššētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>xiššētīy</td>
<td>xiššētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>xiššētīna</td>
<td>xiššēn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Raising of a preceding ē is regular in TwA, HnA and ‘LA (like in group VI and in the dialect of Bilîy in the north, see De Jong 2000:205) and is not
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prevented by preceding x, although such raising does not take place when a is preceded by h (see remark below).\(^{112}\)

When the geminate is velarized, the ē of the ending is lowered (indicated here as ā, near I.P.A. [ɛː]), but not diphthongal ay. E.g. haṭṭāt “I placed” and in ḤmA ḥaṭṭum “they placed” and haṭṭātum “you (pl. masc.) placed” (notice that a is not raised, so not ẖiṭṭāt or ẖuṭṭāt, or something similar). In ’LA ḥaṭṭātum was elicited.

*Forms elicited in ḤmA are (pl. masc.) yhuṭṭum and ṭḥuṭṭum. In ’LA ṭḥuṭṭum was elicited.

3.2.2.7.2. Verbs C = C (mediae geminatae) imperatives

Imperatives of mediae geminatae verbs in ṬwA, HnA and ’LA are like in group VI, e.g. limm, limmīy, limmuw, limmin “gather!” and with base vowel u: xušš, xuššiy, xuššuw, xuššin “enter!”.

3.2.2.7.3. Verbs C = C (mediae geminatae)

Active participles of medial geminate verbs in ṬwA, HnA and ’LA are e.g.: lāmm, lāmmih, lāmmīn, lāmmāt “having gathered”.

Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when C = X, e.g. maḥaṭūṭ “placed”, maḫaṛūm “pierced”, ma’arūfah “known (sg. fem.)”, etc.

3.2.3. Derived measures

3.2.3.1. Measure n-ı

3.2.3.1.1. Measure n-ı sound roots

In ṬwA, HnA and ’LA the vowel in the preformative of measure n-ı is not stressable in the perfect, but may be stressed in the imperfect. The underlying patterns are: (i)nCₐC₂C₃, yinCₐC₂iC₃. The a in the imperfect is raised to i in open syllables, but ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. Paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>(i)nďárab</td>
<td>(i)nďárabuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(i)nďarabat</td>
<td>(i)nďarabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>(i)nďarābt</td>
<td>(i)nďarābtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(i)nďarābtiy</td>
<td>(i)nďarābtiyün</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>(i)nďarābtiy</td>
<td>(i)nďarabna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{112}\) Nishio 1992 does not report comparable raising for ĠbA, e.g. laffaṭ “I turned around” (p. 65 (IX-10)), adđēt “I gave” (p. 82 (XII-1)), zaggēt “I pushed” (p. 94 (XIV-13)), lammaṭ “I gathered” (p. 98 (XIV-36)), etc.
Participles are: \textit{mindirib, mindarbih, mindarbin, mindarbatt}.

3.2.3.1.2. \textit{Measure n-1} $C_1 = C_3$ (\textit{mediae geminatae})
Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial geminate verbs in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are: (i)n$C_1aC_2C_2$ and yin$C_1aC_2C_2$, e.g. inhaṭṭ, yinhaṭṭ “be placed”.

3.2.3.1.3. \textit{Measure n-1} $C_2 = y$ or w (\textit{mediae infirmae})
The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial weak verbs are: in$C_1āC_3$ and yin$C_1āC_3$. Paradigms in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are like those listed for group VI, e.g. inśāl, yinśāl “be carried (away)”.

3.2.3.1.4. \textit{Measure n-1} $C_2 = y$ or w (\textit{mediae infirmae}) participles
Participles are shaped on the pattern min$C_1āC_3$ and are like those listed for group VI.

3.2.3.2. \textit{Measure t-1}
Only one instance of measure t-1 was recorded in ŠwA: tūṭhirig “it (sg. fem.) is burnt”.

3.2.3.3. \textit{Measure 1-t}

3.2.3.3.1. \textit{Measure 1-t} sound roots
Underlying patterns for measure 1-t are: (i)C$taC_2aC_3$ yiC$taC_2iC_3$, with a of the imperfect being raised to i in open syllables (e.g. nīğiṭimī “we gather”), but ‘reappearing’ as a in closed syllables (e.g. yiğtamūw “they gather”).\textsuperscript{113} Like in measure n-1, raised a is found in the unstressed syllables of the surface form for the imperfect, e.g.: (i)štāğal, yīštīgil “work”, (i)ttāfag, yīttīfīg “agree” and (i)stāwa, yīštīwiy “ripen; be cooked (of food)”. Paradigms in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yīštiriy</td>
<td>yīštiruw\textsuperscript{*2}</td>
<td>ištāra</td>
<td>ištāruw\textsuperscript{*2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tīštiriy</td>
<td>tīštirin</td>
<td>ištārāt</td>
<td>ištāran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tīštir\textsuperscript{*1}</td>
<td>tīštiruw\textsuperscript{*2}</td>
<td>ištārāt</td>
<td>ištārūtuw\textsuperscript{*2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tīštiriy</td>
<td>tīštirin</td>
<td>ištārātiy</td>
<td>ištārātin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ištiriy</td>
<td>ništiriy</td>
<td>ištārāt</td>
<td>ištārāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{*1} Notice again the apocopated form, also reported for ĠbA in Nishio 1992:83–84 (XII-4).

\textsuperscript{*3} Nishio 1992 does not report such ‘reappearing’ a in closed syllables in ĠbA, e.g. (p. 105 (XV-11) yiğtim’u “they gather”.
In ḤmA also forms (imperfect) yíštírum and tíštírum and (perfect) ištárūm and ištarātūm were recorded.

Participles are: místirý, mištaryih, mištaryín, mišťaryáṭ.
Imperatives are: ištir (apocopated), ištirūw, ištirin

3.2.3.3.2. Measure 1-t C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmæ)
An example of a medial weak measure 1-t verb is ištāg, yıštāg (l) “long (for)”.

3.2.3.3.3. Measure 1-t C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)
Examples of medial geminate measure 1-t verbs are iltamm, yiltamm “gather, assemble (of people)” and imtadd, yimtadd “stretch out (in surface)”.

3.2.3.3.4. Measure 1-t participles
Patterns for measure 1-t participles in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are miC₁tC₂iC₃ (underlying miC₁taC₂C₃) miC₁taC₂C ah/ih, miC₁taC₂C in, miC₁taC₂C āt.
Examples are: mištīgil “working”, mi商品房ih “predatory (of animals)”, mištirý “having bought (sg. masc.)”, mišťaryih “having bought (sg. fem.)”, mítťifīg “agreed (sg. masc.)”, mítťafgāṭ “agreed (pl. fem.)”.
Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are: mištāg lēha “longing for her”, miltammīn “having gathered (pl. masc.)”, mímťaddīh “stretching out (in surface) (sg. fem.)”.

3.2.3.4. Measure īsta-1

3.2.3.4.1. Measure īsta-1 sound roots
Like measure 2, measure īsta-1 has alternating short vowels: a in the perfect and i in the imperfect. The paradigms in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are like those listed for group VI.

3.2.3.4.2. Measure īsta-1 C₂ = y (mediae infirmæ)
No perfect or imperfect forms of measure īsta-1 verbs of medial weak roots were recorded.

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¹¹ Also reported for ǦbA in Nishio 1992:83–84 (XII-4) (there: eštir).
¹⁵ Nishio 1992:109 (XV-24) reports e.g. xtāt (sic.), yiśťar “choose, select”.
¹⁶ Alternating vowels are also reported for ǦbA in Nishio 1992, e.g. p. 109 (XV-27) and p. 113 (XVI-11) and p. 95 (XIV-22) sta’mal yista’mel “use”, but not in e.g. (p. 22 (III-50) stafraġ, yistafrag “vomit”.

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3.2.3.4.3. **Measure** 

Measure ista-1 verbs of final weak roots were not recorded in ṬwA or HnA. In ‘LA a verb istagda (1st p. sg. com. istagdēt), yistagdiy (3rd p. pl. masc. yistagduw) “take up a new habit by following an example” was recorded.

3.2.3.4.4. **Measure** 

Patterns for medial geminate measure ista-1 verbs are: istaC₁aC₂C₃, yistaC₁iC₂C₃, e.g. (i)sta’add, yista’idd “prepare oneself”. Forms (reflecting optional raising of a preceding stressed ē) recorded in ‘LA are: (sg.) ista’add, ista’iddēt, ista’iddētiy, ista’iddēt and (pl.) ista’adduw, ista’addin, ista’iddētuw, ista’iddētin isti’iddēnē, see also remark in 3.2.2.7.1.

3.2.3.4.5. **Measure**

Participles of measure ista-1 verbs have the pattern mistaC₁C₂iC₃, e.g. mistāqrib “finding strange”.

For measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots the pattern is mistaC₁iC₂C₃; mistahīl “impossible, absurd” and (a clear MSA loan) mistaqīmih “straight”.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mistaC₁iC₂C₃: mistā’idd “having prepared oneself, ready”.

3.2.3.5. **Measures** 

In ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA the patterns for measure 2 are: (perfect) C₁aC₂C₃aC₄, (imperfect) yC₁aC₂C₃iC₄.

Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed a. The patterns are (perfect) taC₁aC₂C₃aC₄, (imperfect) ytaC₁aC₂C₃aC₄.

3.2.3.5.1. **Examples of measure 2 sound roots**

Like in other groups, the high vowel i of imperfect measure 2 may be elided in open syllables. The initial geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples of morphophonemic elisions are: biyfaḥḥmuw “they make charcoal”, biyḥammsuḥ ʿa nnāṛ “he roasts it on the fire”, txazznuh “you store it”.

Examples of sandhi elisions: twall’ innār “you light the fire” and bitṭall’ i’yīn “it (sg. fem.) grows buds (of a plant)”.

r following the high vowel i may inhibit its morphophonemic elision, e.g. imwaxxirih “pushing back (sg. fem.)” and an example in sandhi biyḳab-bir il’ādim “the bones grow”. Examples with l in a similar elision-inhibiting role were not recorded.

117 For ĠbA Nishio 1992:104 (XV-6) reports e.g. stamarr, yistimirr “continue”.

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When $C_i = C_s$, the elision of $i$ does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. bitgázzizuh “you sow it (of watermelon seed, by inserting each seed into its own hole in the soil). A similar example from ‘LA is biyballíliha “they moisten it (sg. fem.)”.

3.2.3.5.2. Measure 2 tertiae infirmae

Paradigms for measure 2 tertiae infirmae verbs in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are like those listed for group VI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
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<td>pl.</td>
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<td>sawwin</td>
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<td>suwwētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>suwwētiy</td>
<td>suwwētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>suwwēt</td>
<td>suwwēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In ḤmA and ‘LA ~ -tum. Suggested perfect forms sawwum and imperfect ysawwum for the 3rd p. pl. masc. were not accepted in ḤmA (not checked in ‘LA).

*2 An example of suffixation of an apocopated form is twarrha-yyāh “you show it (sg. fem.) to her”. For ḠbA Nishio 1992 also reports apocopation, e.g. twarr “you show” (p. 97 (XIV-29)).

3.2.3.5.3. Examples of measure 2 primae hamzah

The verb “feed” is wakkal, ywakkil “give food”, e.g. itwakkl ilġánam “you feed the sheep” (in ‘LA itwakkl álġanam) and wadda, ywaddiy “bring, take to”, e.g. ywaddūh Maṣir “they take him to Egypt (i.e. the mainland)”.

3.2.3.5.4. Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect

In measure t-2 the vowel $a$ is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are $taC_1aC_2C_3aC$, $ytaC_1aC_2C_3aC$.

Like in group VI, the $ta$- prefix in the perfect and imperfect of measure t-2 is stable and is only rarely reduced to $(i)t$-.

Reduction of initial $tta$- to $ta$- in the imperfect is regular like in group VI. The paradigms are:

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118 Nishio 1992:105 (XV-8) however lists many instances of such reduction for ḠbA, e.g. p. 105 (XV-8) ṭḥarrak, yīṭḥarrak “move, be in motion”, p. 72 (X-3) ṭḥarraf, yīṭḥarraf (ma)’ “speak with” and ṭballal, yīṭballal “be(come) wet”.

119 Nishio 1992 does not report such reduction in ḠbA (see also preceding fn), e.g. on p. 113 (XVI-8) tit’allam.
“have dinner”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<td>ta ašša</td>
<td>ta’aššaw</td>
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<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
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<td>ta’aššin</td>
<td>yta ašša</td>
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<td>ta’aššētuw</td>
<td>ta ašš</td>
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<td>ta aššiy</td>
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<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ta aššēt</td>
<td>ta’aššēna</td>
<td>ata ašša</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like in group VI, unstressed a of the preformative ta- preceding stress may be raised, e.g. ti’ aššēt.

3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns
Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a taC1 C2 iC3 pattern, e.g. (MSA loan) ta’ ql “postponement”, ta’līg “hanging up” and a gahawah-form ta’awir “wounding” and a form tašnīn “taking aim” in ‘LA.

A C3 = y verbal noun was not recorded, nor a verbal noun for measure t-2.

3.2.3.5.6. Measures 2 and t-2 participles
In ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA active participles of measure 2 have a mC1 aC2 C3 (-ih/ -ah, -in, -āt) pattern. Passive participles have a mC1 aC2 aC3 (-ih/ -ah, -in, -āt) pattern. Examples are like those listed for group VI.

Like in group VI, the ta- preformative of measure t-2 is often reduced to t- in participles in ṬwA and HnA (though less so in ‘LA!), so that both patterns for t-2 active participles mtaC1 aC2 C3 (-ih/ -ah, -in, -āt) and mitC1 aC2 C3 (-ih/ -ah, -in, -āt) occur, e.g. mtaqāwız ~ mitqāwız “married” and for C3 = y) mtaqaddiy ~ mitqaddiy “having eaten lunch”.

3.2.3.6. Measures 3 and t-3
Measure 3 has morphologically alternating vowels in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA: i in the imperfect and a in the perfect. Patterns for measure 3 are: C3 iC1 āC2 yC3.

Also in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA, measure t-3 has morphologically fixed a in the perfect and imperfect, and like in measure t-2, reduction of the ta-preformative to t- does occur, but is not very regular. Patterns for measure t-3 are: taC1 āC2 C3 ytaC1 aC2 C3. Like in measure t-2, intitial tt- in the imperfect is reduced to t- (see examples in 3.2.3.6.1.).

3.2.3.6.1. Examples of measures 3 and t-3
Paradigms for measure 3 are like those listed for group VI. Also paradigms for a measure 3 C3 = y are like those listed for group VI.

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120 Nishio 1992:3 (I-23) lists taṭāwab, ytaṭāwab “yawn” without reduction of the ta- preformative.
Examples of apocopated imperfects of tertiae infirmae verbs are: *b il’arabīyyah twāṭ ‘ilēh* “with the car you go down on it (to crush it, i.e. a snake)”. Another example is: *tlāg ilwalad, iltāghuh* “you find the boy, you find him” (the latter example also in ‘LA’).121

The verb *läga, ylägiy* is often used alongside *ligiy, yalga*, without apparent difference in meaning: *hanlägihi* or *hanılghāhi* “we’ll find her” and *hatläghin* or *hatalghin* “you (sg. masc.) will find them (fem.)”. Other forms recorded through direct elicitation are: (measure 3) *hatlägih “you (sg. fem.) will find him”, hatläginhin “you (pl. fem.) will find them (fem.)”, hatlägūhum “you (pl. masc.) will find them (masc.)”* (for suffixed measure 1 examples, see 3.2.2.5.2.).

Examples for measure *t*-*3* are: *iytašāgaluw ššwāl* “they throw the sacks together”, *taḍāyag “he became angry”, tanāwaš (< *ttanāwaš*) “you pick (of fruit from a tree)”, *tasāfa (< *ttasāfa*) lmayyah mn illaban “the water becomes cleared from the milk”.

An example in ‘LA is *biytadāwalūh* “they exchange it (among themselves)”.

### 3.2.3.6.2. Measures 3 and *t*-3 participles
Active participles of measure 3 have the pattern mCāCiC2iC3 (-ih / ah, -in, -āt), e.g. mwāfijig “agreeing”, mlāgyih “having found (sg. fem.)”, mkāwnīn “fighting (pl. masc.)” and in ‘LA m’āwid “returning” and mlāgīuḳ “finding/meeting (sg. masc.) you”.

A passive participle (pattern mC1āC2aC3) is the origin for the loan mwāṣalāt “public transport”.

Active participles of measure *t*-3 have the pattern mtaCāCiC2iC3 or mitCāCiC2iC3 (-ih / ah, -in, -āt). Not enough instances of participles of measure *t*-3 were recorded to draw conclusions on reduction of the *ta*- preformative, i.e. initial *mta- > mit-. An elicited example is *mitkāwnīn “fighting (pl. masc.)”*.

### 3.2.3.6.3. Measures 3 and *t*-3 verbal nouns
A verbal noun for measure 3 that was recorded is mmāṛasat ilḥayāh “experience in life”. Verbal nouns of the type tC1ēC2iC3 were not recorded.

### 3.2.3.7. Measure 4

#### 3.2.3.7.1. Measure 4 sound roots perfect and imperfect
Like in many Bedouin dialects of Sinai, measure 4 is active in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA as well.

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121 Similar apocopation in ĞbA.
In HnA, however, several originally measure 4 verbs have joined measure 1, or co-occur as measure 1 with measure 4, e.g. aʼaṭa, yiʼtīy (and participles mīʼṭyī ~ ăṭ, mīʼtīyah ~ ăṭiy, etc.) “give”. Examples of its use as measure 1 are ăṭuw “they gave” and hinnih ăṭinuh “they (fem.) gave him”. The paradigm for the perfect aʼaṭa is thus a measure 1 a-type, i.e. like maša in HnA: (sg.) ăaṭa, ăaṭat, ăaṭāt, ăaṭātiy, ăaṭinuh, ăaṭātuw, ăaṭātin, āṭānā. In LA the verb is still full measure 4: aʼaṭa (1st. p. sg. com. aʼaṭa), yiʼtīy and participles mīʼṭyī, mīʼtīyah, mīʼtyīn, mīʼtyāt.

Other verbs are fāṭar, yifṭir “have breakfast” (paradigms like kātab, yik-tib, see 3.2.1.1.) and ḍāwa, yiḍwiy “return home before sunset with goats and sheep”. The measure 1 participles of these verbs co-occur with measure 4 participles: fiṭir ~ mifṭir and ḍāwiy ~ miḍwiy. In LA these verbs are (measure 1) ḍāwa, yiḍwiy with participle ḍāwiy, and (measure 4) aftar, yifṭir and participle miḍtir.

The patterns are aC21C3aC5 for the perfect and yiC21C3C5. The paradigms are like those listed for group VI, including raising of unstressed initial a > i, e.g. ifṭárt “I had breakfast”. Such raising of unstressed initial a is also heard in LA, e.g. iʼtāt “I gave”.

The imperfect paradigm for yifṭir is like that of yik-tib, see 3.2.1.2.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 C2 = w or y (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect
In all dialects described here the verb “want” has become measure 1. This is to be concluded from the shape of the participles: ṛāyid, ṛāydih, ṛāydīn, ṛāydāt and passive participles maryūd, -ih, -in and -āt, e.g. (LA) iza māhī ṛāyidtuh ibtuṣrud ʿinnuh “if she doesn’t want (to marry) him, she flees from him”.

Only one instance of a participle of a media infirma measure 4 verb was recorded (in ASA): mģīr “running fast”.

3.2.3.7.3. Measure 4 C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect and imperfect
Like in group VI, aʼaṭa, yiʼtīy is a measure 4 verb in most dialects (in ASA, GrA, SwA and HmA). In HnA only measure 1 aʼaṭa was recorded (see remark above) and in ḠbA only idda, yiddiy was heard for “give”, e.g. biddik tiddīnī lmiftāḥ “you (sg. fem.) need to give me the key” and (apocopated) bidduḳ tiddinī lmiftāḥ “you (sg. masc.) need to give me the key”.

The perfect and imperfect paradigms for aʼaṭa, yiʼtīy are:

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122 In e.g. the dialect of the Taṛābīn of group I, these verbs are all clearly measure 4: aʼaṭa, yiʼtīy, aftar, yifṭir and ḍāwa, yiḍwiy with matching participles mīʼṭyī, miḍtir and miḍwiy. Also in ḠbA, ḤmA: ḍāwa, yiḍwiy and participles ḍāwiy, ḍāwiyih etc.
“give”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
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<td>3. masc.</td>
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<td>á’tin</td>
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<td>á’tâtuw</td>
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<td>fem.</td>
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<td>á’tàtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>á’tät</td>
<td>á’tânà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Notice the presence of the apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. forms in measure 4 as well.

3.2.3.7.4. Measure 4 C₁ = w (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect
A measure 4 prima wāw (and also tertia yā’) verb recorded in GbA is awfa yūfijiy, as in gaḅil ma yūfijiy ilaṛba sā’āt “before 4 hours have (fully) passed”.

3.2.3.7.5. Measure 4 C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect
Verb forms of measure 4 C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae) were not recorded, or not recognized as such.

Examples of imperatives for measure 4 sound roots are like imperatives for the i-type imperfect (see: 3.2.1.5.).

Imperatives of C₃ = y roots are: (apocopated) i’t, i’tiy, i’tuw, i’tin.

Suffixed examples are: i’tiḥ-iyyāha “give it (sg. fem.) to her”, i’tuh luh “give it to him”.

3.2.3.7.7. Measure 4 participles
The participles for sound roots have a miCᵰᵰᵰᵰ pattern, e.g. mifṭir, mifṭirih, mifṭirin, mifṭirāt “having eaten breakfast”.

For mediae infimariae there are participles of the type mCᵰᵰᵰᵰ, like mḡūr, -ih, -īn, -āt “running fast”.

3.2.3.8. Measure 9
Paradigms for measure 9 in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are the same as for group VI, except the diphthong ay in the endings of the perfect are monophthongal ē (with velarized consonants preceding ē is lowered to ā, i.e. I.P.A. [ẽː]) in group VII, e.g. ihmarṟātuw “you (pl. masc.) turned red”, participles are miḥmarṛ, -ah, -īn, -āt.

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123 The verb awfa, yūfijiy was also recorded in group I in the north, see De Jong 2000:219.
3.2.3.9. Quadriliteral verbs

Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect (vowel i) and perfect (vowel a). The paradigms listed for group VI zağrat, yzağrit “ululate” are the same in group VII. Other examples are: biykarikmūh “they add curcumin to it”, bitḡáribluh “she sieves it”.

The typically Bedouin verb type with inserted wāw between C₁ and C₂: C₁ōC₃aC₄, ycC₁ōC₃iC₄ has the following paradigms:

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>gōṭart</td>
<td>gōṭarna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The superscript vowels in this paradigm are bukaṟa- vowels.

An example of such a verb recorded in ‘LA is (with diphthong!) biyrawb’uw nnās “people perform the maṛbū’ah”.

Quadriliteral verbs may also have a ta- preformative. The stem vowel of the perfect and imperfect is then fixed a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>imperfect</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Participles: mta’aknin, mta’akninih, mta’aknin/ mta’akinnin, mta’aknināt/ mta’akinnāt. Notice that elision of the the short high vowel i does not necessarily take place (compare this to the non-elision of high vowels in measure 2 verbs of mediae geminatae, see 2.1.2.5. and 3.2.3.5.1.).

For the verbal noun t’iknin was recorded.

124 Nishio 1992, however, reports a number of instances with ‘fixed’ a in perfect and imperfect, e.g. (p. 62 (IX-1) gōṭar, ygōṭar “leave”, and also (p. 72 (X-3) dardaš, ydardaš “debate”.
125 During night time festivities older men stand in a square (maṛbū’ah) and improvise verse to each other.
126 See remark in Stewart 1990:8 (text 1), fn 55 on the form ṭširrit formed on a pattern for verbal nouns used for both measure 2 and t-2 verbs. See also Abul Fadl 1961:286 on
A quadriliteral verb with $C_4 = y$ is *tagahwa, ytagahwa* and has the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td><em>tagahwa</em></td>
<td><em>tagahwuw</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td><em>tagahwāt</em></td>
<td><em>tagahwīn</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td><em>tagahwēt</em></td>
<td><em>tagahwētuw</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td><em>tagahwētiy</em></td>
<td><em>tagahwētin</em></td>
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<td>1. com.</td>
<td><em>tagahwēt</em></td>
<td><em>tagahwēna</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* When in pause, *tagāhuw #.*

An apocopated imperative for the sg. masc. is *tagahw* “drink tea / coffee!”. Participles are *mtagahwiy*, *mtagāhiwyīh*, *mtagahiwīyn*, *mtagahiwīyat*.

### 4. Remarks on Phraseology

#### 4.1. Nunation

Tanwin is not a feature of ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA, but in loans from MSA and in poetry nunation does occur. Recorded examples are: (all loans from MSA) *ṭab*’an “of course”, *masalan* “for instance”, ‘*āmmatan* “in general”, *dāyman* “always” (< MSA *dāʾiman*), *ḥāliyyan* “currently”, *ahyānan* “now and then” and *tagrīban* “approximately”.

#### 4.2. Negation

In ṬwA and HnA a verb is usually negated with compound *mā + verb form + -š*. Examples are *dawwir dawwir ēza mā ligītiš ’arţā’ -luh ṭāniy* “keep looking (for it), (and) if you don’t find any, go back to him”, *ma bingāṭṭī iš siyyāl* “we don’t cut down acacia trees”, *ma farašāttiš (< ma farašat + hi’ + š) “she did not spread it out”, *ma nā arāfhaš* “we don’t know her” (for more detail on negated pronominals and negated verb forms with pronominal suffixes, see 3.1.12).

A negated suffixed preposition is *ma luƙš da’awah* “it is no concern of yours”. For more detail on negation of suffixed prepositions, see 3.1.16.

A single negation with only *mā* preceding the verb form may also be heard, but is much less frequent, and seems to be reserved for more emphatic

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verbal nouns of measure t-2 *tuḥussun* “Besserung”, *tu’uhhud* “Verpflichtung” and *tukubbur* “Hochmut”.

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negation, often accompanied by xāliṣ “at all”. Examples are wa Aḷḷāh mā ǧāni “By God, he did not come to us” and biḍḍak kirna la ḥāgāt mā nā arīfā “you remind us of things we don’t know (i.e. had forgotten about)”.

In ‘LA verbs are regularly negated with single preceding mā (the compound negation is the exception in ‘LA). Also negated pronominals, prepositions etc. are negated with preceding mā. Examples in ‘LA are: mā ṭallagithe “I had not divorced her”, fīh nās ḥalhin iblyakl-ālbalah iw hū ṭāzah mā byyahaštū “there are people now who eat the dates while they’re fresh (and who) don’t stuff them”, izā mā ‘induḥ ḥalāl “if he doesn’t have small cattle (for slaughter)”, gāl aḅuw lbint ‘māḥi maxaṭūbāh “the father of the girl said ‘she is not engaged’”.

4.3. The b-imperfect

The originally sedentary feature of the b-imperfect to express the habitual present tense is also current in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA. Some examples in ṬwA are āywah biyḥuṭṭūh f-āgraḥ “yes, they put it in goat skins”, ma bingaṭṭi’s siyyāl “we don’t cut down acacia trees”, innāgah biysībūhā...ibtimšiy l waḥadha fi ṣṣaḥara. iw kull šahar aw šahrēn waḥadha fiji ṣṣaḥaṛa “the she-camel, they let her go...she goes alone in the desert. And every month or two months somebody sees her”. yōm akbaṛ, mumkin iykūn ‘induḥ sanah biyḡūbuh...‘induḥ fi lbēt iw hūwaw ḍāt? biyṭaḥbuh. ya’niy biyraḥbūh “when it is older, it could be a year old, (then) he gets it...and keeps it) with him in his house, while he what? He trains it, that is, he raises it”.

Two examples from ‘LA are: ba’adēn uḅūh...biyrawwiḥ l arriḡgāl...aḅuw lbint...iw biyxarrfuh “after that his father...goes to the man...the father of the girl...and speaks to him”, biyṣūf bint ʿibtī’iḡbuh “he sees a girl that he likes”.

4.4. Future Marker

To express “volition” or “need” bidd + pron. suffix may be used in ṬwA, HnA and also in ‘LA.

Often not only volition or need is expressed, but also a sense of futurity of the action expressed in the following verb. Examples are: (futurity/volition) biddi-gūl luḳ biyḥuṭṭūh...ilgaṣalah...halḥīn xallēt Maḥmūd iyḡawwiz bintī...“I want to/shall tell you something...this twig...I have now (agreed to) let Maḥmūd marry my daughter”.

To express futurity, the imperfect form may also have prefixed ha-, e.g. hantaṣarraf lēha fi ljamūs...“we’ll make do with it in the (preparation of) food dip” and iw ba’ad kidiy btāgaslūḥ...gāsīl ġamīd xāliṣ. hatlāqīh tīriy “and after that you wash it thoroughly, and you’ll find it is dry...”. 
In these and other instances there was less emphasis on ‘inevitability’ than was noticeable in examples for group VI.

The future may however also be expressed with the simple imperfect, as in ássalag yizgatte...127 lamma yulguṭha’. mā yākilha lamma yḡiba la ṣāḥbh. iygūm ṣāḥbh ḏābīḥhe’ “the hunting dog runs after it...until it catches it (fem.). He will not eat it (fem.) until he brings it to its master. His master then slaughters it”.

4.5. fīh “there is / are”

fīh is used to express existence or availability of something, e.g. fīh wāḥid ṣāḥibna nihāniy mumkin nāxuḍ minnuh l’arabiyyah nkutt bēha lwādiy “there is a friend of ours here whose car we can take with which we go down the wadi” and (‘LA) fīh nās biyšūffā’ “there are people who see her”.

The negation is usually ma fīš, also in ‘LA (!), e.g. w Aḷḷah ġār rišrēš maṭar mā fīš “by God, except for a few drops there hasn’t been any rain” and (‘LA) aza mā fīš ḥuṛmah ġaḍyah lēhin “if there is not a woman free for them (i.e. to take care of the animals)”.

Also māš may be used for negation: issuwwāḥ māš ilǧimmāš ilḥēl “the tourist, on Friday(s) there are no tourists at all”. māš was not heard in ‘LA.

4.6. Some Conjunctions

4.6.1. Conjunctions lamma and yōm

Like in many dialects of Sinai, conjunctions lamma and yōm, or variant forms based on these, are used for “when”.

4.6.1.1. yōm

4.6.1.1.1. yōm used independently

yōm may be used meaning “when”, e.g. il’anz yōm taḥalibha kıdiy w ithuṭṭuh fi ssī’in kīmā...illaban “the goat, when you milk it like, and you put it in the goatskin128 also...the milk”, ṭab’an illaban yōm iykūn kıṯr bhluṭṭuḥ fīh ēh? “of course, when there is a lot of milk we put it in what?”), iılmāṭar illiy nāzil ʾdi’, yōm yinzil ʾala gizāz l’arabiyyah...ṭīn “this rain that falls, when it comes down on the glass of the car...it is mud” and (from ‘LA) yōm ṛawwāḥ ’ind ḥuṛumtuḥ bidduh ynām ḡambhī “when

127 yizgatte > yizgat + ha.
128 A sīn is a leather bag made of goatskin in which butter is churned.
he came to his wife he wanted to go asleep beside her” and yōm assaddah ṭabālīa “when the dam is watered it grows”.

4.6.1.1.2. yōm in combination with in

4.6.1.1.2.1. yōmin used independently

yōmin may also be used for “when”, like in the following examples: yōmin ligihī “when he found her…” and (from ‘LA) aṣṣubīh yōmin ma yiğiy l alfāxī iw lannha malgūtah “when he comes to the trap in the morning, there she is, caught”.

4.6.1.1.2.2. yōmin + obj. suffix as subject of the clause

There is an example of yōmin suffixed with a dummy subject (-uh); the subject is “I: ba’adēn ḥawwalthum hīniy yōminnuh iṭṭarrēt iyi ṭaba li’yāl ʿasān ilmidāris “after that I moved them here, when I was forced to come with (lit. after) the children because of the schools” (ṭṭ in iṭṭarrēt is assimilated < dī). No such example in ‘LA.

4.6.1.1.2.3. min yōm

min yōm(in) is often used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”, e.g. min yōm ana-ddēt ilgasalah xalāṣ “from the moment that I give the twig, it’s done” and (’LA) min yōm aṭūh algaṣalah xalāṣ ʿirif hādiy hūruntuh, ib sīntt Allāh w rasūluh aṭūh... gāṣalatuh “from the moment that they have (i.e. the father of the bride) has given him the twig, xalāṣ, he knows that she (lit. this) is his wife... according to the tradition of God and his Prophet they have given him... his twig”.

4.6.1.1.2.4. min yōm in combination with ma

A combinations of min yōm and ma was only recorded in ‘LA: min yōm ma ’āyzah tušrīd, marraḥ marṭēn talātah xalāṣ lāzīm iyṭalligha... xalāṣ māhī ’āyzītuh “from the moment that she wants to flee, once, twice, three times, that’s it, he has to divorce her (i.e. grant her her wish for a divorce), (because) she does not want him”.

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129 The ‘dam’ is actually the soil behind a dam on which water collects.

130 A gasalah “twig” is given to the groom by the father of the prospective bride in betrothal ceremonies. See also Bailey 2009:350 (glossary).

131 rasūluh-aṭūh: rasūluh + aṭūh. The phrase b sīntt Allāh w rasūluh is often added to descriptions of practices whose islamic origin(s) are doubtful. See also remark in fn 430, De Jong 2000:219 and Šuqayr 1916:387–388.
4.6.1.2. lamma and lumma

*lamma* is often used for “when” and “until”. Also a form like *lam* was recorded (variants *lumma* or *lum* were not heard).

4.6.1.2.1. lamma “when” used independently

Examples of lamma used for “when”: tiği ʾilʾan, iw tisiṣa ṣaṣṣah lamma tkun ’atšānah walla ḥāğih, iw baʿad ma tašārāb. timsikha, wāḥid ibyimsīk-luk iw wāḥid ibyadbah. bitgul bismillāh Allāhuʾakbar iw taḏbāh “you get the goat, and you give it water when it is thirsty or something. And after it drinks you take hold of it, someone holds it for you and someone (else) slaughters. You say ‘in the name of God, God is great’, and you slaughter”.

Another example is: *lamma nnās ibyasamʿu xabīṭ illibbah kidyi, ilkull ibyā arf inn fih wāḥid ἦν … “when people hear such knocking on the loaf”,132 everybody knows that someone has come (as a visitor) …”. An example in ’LA is (both in the meaning of “until” and “when”) bitsawwiy ẓsibdeh, iw bitxu/dmacronbeloẉ/dmacronbeloẉ assi/…ixu/dmacronbeloẉ/dmacronbeloẉuh lamma tṛawwbuh. *lamma yrūb bitṭallʿ azzib-dah minnuh “she makes butter, and she churns the goat skin … she churns it … until she causes it to curdle. When it curdles, she takes the butter out of it (i.e. from the goat skin)”.

Another form recorded in GrA is *ānāt*, which is used for “when”: *ānāt ma yístiwiy biykūn tamiṛ layyin ṣār “when it matures it will have become tender (soft) dates”.

4.6.1.2.2. lamma + in

The only recorded example (in ASA) of lamma + in (lumma + in was not recorded) is budxulʾādʾind innaṣilliy bāṛa, [kiḍiy] fi ḫmāyithuṃ … lamman inṣūf ilmūškilih diṭ, iw-taxlaṣ “so I take refuge with people who are outside (i.e. outside my own community), like that in their protection … until we see (look into) this problem, and it is resolved”.

4.6.1.2.3. lamma and lumma “until"

Lamma (lumma was not recorded) maybe used in combination with laḡāyit for “until”, e.g. bitdugga dagg fi ṭhōn …laḡāyat lamma yunʿum kidiy “you crush it (sg. fem.) in the mortar … until it becomes soft” and biyğib miṣwāṯ kiḍiy xaṣab, iw byuṭrubha bēha bāṛuḥ āḥ? laḡāyat lamma taḡədiy … zayy izzibdah fi baʾaḍha “he takes a wooden spoon, like, and stirs it (sg. fem.) with it (sg. fem.) and also what? until it becomes … like butter mixed together”.

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132 The *libbah* is a loaf of bread baked in live embers and hot sand. When it is done, the loaf is beaten to get rid of the dust and ashes.
An example of *lamma* used as “until” without *laqāyit* is *tiǧib ilḥaṭab dī*, *imm issīyyīl, w itwall* innr *lamma eh yāḥaṃ yāgadiy ǧamīr “you get this firewood, from the acacia, and you light the fire (and let it burn) until what? The flames die down (and) it becomes glowing embers”.

An example in ‘LA: *ana xammīni-tawwil bālī lamma šṣabāḥ yatla’…w arawwḥ ilmag’ad w anām fīh “(addressing himself) let me be patient until the morning comes… and let me go back to the mag’ad and sleep there.”

4.6.1.3. *lōm* (+ in)

An example of *min lōm* in the meaning of “from the moment that” (in ASA):

*bīyrawwī* ‘ind *ilĤēwāt bīyrawwī* ‘ind *ilGîrārših bīyrawwī* ‘ind *ilMiζēnīh*, *ana min lōm bīyrawwīḥ kidiy mā-garrib luh “he goes to the Ħaywāt, he goes to the Garāršah, he goes to the Mzēnah, from the moment that he goes (like this), I didn’t go near him”*. Another example is *min lōm hū ǧawwazha “from the moment he married her”* and from ‘LA lōm tiǧ talqha lannha xāḍid ḫissi in, w imsawwyah libbah w fāttītta “when you come you find her and (lo!) there she has churned the goat skin, and she has made libbah and she has made fattah of it (sg. fem.)”.

4.6.2. *ḥatta*

4.6.2.1. *ḥatta “until”, “so that”*  

*ḥatta* was not recorded in the meaning of “until” or “so that”.

4.7. Auxiliaries and Verbal Particles

4.7.1. *gām*

*gām* used as a ‘marker of consequent action’ was recorded only in ‘LA: *iw ḥāl…gām xaḷḷāha w ‘ugū ṣanatēn…zabbaṯ alḥaṭab, iw ǧāb addabāyiḥ, iw ǧāb iblyūt ássā′ar “and in case… he has then left her and

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133 A *mag’ad* is a place where men meet and a host receives his guests, and where they drink coffee or tea and exchange stories and news.

134 *h* + often assimilates to *j*, also in sandhi: *biyrawwīh ‘ind > biyrawwī ‘ind.*

135 *fattītta = (fattah) fāttīt + ha “having made it (sg. fem.) into fattah”. When sufffixing the obj. pron. suffix to the sg. fem. act. participle the fem. morpheme becomes -īt here, instead of -īt. This appears to be typical of ‘LA (as I was told by a Turbāniy informant). Another example (provided by the same Turbāniy informant) is *māklītha “having (sg. fem.) eaten it (sg. fem.)”. For such sufffixation as a trait of fellāḥi dialects in Transjordan and Ḥōrān, see Cantineau 1946:22–225 and Palva 2008a:61. See also EALL 2006 (Vol. I):263 (Rosenhouse: Bedouin Arabic).

136 The three instances recorded in ‘LA showed a 3rd p. sg. masc. subject. ‘Unconjugated’ can therefore not be concluded.
after two years... he has prepared the firewood, and brought the animals for slaughter, and has brought the tents”.

4.7.2. ṛāḥ

Examples of the use of ṛāḥ used as an auxiliary were recorded only in ḤmA: lamma ṛāḥ karrarha winha manganīz [... ] manganīz nimraḥ wannādī [... gāl ‘gāl ʾywaddīnī imnakān dī’ [... ] rāḥ iywaddī137 a-skandariyyih gāl ‘itwaddīnī makānuh’ “when he then (went and) analyzed it, lo it was (i.e. turned out to be) manganese [...] top quality manganese.138 He came and said ‘you have to take me to this place’ [...] he was going to send it to (a laboratory in) Alexandria, he said ‘take me to its place’ (i.e. where you found it)”.

4.7.3. Conditional particles

4.7.3.1. Variations on kān as a conditional particle

4.7.3.1.1. in + kān

An example of in + kān “if” in ṬwA and ḤmA: iw ʾshufūw-nkān talguw lēʾkuṯum buʾrān ‘induh “and look if you find camels of yours with him”, w inguṣṣ inkān ʾguṭrūt ilbuʾrān fihi “and we follow the tracks if the camel tracks are in it” and in ‘LA w alfuṭūr baʾadiyttta139 nkān ʾawz ʾitsawwha bitsawwha “and (the breakfast) after this (lit. it (sg. fem.) if you want to prepare it (sg. fem.), you prepare it (sg. fem.)”.

4.7.3.1.2. Suffixed inkān

Instances of suffixed kān or inkān were not recorded in any of the dialects discussed here.

4.7.3.1.3. il + kān

Instances of il + kān were not recorded.

4.7.3.1.4. kān preceded by CA loans iz or iza

The following example of kān preceded by iz is not very coherent: izkān... ʾṣāḥbih-lliy yḡibuh... ʾārif nimraḥ-zkān nimrīt baṭāgtuh... w ʾāʾrufuh bass “if... its owner who brings him... you know the number, if

137 ʾywaddī ’a is assimilated < ʾywaddīh ’a.
138 In the area of Umm Bugmah manganese deposits have been found. A Google search on the internet with search criteria “Um Bogma” or “Oleikat” (i.e. ‘Lēgāt) will yield references to geological reports on these deposits. Google Earth indicates Umm Bugma as being located at appr. 29.00.43 North and 33.20.28 East, which is the area of Sēl Bā’ba’ (“Wadi Baba”).
139 See also Greenwood 1997:35 (figure 3-6) (there transcribed as Um Bogma).

the number of his I.D., I just want to know him (i.e. who he is). A more coherent sentence is: iw baʿad kidiy xamis ʿaṣar digāyig xamistāṣar digīgih binṭallīḥa-z kān ǧamīr ḥiluw “and after like five, ten minutes, fifteen minutes we take it out if it is (a fire of) good embers” and izkān wāḥid ʿayyān walla ḥāḥah biyīgībūh luḥ “if someone is ill or something, they bring it to him.”

Instances of iz(a) + kān were not recorded in ‘LA. Instead, several instances of iza or iz, and even more regularly az(a) were heard as independent conditionals, e.g. iza mā ʿinduh ḥalāl “if he does not have small cattle (for slaughter)”, iz fatt alfattah mazbūt xāliṣ “if he has prepared the fattah very well…” and azā gāluw ʿlaʿ lázim tuskun ʿindina “if they say ‘No, you have to live with us’…”, azā lugūḥ, bitxallhe’… imšammalah “if she is pregnant (i.e. the she-camel), you make sure she gets a šamlah.”

4.7.3.1.5. kān as an independent conditional
kān used independently as conditional “if” was recorded often, but an example is: kān imʿūḳ dirāhim “if you have money”. No such examples were recorded in ‘LA.

4.7.3.1.6. kān, inkān or ilkān introducing alternatives
kān may introduce alternatives: iddaxil kān Šarim, aw issyāḥah ʿāmmatan fi liblād sī “an income is (i.e. can be made in) Sharm, or (in) tourism in general in this land”. No such examples were recorded in ‘LA.

4.7.3.2. Absence of a conditional particle
Conditional sentences are often not introduced by a particle. An example is: huṃmā kānuw … huṃmā rrǧāl ʿayzīn yūguḍw sāwā, fiḥ makān … ilmaḡmaʿ bārrha “they were… if they are men who want to sit together, there is a place… the meeting place is outside”. Another example from ‘LA is: māḥī lugūḥ, bitbarrik ʿalēha ṭāniy “if she is not pregnant (i.e. the she-camel), you have her covered (i.e. to be impregnated) again”.

4.8. Presentative Particles

4.8.1. irʿ or arʿ
Presentatives ʿirʿ or ʿarʿ were not recorded in ṬwA or HnA, nor in ‘LA.

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140 A šamlah is a piece of cloth covering the vagina of the she-camel. This is used to make sure that she can only have been impregnated by a thoroughbred camel.
4.8.2. hē + suffix

The presentative particle hē followed by a personal pronominal to draw the listeners attention to something or someone is current, e.g. hēhū ǧi! “there he has come!”, hēhī ǧāt “there she has come!”, hēhuwwa ǧaw “there they (masc.) have come!”, hēhinnah ǧin “there they (fem.) have come!”. In ‘LA an example is: w lin ǧi hēhuwwih “and there he came”.

This presentative hē must have developed from hāy, which shortens to hay in unstressed positions.\(^{141}\)

Another possibility recorded in ASA is hvk (in which v is the short high vowel colouring with the following vowel) followed by a pronominal of which initial h assimilates to k, e.g. hukkuwwa or hukkū “there you have him”, hikkiiyyih “there you have her”, hukkumma “there you have them”, hikkinnih “there you have them (fem.)”.

This presentative element hvk or must have developed from a presentative hāk\(^{142}\) (< hā + k) of which the long vowel was shortened, due to its unstressed position in forms like hāk + humma or hāk + hiyya, after which the resulting short a (e.g. as in assumed intermediate forms *hakkumma and *hakkiiya) could assume the colour of the following vowel: > hukkumma and hikkiiya.

4.8.3. Particle wlin - wilin, win

The particle wlin is mainly used to present a sudden or unexpected turn in a narration. Although in the first example below, like also in examples for group VI, the development referred to is hardly unexpected or sudden: iw bitḥuṭṭuh [. . .] fi nnār galiy galiy lamma tāḥa fi ba’āqna w ba’ad kidiy bitḥuṭṭha w innha samin šīḥiy “and you put it on (lit. in) the fire to boil and boil until it melts together, and there you have wormwood ghee”.

Another example is ndawwir iNmēr iw linn ǧuṛṛit ǧamal hēhī giddāmna ḥīmra’ “we went to Nmēr and there were the tracks of a camel and there she was in front of us, red (colour)” and ba’ad ṯalat sa’āt kidiy w linni b xēr. ana banabbiṭ tanbit fi līlād “after three hours or so I was alright again. (and) I was jumping about on the ground”.

In ASA a similar iw lannuh hū b nafsuh “and there he was himself” was also recorded (see remark in next paragraph).

\(^{141}\) For remarks on hāy and hay (< hā + y) see De Jong 2000:235–236.

\(^{142}\) On the difference in deictic function between hay or hāy and hāk, see De Jong 2000:236.
4.8.4. Particle *wlā* +

An example of the presentative particle *wlā* is probably *w lannuh* (see preceding paragraph 4.8.3.) consisting of the elements *w* + *lā* + *inn* + *uh*.

In ‘LA the presentative *lan* co-occurs with *lin*, of which the former is probably the result of *lā* + *in* (see examples in 4.8.3.).

4.9. ġayr

*ĝār* (< ġayr) may be used preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action,143 e.g. *hāda ġār niţğār inţībah lēhin w Allāh*. . . “this we have to get a carpenter for them (pl. fem.), by God . . .”.

Also in ‘LA several examples of ġēr were heard, e.g.: *gāl hū ġēr iţīb issēf w agṭa rāqabatuh* “he said ‘I have to get the sword and decapitate him’”. Instances of reduced ġayr were recorded as *ir*, e.g.: *law kalāt’t k bidduk, ir kān daktūr walla bidduk, iza f-albarr kamān mā ťāwāl“ k daktūr ir kān insān ťāwii “if it bites you (i.e. a snake) you need, it should be a doctor, or you need, if you’re in the desert and also there is no doctor near (lit. around) you, it must be a person (who is) a snake charmer” and *ibyidĪrsaw b ālţīmāl, iw ġār insān ārif īysawwih* “they thresh with the camel, and it should be someone who knows how to do it”.

4.10. Intensifying Particle *la*

The particle *la* intensifying the 1st p. sg. com. was not recorded in any of the dialects discussed here.

4.11. *bidd* or *widd* + pron. suffix

To express “want” or “need” speakers of ĊwA and HnA use suffixed *bidd* (~ suffixed *badd* in ĜbA), but in ḤmA suffixed *widd* was also heard. Exam-
phrases for “need” or “want” are: *biddna nkutt fi lwādiy* “we want to go down the wadi”, *bidduh y götir* “he wants to go (away)”.  

An example of *bidd* expressing futurity, rather than “want” or “need” is *ihnā zayy ibtā' talāt marāt biddna ndī' fi ibhār* “something like three times we were going to get lost at sea” (HnA).  

*bidd* is also used in ‘LA, e.g. *ihnā biddni* … *nirsiy ‘ādyi* “so we’ll anchor (here) (i.e. make camp for the night)” and *ana biddi-tagaddam … māsīy* “I shall / want to continue walking”.

4.12. ‘ād

The particle ‘ād is current to express “so, thus, then”. Examples are: *bitmad-did fi lliblād. iw btaṭla’ ṣattixah … id’dyyaf kidiy ssā’, ‘awwil ma yatla’, iw byakbar iw ba‘ād-ma yakbar, tūkun ithāfīd ‘ilēh ‘ād intih …’an ḍarb išsāmš ilquwiyiḥ.“ It grows out over the soil, and a watermelon grows… still a bit weak, when it comes up, and it grows, and after it grows, you should then be protecting it… from the strong radiation (lit. beating) of the sun”. Another example is *hāda bīyka’dīb ‘ād* “so this man is lying”.

An example of ‘ād in ‘LA is *iw ‘uguh kidiy ‘ād waddāha dāruh* “so after that he took her home”, but often the forms ‘ādíy or ‘ādíyt also occur: *hū ‘ādíy ‘ind addéf mistagra* “so he is served a proper meal with the guest (i.e. who actually received the invitation and through whose company he is also invited for the meal)”.

4.13. yabga

Like in group VI, *yabga* is not very current in ṬwA, HnA or ‘LA, but may be heard at times meaning “so, then”, as in *w iṭṭa’ lam illiy fīha bardagān. yabga sārat bitgif xēr aktar* “and its taste is oranges, so then it brings more good (i.e. it is even better)”.

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144 A proper meal fit to be served to a respected guest is called *gār’* (n.u. *gārwah*) and usually consists of rice and meat. Other ingredients instead of meat are also acceptable, if the host is unable to serve meat. Compare also Stewart 1990:222 (glossary), root *g-r-y*, 4th measure (*agra, yigriy*) “to entertain, feed guests” and *griy* “hospitality, the food etc. that is given to a guest”. See also Bailey 2004:173 (entry 449). In a similar context I have also heard *ilxubiz mà byigriy* “bread is not a proper meal”. See however also fn 36, p. 208 for *griy* as a pl. form for *garyih*. 
4.14. Characteristics of the Narrative Style

4.14.1. Imperative of narration

Instances of the narrative imperative were not recorded in TwA, HnA or ‘LA.

4.14.2. kān as a temporal marker

Unconjugated kān used as a marker to indicate the past is current in TwA and HnA, e.g. kān inǧīb ilMansiy min Aḅuw Rdēs “we used to get ilMansiy from Abuw Rdēs”, kān binḥuṭṭ ġēr izzētūn “we used to plant olive trees only”.

However, kān was more frequently used as a verb and conjugated as such, e.g. kānat iliǧnēnah /dmacronbelowiy kullha kānat milyānih. kān milyān ēh? baṭāṭis w ix/dmacronbeloẉāṛ. innās kānat ēh? kānat ibtiğiɣ hina ‘a ṭūl “this whole garden was full. It was full with what? Potatoes and vegetables. People used to what? They used to come here directly”.

Findings for ‘LA were similar.

4.14.3. Dativus ethicus

Some instances of the ethical dative are: w itwiǧǧ innāṛ minnuh w iyṣīr luk tamām xāliṣ “and you light the fire with it (i.e. firewood) and it becomes perfect for you”, iw ba’ad kidiy bitǧīb masfa ‘imāmah-w ayyi ḥāǧih, iw bitṣaff ‘ilēh iw biṭṭall’ izzēt iw bitsaww luṅ imraggagah ‘ilēh aw bissaww luṅ ayyi ḥāǧih “and after that you get the cloth-sieve or anything, and you sieve with it and you get the oil out and you make mṛaggagah for yourself with it or you make anything for yourself” and mumkin yākul luṅ fatisiḥ, yākul luṅ bahīmah mayyttih, yākul luṅ ayyi ḥāǧah xalāṣ “he could eat for you (meat of) a corpse”, he could eat for you (meat of) dead livestock, he could eat anything at all for you”.

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145 This should not be taken to mean that these dialects lack this feature; it is simply not present in my material.
146 mṛaggagah is like fattah: a dish with torn pieces of flat bread in oil and herbs.
147 The translation with ‘could’ reflects that the person in question (a boy who has been chosen to grow up to be a snake charmer) should avoid eating what is mentioned, and that people should take extra care with his food. It is believed that the wrong food—anything ḥarām—will ruin his special gift.
An example in ‘LA is: gāḷ luḳ hāḍa krāk ‘indi b xamisṭāšar sanah “he says (lit. said) to you, here is your pay” that I owe you for fifteen years (of work”).

4.15. Pluralis paucitatis

For limited or countable numbers often the healthy plural form is used, instead of the broken plural. Examples are: xuṇrawāt—xār “vegetables” (HnA), nuxrāt—änxař “noses” (GrA), banāt—bnittih “girls”, šuggāt—šgāg “woven lengths of a tent”, ḥabbāt—ḥbūb “grains; pills” (both ASA), šwālāt—šwilih “sacks (for grain)” (ṢwA).

4.16. Concord

Limited or countable numbers of things tend to be referred to in the pl. fem. Examples are: (A) ‘āwzīn ɪṛṛakkb iššabābīk w ilbībān… (B) lā lā dīlīḥi šugliṭhin dīl ġawilah ‘īlēne… (A) walla niğib lēna niğgār? (B) hāḍa ġār niğgār inğibuh lēhin w Allāh “(A) we want to fit the windows and the doors (B) No, no, the work on these things is too much for us (to handle). (A) or shall we get ourselves a carpenter? (B) (for) This (is something), we have to get a carpenter for them, by God”. Another example is illīy žāb luḥ sittīn išwāl walla ḥāghah biywaddihin ilmaṭhaninih, lākin išwāl wāhīd biywaddiḥ ilbēt ibyaṭthan ‘a rrḥā… “he who has harvested (lit. brought) sixty sacks or something for himself, takes them to the mill, but (if it is just) one sack he takes (it) home and grinds (it) on the hand mill” and fīh amākin igṣūr innās imsawwyīnhin zamān, fa biytaxazzan fīhin “there are places for storage that people made in the old days, so they store (goods) in them”.

The following is a reference to a pl. of animals (here camels): w Allāh w ṭabbēna lGā’ il’āṣir, w Allāh w ihna mnām luḥ ‘ilēhin… īšrād īšrād īšrād īšrād lamma ǧīna Bir Mūs-Abūw ʿĀṭwa “By God, and we went to ilGā’ in the afternoon, by God, while we lay flat on them (for you), fleeing, fleeing, fleeing, fleeing until we came to Bir Mūs-Abūw ʿĀṭwa”.

Some examples in ‘LA are: fīh igṣūr iligṣūr ġill biyḥuṭṭuw algirbah fīhin “there are storage caves. They put the girbah (a goat skin sack) in these

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148 Root k-r-y, I have also recorded ìkrih and krāh “his pay”.
149 gṣūr (sg. gaṣr), see fn 42, p. 47.
150 The (largely empty) sandy coastal plain near at-Ṭūr. See also fn 1, Chapter Two below.
151 luḥ “for you” is an instance of the ethical dative, see 4.14.3.
storage caves”, (talking about animals) alṣīnān ḏillōn mā biyṭīhīn fi ṭwāţīy, ǧār fi ǧābāl, fi ǧābāl albi’ideh “these gazelles don’t come down in low areas, (you’ll find them) only in the mountains, in the far mountains” and ibtāṣrāḥ ib bi ṭānūk, iw tiğiy’a nayyīt álğada...itgayyīdhīn w itxālḥīn...fi ǧāl’ān alḥalāl “you go out grazing with your camels, and you come by lunch time, you hobble them and leave them...away (lit. aside) from the small cattle”.

5. A Sketchy Remark on Pitch

The type of pitch heard in group I predominantly among older men in the northeast was not heard in ṬwA or HnA, nor in ‘LA.
CHAPTER TWO

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE MZĒNAH AND BANIY WĀŠIL

INTRODUCTION

The largest tribe of the central, south and southeastern Sinai are the Mzēnah (or Muzaynah). The much smaller tribe of Baniy Wāṣil live near the town of aṭ-Ṭūr and towards the east of it and in the western part of the massif of the central south of Sinai, where they are neighbours of the Awlād Saʿīd and the Garāršāh, who live to their north. The dialects of Mzēnah (MzA) and Baniy Wāṣil (BWA) share some important characteristics, and are therefore treated in one chapter. Originally, however, the dialect of the Baniy Wāṣil must have been more like the dialect-type of group I, with which it still shares a number of features not found in Mzēniy. Some of these features actually occur parallel to features also heard in Mzēniy, while other characteristics are still uniquely (inside Sinai, that is) found in group I. Wāsliy is therefore treated here together with Mzēniy, partly for contrastive purposes and partly because it must have developed towards Mzēniy.

On the location of Baniy Wāṣil, as it appears on the maps in this study, the following must be taken into account: although their territory does not directly border on the territory of the Mzēnah, in practice the Awlād Saʿīd, whose territory is indicated to lie between that of the Baniy Wāṣil and that of the Mzēnah, actually live more inland, i.e. in and around Wādiy Ṣlāf in the central mountain massif, where they are direct neighbours of the Ġbāliyyah. The coastal plain of the dīrah of the Awlād Saʿīd is in fact empty land (the sandy coastal plain al-Gāṭ), and hence the Baniy Wāṣil are—more or less—direct neighbours of the Mzēnah.

1 Although the dīrah of Awlād Saʿīd is indicated on the map as bordering the Gulf of Suez, members of this tribe actually do not live in this deserted coastal plain (known as Gāʿ ašŠarm or simply alGāʿ), but are found more up in the mountains to the east. In effect, the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil (who do inhabit the coastal area on the Gulf of Suez near aṭ-Ṭūr) are direct neighbours.

2 The coordinates are appr. 28.32.35 North and 33.43.55 East, see Google Earth.
1. Phonology

1.1. Consonants

1.1.1. Inventory of consonants

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of MzA and BWA is:

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vd = voiced, vl = voiceless, emph. = emphatic/velarized

The greatest difference with the inventory of group I is the presence of both /k/ and /ḳ/, which is also a feature of group II in the north and of dialects of groups VII and VIII. A minimal pair *xu bāluḳ—xī bāliy (though ~ bālkiy in BWA) *pay attention (sg. masc.—sg. fem.)* isolates /k/ and /ḳ/ as phonemes.

*1 See remarks in 1.1.3. below.

1.1.2. Interdental fricatives /t/, /d/ and /ḍ/

The reflexes of *ᵗ and *ḍ are interdentals ṭ and ḍ (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð] respectively).

Examples for *ᵗ are: naharīt “we plough” (MzA), tāniy “second” (both), tyāb “clothes” (BWA), (’)atḥruw “their tracks” (BWA).

For *ḍ: nāxiḍ “we take” (both), migdāf “oar” (MzA), mnāḍbaḥuḥ “we slaughter him” (MzA), ʿidn “ear” (MzA), ḏikr “mention” (BWA), ḏimīmih “ugly” (BWA), xud bāluḳ “pay attention, mind you” (BWA).

There are also exceptions: “refrigerator” and “ice; snow” are with ṭ in both dialects: tillāḡah and talḡ.
In some loans from MSA (presumably via speakers of Cairene) the reflex for *ṯ is s, e.g. ḥadīs “modern” (BWA) and also ḥaras (!) “he ploughed” (BWA), masalan “for instance” (both) and for *ḍ it is sometimes z, as in bizr “seed” (BWA) and kizāluḳ “as well”.

Emphatic ḥ (I.P.A. velarized [ð]) is the interdental reflex of *ḏ and *ḏ, e.g. (as reflex of *ḏ in) ṭawḏ (pl. ṭidān) “small wadi between low mountains” (BWA), ṭafur, pl. ṭidāf “finger” (MzA), ḍayf “guest” (both) and (as a reflex for *ḏ in) ẓydall “he remains” (both) and ḍāharuh “his back” (BWA) and álqa’d “(the) inferior type of firewood” (BWA).

In a number of lexemes ḥ (usually loans from MSA or Egyptian Arabic) is the current reflex, like in mwazzafin “civil servants”, ḥubbāṭ “officers” (both BWA), b-iẓṣabṭ “precisely” (both), binẓabbīṭ “we do a proper job”, niẓām “system” (both MzA), etc.

In both dialects the sg. masc. demonstrative (ḥa-)ḏa “this (sg. masc.)” is without velarization.

1.1.3. Velar stops /k/ and /g/

Like in the other dialects of Sinai, *k and *q have unaffricated reflexes k and g.

Although in both dialects k and k are heard, only in MzA we find a true phonemic opposition in a minimal pair like īduḳ “your (sg. masc.) hand”— īdik “your (sg. fem.) hand”; in BWA (sg. fem.) pronominal suffixes -ik and -kiy are used as parallel forms5 (i.e. īdik, as well as īdkiy, the latter of which is the original BWA form and which is normally used). A true phonemic opposition between /k/ and /kh/,6 such as that existing in MzA, appears to be developing in BWA.

Similarly we find the (sg. masc.) pron. suffix C-ak (and its allomorph āk) parallel to the (sg. masc.) pronominal suffix -k in BWA.

In MzA “cigarette” is sigāṛah (not like in many other dialects siqāraḥ).

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3 A sibilant s for interdental ṭ in the verb ḥarat, yaharat “plough” is usually (i.e. in other dialects of Sinai) not one of the exceptions.
4 Compare MSA ka-dālik, of which morpheme boundaries were reinterpreted as kaḍā-l-ik, after which l-ik “to you (sg. fem.)” was adapted as l-ik (for sg. masc.).
5 For the notion of ‘parallel forms’ as a characteristic of a transitional stage in dialect change due to dialect contact, see Trudgill 1983:chapter 5 and remarks in De Jong 2000:28, 596–597.
6 ‘True’ in the sense that the two phonemes can be isolated in a minimal pair.
1.1.4. *Post alveolar affricate* /ǧ/

The allophone ŋ (I.P.A. [ʒ]) for /ǧ/ is particularly frequent in MzA. It was not recorded in BWA.

1.1.5. *Emphatic alveolar stop* /ṭ/

In all dialects of group I of the south, and also in group VI, a measure of glottalization in the realisation of /ṭ/ may occur. Often the glottal release, which coincides with the release of the ṭ, is not very clear. What is clear, is the lack of aspiration in the release of ṭ, and the immediate onset of a following vowel.

1.1.6. *Glottal stop (hamzah)*

Like in many dialects of Sinai, the reflex for *ʾ* in the verb ask is ʾ: saʿal, yaʿal.

In *raʾs* “head”, loss of ʾ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel > rās (pl. rūs).

1.1.7. *Secondary velarization*

What strikes the ear first of all when one hears MzA is the lack of velarization in positions where neighbouring group I dialects in Sinai appear to have it almost as a matter of natural fact. It is a feature of which one of my Mzēniy informants was quite aware; when asked to mention a few differences of his own dialect with that of the Taṛābīn (who are their neighbours to the north), he mentioned kibbǟyih “(drinking) glass”, pl. kibbǟbiy, where a Turḅāniy would say kuḅḅǟyiḥ and kuḅḅǟyi. MzA rikbih (pl. rḳab) “knee” is pronounced rukbǟh (pl. rḳab) in TAN, and MzA siwwǟg “driver” is sawwǟg in TAN.

The imperfects of “eat” and “take” are not (or at best only minimally) velarized, whereas the imperatives are: (imperfecfts) yāxi and yākil, but velarization is heard in (imperative forms) ḳul and xuḍ.

Compared to TAN, long ā in MzA is also noticeably higher in positions not influenced by velarization, e.g. siyyǟd “fisherman”, riǧǧǟl “man”, kiššǟf “flashlight”, ʾiṭšǟn “thirsty” (ā is used here to indicate a phonetic value between I.P.A. [æː] and [ɛː]). In TAN the long ā is considerably lower (nearer to I.P.A. [aː]): siyyǟd, raǧǧǟl, kaššǟf, ʾaṭšǟn.

Another difference with TAN is MzA and BWA demonstrative ḥāḍa (~ ḍah / ḏiʿ #), where TAN has ḥāḍa, and the pl. form (ḥā-) ḍıl (-ih) or dillél (-ih) (~ ḥāḍól in BWA) where group I dialects have heavily velarized forms
like hāḍāl (-ah) or hōḍāl (-ṭah). Another difference is (MzA) kimān(-īy)—(TAN) kūmān “also”.

1.1.8. Liquids l and r

On the other hand, MzA and BWA, like many dialects in Sinai (including TAN), have strong velarization in xāf “he feared” (and also xāyif “afraid” in MzA), gāb “he was absent”, ruğfān “loaves (of bread)”, (in the first syllable of) xāyifyif “light”, nār “fire”, xyār “gherkins” and (i)ṣār “persons” and hümā “red (sg. fem.)”, īwrā “one eyed (sg. fem.)”, bīrān “camels” and rās “head” (but no velarization in frāš “blanket”).

Uvulars followed by l or r are especially prone to become velarized as an accompanying phonetic feature, e.g. aġḷabiyyah “majority”, šuġ “genitive exponent”, naxaḷ “palm trees”, xall “let! (imperative)”, nuxraḥ (pl. nxar) “nose”, baxarrif “I speak”, nuqraḥ (pl. nqar) “pit, pothole”, bagra “I read (i.e. study)”, gar “decision”, grayyiib “near”, gāḷ “heart”, gāḷ “she said”, glayyl “few, little” (glāḷ “few (pl.)” and agaḷ “less”) and Rās Aḥuw Gāllūm “name of a cape between Dāhab and Nwēbi’”.

Generally, like in group I, the combination ār will be velarized, unless i follows within morpheme boundaries (see also De Jong 2000:65–67). An exception is the pl. for kītār “many”, which is k(milliseconds)ār in MzA and BWA (with a long ā almost as high up as I.P.A. [eː]), but velarized k(milliseconds)ār in TAN, whereas groups I and VI both have velarized kār as the pl. for kībīr “old, big”. There are many examples of velarized ār, of which some are: mitmāraḥ “(cylindrically shaped) grain silo”, xyār “gherkins” (BWA), sinnāraḥ “fishing hook”, nār “fire”, nahār “day (-light)”. Also: sigāraḥ “cigarrette”, xuwwār “inferior type of camel, raised for its meat”, byār “wells”, Badāraḥ “name of the tribe Badāraḥ”.

Notice, however, how following (either ‘vanished’ i within morpheme boundaries blocks such velarization, e.g: mīṣāri “lands for cultivation”, midāris “schools”, šāri “street” and ārif “knowing (sg. masc.)”).

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8 Combinations of a velar (g, x or ġ) with l, r or b will often produce velarization, especially with u, ū or a, ā in their vicinity.
9 The articulation of uvulars involves some raising of the back of the tongue (towards the uvula). The process of velarization also involves a degree of raising of the back of the tongue.
10 mitmāraḥ is also used for “pit for storing grain or belongings”, see Bailey 2009:347 (glossary). The rocky mountains, more or less shaped like grain silos and located appr. at 28.51.46 North and 34.27.31 East, are also locally known as Ĝabal Maṭāmīr.
Also sequences rā are generally not velarized when (vanished) i precedes, or follows in the next syllable within morpheme boundaries, e.g. marākib “boats”, grāyah (cf. MSA qirā’ah) “studying (lit. reading)”, fraš “blanket” (cf. MSA fīrāš), Garāršah “name of tribe” (compare with MSA Qarārišah) and rākib “riding (sg. masc.)”, but there is velarization in forms like rās “head”, bārrād “teapot” and harārah “heat”.

1.1.9. Nasal n
No remarks.

1.1.10. Devoicing of final voiced stops, liquids and nasals in pause
Devoicing of voiced stops, liquids and nasals in pause is regular in MzA and BWA.

One of my informants claimed that one feature of MzA is the type of glottalization of ā in a final sequence -āC in pause, by which the final consonant is no longer produced (compare the situation described in remarks on TyA in 1.1.10. of chapter III). I have not been able to verify his claim.

1.2. Vowels

1.2.1. Inventory of vowel phonemes
The inventory for vowel phonemes contains three short vowels and five long vowels:

    short:  i  u  
    long:   ĩ  ā

1.2.2. Long vowels

1.2.2.1. Allophones of long vowels ē and ĩ
Unlike in group I dialects, phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ĩ/ is rare in group VI dialects.

The phonemic status of /ē/ and /ĩ/ can be established with a minimal pair like: šēn “bad”—šīn “name of letter š”, and /ā/ may be isolated by pairing either of these with (mīn) šān “because of”.

In MzA imperfect forms of the verb “dry” (root y-b-s) monophthongization takes place, e.g. yēbas (< *yaybas) “he dries (intr.)”. 
1.2.2.2. **Allophones of long vowels ō and ū**

In neutral environments, i.e. in the absence of velarization and without preceding back spirants, older diphthongs *ay and *aw have been monophthongized as ē and ō. As long vowels, the phonemic status of /ū/ and /ō/ can be established through minimal pairs like:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rūḥ} & \quad \text{“go! (imperative sg. masc.)”} & \quad \text{rōḥ} & \quad \text{“soul”} \\
\text{gūl} & \quad \text{“say! (imperative sg. masc.)”} & \quad \text{gōl} & \quad \text{“speaking”}.
\end{align*}
\]

In positions influenced by velarization, /ū/ is realized relatively low, near I.P.A. [oː].

In verbs with wāw as C, the diphthong aw has usually been monophthongized, as is illustrated in e.g. nōgaf “we stand” and also tōgīd “you light” (both in MzA and BWA). In both dialects the imperative of w-’-y “pay attention, take heed” has an initial diphthong: aw’in rūskin “mind (pl. fem.) your heads!”.

1.2.2.3. **Allophones of long vowel ā**

Allophones of the long vowel /ā/ are ruled by the same principles as in group VII.

1.2.2.4. **Shortening of long vowels**

Like in group I dialects, shortening of unstressed long vowels is a characteristic of allegro style of speech in group VI dialects as well.

1.2.3. **Short vowels**

1.2.3.1. **Isolating phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/**

Minimal pairs listed for groups VII and VIII also produce the phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/ in MzA and BWA.

1.2.3.2. **Phonetic factors influencing the quality of I**

In principle, distribution of short high vowels i and u is governed by the same rules as described for group I in De Jong 2000:70–74: a short high vowel tends to be u (i.e. near I.P.A. [u]) in velarized and/or labial environment, otherwise i (i.e. near I.P.A. [ɪ]).

The pl. com. of ašdaf “left-handed” was recorded as šidf in BWA, but as šudf in MzA. Similarly, the pl. com. of a’araǧ “lame, limping” has the high vibration.

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11 The imperative aw’a is often not inflected for number or gender, e.g. aw’a rūskaw! or aw’a rūsk! (instead of aw’aw and aw’ay respectively). Apocopated imperative forms of this verb have not been recorded, thus e.g. aw’a tans! “don’t you forget!”. 
vowel i in ‘irğ in BWA, but u in ‘urğ in MzA and that of a’ama “blind” is ‘umy in BWA, but ‘umy in MzA. Other pl. com. forms of the pattern aC1C2aC3, used for colours and physical defects, recorded in both dialects have a Č1uČ2Č3 pattern (most have some degree of velarization), e.g. (sg. masc. aḥtaṃar) hump “red”, (sg. masc. aẓraq) żurg “black”, (sg. masc. axaḍar) xuḍr “green”, (sg. masc. aṣfaḍ) ṣufr “yellow” and (sg. masc. aḥbal) hubl “dim-witted” (where labialization of the b triggers the appearance of u), (sg. masc. agra’) guṛ “bald”, tūm (sg. masc. aṭram) “gap-toothed”.

Both dialects have i in the imperfect of primae hamzah verbs: yāxiḍ and yākil “he takes” and “he eats”, but u in the sg. masc. imperative: kuḷ and xuḍ “eat!” and “take!” (resp.) and clear velarization, caused by the ‘vanished’ u: xdiḍ and kliy (sg. fem.), xdiu and klw (pl. masc.) and xdi and klin (pl. fem.).

Imperfect forms of mediae geminatae verbs recorded in group VI corroborate the rule formulated in De Jong 2000:72–73: u appears near primary and (potentially) secondary emphatics, while i appears in neutral environments. Examples are:


1.2.3.3. Morphological conditioning of the short high vowel
So far we have seen that often a velarized or labial environment triggers the appearance of u. Morphology, however, will over-rule this phonetic feature, as far as distribution of short high vowels is concerned. For instance, measures 2, 3 and 4 will have i in the imperfect forms, such as yC1aC2C2iC3 (measure 2), yC1āC2iC3 (measure 3), yC1C3iC3 (measure 4),

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12 aẓraq lit. “blue” is often used euphemistically for “black”.
13 In MzA axaḍar was also recorded in the meaning of “wet”, as in iw hū yŷijy mŷūn kaḍyyiyh u ḫājuḥ . . . iw ǧīlduḥ ḫīl , l isṣā axaḍar hū “and he comes running like this with his (diving) gear . . . with his diving suit (lit. skin) on, still wet he was . . .”.
14 See remarks in Blanc 1970:16 [127]!
15 Lagg, ylugg is listed as “snatch, grab” in Stewart 1990:245 (glossary), but my recording calls for a translation like “hit, strike”, as in [aḷjaḥrah byirkiṭuḥ cheduler?] fi sšams, itlugg fiḥa sšams “[they place the earthenware pot where?] in the sun, [where] the sun hits (i.e. shines on) it” as a method to let milk ferment to produce ṭāyib.
16 The verb wašš, ywišš is onomatopaeic.
yin$_1$C$_2$C$_3$ (measure n-1) and yiC$_1$tiC$_2$C$_3$ (measure 1-t) and yistaC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$ (measure ista-1). Other examples are the active participles of the measures: C$_1$$\acute{a}$C$_2$C$_3$ (measure 1), mC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$ (measure 2), mC$_1$$\overset{\text{a}}{}\!\overset{\text{C}}{\text{i}}$C$_3$ (measure 3) and miC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$ (measure 4), mtaC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$ (measure ta-2), mtaC$_1$$\overset{\text{a}}{\!}\overset{\text{C}}{\text{i}}$C$_3$ (measure ta-3), minC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$ (measure n-1), miC$_1$$\overset{\text{t}}{\!}\overset{\text{i}}{\text{C}}$C$_3$ (measure 1-t)$^{18}$ and mistaC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$ (measure ista-1).

An exception to such morphological conditioning is found in forms coloured by the strong velarization caused by the pronominal suffix -k or -uk, as in tušgû́l’k “she occupies you/keeps you busy” and also the vowel of the fem. morpheme in construct state may be affected, as in nuxrút“k your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nuxrî́k “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

1.2.3.4. *Allophones of short vowels*
Allophones of short vowels do not differ much from what was described for group I in De Jong 2000:74–77, although some allophones, notably of /a/, may appear in environments different—or are more frequent, or less frequent—from those in group I.

1.2.3.4.1. *Allophones of /i/*
When in stressed and neutral positions, short high vowel /i/ will be realized near I.P.A. [ı̯] and slightly higher nearer to [i] when it precedes y, e.g. židd [ʒîdd] “grandfather”, nîrmî́y ['nIrmi̯'] “we throw” and dîšbih [dɪ̯bɪ̯h] “cold (disease)”.

When in velarized positions, backing and centralizing takes place, resulting in [ı̯], e.g. tîb b “(practicing) medicine” [tɪ́b].

When laryngeals precede, they usually have a lowering effect on /i/, resulting in [e] or slightly higher, e.g. ḥîlūw # ['helu̯̞] “beautiful, sweet”, xîrm [xerm] “large species of fish”.

1.2.3.4.2. *Allophones of /u/*
In neutral positions short high vowel /u/ will be realized near I.P.A. [u], and slightly higher [u] when it precedes w, e.g. yusku̯n ['juskun] “he lives (inhabits)”, nâmûw “they slept” ['næːmu̯w'].

When velarized consonants or laryngeals precede, lowering tends to take place, resulting in a realization near I.P.A. [o], e.g. ġumsî̯h [ˈγomst] “food dip”, ħurmah [ˈhorma] “woman”, xutwah [ˈxotwâ] “step”.

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$^{17}$ See following fn.

$^{18}$ When in closed syllable, the vowel preceding C$_1$ will be a in measures n-1 and 1-t (or VII and VIII resp.), e.g. yinsideb̄uου “they are beaten” and minsideb̄u “having been beaten (sg. fem.)” and yis̄taq̄lîn “they (fem.) work” and mĩst̄aqlîn “working (pl. masc.)”.

1.2.3.4.3. Allophones of /a/

1.2.3.4.3.1. /a/ in non-raised positions.

The realization of short low vowel /a/ in neutral environments will be near I.P.A. [ɐ], e.g. tānam [ṭanem] “you sleep”, maddat [medːat] “she stretched out”.

Where pharyngeals precede, /a/ has a realization near open and front I.P.A. [a], e.g. harīm [haːrim] “womenfolk”, ʾarṭīy [ərṭˈdiːj] “lame, limping (sg. fem.)” and also with h preceding, as in ʾahābīy [aʃaˈbiːj] “gray-coloured (sg. fem.)”.

In velarized environments, /a/ is realized near I.P.A. [a], e.g. bahār [ˈbɑːhr] “sea” and nughṭah [ˈnoghtah] “police post” and ḥabsah [ˈḥabsah] “severe cold (disease)”.

1.2.3.4.3.2. Raising of (*)/a/ preceding long stressed vowels

The short vowel /a/ is raised in a variety of positions preceding stress:

- preceding stressed Cī: kibīr “large; old”, šidīd “strong”, ǧīlīd “fat, thick”, xīfī “light”, ʾīris “bridegroom”, ʾīriḍ “parrot fish”, and also ʾīlīy “male given name *‘Alī” and verb forms nisīt “I forgot”, ligīt “I found”. Instances of a preceding stressed CCī were not recorded: baṭṭīx “watermelon”, sabʿin “seventy”.
- (preceding stressed Cē): ʾilēh “on him”, ligēna “we found”, mišēt “I walked”, bidēna “we started”, (preceding CCē) middēt “I stretched”, suwwēt “I did/made” and ʾistinnēniʾ(#) “we waited” (but ʾistanna “he waited”).
- (preceding stressed Cā): ʾisākir “soldiers”, zimān “in the old days (used as adverb)”, timānyih “eight”; (preceding stressed CCā): riǧǧāl “man”, šiyyād “fisherman”, kiššāf “search light”, biṭṭāriyyih “flashlight”, zirgā “blue (sg. fem.)”. miṛṛāt “times”, mi ʾānāt “the meaning (of sth)”.
- (preceding stressed ū): ʾurūs “groom”, isSuʿūdīyyih “Saudi Arabia”, ʾuṣʿur “emperor (fish species)”.
- (preceding stressed a): ǧīmāl “camels”, giʿadna “we sat down”, xuḥār “information”, nihāb “he plundered you”.
- (preceding stressed u): kubūr “he grew”, ǧuliḍ “he grew fat”.
- (preceding stressed i): širīb “he drank”, birīy “innocent”, guwīy “strong”.

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20 Of the Lethrinidae: the longnosed emperor is Lethrinus olivaceus.
Raising of a also takes place following stressed a, as in ánwikal “it was eaten”, áttifág “he agreed”, háwğisat “she improvised song”, ännixal “the palmtrees”, álhiwi “the wind”, álʼiši “the dinner” and ádduwa’ “the medicine”.

Also when a follows stressed i in closed syllable, it is raised, as in yínḍirib “he is beaten”, yíttifíg “he agrees”.

1.2.3.4.3.3. Raising of the feminine morpheme (T)
The a of the fem. morpheme is regularly raised in neutral environments and reaches a phonetic value near I.P.A. [ıh]. This is not only a pausal phenomenon, but occurs sentence-medial as well. Examples are kull wáhíd ʾinduh xuṛřáfah hilwih biyğibhi “everyone has a nice story which he tells”, lamma llélih gōtarat “until the evening has passed”, ċallaʼ gišiddih fî wiḥdih ráyídhí “he recited a poem on a girl with whom he was in love”.

In velarized environments such raising does not take place, e.g. gámat hurmah “a woman stood up”, (a mock rhyme) binjib lëna farxah simënîh, iw lihiy simënîh bi lmarrah “we get for ourselves a fat chicken, but it is not fat at all”. Other examples are: bisiṭah “simple”, gišidah “fat”, xuṭwah “step”, ċigámah “snake-like species of sea fish”, ramlāh “sand”.

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ʼ and h, e.g. rfayyʼih “thin”, sām ʼih “hearing (sg. fem.)”, Ŝuwâlḥih “name of a tribe”, mirğēḥih “swing”, ṣafîḥih “cannister (of 20 litres)”.

1.2.3.5. Prosodic lengthening of short vowels
To express extra emphasis, such as on long durations of time, long distances or great quantities, speakers often prosodically lengthen short (but also long, see 1.2.4.7.) vowels. Examples are bti ʫ ġluh ʚ ala lṃayyih “you boil it (for a long time) in water”, iw binğaṭṭiy lḥaṭab buh ku ʫ llíh “we cover all the firewood with it”.

1.2.4. Long vowels and diphthongs

1.2.4.1. Monophthongization of diphthongs *ay and *aw
In positions not influenced by velarization, or preceded by X, older diphthongs *ay and *aw have in most cases become monophthongal ē and ő.

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21 In verb forms like hawğisat and yínḍirib and yíttifíg, the raised a will again surface as a when it is in closed syllables, e.g. hawğast “I improvised song”, yínḍarbuw “they are beaten” and yíttafguw “they agree” (see also 3.2.3.1.1. and 3.2.3.3.1.).
Examples for *ay are: *îtnēn “two”, bēn “between”, *lēlih “evening”, sēl “flood”, ġwēl (dim. to ġāl) “little side” and examples for ò: mōr “death”, yōm “day”, fōg “above”, sōdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, gōmah “(manner of ) standing up”.

In some cases such monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, mawḡūd “present (adj.)”, aw’a “watch out!”22 and also taybis “drying”.

In forms like b’ayṯarān velarization has also spread backwards, preserving ay as a diphthong. Diphtongal *aw is preserved by spread of velarization as aw or ow in e.g.gowtaw “they went”.

In MzA (of ‘Ayn Ḫūḍrah23 and of a family in Wādiy ‘Arādah) forms like meḡūd “present” and meḷūd “born” have also been recorded.

1.2.4.2. Isolating long vowels /ī/, /ū/, /ā/, /ē/ and /ō/ as phonemes

In many dialects of group I phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ in neutral environments occurs. Such is not the case in MzA and BWA. Finding (near) minimal pairs to isolate these phonemes is not a problem:

dēr “monastery”—dīr “turn (trans.)!”—dōr “floor (in a building)”—dār “house”
ḡībiḥ “bringing”—ḡēbiḥ “his pocket”—ḡābiḥ “he brought it”
gōm “enemy tribe”—gūm “get up!”

Suffixed prepositions lay “to me”, ĕlāy “on me” and fāy “in me” are actually better interpreted as final -ay + y.

1.2.4.3. Allophones of ā

Like in the dialect of the Taṛābīn of group I, ā in neutral surroundings is realized as near I.P.A. [ɛː]. Unlike Turbāniy, however, ā in open syllable and neutral surroundings does not need Ci following within morpheme boundaries for such I.P.A. values to be reached.

In MzA this [ɛː] for ā is reached also when āC is morpheme-final, e.g. ktār “many (pl. com.)”, šgāg “compartments of the tent”, ḥbāl “ropes”, šāsīh “screen” and also wāḥīd “one”, sārḥīh “out grazing (goats and sheep) (sg. fem.)”, nāqṭī “my she-camel”.

22 aw’a is often left unconjugated, and has thus developed into a general particle of warning or admonition, as in aw’a tans! “don't you forget!”

23 Von Oppenheim 1942:159 mentions ‘Ayn Ḫūḍrah as Lēqiy territory (in his transcription: ‘Oleḳāt). Today this oasis is inhabited by members of the Mzēnah.
1.2.4.4. Reflexes of final *-āʾ( )
Like in the dialect of Biliy in the north, the reflex of final *-ā in neutral environments in MzA and BWA is often -ʾ. Examples are: Wādiy Sliy “Wadi Isla”, šṭ ś “winter” and verb form ġiʾ (< *ğāʾ) “he came”.

Final -ʾ will be unstressed when a heavy sequence precedes. The vowel of the heavy sequence is then stressed. E.g. āššif ā “the curing”, (wāḥid) māniʾ “(one) of us”, tāfidiʾ “you sacrifice” and yānsiʾ “he forgets”.

However, in sg. fem. forms (cf. MSA CaCCāʾ) that come with the (sg. masc.) aCCaC pattern for physical defects and colours, we do find raising like in group I, e.g.: šadfīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, ħawlīy “cross-eyed” and hablīy “stupid”, unless such raising is prevented by phonetic factors, such as velarization, as in e.g. (colours) samrā “brown”, xaḍrā “green”, hamrā “red”, zargā “black; blue” and (physical defects) ʾiwrā “one-eyed”, girʾā “bald” and dorā “absent minded”. The final stressed -āʾ may be cut off in pause by a flottal stop, e.g. xaḍrāʾ #.

N.B. “here” is nīḥāʾ( ) in MzA and BWA.

In dialects of group I raising (there to final -ʾy) is inhibited by (underlying) a preceding in open syllable. Such is not the case in MzA and BWA, e.g. hiwī “wind”, ʾišī “dinner”, dīwī “medicine” (in MzA), simī “heaven” and also verb forms like miṣīʾ (< *mašāʾ) “he went”, līgīʾ (< *lagāʾ) “he found” and tawaffī “he died”.

When (secondary) emphatics precede, final *-āʾ( ) is not raised, while reflexes of *-āʾ have remained long and reflexes of *-ā are short. Examples are: ġṭāʾ “covers”, ʾašāʾ “stick”, fiqāʾ “free time”, rḥāʾ “hand mill”, Wādiy ṭṬarfāʾ “name of a wadi”, bē’dāʾ “white (sg. fem.)”, hamrāʾ “red (sg. fem.)”, xaḍrāʾ “green (sg. fem.)”, ḡawāʾ “flirting”, duwāʾ “medicine” (in BWA, but in MzA dīwīʾ), ragṭāʾ “speckled (sg. fem.)”, zargāʾ “black; blue; dark coloured (sg. fem.)”, samrāʾ “brown (sg. fem.)”.

In BWA álmaʾ “the water” and in MzA álmiʾ were recorded for “the water” (~ in both with much more frequent mayyih).

25 My Turbāniy informant pronounced Wādiy Sliy. The name of this wadi is often spelled ‘ Isla ’ on maps (cf. 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5.). The wadi is located somewhat to the south-east of at-Ṭūr, where it disappears into the south-western high mountains.
26 Like in the dialect of Biliy in the north, see De Jong 2000:83.
28 The wadi is situated at the far high end of Wādiy Fēṛān in central Sinai and is ġbāliy territory bordering on Mzēniy territory.
Final *-ā is not raised in the elative ahla “sweeter; more beautiful”.
Several of the preceding examples also show raising of final -ā, although preceded by a in open syllable, does take place, e.g. duwā’ or diwī’ and verb forms like mišī and ligī’.
The forms with raised final *-ā (> -i’) do not only occur in pause, but also in sentence-medial positions. Such raising is therefore concluded to have led to morphological restructuring.
The—usually unreleased—glottal stop following the final vowel is not only highly regular when this vowel is stressed, but also when it is unstressed.
In MzA forms like ḡañī “he came to me” were heard, but also forms with lengthened [i], as in hū giːk “he came to you (sg. masc.)”: not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [i:] [dʒiːːk] “he came to you (sg. masc.)” and also hū giːk (IPA [dʒiːːk]) “he came to you (sg. fem.)”. In BWA such lengthened [i:] was not heard.

1.2.4.5. Allophones of long vowels ē, ī, ō, and ū

1.2.4.5.1. Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on ī and ū
Like in group I (see De Jong 2000:85), primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following ī and ū towards (resp.) IPA [eː] and [oː]. Such lowering is clearer in the case of following ū; with following ī it is less clear, but an on-glide is apparent.
Like in group I, reflexes of *ay and *aw following emphatics have remained diphthongal, which prevents homophonic clash with lowered ī and ū in positions preceded by emphatics.

1.2.4.5.2. Off-glide in ē and ī
An off-glide in the realisation of ē and ī is often audible, when these are followed by an emphatic. Examples are (from both dialects) gēd (I.P.A. [geːˈd̪], “chain”, (a less clearly audible off-glide in) Fērān [feːˈɾaːn] “Wadi Fērān”, būḍ (I.P.A. [biːˈd̪]) “white (pl. com.), zīliṭ (I.P.A. [ziːliːˈt̪]) “young goat or gazelle” and mšēṭah [mʃeːˈt̪aː] “type of herb”.
Comparable off-glides, but then towards I.P.A. [a], are heard when h or ū follow ē or ī, e.g. ġinnēḥ (I.P.A. [dʒiːnːeːˈh̪]) “brown surgeonfish”, be’ I.P.A. [beːˈɛ] “selling”, tasrīḥ I.P.A. [tasrɪːˈh̪] “permission”, šīḥ [ʃiːˈh̪] “white

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29 Which is also the case in the dialect of Biliy, see De Jong 2000:82 (1.2.4.4.3.2.).
30 Lat. Acanthurus nigrofuscus.
wormwood” and itbī I.P.A. [#ʔat.biː] “you sell”, but less clearly audible in Nfē āt [#ʔənfeː] “name of a family of Baniy Wāsil”.

1.2.4.5.3. Off-glide in ə and ü
Like in group I off-glides towards I.P.A. [a] are audible in ə and ü when these are followed by emphatics, e.g. gōtarat [ʔoːtəɾat] “she went”.

Off-glides in ə and ü towards I.P.A. [a] are clear when ’ or h follow, e.g. nō [noː] “type, sort”, ġū I.P.A. [dʒuː] “famine”, misūḥ [maːsuːʔ] “milk camel” (there were no instances recorded with ə followed by h, but e.g. lōḥ “(wooden) board, panel” would thus be [loːʔ]).

1.2.4.6. Diphthongs
MzA and BWA have four diphthongs: ay, aw, iy and uw.

1.2.4.6.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw

1.2.4.6.1.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw in neutral environments
In positions not preceded by or velarized consonants *aw and *ay have usually become ə and ɵ.

1.2.4.6.1.2. Reflexes of *ay and *aw in non-neutral environments

1.2.4.6.1.2.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw preceded by X
Like in group I, MzA and BWA have phonologically conditioned diphthongs for *aw and *ay in positions preceded by back spirants X (i.e. x, ġ, h, ’ and h. For the latter, see remark below). In some instances, a diphthong is audible without being attributable to phonetic conditioning, as in sanatayn “two years” (MzA).

Examples with X preceding *ay are: xayṭ “thread”, ġayrī “(someone) other than I”, b ilhayl “very”, āyn “eye”, but the only form with preceding h recorded is nhēdih “a type of herb (used to treat kidney disease)”.32

Examples with X preceding *aw are: xawf “fear”, ḥawl “year”, ġAwdih “male given name” and a Bedouin verb 33 hawǧas, yhawǧis “improvise singing”, ḥawmal, yhawmil “bring a ḥamūlah 34 for a feast”.

31 Lat. Artemisia herba-alba, used to prepare samn šīḥiy “ghee”.
32 Perhaps the reference was to the Egyptian desert weed Cymbopogon proximus.
33 Verbs of the type CawCaC, yCawCiC (with inserted wāw) are considered to be typically Bedouin, see Palva 1991:155.
34 A ḥamūlah is an “animal led to a party to be slaughtered as a present”.
1.2.4.6.1.2.2. Diphthongs *ay and *aw preceded by velarized consonants

Examples of *ay with a velarized consonant preceding: ṣayf “summer”, ḍayf “guest”, haṭṭayt “I put (perfect)”. Examples with the secondarily velarized consonants preceding are: išṭarayt “I bought”, ihmarrayt “I turned red”, taharraynāʾk “we waited for you”, kitrayšu “how much?”, dallayna “we remained” and also ṣannayt35 “I kept quiet”, ḏawayt36 “I returned home at sunset (with goats and sheep)” and ṭaraḥayzdih “table”.37

Examples of *aw with a velarized consonant preceding are fewer: ṣawm “fasting”, ṭawr (pl. ṭīrān) “overhanging cliff” and ṛaw (pl. ṛī/dmacronbeloẉān) “small wadi”.

1.2.4.6.1.2.3. Reduction of diphthongs ay and aw

The diphthong in ḡayr is often reduced to a and then complementary lengthened. Examples are: ḡār ʾānnaxal, mā fīh izrāʾah zamān “only palm trees, there was no agriculture in the past” and ʿāsān law ḏaggāt wāḥid minni, ḡār kān iyyawwiḥ l iittaktūr38 “because if it would sting one of us, he would have to go to the doctor”.

Diphthongs are much less regularly than in group I reduced to a or ā. ‘Systemzwang’ has preserved diphthongs in e.g. ṭaybīs “drying (measure 2 verbal noun)” (but not in the imperfect form of measure 1 yēbas “it (masc.) dries”), ṣawlīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and mawǧūd “present (adj.)”. Another instance may be awʾa “beware, watch out!” (other imperatives of primae ṭaw verbs are with initial ʾ: ʾōgaf! “stand still”, ʾōrid! “fetch water!”).

1.2.4.6.2. Diphthongs -iy and -uw

1.2.4.6.2.1. Reflexes of final *-ī and *-ū

Final diphthongs -iy and -uw, which in part reflect older final *-ī and *-ū are best heard in lento speech and occur both in sentence medial as well as in sentence final positions.

In verbs the ending -uw has developed as a morpheme signalling pl. masc., but also in pronominal suffixes. Examples are: (verbal perfect)

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35 In this example, velarization caused by ṣād is carried through the word by nn, which then causes the diphthongal realization in the final syllable.
36 ḏawā, yiḏūwiy is a measure 1 verb in MzA and BWA. In several group I dialects it is measure 4 aḏwa, yiḏūwiy.
37 The latter does not reflect Older Arabic ay, but is a loan—perhaps via Cairene—from Greek τράπεζα. In e.g. TAṢ the diphthong is not present: there ṭarabēzah.
38 Taktūr “doctor” (cf. Cairene daktūr, see Hinds and Badawi 1986) was also recorded in TyA, see Shawarbah 2007:419. A comparable example there is taftar “notebook” (cf. Cairene daftar, see Hinds and Badawi 1986).
katab-uw “they wrote”, katabt-uw “you (pl. masc.) wrote”, (verbal imperfect) yikitb-uw “they (pl. masc.) write”, tikibt-uw “you (pl. masc.) write” and in pronominal suffixes bēth-uw “their (pl. masc.) house” and bētḳ-uw “your (pl. masc.) house”.39

Anaptyxis may also create final -uw to eliminate final -CC clusters, e.g. hiluw # “pretty, beautiful” (morphological base hilw) and daluw # “pail” (morphological base dalw).

Instances of final -iy are much more numerous. Examples of verbal endings are (perfect) katabt-iy “you (sg. fem.) wrote” and (imperfect) tíkitb-iy “you (sg. fem.) write”. In verbs where C3 = y (imperfect) yīmšiy “he walks”, ysawwiy “he makes” and yīgīy “he comes”, etc.

In MzA and BWA an -iy ending in the 3rd p. sg. masc. of i-type perfects is rare. Instead, final y verbs nearly all have an a-type perfect e.g. nisī “he forgot”.40 Final -iy may also reflect older final *-ā, as in (MzA) miy “water”, (reflecting the sg. fem. pattern *CaCCā’ for physical defects) ‘arjīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, hablīy “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, ‘anīy “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCā) sawdīy “black”, šaḥābīy “sand-coloured”. Although a regular reflex for final *-ā is stressed -ī, -iy reflects *-ā in hnīy41 “here” (in BWA only; “here” is nihā(-niy) in MzA). Final -iy reflects final *-ī in birīy “innocent”, final *-iy in sībīy “boy”, *-ay in šīy “thing” and is of course also the nisba ending for the sg. masc., e.g. Maṣrīy “Egyptian”.

Anaptyxis may also create final (but unstressed) -iy sequences, as in e.g. ‘imiy # “(pl. com.) blind” (morphological base ‘imy) and ġidīy # “billy goat” (morphological base ġiddy).

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs

The first element of the diphthong ay is often lengthened,42 e.g. ‘axyş “bread”, ‘ayb “disgraceful act”, xa:yṭni “our (fishing) line”. Such lengthening of diphthongs is also heard in some of the dialects of group I (TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, GrA and BdA, see chapter III) and also takes place without an apparent intention to express extra emphasis.43

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39 For further detail on the development of -uw in pronominal suffixes, see 3.1.12.2.
40 Although labelling the form nisī as an a-type perfect may look like a contradiction, the interpretation of nisī < *nasā (after applying the rule described for raising of final *-ā, and subsequently the rule for raising of short a in open pre-stress syllable) is plausible (see remark 41 in 3.2.2.5.1.).
41 Final stressed -iy for *-ā is regular in group I. In the dialect of Biliy, however, the same -i reflex was recorded for *-ā and also *-ā’, see De Jong 2000:89.
42 This was not observed with the diphthong aw, but this may be due to the fact that aw occurs much less frequently than ay.
43 Lengthening of diphthongs was also reported to be a feature of the dialect of the Dawāğrah in northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:420–421.
2. Stress and Phonotactics

2.1. Stress

2.1.1. Rules for word-stress

In terms of rule order, the rule for word stress follows the rule for elision, but precedes the rule for anaptyxis. Stress is of the máktabah-type. Verbal gahawah-forms of the $i$-type imperfect, like $yáḥartu$ “they plough”, receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

Rules for word-stress are:

1) Speech pause does not have the function of a consonant for the stress rule.
2) The domain of stress is formed by:
   a.) either the last three syllables of a word, including the article $al$- or $il$- and the verbal $an$- prefix of measure $n$-1 and the syllable preceding the $t$-infix of measure 1-$t$ and suffixes, if these are part of the last three syllables,
   b.) or, in the absence of an article, infix or prefix, the last four syllables.
3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequences are stressed.
4) The following types of ‘heavy’ sequences occur: $vCC(C)$ and $\bar{v}C(C)$ (including $\bar{v}(h)$).
5) The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed (see examples in 2.1.1.1.).
6) In the absence of a heavy syllable, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left if more than two syllables are available, otherwise stress the last syllable.

An exception may be made when of four syllables the first three syllables are open and contain $a$, and the last syllable is not heavy, i.e. $CaCaCv(C)$. In that case the sequence maybe resyllabified as $CaC\bar{C}v(C)$ and is stressed on the first syllable: $C\bar{a}C\bar{C}v(C)$, e.g. $\bar{d}ār\bar{b}ituh$ “she hit him” and $r\acute{a}g\bar{b}ituh$ “his neck”. This type of resyllabification was recorded in MzA, but not in BWA.

Also if resyllabification is absent, the first syllable is stressed: $CaCaCv(C)$, e.g. $\acute{d}\acute{a}r\bar{b}atuh$ and $r\acute{a}g\bar{b}atuh$.

2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences

Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are: $mádrasih$ “school”, $\acute{a}štajal$ “he worked”, $\acute{a}tt\acute{a}f\acute{a}g$ “he agreed”, $\acute{a}n\bar{g}a\bar{s}al$ “he was washed”, $\acute{a}lb\bar{u}\bar{s}al$
“the onions”, áltwalad “the boy/son”, iššiti “the winter”, il‘išši “the dinner”, árrkab “the knees”, álīgman “the Moray eels”, álībkal “the jerrycans”, álīhsiy “the rocks” (in the latter two examples anaptyctics are underlined) and šawlī “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, šahabī “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, šawlī “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, šabī “sand-coloured (sg. fem.) son”, ūmmūk “your mother” (MzA), šīṭ “winter”, zēn “good”, zēnīh “good (sg. fem.)”, zēnūn “good (pl. masc.)”.

2.1.1.2. Examples of stress in words without heavy sequences

2.1.1.2.1. Stress in CvCvC(v)

Stress in (C)vCv(C)\(^{46}\) is placed thus:

\(\)vCvC: akál “he ate”, axád “he took”, ugūm “stand up!”, iǧiɣ “I come”

CvCv(\(\)\): ʾaša “stick”, ʾišī “dinner”, mišī “he walked”, duwā “medicine” (~ dūğı).

Cv CvC: ǧimál “camels”, šiǧáṛ “trees”, ǧiṭás “he dived”; wugáf “he stood up”, warāq “paper” and yiǧiɣ “he goes”, sībiɣ “boy”, ṭirī “moist; soft”.

2.1.1.2.2. Stress in (C)vCvCv(C) and (C)vCvCvCv(C)

Examples of stress in (C)vCvCv(C) sequences are:

(C)vCvCv(C): ákalat “she ate”, (gahawah-form) áhamar “red”, xášabih “piece of firewood”, dárabuwa “they hit (perfect)”, báladuh “his country”, násatuh “she forgot him” and gahawah-forms gāhawaw “coffee”, nā’āqih “ewe”, áḥarīt “I plough” and yāgaṭis “he dives”.

(C)vCvCvCv(C): ákalatuh “she ate it” (or MzA áklituh), dárabatuh “she hit him” (or MzA dáribituh), fāraṣatuh “she spread it (sg. masc.) out” (or MzA fārṣituh), rágabatuh “his neck” (or MzA ráqbituh) and gahawah-forms gāhawatuh “his coffee” (or MzA gāhuytuh), láḥamatuh “his (piece of) meat” (or MzA láμhituh), tá’aragīn “you (pl. fem.) sweat”, yá’aragug “they sweat”.

alxášabih “the piece of firewood”, albádawiy “the Bedouin (sg.)”, (gahawah-form) annáxalā “the palm tree”, (gahawah-form) ibtáḥafruw “they dig”, īṣṭāqalat “she worked”, inbāṣatuh “they rejoiced”, īttāfagat “she agreed”, tiǧáwwazat “she got married”, takállamuw “they spoke”.

\(^{44}\) But notice a in the article in áššifiji “the healing”.

\(^{45}\) The word buklah (pl. bkal) is used for a plastic jerrycan in MzA.

\(^{46}\) When v, in this pattern is not preceded by C, it is underlying [a].
2.1.2. Exceptions to the stress rule

2.1.2.1. Stress on reflexes of *-ā` and *-ā
Reflexes of *-ā`, which have not been raised (see 1.2.4.4. above), will be stressed, when they have remained long and thus form a heavy sequence, e.g. xaḍrā “green (sg. fem.)”, šifrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, bēḍā “white (sg. fem.)”, girā “bald (sg. fem.)”, iwṛā “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”.

In positions not influenced by velarization, -ā` is raised to -iy (see 1.2.4.4.) Such raised -iy reflexes are then stressed, even if (other) heavy sequences precede, e.g. sōdíy “black (sg. fem.)”, šadrīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, hawlīy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)” and hniy “here” (only in BWA), although more regular for “here” is nihā.

Also in a gahawah-form, in which the gahawah-vowel has resolved the cluster forming the heavy sequence, the reflex of -ā` receives stress: (šahbā` >) šahabīy “sand coloured (sg. fem.)”.

Reflexes of final *-ā in neutral environments are final -i. The resulting forms are then stressed in conformity to the rules in 2.1.1.2. Examples are štī “winter; rain”, mī “water”, wādiy Sli “wadi Isla”, simū “sky”, diwī “medicine”, īstī “lunch”, sīfī “healing”, māštī “winter”.

Examples of pronominal suffixes *-hā and *-nā are tanshi! “forget her!”, gītah minhi “a piece of it (sg. fem.)”, ġdūdni “our forefathers”, ba`aḍnī “(we) each other” and of the sg. masc. demonstrative álwad dī “this boy”. When velarization has spread, a in pronominal suffixes is not raised, e.g. uxūha “her brother”, binẓabbiṭha “we do it (sg. fem.) properly”.

Examples of such raising in verb forms in which C = y are (perfect) miṣti “he walked”, ligi “he found”, sawwi “he did” and ġi “he came”. Examples of imperfect forms are yansi “he forgets”, ytaġaddi “he has lunch”.

Examples of reflexes of *-ā preceded by velarized consonants are álqaḍa “type of wood (does not burn like embers)”, barra “outside”, verb forms (imperfect) yarḍa “he agrees happily” and ṣallā “he prayed”.

2.1.2.2. Stress on final nominal *-iy reflexes in *CaCīy
In MzA and BWA, reflexes of the pattern CaCīy are CaCiy or (after raising the short vowel a) CiCiy and are stressed on the ultimate, which is in conformity with the rules formulated in 2.1.1.2.

2.1.2.3. Stress in al/il + *CaCīy
When the article precedes a reflex of CaCiy, the resulting cluster will draw stress onto its directly preceding vowel, e.g. īnnibiy “the Prophet” and īṣṣibiy “the boy”.

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2.1.2.4. *Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms*

In forms with consonant-initial suffixes closing the syllable with the gahawah-vowel, this vowel is stressed, e.g. *baʿāḏhin* “each other (pl. fem.)”, *saḥānha*\(^{47}\) “her plate”.

With the fem. morpheme becoming *-at* in construct state, stress is placed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2., e.g. *gāhawatuh* “his coffee”.

In verb forms of *i*- or *u*-type imperfects, the gahawah-vowel is dropped when vowel-initial suffixes are appended, but stress is not placed on the gahawah-vowel, which then directly precedes the resulting consonant cluster, e.g. *yáḥar/tmacronbelowuw* “they plough”, *táʿāgnuh* “you knead it (sg. masc.)”, *yáxābtuw* “they knock”.

Resyllabified MzA forms of the type CaCaCatv > CaCCitv are stressed on the first syllable; resyllabification of such forms cancels the high-vowel elision rule and the resulting form is stressed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2., e.g. *xašbituh*\(^{48}\) “his piece of wood” (contrast e.g. *wākiltuh* “eating it (sg. masc.)” and *rikibtuh* “his knee”).

2.1.2.5. *Stress in vCCICv*

A short high vowel is not dropped from a sequence in which the consonant preceding it is phonetically close to, or identical with the consonant following it and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.1.2., e.g. *ṭḥālliluh* “you analyze it”, *ġidditi* “my grandmother”.

2.1.3. *Stress units*

2.1.3.1. *Stress in combinations with preposition min and negated personal pronominals*

Like in group I, the preposition *min* may form one stress unit with the following word, as in *mīn-tahat* “from below”, *mīn-kiḍiy* “from this” and *mīn-iḥniy* “from here” (the latter BWA).

For stress in negated personal pronominals, see 3.1.12.1. of this chapter.

2.1.3.2. *Enclitically suffixed prepositions l and b*

2.1.3.2.1. *Enclisis of the suffixed preposition l*

Enclitic suffixation of the preposition *l* occurs only sporadically.\(^{49}\) The examples (all from MzA) are *ġā-.luḵ* “he came to you”, *gult-iḥi* “I said to

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\(^{47}\) I hear *sīn*, rather than *ṣād*.

\(^{48}\) Notice also that the high vowel elision rule is not applied after stress placement, hence *xašbiṭuh*, not *xašbiṭuh* (contrasting with a form like *ṭāḥiṭuh* “his packet”).

\(^{49}\) In as far as such may be concluded; it is not possible to conclude enclitic suffixing
her” (notice that the form is not léha), aḥsāl-ṣuk “it is best for you” (assimilated aḥsan-ṣuk) and a’mil-ṣuk “I’ll make for you”.

2.1.3.2.2. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition b

Instances of enclitic suffixation of the preposition b were not recorded.

2.2. Phonotactics

2.2.1. The gahawah-syndrome

2.2.1.1. The gahawah-syndrome: a-insertion in *aXC sequences

The gahawah-syndrome is active in MzA and BWA; a is inserted in a sequence XC when this sequence is preceded by a. The rule is:

∅ > a / (C)aX__C(V)

X = any of the back spirants h, ḥ, ’, x, ġ

The resulting vowel may be stressed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2. Exceptions to these rules with regard to stress in gahawah-forms are described in 2.1.2.4. Examples of gahawah-forms are: (*naXL naxāḷ “palm trees”, (*saHL saḥāl “easy”, (*axdar) axāḍar “green”, (*ahtal) āḥṭal “stupid”, (*ṣahbā) šaḥbāy “sand coloured (sg. fem.)”, (*ḏahlān) ḏhalān “ignorant”, (*mahmūl) mahamūl “neglected”, (*maxrūm) maxaṛūm “pierced”, (*maḥṭūt) maḥṭūṭ “placed”, (*māḵfī) māḵfī “hidden” and verb forms (*yaḵṭib) yāḵṭib “he proposes (for marriage)”, (*yahšūḥ) yahašūḥ “they fill it”, (*tāṛaguw) tāṛaguw “you (pl. masc.) sweat”.

2.2.1.2. Morphological categories showing variation

Although the gahawah-syndrome is active in forms of the past participle (i.e. where C$_1$ = X: maXC$_2$ūC$_3$) like maxaṛūm “pierced”, mahamūl “neglected” and ma’agūl “reasonable”, it was not recorded in masūṣ “specialized” and maḥṣūb ’ala “reckoned with”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC$_2$uC$_3$(ah): ma’rakah “battle”, maḏkamah “court of justice”, maḏrīb “time of sunset”.

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from a form gult+luh, since stress does not shift (as in e.g. gāḥāṭ-luh) and no vowel is lengthened (as in e.g. gāḥūluh “they said to him”).

59 The verb form must be a loan (an indication is also the initial vowel: a’mil instead of i’mil), see also remark in following fn.
2.2.1.3. Morphological categories in which the gahawah-syndrome is not active

The gahawah-syndrome is not active in derived verbal measures, e.g. (measure 4) ʼaṭa “he gave”, (measure ista‘-1) istahmal, yistahmil “bear, endure”, istaqrab, yistaqrrib “wonder, be amazed”, ista‘mal, yista‘mil “use”. Quadrilateral verbs gahwa, yiqahwiy “serve coffee or tea to”, zagrat, yzagrib “ululate” and a passive participle mga‘tal “handicapped in the legs” and ta-quadrilateral tagahwa, ytagahwa “be served coffee or tea”.

Examples of elatives are aḥsan “better”, aḥla “more beautiful, sweetest”, axṭar “most dangerous”, but áġala “thicker”.

In loans from Standard Arabic (or Cairene Arabic) like mahkamah (see above) the syndrome is not active. Other examples are: raḡma ḍann “although”, aḡlabiyya “majority”, tahliyyiy “analysis”, maṣyah ma’danyyiy “mineral water”, ya‘niy “that is, it means”, yahṣal “it happens” and another measure 1 verb ya‘mal53 “he makes, does”.

The fem. morpheme in construct state becomes -at, also when it follows XaC (i.e. where a is a gahawah-vowel), so that the sequence CaXaCat is the result. When such a sequence is directly suffixed with a vowel-initial suffix, the CaXaCatv sequence—like any other sequence of the type CaCaCatv—tends to be resyllabified as CaXCitv in MzA.

Examples are naxḷitī “my palm tree” and gāhwituh “his coffee”. When such resyllabification does not take place, the resulting forms are of the type CaXaCatv, as in e.g. laḥamatī “my piece of meat” and dáxanatuh “its (sg. masc.) smoke” (for further details, see 2.1.1.).

2.2.2. Articulatory delay in the realization of alveolar sonorants (liquids l, r and n)

2.2.2.1. Articulatory delay in the realization of r: the bukara-syndrome

Often the ‘simple’ bukara-syndrome52 creates an intrusive vowel in a sequence Crv. The vowel created is inserted between C and r and is in phonetic quality guided by the vowel following r. A summary of the rule is:

\[ \emptyset > v_b \mid \text{-C__Rv}_a \]

\[ v_b = v_a \text{ or } v_b = v_a \]

\[ R = r \text{ or } ṭ \]

\[ C = \text{ any consonant} \]

53 Much more current for “make, do” is sawwa, ysawwiy.

52 See also EALL 2006 (Vol. II):320–322.
Examples of bukaṇa-vowels are (underlined): zaḡaraṭat “she ululated”, tzaḡirĭt “she ululates”, tuṣūrud “she flees”, gaṭarah “drop (noun)”, kuburūw “they grew old”, tuḏurukha “you rub it (sg. fem.)”.

Examples of the bukaṇa-syndrome inhibiting the elision of a preceding high vowel are: tkassir isnūnuḳ “it (sg. fem.) breaks your teeth”, miš ġādir īṭīb “he is not able to bring”.

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukaṇa-syndrome creating vowels: mitīr iw nuṣṣ “a meter and a half”, ġâmir issiyyāl “the embers of the acacia tree”.

2.2.2.2. **Influence of l**

Like r, l may also be involved in inhibiting elision of the short vowel. Examples are (preserved vowels underlined) tākil imn álbaḥaṛ “you eat from the sea”, yinzil ġiswayyih “it comes down a little”, ‘ayyil ġisgayyir “a young child”, bīḥawmil alḥamāyil “he brings the animals to be slaughtered (to a wedding party)”.

Examples of ‘expanded’ or ‘greater’ bukaṇa-vowels preceding l in sandhi (where the vowel is not a cluster-resolving anaptyctic as described in 2.3.2.) are (‘greater’ bukaṇa-vowels underlined): šuḡul iĝdūdna “of our forefathers”, āṣil ana ġįbit “because I brought”, ḡâbil ġcréy nafsi “before I please myself”, ḡâbil il ʿUtmaṇiyyīn “before the Ottomans”.

2.2.2.2.1. **The high vowel preceding l in *ibil and *raḡil**

One of the forms for she-camels is bil, and with article ábil (BWA, not recorded in MzA). raḡil for “man” was only recorded once in BWA (and numerous instances of yā raḡil). In MzA riǧgal (pl. rįgal) is current for “man”.

2.2.2.3. **Articulatory delay in the realization of n**

The realization of n is often delayed, which leads to an intrusive vowel being realized with an I.P.A. value around [ə], e.g. (here indicated in superscript) fōgəna “above us”, ittafag əna “we agreed”, axādəni “we took”, yibnîh “he builds it”. An instance in sandhi is in e.g. (vowel underlined) bitḥuṭṭuh fi ssi’in iw bitxuḍduh “you put it in the goat skin and you churn it”.

2.2.3. **Articulatory delay of ḥayn following geminates**

In isolated instances an articulatory delay of ḥayn following a geminate can be heard, e.g. bînḥuṭṭe ḡalēh “we put on it”.

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2.3. Anaptyxis

In terms of rule order, the anaptyxis rule follows the rules for elision and stress.

The rules are:

1.) In the anaptyxis rule speech pause has the same function as a consonant.
2.) Clusters of three or four consonants are usually resolved by inserting an anaptyctic vowel preceding the last two consonants of the cluster.

The rule for anaptyxis is:

\[ \emptyset > I / (C_a)C_bC_cC_d \]

I = anaptyctic vowel

The rule holds for word-medial clusters, as well as sandhi clusters.

2.3.1. Word-medial anaptyxis

Like in other dialect groups in Sinai, word-medial clusters (in bold print below) resulting from high vowel elision are resolved by inserting an anaptyctic vowel (underlined below) preceding the last two consonants of the cluster, e.g.

| yurbut + u & | *yurbtuw | yúrbt &w “they tie” |
| tuðrub + u &h | *tuðrubh | tuðrub &h “she hits him”. |

2.3.2. Anaptyxis in sandhi

2.3.2.1. Anaptyxis in clusters resulting from ‘colliding’ morphological base forms

Examples of sandhi clusters of four consonants caused by the collision of morphological base forms, which are resolved by insertion of an anaptyctic preceding the last two consonants: (the first cluster is four consonants, the second is three (both in bold print, anaptyctics are underlined):

‘\( \text{ind } R\text{ğûm } \text{Zwayyid} \)\(^{53} \) > ‘\( \text{ind } \text{Rğûm } \text{iZwayyid} \) “near Zwayyid’s rock piles”.

\(^{53}\) Rğûm, sg. Rğûm is a pile of small rocks alongside a path or track to indicate its direction, see Bailey 1991:438 and Holes and Abu Athera 2009:246 (glossary).
Another example of (word-medial) collision of base forms is:

# btiṭw + ha w btiḥš + ha tamr # > # btiṭwa w btiḥša tamr # > # ibtiṭgwa w ibtiḥša tamir # “you fold it (sg. fem.) and stuff it (sg. fem.) with dates” (both verb forms are apocopated imperfects).

2.3.2.2. Anaptyxis in #CC and CC#

When speech pause directly precedes or follows CC, the resulting cluster #CC or CC# is resolved, e.g. (clusters are bold, anaptyctics are underlined):

# + ḥǧāṛ kirīmah > * # ḥǧāṛ kirīmah > # iḥǧāṛ kirīmah “precious stones” and Maṣr + # > * Maṣr # > # Maṣr # “Egypt (the mainland), Cairo”.

2.3.2.3. Consonant clusters resulting from I-elision in sandhi, with subsequent anaptyxis

Some examples of clusters in sandhi after I-elision, eliminated by anaptyxis (intermediate forms with clusters are marked with *):

(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)

w btīlḥig iddagīg w btāʿāǧnuh >

(after elision of high vowel, clusters in bold print)

* w btīlḥig iddagīg w btāʿāǧnuh >

(after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctics underlined: surface forms)

w ibtīlḥig iddagīg w ibtāʿāǧnuh “and you take the dough and knead it”.

Another example is:

(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)

yīmsīk alfanāǧīl >

(after elision of high vowel, cluster in bold print)

* yīmsk alfanāǧīl >

(after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)

yīmsk alfanāǧīl “he takes the cups”

2.3.2.4. Resyllabication of word-medial CVCCICV, and of CVCCIC VC sequences in sandhi

The resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV > CVICCCVC (e.g. yīkitbuw) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CV-CIC VC > CVICVC VC (e.g. yīmsk alfanāǧīl) is optional.

2.3.3. Exceptions to the anaptyxis rule

2.3.3.1. Unresolved consonant clusters

Like in group I, not all clusters are eliminated. Especially clusters of which the first consonant is a semi-vowel, a nasal or a liquid followed by a voice-
less second consonant, e.g.: *ilḥalb ħāda* “this milking”, *aGlāʾyyih* “location where water from šarafat ilGāʾ flows into Wādiy Fēṛān”, *ʿamaltha* “I did it (sg. fem.)”, *ālgrab* “the water skins”, *tušɡālōk* “it (sg. fem.) occupies you”, *tanshi* “forget her!”, *fihimt lay kēh* “do you understand what I mean?” and (with semi vowels) *mōyt kīluh* “a hundred kilometres”, *ištaryatha* “I bought it (sg. fem.)”. But in some cases, also when the second consonant is voiced, the cluster is left intact, as in *ģīldha* “her skin” (where *d* is homorganic with *l*) and *yīnzluw* “they go down”.

Examples of other sandhi clusters left intact are: *int ʿārīf* “you know”, *yā bīnt! #* “hey, girl!” and *ʿind Biniy Wāṣil* “with the Banīy Wāṣil” (see 2.3.3.2.) and *gult lēhuw* “I said to them”.

When assimilation between the first and second consonant takes place, the cluster will remain intact as well, e.g. *(axadthā >) axattha* “I took it (sg. fem.)”.

### 2.3.3.2. The role of sonority of consonants involved in unresolved clusters

### 2.3.3.3. Some special cases with regard to anaptyxis

#### 2.3.3.3.1. Consonant clusters with initial geminates

When the first two consonants of a three-consonant cluster form a geminate, this geminate is usually (partially) reduced, e.g. (word-medial) *biddna* “we want, need”, *nnmiddhin* “we stretch them (fem.) out”, *ṭhuṭṭha* “you place it (fem.)” *ithamms ilbunn* “you roast the coffeebeans”, *tḡammr išwayyiḥ* “it (sg. fem.) becomes glowing embers a little”. Sandhi examples are: *nxušš fī* “we enter into”, *nuṣṣ kīluh* “half a kilo”, *bi/dmacronbeloẉ/dmacronbeloẉ all ṭūl yōmuḳ* “you stay the (lit. your) whole day”, *sinn #* “tooth” and *ḥaṭṭ #* “he placed”, *nšidd #* “we pull tight”.

When a cluster contains a geminate and two other consonants, it is resolved, e.g. *bass igrūš* “but sharks”, *ṭābb iNwēbi ṣī* “going to (sg. masc.) Nwēbi””, *sitt išhūr* “six months”.

#### 2.3.3.3.2. Preposition *ʿind* + C

The suffixed preposition *ʿind* takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʿindaha* “with her”, *ʿinduk* “with you (sg. masc.)”, *ʿindīk* “with you (sg. fem.)”, *ʿinduhūw* “with them (pl. masc.)”, *ʿindihin* “with them (pl. fem.)”, *ʿindukīw* “with you (pl. masc.)”, *ʿindīkin* “with you (pl. fem.)” and *ʿindina* “with us”.

---

54 For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:123–128.
55 Veralization spread through the whole word, colouring the vowels *i* (of measure 4, as in *yišgil*) to *u*.
56 *bīṯḍāl*: assimilated *bīṯḍall*. 
Clusters in sandhi are left unresolved, e.g. (underlined): \textit{ind Biniy Wāsil} “with the Baniy Wāsil”, \textit{la \textit{ind} sulbuq} “(submerged in water) up to your waist”, \textit{ind gidditir ṛḥā} “my grandmother has a hand mill”.

2.3.3.3. The 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. pronominal suffixes in consonant clusters

Like in group II of the north (the dialects of Samā’nah and ‘Agāylah), the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. -ḳ and -k (resp.), are vowelless when preceded by one consonant. This may be concluded from stress assignment, but it is difficult to decide whether an anaptyctic is present or not; especially with a voiceless consonant preceding and a vowel following k (in sandhi), there may be a vowelless anaptyctic, or none at all, as in e.g. \textit{illé yāṭla \textit{min} dimmītik i’ṭnī yyāh} “whatever comes out of your goodness, give it to me”. Other examples are: \textit{hurstūk} # “your wife”, \textit{awṣūf uḳ} # “I’ll describe to you”. \textit{nāgūk} “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”, \textit{maṭrāḥuḳ} # “your place” and \textit{nuxʁūtik} # “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with \textit{nuxʁūtik} # “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

When assimilation takes place, an anaptyctic is absent, e.g. \textit{sarāḳk} (< \textit{sarāg}+k) “he robbed you”.

When more than one consonant directly precede, the personal pronominal suffixes take allomorphs -uḳ (for sg. masc.) and -ik (for sg. fem.) e.g. \textit{xalluḳ gāid} “remain seated”, \textit{ṣadruḳ} “your chest”, \textit{naʃfūk} “yourself”, \textit{umṛuḳ} “your age” and (doubling of n in he preposition \textit{min}) \textit{minnuḳ} “from you”. The latter example is actually a strong indication that we are dealing with a vowel-initial allomorph; n of the preposition \textit{min} is only doubled in such cases (i.e. the suffixed form is not \textit{*mīnḳ} or \textit{*mīnụk}).

2.3.4. Phonetic quality of the anaptyctic

2.3.4.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyctics

The phonetic quality of the word-medial anaptyctic vowel is a lax and centralized [ı], towards [ə], in front environments and a lax and centralized [v], towards a moderately rounded [ə], in back environments.57

2.3.4.1.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyxis in clusters form “colliding” base forms

Examples of the phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyxis in clusters form “colliding” base forms are:

---

57 This is the same as what was described for group I in De Jong 2000:128.
irm + ha > *irmha > īrmha “throw it (sg. fem.)”
šuğl + ha > *šuğlha > šuğulha “hers” (suffixed genitive exponent)

2.3.4.1.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in clusters after I-elision
The phonetic quality of the anaptyctic resolving a cluster resulting from high vowel elision is the same as (or near to) that of the vowel from whose elision the cluster resulted (anaptyctic vowels underlined).

Example with *i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>elision</th>
<th>anaptyxis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yisriguw</td>
<td>&gt;yišriguw</td>
<td>&gt;yišrguw &gt;yišrguw “they steal”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example with *u:

tuktuwarzl >*tuktuwarzl >*tuktwow >tuktwow “you (pl. masc.) hit”

2.3.4.1.3. Anaptyctics in clusters resulting from elision of *i from T
Anaptyctics eliminating clusters resulting from high vowel elision from -it (the fem. morpheme in construct state) are phonetically conditioned by the phonetic value of surrounding consonants: *i in neutral environments and *u in velarized environments (anaptyctic vowels are underlined) (examples of *i): xiligtuh “his ugly mug”, īlibtuh “his packet” and (examples of *u) ħúṛumtuh “his wife” and šuɡulṭī “mine (suffixed genitive exponent)”.

2.3.4.2. Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in sandhi

2.3.4.2.1. Phonetic quality of word-initial anaptyctics in sandhi
Word-initial anaptyctics tend to have a phonetic value of around a lax and centralized [ı].

Examples of word-initial anaptyctics (underlined): # ɨtkān ɨfayy’ih “it (sg. fem.) will be thin”, zīlit īšgayyī “a young goat or gazelle”, # īymūṣ īšwayyī “it becomes a little soft/moist”, aḥād īm n īshābuq # “one of your friends”.

Imperatives of the verbs axād “take” and akāl “eat” are kul, # uklīy, # uklów, # uklów and xuḍ, # uxḍy, # uxḍów, # uxḍώn (initial u- in these forms is an anaptyctic resolving a cluster # CC).

2.3.4.2.2. Phonetic quality of word-final anaptyctics
Anaptyctics resolving word-final clusters have a phonetic quality near I.P.A. [u] in labial and/or velarized environments.

Examples are: boduw # “Bedouin”, ḥiluw # “sweet, beautiful”, daluw # “pail”, šuğul # “of (genitive exponent)”, tuhur # “circumcision”, ħumur “red (pl. com.)”, zuṛug “black (pl. com.; lit. “blue”), iduk # “your (sg. masc.)
hand",  bētuḳ # "your (sg. masc.) house",  min gabuḷ # (~ min gabiḷ #) "before (adv.)",  ġamur # (~ ġamir #) "live embers",  rubu’ # (~ rubi’ #) "quarter".

Anaptyctics in neutral environments will be near (centralized) [ı], e.g.  sı́ib # "difficult",  mitir # "metre",  giriš # "shark",  Ṣadir # “Ṛās Ṣadr”,  wagit # "time",  xašim # "long nose".

2.3.5. Stressed original anaptyctics

Instances of stressed original anaptyctics—like those found in intitial positions in other dialects such as  īrqab or ārqab “knees”,  īhna “here” etc.58—were not recorded in MzA and BWA.59

In BWA stress in the preposition l with a consonant-initial sufffix will be on the vowel of the sufffix, e.g.; # ilhá or # ilhí “to her”, # ilkúw “to you (pl. masc.)”, # ilkín “to you (pl. fem.)”, etc. Forms in MzA are lēha or lēhiʾ, lēḳuw and lēkin.

In MzA and BWA the preposition m(ī)ʾ followed by a vowel-initial sufffix will be stressed on the vowel of that suffix, e.g. m’ūh, m’úk, m’ik and also m’i (contrast with forms in some dialects of group VII of the type  īm’uh, where the original anaptyctic is stressed). However, forms of the type ma’āh, ma’ūk and ma’i (~ ma’iyy) were also recorded in BWA (through direct elicitation).

2.4. Elision of Short Vowels

High short vowels i and u are dropped in open syllables. Short a in comparable positions is not dropped (with an exception, see below), which makes “BWA and MzA ‘différentiels’ in Cantineau’s terminology.60 The high-vowel elision rule comes before the stress rule in terms of rule ordering. The rule is:

\[
\begin{align*}
I & > \emptyset / (V)C_a(C_b)\_C\_CV \\
I & = \text{short high vowel } i \text{ or } u \\
C & = \text{any consonant}
\end{align*}
\]

The morphophonemic elision rules are compulsory.

---

58 Such forms are, for instance, found in groups II and III of the north (see De Jong 2000:270–271 and 355, and in group VII in the south (see Chapter I, 1.1.6.).

59 The regular reflex for the pl. pattern *CICaC in MzA and BWA is CCaC. Examples are: gmam “Morray eels”, rkab “knees” (MzA), etc, cf. 3.1.9.2.

60 See Cantineau 1936:49.
2.4.1. Morphophonemic I-elision

The rule for elision of unstressed I in open syllable preceded by only one consonant:

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_a C_b C_v \]

Examples are (high vowel eligible for elision in bold print): \( nizil + uw > *nizluw \) > \( nizluw \) “they descended”, \( simi + at > *simi'at > sim'at \) “she heard”, \( kubur + at > *kuburat > kubrat \) “she grew older”, \( tāxid + in > *tāxidin > tāxdin \) “you (pl. fem.) take”, \( mīštāgil (= underlying [mīštāgil]) + ah > *mīštāgilh > mīštāglīh \) “working (sg. fem.)” and \( taḥarīt + uw > *taḥarītow > tāhartow \) “you (pl. masc.) plough”.

The rule for elision of unstressed I in open syllable preceded by two consonants is:

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_a C_b C_c C_v \]

Examples of immediate elimination of a cluster resulting from high vowel elision: \( tufruš + iy > *tufrušiy > tūfuršiy \) “you (sg. fem.) spread out”, \( yiktib + in > *yiktibin > yiktbin \) “they (pl. fem.) write”.

When an unstressed high vowel follows a geminate, it is dropped and the geminate is reduced. The rule is:

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_a C_a C_b C_v \]

\[ VC_a C_a = \text{geminate} \]

Examples are: \( ynaḏdif + uw > # ynaḏdfiowment \) “they clean”, \( ṯdayyif + uw + nī > # ṭ̱dayyfūnī (< ṭ̱dayyfūnī) \) “you receive me as a guest”.

2.4.2. I-elision in sandhi

I-elision in sandhi may take place like morphophonemic elisions described above, but such sandhi-elisions are optional, examples are (high vowels eligible for elision are in bold print): \( btīlhīg iddāğiğ > btīlhīg ıddağīğ \) “you take the dough”, \( byūmsīk issīν > byūmsk issīn \) > # ibyīmsīk issīn # “he takes the goatskin (used for churning butter)”.

2.4.3. Cyclic anaptyxis rule in sandhi

The optional I-elision rule in sandhi may be applied after the execution of the anaptyxis rule, e.g. (the cluster is underlined and in bold print, the anaptyctics are in bold print and the high vowel eligible for sandhi-elision is underlined):
1) *twakkil* + ʾyālḵ > *twakkilʾyālḵ* > *twakkil ʾyālḵ* > (including word-initial and word-final anaptyxis) # *twakkil ʾyālḵ* # “you feed your children”.

In this first example the cluster ʾyālḵ is resolved, after which the high vowel preceding it lands in open syllable (thus becoming eligible for elision) and is dropped.

The rule for anaptyxis may also be re-applied after execution of the rule for anaptyxis,\(^{61}\) as in the example:

2) *nílbis* + ǧlūdniʾ > *nílbis ǧlūdniʾ* > *nílbis ǧlūdniʾ* > *nílbs ǧlūdniʾ* > *nílbs ǧlūdniʾ* “we put on our diving suits (lit. our skins)”.

In this second example the cluster sgiving is resolved, after which the high vowel preceding it lands in open syllable (thus becoming eligible for elision) and is dropped, creating a new cluster lbs, which is then eliminated by insertion of another anaptyctic vowel.

2.4.4. **Exceptions to the I-elision rule**

When \(C_a\) and \(C_b\) in \(C_aC_aIC_b\) are phonetically close or identical, I (underlined in the examples below) is not dropped, and the geminate may be reduced. Examples are: ǧidditi “my grandmother”, thāllīluh “you analyze it (sg. masc.)”.

2.5. **Assimilation**

Three types of contact assimilations can be identified: regressive (partial or total), progressive (partial or total) and reciprocal (total) assimilation (instances of contact assimilation involving the spread of velarization are treated in 1.1.7.).

Apart from contact assimilations of \(l\) of the article *il*- or *al*- to ‘sunletters’, \(l\) is also sometimes—this is by no means regular—assimilated to following ǧ or \(k\), as in ǧǧibneh “the cheese”. alxayṭ b āǧǧ ilab “the line with the hooks (used for fishing)” and also īkkīs “the bag”.

---

\(^{61}\) The example in De Jong 2000:34–35 only illustrates the application of the I-elision rule after the execution of the anaptyxis rule (like the first example here). The second example here clearly illustrates re-application and cyclicity of the I-elision rule.
Instances of regressive total assimilation are:

\[
\begin{align*}
    n + r & \rightarrow rr & \text{birraǧǧid “we pile”} \\
    t + š & \rightarrow tš & \text{ššīly “you carry”} \\
    t + z & \rightarrow zz & \text{zzūd “it (sg. fem.) increases”} \\
    t + d & \rightarrow dd & \text{ddīr “you turn (fem.)”} \\
    ǧ + t & \rightarrow tt & \text{axatt “I took”} \\
    t + š & \rightarrow šš & \text{ššidd “you pull”}
\end{align*}
\]

Instances of regressive partial assimilation are:

\[
\begin{align*}
    t + z & \rightarrow dz & \text{dzīd “it (sg. fem.) increases”} \\
    t + ġ & \rightarrow dġ & \text{dġīb “you bring”} \\
    b + n & \rightarrow mn & \text{mnadbaḥuh “we slaughter him”} \\
    n + g & \rightarrow ng & \text{mangad “fireplace”}
\end{align*}
\]

progressive total:

Initial \( h \)- of pronominal suffixes often totally assimilates to preceding voiceless consonants, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
    aġlabīyyit + hin & \rightarrow aġlabīyyīttin “the majority of them (fem.)” \\
    ġimā’at + huw & \rightarrow ġimā’āttuw “their group of people” \\
    tuṭbux + ha & \rightarrow tuṭbūxxa “you cook it (sg. fem.)” \\
    naftah + ha & \rightarrow naftā’hha “we open it (sg. fem.)”
\end{align*}
\]

Other instances of progressive total assimilation are:

\[
\begin{align*}
    zaġraṭ + tiy & \rightarrow zaġrāṭṭiy “you (sg. fem.) ululated”
\end{align*}
\]

Instances of reciprocal total assimilations are:

\[
\begin{align*}
    baraǧǧi’ + ha & \rightarrow baraǧḥīhe “I return it (sg. fem.)” \\
    mablaġ + hin & \rightarrow mīblāxxin “their (fem.) price”
\end{align*}
\]

In a number of instances the mutual influence of hissing sounds has resulted in a metathesis. An example in both dialects is \( sīğıh \) (or \( sūzīh \) \( > \) \( sūzīh “game of sūžah” \)), in MzA \( sāz \) (< \( sāğ/sāğ or sāğ/sāž \)), but in BWA \( sāğ “iron baking sheet” \). Additional examples in MzA are \( sīzn \) (< \( sīğn or sūzn \) “prison”, \( mšazzīl \) \( > \) \( saġġił or sażžił \) “recorder” and \( nāž \) \( > \) \( nasğ or nasž \) “weaving”, but in BWA \( sīğn \) and \( tasğīl “recording”. Another example of the mutual influence of hissing sounds is MzA is \( šamš \) \( > \) \( šams \) “sun”, but BWA \( šams \), and in both dialects \( šaġar “trees” \) is current.
3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of a in \( CaC \_iC(\text{ah}) \)

Raising of a in the nominal pattern \( CaC \_iC(\text{ah}) \) occurs regularly, but is optional. Such raising is not inhibited by phonetic factors.

Examples are: šidād “intense, strong”, kitīr “many, much”, kibīr “large, old”, gīlād “fat, thick”, īfīg, īrīs “groom”, xīfīf “light”. But also forms without raising have been recorded: katīr, kābir, āfīg, xafīf, etc.

3.1.1.2. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed i

For instances of raising of a in the i-type perfect (with underlying pattern CaCiC) of verbs, see 3.2.1.1. below.

3.1.1.3. Raising of a in \( CaCCI^(-ah) \)

Raising of a in \( CaCCI^(-ah) \) was not recorded, e.g. baṭṭīx “water melon”, xamsīn “fifty”, sab in “seventy” and a verbal noun taǧlīb “throwing out (of a fishing line)”.

3.1.1.4. Raising of a in \( CaCCāC \)

Raising of a in \( CaCCāC \) is regular. Examples are: riǧǧāl “man”, šīyyād “fisherman”, šīyyāf “acacia tree”, kiššāf “search light”, biṭṭāriyyih “flashlight”, zirgā “blue (sg. fem.)”, šīfrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, himṛā “red (sg. fem.)”, gir’a “bald (sg. fem.)”, mīrāt “times”, mīnāt (hāǧih) “the meaning (of sth)”, Wādīy Wirdān “Wadi Wardān”.

3.1.1.5. Raising of a in \( \ldots CaC\ldots \)

When not followed by \( l \) or \( r \) and not preceded by ‘, unstressed a preceding ā may be raised to i or u. Examples are: (i in) gizāyiz “bottles”, mišāyix “sheikhs”, digāyig “minutes”, dināgiy “small boats” (BWA), gibāyil “tribes”, tikātriḥ “doctors” and (u in) Ṣuwālḥih “name of tribe Ṣawālḥah”, buwāṣiy

---

62 sayyāl is likely to be a folk etymology for sayāl. The connotation must be with ‘a tree growing by a sēl (“flood, watercourse”).

63 The sg. dingiy is a loan from English dingy, which must have come through one of the Egyptian dialects where the reflex for *ǰ is g and where the English [dʒ] was replaced by [g]. Compare this to an opposite development of g in Egyptian ġineh (a loan from English guinea), where [g] was replaced by [dʒ] by speakers of ġim-speaking dialects, who pronounce ġ(i)nēh. Other such examples are sīḡārah “cigarette” and ġrām “gram”, which became sīḡārah and ġrām in many ġim-speaking dialects (though in MzA sīḡārah is current).
“a type of fish (pl. form)”, *min muwālīd Dahāb* “born in Dahab” and also (as an exception) *durāhim* “money” (but see remark below) and verb forms *nisāh* “he forgot him” and *ligāh* “he found him”.

Such raising is however optional, since there are also many instances in which it is absent, e.g. *masākinhuw* “their dwellings”, *‘Azāzmīh* “name of a tribe (living partly in Sinai and partly in the Negev)”, *Ḥamādah* “name of a tribe”, * zamān* “in the past”, *gabāyil* “tribes” and also verb forms *ytawāǧad* “it (sg. masc.) exists” and *yta<![endif]>ālaǧ* “he receives medical treatment”.

When *a* is followed by *l* or *r* or preceded by ’ or X, this type of raising is much less regular, e.g.: *ṭalātīh* “three”, *Ṭarābīn* “name of a tribe”, *warāk* “behind you”, *marākib* “boats” and (with ’ preceding) *’asāsāthūw* “their origins”. *’ažānīb* “foreigners”, *’aṣābi* “fingers” and *’adāfīr* “your (sg. fem.) nails”. Examples in which X precedes *a* are: *’asān* “because”, *ḥawālīy* “about, approximately”, *ḥarařah* “heat”, *xalāš* “that’s it!”, *gazāl* “gazelle” and *hawā’k* “your desire”.

3.1.1.6. **Raising of *a* in . . . CaCá . . .**

*a* in open syllable preceding stressed *á* is often—but only optionally so—raised to *I* in neutral environments, e.g.: *sináh* “year”, *šīǧār* “trees”, *libān* “milk”, *ḏīmāl* “camel”, *fidā* “free time”, *Dihāb* “name of the town Dahab”, a gahawah-form *šihāṛ* “month” and verb forms *ligāt* “she found”, *kitáb* “he wrote”.

Raising towards [u] is heard in the examples: *mā m’uk duwā’* “medicine”, *wurāq* “paper” (though more regularly *warāq*).

Such raising is (usually) absent when ’ or X precedes, e.g.: (’)ahād “anyone” and verb forms (’)akál “he ate” and (’)axād “he took” and (with X preceding) *ḥaṭāb* “firewood”, *ḏanám* “small cattle”, *’adād* “number”, *arāq* “sweat” and *xalāq* “He created”, but also *ğiṭās* “he dived” and *mā m’uk xubār* “you have no clue/idea”.

3.1.1.7. **Raising of *a* in open syllable preceding stressed A**

Both types of *a*-raising described in 3.1.1.5. and 3.1.1.6. can be combined in one rule (see also De Jong 2000:147):

\[
\text{a > I} / \text{C}_a - \text{C}_b \text{A} \quad \text{A = stressed a or á} \\
\text{C}_a \neq *' \text{ or X} \quad \text{I = high short vowel i or u} \\
\text{C}_b \neq l.
\]

---

64 See the rule in De Jong 2000:145 is: a > I / C_a - C_b á, where C_a ≠ *' or X and C_b ≠ l.
And like in group I, stress of A does not have to be primary for such raising to take place. Instances where stress on A is secondary are, e.g.: ǧibābil “mountains”, min muwālīd Dihāb “born in Dahab”, mīkānī “my place” and ānnīkāl “it was eaten”, hāwğisat “she improvised song”, ānnīkāl “the palm-trees” and also in forms with final raised reflexes of -ā(‘), such as āddiwi “the medicine” and āssimī “the sky”.

3.1.1.8. Raising of a in CaCūC(ah)

Like in the pattern CaCiC(ah), a is often raised to I in the pattern CaCūC(ah), but instances of absence of such raising were also recorded. Examples are lugūnih “a child with keen intelligence”, yuhūd “Jews”, Su’ūdiyyih ~ Sa’ūdiyyih “Saudi Arabia”, gu’ūd “young male camel”, ġumūs “food dip”, xurūf “lamb”, but also ġanūb “south”, ʾağūz “old woman”, ʾurūs ~ ʾurūs “bridegroom”, ša’ūr ~ šu’ūr “emperor (fish species)” and also hakūmah “government”.

Also when (‘) precedes, such raising often takes place: (‘)ubūy “my father”, (‘)uxūh “his brother” and also in verb forms (‘)ugūm “I get up, (‘)uṣūf “I see”.

3.1.1.9. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed u

Like raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed ī, a in similar positions preceding stressed ū is also raised, e.g.: kubūr “he grew”, ġulūd “he grew fat”.

3.1.1.10. a-raising rules combined

If we combine the different possibilities of raising in one rule, this rule is:

\[
\begin{align*}
a & > I / C_{-}C_{I}(C) \\
I & = \text{short high vowel } u \text{ if } \ddot{I} = \dddot{u} \text{ or } \dddot{u}, i \text{ if } \ddot{I} = \dddot{i} \text{ or } \dddot{i} \\
C & = \text{any consonant}
\end{align*}
\]

Notice that the rule is more general than the (second) one formulated in De Jong 2000:150, since we do not need to make a provision here for the first C not being hamzah.

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65 The word was used in reference to a child, who is recognized at an early age to have a keen intelligence, and is therefore raised to become a hāwğiy “snake charmer”. It is related to the root l-q-n “learn; have keen intelligence” and must mean “endowed with intelligence” and/or “(to be) taught through instruction”.

66 See also fn 18, Chapter Two in De Jong 2000:149.

67 Such raising following ’ is not current in group I (see De Jong 2000:147–149).
3.1.2. Reflexes of *C₁aC₂C₃(ah)

Examples of reflexes of *C₁aC₂C₃(ah) are: *badw “Bedouin (pl.)”, *gady (BWA) “kid goat”, *tahät ~ *tihat “under”, *fahám “coal”, *šikl “shape”, *sahăn ~ *siḥăn “dish”, *kalb “dog”. Also: *wiğh “face”, *wiḏdih “one (fem.)”, *nahyih “direction”, *ṣi b ~ *ṣa b (the latter perhaps a K-form; notice the absence of a gahawah-vowel), *ṣadr “chest”, *wakl “food” and *CLUD “grandfather”.

3.1.3. Reflexes of *CaCiC(ah)

Examples of reflexes of *CaCiC(ah) are: *kilmih “word”, *ṭrikih “company”, *kitf “shoulder”.

3.1.4. Reflexes of C₁uC₂C₃(ah)

Examples of reflexes of *C₁uC₂C₃(ah) are: *bunn “coffee beans”, *rizz (~ *ruzz in MzA) “rice”, *kull “all; every”, *aṃṃ “mother” (~ *uṃṃ in BWA), *uxt “sister”. Also: *Gımîh “male given name”, *ṣinnih “usage” (BWA), *middih “period”, *ḥinnih “they (pl. fem.)”, *zibdih “butter”.

Forms with sufficient backing show *u, as in *šuggah “fishing net” (MzA), *xuṭwah “step”, *nuḡah “police checkpoint”, *ṭumsih “food dip”, *rûkbah “knee” (BWA) (but *rikbih (MzA)), *ḥurmah “woman”.

3.1.5. Absence of I in open syllables preceding stress

Like in all dialects of Sinai, a high vowel *i or *u in open initial syllables of the type CIC(V) preceding stress (on V) is dropped, resulting in initial CC clusters. Examples are: *ğlūd “skins”, *yûnî “my eyes”, *xšešât “little huts”, *Ḥmēd “male given name”, *byêt ša’ār “little tent”, *blâd “land”, *ğbâl “mountains”, *snîn “years”, *gḷâyil “little; few”, *gḷâl “few (pl.)” and *štîy “winter”. Examples with stressed short vowels are: *gmam “Morray eels”, *rkab “knees” (MzA).

Exceptions to such elisions are (loans from MSA) *šu’un iǧtimā’iyyih “social affairs”, *niẓâm “system”.68 Another exception is *ṣayd furûsiyyih “hunting on horseback” (in BWA), where the influence of ṛ may have prevented elision of *u in furûsiyyih (if it is not a loan from MSA altogether). For other ‘surface’ forms with initial sequences of the type CiCā… or

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68 Notice also *z here instead of more regularly expected emphatic interdental *d.
CuCā..., CiCī... or CuCī... and CuCū... or CiCū... see 3.1.1.7.–3.1.1.10. above.

Also in verb forms a short high vowel in open unstressed syllable is not found, e.g. ygūl “he says”, tšil “you carry”, tnām “you sleep”, nḥuṭṭ “we place”, tšiddiy “you (sg. fem.) pull tight”, ygōṭruw “they go”. Notice, however, that in the verb “come” the vowel of the first syllable is not dropped, e.g. tiǧiy “you come”, yiǧiy “he comes” (contrast with forms tğiy and yğiy heard in group I). 69

3.1.6. Diminutive patterns

A number of diminutive forms were recorded in MzA and BWA. Apart from the usual forms such as glayyil “few”, gṣayyir “short”, ṣṭayyir “thin”, ṣḵayyir “small; young”, kwayyis “good” and ṣḵwayyih “a bit”, etc., other recorded examples are: sraybiw “small group (of people)”, byēt šaʿār “little tent”, xšēšāt “little huts”, bnaṭiy “little girl”, wliṭ “little boy” and also a very regular (i.e. in Sinai) ḥrayyin “women”.

The hypochoristic -ān suffix, which was recorded in some of the dialects of group I (especially dialects in the east like AḥA), was not heard in MzA or BWA.

3.1.7. Pattern aC₁C₂aC₃

The pattern used for colours and physical (and sometimes mental) defects is aC₁aC₂aC₃ and aC₁aC₂aC₃ (stressed on the first syllable) where C₁ = X. Examples are: abyad “white”, azrag (euphemistically; the word aswad is avoided) “black; dark coloured”, ašhab “light coloured, pale” (and with C₁ = X) áḥamar “red”, áxadr “green”, ḥawal “cross-eyed”, ḥabal “stupid”, ḥāma “blind” and ḥarağ “limping”.

The sg. fem. forms have a CaCā pattern, with a final -ā that has remained long and which is often in pause followed by an unreleased glottal stop, e.g. bēdā, ḥamrā. There is an added a following C₂ when it is X and final ā is raised (to -y) when C₃ is neutral, e.g. ‘aryyiy and ṣahabýy.

Most pl. com. forms have a CᵢCⱼC₃ pattern, e.g. zuṛg, sumr, xuṭr, hümṛ and hubl, but some forms that lack velarization were recorded with a C₁C₂C₃ pattern, e.g. ‘irği, šihb. Plural forms for “black” and “white” are süd (C₂ = wāw) and bīd (C₂ = yā).

69 See De Jong 2000:203–204.
3.1.8. The elative patterns $aC_1C_2aC_3$, $aC_1aC_2C_3$ and $aC_1C_2aC_3$

The elative pattern is $aC_1C_2aC_3$, e.g. $aktar$ “more/most”, $akbar$ “bigger/biggest; older/oldest”, $ashal$ “easier/easiest”, $as’ab$ “more difficult/most difficult”.

In MzA forms $ahlə$ “sweeter/sweetest; better/best” and $ahsan$ “better/best” were recorded several times without a gahawah-vowel (similarly $aġlabiyih$ “majority”), but a gahawah-vowel was heard in $axaṭar$ “more dangerous/most dangerous" (though also $axṭar$). $aġala$ “thicker” and also $ahlə$ in BWA.

Elatives of geminate roots have a pattern $aC_1aC_2C_3$ (where $C_2 = C_3$), e.g. $agall$ “less/least” and $ahamm$ “more important/most important”.

3.1.9. Initial $a$

3.1.9.1. The article and the relative pronoun

The article may be $al$- or $il$-; $al$- is mainly used when the following nominal has $Ca$ as its initial sequence, but this is in no way regularly so. When the article is stressed, however, the article tends to be $ál$- when (underlying) $Ca$ or $CCaC$ follows, and $íl$- when other sequences follow. Examples with (underlying) $Ca$ following are: $álbəhr$ “the sea”, $áljimal$ “the camel”, $áddwə$ “the medicine”, $ássimə$ “the sky”, $ássahan$ “the plate”, but (when preceding sequences other than $Ca$) $iℓf$ $i$ “the viper”, $išəti$ “the winter”, but $išəbiy$ “the boy” (underlying form is |ṣabiy|). With $CCaC$ following: $árrkab$ “the knees”, $ánnxər$ “the noses”, $áll’af$ “the bait (pl.)”, $ašsnət$ “the suitcases”.

When $i$ or $iy$ precedes the article $al$-, it is dropped, as in, e.g. $f-atṬūr$ “in aṭ-Ṭūr” and $f-awwalha$ $w$ $hatta$ $f-āxirha$ “in its (sg. fem.) beginning and even in its (sg. fem.) end”.

In some cases in BWA the possessive suffix $-i$ was not dropped against initial $a$- of a following verb, but an intrusive (voiced?) $h$ was inserted instead, e.g. $widdi-h-aṣalliy$ “I want / am going to pray”, $widdi-h-anām$ “I want to (go to) sleep”. This not only occurred with following initial $a$-, but also in directly elicited instances like $widdi-h-uṭrub$ “I want to hit”, $widdi-h-ugüm$ “I want to get up”, $widdi-h-ōgaf$ “I want to stop”, $widdi-h-ākil$ “I want to eat” and also with initial $i$- following, as in $widdi-h-išil$ “I want to carry”.

The relative pronoun is $Illiy$, e.g. $Illiy$ ‘āyiz $luh$ $kīlu$, $w$ $Illiy$ ‘ūyiz $luh$ $nuṣṣ$ $kīlu” “(there are) those who want a kilo and others who want half a kilo”.

‘Specifying’ $ha$- was heard used only in adverbial $halḥin$ (often $halḥinət$ in MzA) “now”.

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3.1.9.2. Other instances of initial a
Another instance of initial a is ammā “mother” (in MzA, in BWA ummā), “we” is ihna, “sister” is uxt.

Like in group I, plural forms reflecting older *CICaC have a CCaC pattern, e.g. gmaṃ “Morray eels”, rkaḥ “knees” (MzA), rxaṣ “licences”, ŏnab “grapes” (BWA), ḥgan “injections”, šnaṭ “suitcases”, l’af “bait (pl.)”, although the pl. for (’)ibrīḥ is (’)abār “needles”.

3.1.10. The feminine morpheme (T) in genitive construction
3.1.10.1. T in genitive construction preceded by a in open syllable
The feminine morpheme -ah ~ -ih in construct state becomes -at when aC directly precedes. Examples of aCT + suffix: māṛatuh “his wife”, sānatin “his year”, xašabātāk “your piece of wood”.

In the case of CaCaCT + v(C) sequences in MzA, a special provision needs to be made for a-elision in the rule for short vowel elision, which in terms of rule ordering precedes the rule for T. This should explain why T becomes -it in such cases: since a has been dropped from CaCaCTv (resulting in CaCCTv), T is no longer directly preceded by aC, but by CC. Therefore T > it, resulting in a sequence CaCCTv. Since the rule for short vowel elision has already been executed (and this rule is not cyclic!), such CaCCTv sequences will not be resyllabified to (after applying stress and anaptyxis rules) become CáCCTv, but the sequence is stressed and appears on the surface as CáCCTv. Examples of such sequences are rāgbītuh “his neck”, xašbītuh “his piece of wood”.

Verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. fem. a-type perfect + vowel are resyllabified analogous to the suffixed nominals; the rule was generalized to cover all (including verbal) sequences: CaCaCat + v > CaCCTv, e.g. (farašat + uh >) fāršītuh “she spread it out” and katabat + uh >) kāḇītuh “she wrote it”.

The advantage of fitting the extra provision with regard to elision of a into the ordering of rules is that the T-rule, which holds in almost all Sinai dialects, does not have to be customized to fit the situation in MzA.

Also, an advantage of this rule-generalization is that no separate rule is needed for the sudden appearance of -it in the case of the 3rd p. sg. fem. of a-type perects when vowel-initial suffixes are appended.^[70]

---

^[70] From the point of view of historical development, such a rule would be highly unlikely, since the verbal ending is -at under all other circumstances, see verbal morphology in 3.2.
3.1.10.2. The rule for T not directly preceded by aC or ū
When not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme -ah becomes -it (or -t when a long vowel ū directly precedes, see 3.1.10.4.) in construct state.

The i of the ending -it may then be subject to the rule for high vowel elision, after which often an anaptyctic vowel is inserted (underlined in following examples), e.g. ʼīlḥtuh “his packet”, ʼilḥūk “your packet”, fātrit arba’ sniṅ (with sandhi elision and anaptyxis >) fātirt arba’ isnin “a period of four years”, nāGTKU “his she-camel”, nāGTKUk “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”. In strongly velarized environments T may be realized as -ut, as in nuxrūtK “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nuxrUK “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

3.1.10.3. T preceded by the gahawah-vowel a
Forms in which a gahawah-vowel a is in open syllable directly preceding T are treated the same way as forms in which such a preceding a is ‘historical’. Almost paradoxically so, the forms gahwītī and gāhwītu (and similar forms like laẖmītī and láḥmītu) show that the gahawah-syndrome has created fully-fledged syllables in these nominals, for if the gahawah-vowel a would have been a mere anaptyctic vowel (i.e. more like in verb forms, cf. 2.1.2.4.), one might have expected forms like gahawtī and gāhawtu. The fact that the gahawah-vowel a is dropped from (intermediate) forms like *gahawatī and *gahawatuh thus illustrates that we are dealing with a full short vowel a (produced by the gahawah-syndrome), since only CaCaCT + v sequences are affected by the special provision made in the short vowel elision rule (as described above).

3.1.10.4. T following ā
T preceded by ā yields -āh, e.g. ḥamātuh “his mother-in-law”.

In one instance *ma’nā (spelled in Arabic with ‘alif maqṣūrah: ميَّة) was interpreted as T-final (as occurs more often in other dialects as well): mî’nāt ilḵilmīh “the meaning of the word”.

3.1.10.5. Nominal ending -it in construction vs. verbal 3rd p. sg. perf. ending -at
The high vowel i of the nominal ending -it is dropped when it is in open unstressed syllable, e.g. nāGTKU “his she-camel”, ţāṭṭāytu “its (sg. masc.) cover”.

The low vowel a in verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. perf. is not dropped, e.g. šāfatu “she saw him” and lāGTKU “she found him”, kāwanaTuh “she fought him”.

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3.1.11. Genitive marker

The genitive marker is šuğl, but in more isolated areas (away from the coast) ḥagg is more current in MzA. In BWA šuğl is the current form, although ḥagg may also be heard. Though not as regularly as šuğl, the K-form btäʾ may also be heard. The form tabaʾ was heard only once in MzA.

The paradigms for suffixed šuğl(ah) and ḥagg(ah) are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šuğluḥ</td>
<td>šuğluḥuｗ</td>
<td>šuğluṭuḥ</td>
<td>šuğluṭuｗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuğluḥa</td>
<td>šuğluḥin</td>
<td>šuğluṭha</td>
<td>šuğluṭhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šuğluḳ</td>
<td>šuğluḳuｗ</td>
<td>šuğluṭ k</td>
<td>šuğluṭk uｗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuğluḳik</td>
<td>šuğluḳiｎ</td>
<td>šuğluṭik</td>
<td>šuğluṭaki n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šuğlī</td>
<td>šuğluṅa</td>
<td>šuğluṭī</td>
<td>šuğluṭit a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pl. forms used for humans are šuğlin and šuğlat: e.g. ilwład šuğlin ilmāḍ-rasih “the boys of the school” and ilbanāt šuğlat ilmāḍrasih “the girls of the school”. Also for smaller or numbers the pl. fem. is used: iṭṭalāṭah ǧinēḥāt dillīḥ šuğlat tua “these three pounds are yours”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ḥaggūḥ</td>
<td>ḥaggūhuｗ</td>
<td>ḥaggūṭuḥ</td>
<td>ḥaggūṭuｗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ḥaggūḥa</td>
<td>ḥaggūḥin</td>
<td>ḥaggūṭha</td>
<td>ḥaggūṭhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ḥaggūḳ</td>
<td>ḥaggūḳuｗ</td>
<td>ḥaggūṭ k</td>
<td>ḥaggūṭk uｗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ḥaggūḳik</td>
<td>ḥaggūḳiｎ</td>
<td>ḥaggūṭik</td>
<td>ḥaggūṭki n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ḥaggī</td>
<td>ḥaggīn</td>
<td>ḥaggīṭī</td>
<td>ḥaggīṭīn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pl. forms for humans are ḥaggīn and ḥaggāt: e.g. ilwład ḥaggīn ilmāḍrasih and ilbanāt ḥaggāt ilmāḍrasih. Like in the case of šuğlat, the pl. fem. ḥaggāt is often used for smaller numbers: iṭṭalāṭah ǧinēḥāt dillīḥ ḥaggātä k.

A preference for the construct state instead of indirect annexation could not be concluded from the available data.

3.1.12. Personal pronominals

3.1.12.1. Independent pronominals

In MzA the following independent pronominals are used:
Direct elicitation yielded the following negated forms in BWA: māhū*, māhī*, mintah, mintiy, māni*, māhuṃma, māhinna, mintuw, mintin, mīhna.

* In these forms stress is on the vowel of the first syllable.

For a likely development of the pl. masc. form huwwa—in which reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries must have played an important role—see 3.1.12.2. in the preceding chapter and also De Jong 2000:163.

3.1.12.2. Pronominal suffixes

In MzA the following pronominal suffixes are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>(C)C-u(h)*, ā-(h)</td>
<td>-huw*⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>C-lying, CC-uk, ā-lying*²</td>
<td>-kuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>C-lying, CC-ik, ā-lying*²</td>
<td>-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>(C)C-ī, ā-y (poss.)</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nī (obj.)*³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For allomorphs used with the preposition ʻind, see below 3.1.16.

*¹ Notice the -u(h) suffix for the 3rd p. sg. masc., instead of -ah/ -ih which we find in group I.

*² The superscript vowel “ serves to indicate a considerable degree of velarization (accompanied by lip rounding); it is not to be interpreted as a vowel, which may be concluded from stress placement and (lack of) short high vowel elisions in forms like hurmišt “your (sg. masc.) wife” and nāgitš “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”. Contrast this with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: ʻilbītk “your (sg. fem.) pack”, nāgitk.

When -k is suffixed to ā, the long vowel colours strongly towards [u] before k is released, e.g.: ʻilek “on you”, fīk “in you”, gīfāk “your neck”. Contrast these with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: ʻilēk, ʻīk and gīfāk.

When lip-rounding is already present, there appears to be a slight difference in the pronunciation of uḥūk “your (sg. masc.) father” and uḥūk
“your (sg. fem.) father”; the long vowel ū preceding k is more tense than ū preceding k.\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{3} Like most in Bedouin dialects of Sinai\textsuperscript{72} we find stressed suffixes -ī and -nī for the 1st p. sg. com. Unstressed -i and -ni also occur.

\textsuperscript{4} Parallel to independent pronominals, the 3rd p. pl. masc. suffix is formed with -w, rather than with -m (although a few instances with final -m were recorded).

For the development of second person pronominal suffixes -k and -k see NOTE in 3.12.2. in the preceding chapter.

3.1.13. Demonstratives

3.1.13.1. Near and far deixis

Near deixis\textsuperscript{*2}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>(hā)dah\textsuperscript{*1}</td>
<td>(hā)dill(ih)\textsuperscript{*2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(hā)diy</td>
<td>(hā)dillīh / dillēl(ih)\textsuperscript{*2}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms without initial hā- are much more regular than in group I.

Far deixis\textsuperscript{*2}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>(hā)dāk(ah)</td>
<td>(hā)dāllak(ah)\textsuperscript{*2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(hā)dīk(ah)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{*1} In pause often dīh or dī.

\textsuperscript{*2} The forms listed here with initial hā are current in BWA, but occur only sporadically in MzA. Another pl. form recorded in MzA was hādēlah. For presence / absence of velarization in these forms, see remarks \textsuperscript{*2} and \textsuperscript{*4} in chapter I, 3.13.1.

To express “there he/she is (lit.: has come)” or “there they are (masc./fem.) (lit. have come)” a prefix hē- precedes the personal pronominals, as in hēhū ǧī! “there he is!”, hēhī ǧāt “there she is!”, hēhuwwa ǧuw “there they (masc.) are!”, hēhinnah ǧin “there they (fem.) are!”.

\textsuperscript{71} These remarks are based on mere impressions, not on precise machine-aided measurements.

3.1.13.2. Specifying ha-
Specifying ha-, which is especially current in group I dialects (see De Jong 2000:172–173), was heard only in halḥīn (~ halḥīnit in MzA) “now” and once in halyōm “today” (the latter only recorded in BWA).

3.1.14. Interrogatives

min is used independently for “who?”, but another possibility to enquire after someone’s identity is mīn (with a short vowel) in combination with a pron. suff., as in mīn hū-h-intih? “who are you?”.

“What?” is ēsh? (~ much less often ēh?); “why?” is lēh? (both in sentence-initial, as well as sentence-final position); “where?” is wēn?; “when?” is mitēh? or waqtēš?, “how?” is kēf?, “how much?” is gaddēš?; kam + sg. is “how many?”; yāt bēt “which house?” and yāt bint “which girl?”.

3.1.15. Adverbs

3.1.15.1. Adverbs: “there”, “over there (far away)”, “here”, “thus”, “now”, “still”, “afterwards, after that”
“Here” is nihāʾ or nihānīy* in MzA and hniy in BWA (fi hāda is also used), “there” is hnuh or hnūtiy (fi hādāk is also used), ġād (with open ā) is used for “over there (far away)”. “Thus” is kīdiy or often kīdiyyīh (and less often kīdiyyāniy), “now” is halḥīn (~ halḥīnit in MzA), “still” is l issāʾ and “afterwards, after that” is bāʿađēn.

* When min precedes nihāʾ, one syllable is haplographically dropped, e.g. ímsin mi-nhāʾ or mi-nhānīy “go away (pl. fem.) from here!”.

3.1.15.2. “maybe”
For “maybe” no forms based on the root x-w-f (for undesirable possibilities, e.g. xāfaḷḷah, see De Jong 2000:177) or k-w-d (for positive possibilities, kūd see ibid. 178) were recorded, but only yīmkin.

3.1.15.3. bilḥayl “very, extremely”
b ilḥayl “very, extremely” is often used in BWA to qualify an adjective, e.g. íw hāliyyan fi liyyām hādiy fi Sinah māhuw katīrīn […] miś katīrīn b ilḥayl…“And now, these days, they are not very many in Sinai […] They are not very many...”. Another example is […] íw zayy kīdiy b īdēʾk, bitgatṭiʾ…alkāʾakīh w tuf “rukha w biṭḥuṭṭ ’ālēha leḥa…issamīn iwlāha hilwih b ilḥayl…“and like this with your hands you break the cookie to pieces and crumble it. And you add, put ghee on it, and (then) it is extremely tasty...”.

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3.1.15.4. bišwēš “slowly, carefully”
The adverb bišwēš was not recorded in MzA or BWA. Instead, a construction like šwayyih šwayyih is current.

3.1.15.5. min xawf “lest”
min xawf in the sense of “lest” (see De Jong 2000:179) was not recorded.

3.1.16. Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes

In BWA the pron. sufffix for the 2nd p. sg. fem. -k co-occurs with -kiy, e.g. fik ~ fikiy “in you (sg. fem)”. and also lik ~ likiy “to you (sg. fem)”.

In direct elicitation, the -ak suffix was also recorded for the 2nd p. sg. masc., though in spontaneous texts only -k or -uk was heard.

Suffixed prepositions in MzA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>2nd p. sg. fem.</th>
<th>2nd p. sg. masc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>luḥ</td>
<td>lēhuw</td>
<td>ʾilēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēḥa</td>
<td>lēḥin</td>
<td>ʾilēha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luḵ</td>
<td>lēʾkuw</td>
<td>ʾilēʾk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lik</td>
<td>lēk</td>
<td>ʾilēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay(y)*4</td>
<td>lēna</td>
<td>ʾalay(y)*4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The paradigm is mixed; forms like lēʾk and lēḥ are much less frequently used than luḥ and luḥ. A similar paradigm is used for b +. The suffixed proposition l+ may be enclitically suffixed, e.g. gāluḵ “he came to you”, gultīlḥi “I said to her” (notice that the form is not lēḥa), aḥsāl-luḵ “it is best for you” (assimilated aḥsan + luḵ), but this is not always the case, as may be concluded from stress in e.g. gāḷat luḥ “she said to him”, tfakkīr luḥ “you look at him” (i.e. these examples are not stressed gāḷat-luḥ and tfakkīr-luḥ, which would be the forms in case of enclitic sufffixing).

In BWA the short base instead of the forms with ʾe is more current: lḥa, lhuw, lthin, lkuw, lkin and lna.

*2 Raising of short a to i in open syllables preceding stressed ʾe (as indicated here) is optional, but very regular.

BWA forms are the same, though raising of a in these positions is much less regular than in MZA.

As independent prepositions both ʾala and ʾa (not only when preceding the article) are current.

*3 The short vowel i is dropped when vowel-initial sufffixes follow (including -uk and -ik), but stressed when consonant-initial sufffixes are involved and ʾ and h reciprocally assimilate to become hh.

*4 For a remark on lay and ʾalāy, see 1.2.4.1.
In BWA forms are the same.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  fi & fōg & \text{min} \\
  fih & fōgh & minnuh \\
  fiha & fōghin & minha \\
  fi'k & fōg'k & minnuk \\
  fik & fōgkin & minkin \\
  fay(y) & fōga & minnī \\
\end{array}
\]

*1. Alternatively one can say \textit{min hardi} “above me” \textit{min harduk} “above you (sg. masc.)”, etc.\textsuperscript{73}

*2. Notice here that the \textit{n} is doubled preceding the short vowels in the suffixes \textit{-uḳ} and \textit{—ik}, which indicates that the vowels of these allomorphs are not merely anaptyctic vowels.

*3. \textit{fay} must have developed in analogy to \textit{lay} and ‘\textit{aláy}, see remark above.

The preposition \textit{min} is usually stressed in the compounds \textit{mín-taḥat} “from below”, \textit{mín-kidīy} “from this”.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  \text{wara} & \text{’ind} \\
  \text{warāh} & \text{’induḥ} \\
  \text{warāha} & \text{’indahā} \\
  \text{warā’k} & \text{’induḳ} \\
  \text{warāk} & \text{’indik} \\
  \text{warāy} & \text{’indi} \\
\end{array}
\]

*1. In the forms for the 2nd p. fem. the velarization created by the preceding \textit{r} is gradually lost during articulation of the following \textit{ā}. Thus an opposition between \textit{warā’k} and \textit{warāk} is maintained.

*2. Notice that the allomorphs used with this preposition are all vowel-initial.

3.1.17. **Numerals and counted plurals**

3.1.17.1. **Cardinal numbers 1–10**

Independent cardinal numbers are (forms that precede counted nouns follow in brackets): \textit{wāḥid} / \textit{wiḥdih}*, \textit{tnēn} / \textit{tintēn}*, \textit{talātih} (\textit{talat} or \textit{talāt}), \textit{aṛba’ah} (\textit{aṛba’}), \textit{xamsih} (\textit{xams}), \textit{sittih} (\textit{sitt}), \textit{sab’ih} (\textit{sab’}), \textit{tamānyih} (\textit{táman} or \textit{tamān}), \textit{tis’ih} (\textit{tis’}), ‘ašāraḥ (‘ašār).

\textsuperscript{73} Šuqayr (1916:341), however, lists \textit{hard} in the meaning of \textit{bi ǧānib} “beside”.

wāhid and wiḥdih may follow the counted noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. walad wāhid “one boy” and bint wiḥdih “one girl”.

tnēn and ūntēn may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. waladēn i/tmacronbelownēn “two boys” and īdēy i/tnēn “my two hands”.

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic t- (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. ʿašar t-infār “ten people”, talaṭ t-iyyām “three days”.

3.1.17.2. Ordinal numbers 1–10

Only three ordinals were recorded: awwil, tāniy, tāliṭ.

3.1.17.3. Numerals: 11 and up

ḥidāṣir, ānāṣir, ṭalaṭṭāṣir, arbaʿāṭāṣir, xamīstāṣir, sittāṣir, sabaʿāṭāṣir, ṭamantāṣir, tisiʿāṭāṣir, īṣrān, ṭalaṭṭān, arbiʿān, xamān, sittān, sabān, ṭamanān, tisiʿān, miyytēn, miyytēn, ṭuṭmīyyīn, rubīmiyyīn, xumsmiyyīn, suttmiyyīn, subīmiyyīn, tūsimniyyīn, tisuʿmiyyīn, alf, ṭalāt t-ālāf, xamīs t-ālāf, arbaʿ t-ālāf, sitt t-ālāf, sabā t-ālāf, tisī t-ālāf, īdēy t-ālāf, miyyit alīn, miyytēn alīn, malyūn.

3.1.18. The dual

Suffixing -ēn or -ayn to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. šaharayn “two months”, sbūʿayn “two weeks”, nōʿayn “two kinds” and -ēn (in neutral environments) ʿaraḥīyytēn “two cars”, miyytēn “two hundred”, rikhītēn “two knees”, sanatēn “two years”, bintēn “two girls”. Older forms of the dual are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. riḡlēy “my (two) legs” and riḡlēy “my (two) hands” and īdēy “my (two) hands” and īdēy “your (two) hands”.

3.2. Verbal Morphology

3.2.1. Regular verbs

3.2.1.1. Regular verbs perfect

In all vowel-types of the perfect and imperfect, the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. masc. ending is -uw, the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. fem. ending is -in (including the a- and i- types of the tertiae infirmae) and the ending of the 3rd p. sg. fem. is -at (except in the verb ‘come’, see below).74

74 These are differences with group I dialects (see De Jong 2000: several paragraphs under 3.2. in chapter I.)
Perfects of measure 1 verbs come in three types: $C_1aC_2aC_3$, $C_1iC_2iC_3$ and $C_1uC_2uC_3$. The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$a$-type perfect*1</th>
<th>$i$-type perfect*3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>kitāb</td>
<td>kātabuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kātabat*2</td>
<td>kātabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>kitābt</td>
<td>kitābtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kitābtīy</td>
<td>kitābtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>kitābt</td>
<td>kitābtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kitābtīy</td>
<td>kitābtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>kitābt</td>
<td>kitābna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Notice that $a$ (in the first syllable) is raised to $i$ in pre-stress syllables. In a labial environment raising of unstressed $a$ in the first syllable tends to be towards $u$, as in wugāft “I stopped” and wugāftin “you (pl. fem.) stopped”, but wāqafat “she stopped” and wāqafin “they (pl. fem.) stopped”.

*2 When suffixed with a vowel-initial suffix forms are: kātabitu or kātabatu “she wrote it (sg. masc.)”. The latter form may be due to influence from one of the neighbouring dialects (such as TAN), where the form is not resyllabified.

*3 The short high vowel $i$ of the first syllable is actually underlying $|a|$ and is therefore not dropped in open pre-stress syllables. This underlying $|a|$ does not ‘reappear’ in closed syllables (in contrast with reappearing $|a|$ in some -not all- of the dialects of group I).

*4 Notice that the ending here is -at in the $i$-type perfect, not -it (contrasting with surrounding dialect groups).

*5 ‘Almost’ širībtum: one of my informants had a tendency to almost close his lips (approximating I.P.A. [m]) when articulating $w$ of pl. verbal endings; one had to look carefully to see that he was not actually producing $m$, because it often sounded as such, also because of the high degree of nasalisation which accompanied his realisation of such final $wāw$ (see also remarks on the situation in ḤmA (of group VII) and ‘LA (group VIII) in 3.2.1.1. of the preceding chapter).

3.2.1.2. Regular verbs imperfect
Like in many dialects in Sinai, the imperfect is characterized by vowel harmony in the verbal prefixes. Another interesting feature is that this vowel harmony has spread through the entire paradigm and that it includes the 1st. p. com. sg. This accounts for the absence of initial $a$- in

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*75 This is reminiscent of verbal endings in group II of northern Sinai, see De Jong (2000:3.2. of chapter II). See also remarks in 3.2. above.
the 1st. p. sg. com. of \(i\)- and \(u\)-type imperfects, which we do find in many other dialect groups (see 3.2.1.2. of the various chapters).

There are three imperfect patterns: \(ya\text{C}_1\text{C}_2\text{CaC}_3\), \(yu\text{C}_1\text{C}_2\text{CuC}_3\) and \(yi\text{C}_1\text{C}_2\text{iC}_3\), all of which are characterized by vowel harmony in the prefixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a)-type imperfect(^1)</th>
<th>(i)-type imperfect</th>
<th>(u)-type imperfect(^2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
<td>yāśrab yāśrabuw</td>
<td>yiktib yiktibuw</td>
<td>uguərub uguərub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yāšrab yāšrabuw</td>
<td>yiktib yiktibuw</td>
<td>uguərub yguərub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāšrab tāšrabuw</td>
<td>tiktib tiktibuw</td>
<td>tūguərub tūguərub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tāšrab tāšrabuw</td>
<td>tiktib tiktibuw</td>
<td>tūguərub yguərub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāšrabiy tāšrabin</td>
<td>tiktibiy tiktibin</td>
<td>tūguərub yguərub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>āšrab nāšrab</td>
<td>iktib niktib</td>
<td>uguərub uguərub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Notice the lack of vowel harmony in the endings of 2 sg. fem., 2 pl. masc. and fem. and 3 pl. masc. and fem. (in contrast with group I).\(^7\)

\(^2\) In the \(u\)-type—provided velarization is lacking—the anaptyctic vowel in the imperfect forms tends to vary, i.e. either \(i\) or \(u\). One may hear e.g. \(túgu\text{daw}\) as well as \(túgi\text{daw}\) for “you (pl. masc.) sit”, but in velarized forms the anaptyctic \(u\) is regular, like in the paradigm listed here.

Measure 1 verbs with \(C_1 = X\) have the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(i)-type(^1) imperfect(^2)</th>
<th>(a)-type imperfect(^2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
<td>yāḥarić yāḥarțuw</td>
<td>ōarag ōaraguć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yāḥarić yāḥarțuw</td>
<td>ōarag ōaraguć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḥarić tāḥarțin</td>
<td>ōarag ōaraguć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tāḥarți tāḥartuw</td>
<td>ōarag ōaraguć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḥartiy tāḥartin</td>
<td>ōaragi ōaragin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>āḥarić nāḥaritä</td>
<td>ąarag nąarag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Notice that the lack of vowel harmony in \(i\)-type imperfects like \(yāḥarît\) implies that, from a historical perspective, the gahawah-rule must be understood to ante-date the rule for vowel harmony (hence forms like e.g. \(yāhrić\) are not heard in these dialects).

\(^7\) See De Jong 2000:190–191.
Active participles are: ḥāriṭ, ḥārṭih, ḥārtīn, ḥāṛtāt.

Active participles of the type C₁āC₂uC₃ (etc.) for the verb ‘irīg, yā’arag are not really used, instead for “sweating” one may hear: ‘argān, ‘argānih, ‘argānīn, ‘argānāt.

3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *C₁aC₂uC₃, *yaC₁C₂uC₃

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>u-type perfect</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>kubur</td>
<td>kubruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kubrat*2</td>
<td>kubrun*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>kuburt</td>
<td>kuburtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kuburtiy</td>
<td>kuburtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>kuburt</td>
<td>kuburna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*2 The Classical Arabic ‘Eigenschafts’ verb-type (which expresses a certain characteristic) C₁aC₂uC₃a, yaC₁C₂uC₃u has C₁uC₂uC₃, yuC₁C₂uC₃ reflexes (imperfect paradigm like yudrub, see 3.2.1.2.). Notice that, like in reflexes of C.A. *C₁aC₂iC₃, a (such as, e.g., širib), the high vowel of the first syllable of the perfect is not dropped in unstressed positions (so not e.g. • kburt for “I grew”). We may conclude therefore that also in the case of C₁uC₂uC₃ perfects, the u of the first syllable is actually underlying |a| (i.e. like i in the first syllable of C₁iC₂iC₃ perfects, see *3 in 3.2.1.1.). Other u-type perfects are: tuxunt “I became fat”, hī ġul/dmacronbeloẉ at “she became fat”, hinnih ġul/dmacronbeloẉ in “they (fem.) became fat”, iddinyah sux unat “the weather became hot” (for superscript “, see 2.2.2.3.) and innās ku/tmacronbelowruw “people became many”.

*3 Notice the ending -at here, cf. remark *4 in 3.2.1.1. above.

*2 Notice that the vowel of the ending -in colours with the preceding vowels (> -un).

3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles

Active participles are formed with the patterns C₁āC₂iC₃ (sg. masc.) C₁āC₂C₃ah/-ih (sg. fem.), C₁aC₂C₃in (pl. masc.) C₁aC₂C₃āt (pl. fem.).

---

77 Similar colouring was noticed in the imperfect form yukburun, recorded in the dialect of the Rmēlāt in the north, see De Jong:2000:391.
When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: bānīytuh “having built it (sg. masc.)”, hī mīhī āyztuḥ “she does not want/love him”.

3.2.1.5. Regular verbs imperatives
Imperatives of regular verbs have a harmonized initial vowel, while endings are like those in the imperfect paradigm, e.g. ásma’, ásma’iy, ásma’uw, ásma’ín “listen!”, úḍrub, úḍrubiy, úḍrubuw, úḍrubin “hit!” and īktib, īkitbiy, īkitbuw, īkitbin “write!”.

3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs

3.2.2.1. Verbs C₁ = w (primaē wāw)
Imperfect paradigms of verbs with wāw as C₁ are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i-type*</th>
<th>a-type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yōrid</td>
<td>yōrduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tōrid</td>
<td>tōrdin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tōrid</td>
<td>tōrduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tōrdiy</td>
<td>tōrdin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ōrid</td>
<td>nōrid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The ō in this paradigm reflects older a in the preformatives of i-type imperfects as well, as in e.g. °yawrid, and these are presumably older than the forms with harmonized vowels like e.g. yiktib. Diphthongal preformatives were not recorded.

The imperfect of the verb “light, kindle” was recorded as yōgid.

The perfects of primaē wāw verbs are C₁C₂C₃ or C₁aC₂aC₃ (see above).

The imperatives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>ōrid</td>
<td>órduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ōrdiy</td>
<td>órdin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperative áw’a was said to occur in that form only (i.e. uninflected for number or gender): “mind your head(s)!" is thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>áw’a rās’k</td>
<td>áw’a rūskuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áw’a rās’k</td>
<td>áw’a rūskin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles:

Active participles have a C₃aC₂iT pattern, e.g. (with velarized first syllables) wāgīf, wāgfīh, wāgfin, wāgfaṭ “standing”.

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via free access
The passive participle for the root $w-\breve{g}-d$ was recorded as $maw\breve{g}u\ddot{d}$ (see 1.2.4.1).

3.2.2.2. Verbs $C_1 = y$ (primae $y\acute{a}$)
The only verb recorded with $C_1 = y$ is $yib\hat{i}s$, $y\dot{e}b\hat{a}s$ “dry (intrans.)”.

3.2.2.3. Verbs $C_1 = \breve{y}$ (primae hamzah)
The two verbs “eat” and “take” have similar conjugations. The perfect and imperfect paradigms for “eat” are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>$ak\ddot{\alpha}$</td>
<td>$\breve{a}k\ddot{\alpha}luw$</td>
<td>$\breve{y}\acute{k}\ddot{\imath}l$</td>
<td>$\breve{y}\acute{k}\ddot{l}u\ddot{w}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>$\breve{a}k\ddot{\alpha}l\ddot{a}t$</td>
<td>$\breve{a}k\ddot{\alpha}l\ddot{\alpha}n$</td>
<td>$t\acute{k}\ddot{\imath}l$</td>
<td>$\breve{y}\acute{k}\ddot{l}\ddot{n}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>$ak\ddot{\alpha}lt$</td>
<td>$ak\ddot{\alpha}luuw$</td>
<td>$\breve{t}\acute{k}\ddot{\imath}l$</td>
<td>$t\acute{k}\ddot{l}u\ddot{w}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>$ak\ddot{\alpha}lt\ddot{\imath}y$</td>
<td>$ak\ddot{\alpha}lt\ddot{i}n$</td>
<td>$t\acute{k}\ddot{\imath}\ddot{\imath}l$</td>
<td>$t\acute{k}\ddot{\imath}l\ddot{\imath}n$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>$ak\ddot{\alpha}lt$</td>
<td>$ak\ddot{\alpha}ln\ddot{e}$</td>
<td>$\breve{a}k\ddot{l}$</td>
<td>$n\acute{k}\ddot{l}\ddot{\imath}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles are: $m\acute{\alpha}k\ddot{\imath}l$, $m\acute{\alpha}k\ddot{\alpha}l\ddot{\imath}$, $m\acute{\alpha}k\ddot{l}\ddot{\imath}n$, $m\acute{\alpha}k\ddot{k}\ddot{l}\ddot{\imath}t$. Past participles are $m\acute{\alpha}x\ddot{u}\ddot{\imath}d$, $-\acute{a}h$, $-\acute{\alpha}t$, $-\acute{\imath}n$, which is also used meaning “daft”.

Imperatives are (these forms are considerably velarized): $\breve{x}\acute{u}d$, $x\ddot{\alpha}\dot{y}$, $\breve{x}\ddot{\alpha}luuw$ and $\breve{x}\ddot{\alpha}din$. Also $k\acute{l}u$, $k\ddot{\alpha}l\ddot{\imath}n$, $k\ddot{l}u\ddot{w}$, $k\ddot{l}\ddot{\imath}n$. Notice the absence of stressed initial $u$- in these forms; an unstressed $u$- may precede in forms like (here in superscript) “$x\ddot{\alpha}\dot{y}$ and “$k\ddot{l}u\ddot{w}$, but is then—as should be concluded from its lack of stress—a mere anaptyctic vowel.

The verbal nominal is $wak\ddot{l}$ “eating” and the passive verb “be eaten” is $\acute{a}n\acute{\nu}k\ddot{\imath}l$, $\acute{y}\acute{n}\acute{i}n\ddot{w}k\ddot{\imath}l$.

3.2.2.4. Verbs $C_2 = w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmae)
A characteristic of southern dialects is the short base vowel in the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect and imperative forms. In MzA and BWA these co-occur with forms with a long base vowel, but in BWA forms with the long base vowel are more current than those with a short vowel.

Perfect and imperfect forms of mediae infirmae are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>$g\acute{\alpha}m$</td>
<td>$g\acute{\alpha}muuw$</td>
<td>$y\acute{g}\ddot{\imath}m$</td>
<td>$y\acute{g}\ddot{\alpha}muuw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>$g\acute{\alpha}mat$</td>
<td>$g\acute{\alpha}\ddot{m}i\ddot{n}$</td>
<td>$tg\ddot{\imath}m$</td>
<td>$y\acute{g}\ddot{\alpha}mi\ddot{n}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>$g\acute{\alpha}mt$</td>
<td>$g\acute{\alpha}mt\ddot{\alpha}uw$</td>
<td>$tg\ddot{\imath}m / t(\ddot{u})g\dddot{\alpha}m$</td>
<td>$tg\dddot{\alpha}muuw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>$g\acute{\alpha}mt\ddot{\alpha}yi$</td>
<td>$g\dddot{m}t\ddot{i}n$</td>
<td>$tg\dddot{\alpha}mi\ddot{y}$</td>
<td>$tg\dddot{\alpha}mi\ddot{\imath}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>$g\acute{\alpha}mt$</td>
<td>$g\dddot{m}n\ddot{a}$</td>
<td>$ug\ddot{\imath}m$</td>
<td>$ng\ddot{\imath}m$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participles are: gāyım, gāymih, gāymīn, gāymāt (no velarization).

The verb šaf, yšuf was recorded in MzA with short vowel u, as in šuft, as well as with i, as in šift “I saw”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“sleep”</th>
<th>perfect*</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nām</td>
<td>nāmuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nāmat</td>
<td>nāmín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nīmt</td>
<td>nīmtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nīmtiy</td>
<td>nīmtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nīmt</td>
<td>nīrne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: nāyım, nāymih, nāymīn, nāymāt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“carry”</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šāl</td>
<td>šāluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šālat</td>
<td>šālin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šīlt</td>
<td>šīltuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šīltiy</td>
<td>šīltin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šīlt</td>
<td>šīlna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Where there is variation in group I dialects between the 3rd p. sg. masc. forms biyšīl and bišīl, both meaning “he carries” (see De Jong 2000:199), in group VI a form like bišīl “he carries” (after reduction of the diphthong iy > i) has become homophonous with the form for the 1st p. sg. com. “I carry”.

3.2.2.4.2. Verbs $C_2 = w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmae) imperatives
Like in the imperfect, imperatives of the 2nd p. sg. masc. often have short base vowels and may have a short vowel preceding, as in šīl “carry!”, ugūṃ “get up!”. Examples are: nām, nāmiy, nāmuw, nāmín, gūm / ugūṃ, gūmiy, gūmuw, gūmūn.

Imperatives used with the verb ğāb, yḡīb are: hāt, hātiy, hātuw, hātin.

3.2.2.4.3. Verbs $C_2 = w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmae) participles
Active participles of measure 1 are formed with the patterns $C_1āyIC_3$, $C_1āyC_3ih$, $C_1āyC_3in$ and $C_1āyC_3āt$.

A passive partiple is mašyūl etc.
3.2.2.5. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae)

3.2.2.5.1. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) perfect

Below two paradigms are listed of perfects of tertiae infirma verbs that are actually mixed; some forms originate from the $a$-type perfect, while other forms in the same paradigm are originally $i$-type forms:

In MzA the following paradigms were elicited:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“forget”</th>
<th>&quot;go, walk&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$i$-type</td>
<td>$a$-type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>perfect*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>nísí</td>
<td>miší</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>nisyuw*</td>
<td>mišyuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nísít</td>
<td>nísíatuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nísítiy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nísí̤</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nísí̤na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nísí̤</td>
<td>nísí̤tuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nísí̤tiy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nísí̤̤</td>
<td>nísí̤̤̤tīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nísí̤̤</td>
<td>nísí̤̤̤nāa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Another informant, however, claimed that forms like ligyuw and ligyin are not MzA. According to him, proper MzA forms are ligúw (< *laguw) (a suffixed example is ligūh) and ligín (< *lagin) (a suffixed example is ligín-nuh) and by analogy one would then also expect ligát for the 3rd p. sg. fem. (< *lagat). The 3rd p. sg. masc. form nísí̤ (< *nasā)—instead of nísí̤̤—must then have crossed over from the $a$-type perfect (compare miší̤, see remark below). For the paradigm of the $i$-type elicited in BWA, see below.

*2 The verb is listed here as an $a$-type perfect, since miší̤ must have developed from *mašā, and endings in -ē + clearly belong to the $a$-type (for raising of the $a$ preceding the stressed ē see 1.2.3.4.3.2.), but the endings of the 3rd p. pl. and 3rd p. sg. fem. (i.e. those with $y$) are identical with the $i$-type endings. For similar $a$-type forms recorded in the dialect of Biliy of group I in northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:201. The forms of the $a$-type perfect in BWA are the same as in MzA.

Suffixed forms are, e.g.: nísītuh “I forgot him” and nísīnāh “we forgot him”, which are quite straightforward $i$-type, but forms like nísāh “he forgot him” and ligāh “he found him” point to the $a$-type. Similarly: ḥī nísīy-ituh or násatuh “she forgot him” and ligīyituh or (less current) lāqatuh “she found him”. Other examples (with doubling of $n$) in nísīnνnuh “you (pl. fem.) forgot him” and nísīynnuh or (alternatively) nísīnuh “they (f.) forgot him” and alternatives like ligyūh / lagūh (after raising ligūh) “they found him”.

Imperatives of tertiae $yāʾ$ verbs are apocopated in the sg. masc., e.g. the verbs yirmiy “throw” and yimšiy:
* When followed by a pause or a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel appears, e.g. (underlined): írim #1 “throw!” and írimha “throw it (fem.) away!”.

The paradigm of the i-type perfect recorded from BWA informants is almost identical to that of group I, however (De Jong 2000:201).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“forget” plausible perfect</th>
<th>“forget” imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nísíy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nisyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nísít</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nísítiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nísít</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. i in the first syllable of these verbs is not elided.

3.2.2.5.2. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) imperfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“forgo” plausible imperfect</th>
<th>“go, walk” plausible imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yansiʾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tansiʾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tansiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ansiʾ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Verb forms are listed here in their unsuffixed shapes; when suffixed, iʾ > ā, as in e.g. yansāḥiʾ “he forgets her” (contrast with remark in *2 on treatment of final -iʾ in ǧiʾ “he came” in 3.2.2.6.1.).

N.B. Apocopated tertiae infirmae 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms are very regular in group VI. Other examples are aḡlābīyyah lli y btalghuw sakanuw fi wiḡh gibil aṣṢaʾid “the majority of those you find settled down in the south in Upper Egypt”, hatlāguh “you’ll find him”, awʾa tans! “don’t you forget!” and iw bītīːgłuh “and you boil it (a long time)”.

3.2.2.5.3. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) imperatives

Like apocopated imperfect forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc., apocopated imperative forms for sg. masc. are current, e.g. ʾirimhīʾ “throw it (sg. fem.) away!”, ansuh “forget him!”.
3.2.2.5.4. **Verbs C\(_3\) = y (tertiae infirmae) participles**
Active participles have the patterns C\(_1\)āC\(_2\)iy, C\(_1\)āC\(_2\)yih, C\(_1\)āC\(_2\)yin and C\(_1\)āC\(_2\)yāt. E.g. lāgy\(_y\), lāgyih, lāgyin, lāgyāt "having found".

3.2.2.5.5. **Verbs C\(_3\) = y (tertiae infirmae) verbal nouns**
No instances of verbal nouns of tertiae infirmae were recorded.

3.2.2.6. **The verb “come”**

3.2.2.6.1. **The verb “come” perfect and imperfect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*1</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ǧi(_z)(_2)*2</td>
<td>ǧuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ǧāt</td>
<td>ǧîn*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ǧīt</td>
<td>ǧītuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ǧitîy</td>
<td>ǧitîn*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ǧit</td>
<td>ǧīne’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Apart from stress in the imperfect paradigm, these forms are reminiscent of forms heard in the dialect of Biliy (see De Jong 2000:204).

*2 But when suffixed: hū ǧānī “he came to me”, but both hū ǧā’k and hū ǧi\(_z\)k (i.e. not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [i]: [dʒi:’k]) were heard for “he came to you (sg. masc.)” and also hū ǧī’k (IPA [dʒi:’k]) “he came to you (sg. fem.)”.

*3 n is doubled when followed by a vowel-initial pronominal suffix, as in tiǧûnu fi dāruh and tiǧûnu fi dāruh, and also doubling of the n when followed by a consonant-initial suffix, including those of the 2nd p. sg.: ǧûnu[k] / ǧûnik “they (fem.) came to you sg. masc. / sg. fem.”.

*4 In rapid speech byiǧîy may be realized as biɣîy, making it homophonous with the form for 1st p. sg. com., e.g. fi šṣayf biɣîy rîh kîtûr, iwj fi lmasṭî’ byiɣîy rîh kîtûr “in summer a lot of wind comes, and there are (times also) in winter that a lot of wind comes”.

*5 Notice the apocopated imperfect form for the 2nd. p. sg. masc., which is in complete conformity with the treatment of tertia ya’ verbs.

*6 The form aɣîy came out through direct elicitation in MzA, but the form iɣîy is more logical and was indeed recorded regularly in MzA and also in BWA.

3.2.2.6.2. **The verb “come” imperatives**
Imperatives used with the verb “come” are: ta’āl, ta’āliy, ta’āluw, ta’ālin.
3.2.2.6.3. *The verb “come” participles*

Participles of the verb “come” are: ǧāy, ǧāyih, ǧāyin, ǧāyāt.

3.2.2.7. *Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)*

3.2.2.7.1. *Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect*

"stretch"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>madd</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ymidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>madduw</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ymidduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>maddat</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ymiddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>middēt</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>tmidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>middēty</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>tmiddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>middēt</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>tmidd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Raising of ạ in closed syllable preceding stressed ǣ is regular (like in the dialect of Bily of group I in the north and also in groups II⁷⁸ and VII. See also remark to the perfect paradigm in 3.2.3.5.2.

When the geminate is velarized, the ǣ of the ending is diphthongal ay, as in e.g. ḥaṭṭayt "I placed". ạ in closed syllable preceding ay is not raised. When the geminate is velarized, the imperfect usually has u as a base vowel, e.g. ḥuṭṭ “place”.

3.2.2.7.2. *Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae) imperatives*

Imperatives of mediae geminate verbs are e.g. šidd, šiddiy, šidduw, šiddin "pull!" and with base vowel u: huṭṭ, huṭṭiy, huṭṭṭuw, huṭṭin "place!".

3.2.2.7.3. *Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)*

Active participles geminate verbs are e.g.: mādd, māddih, māddin, māddāt.

Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when C₁ = X, e.g. maḥaṭūṭ "placed", but this was not heard in maḫṣūṣ “special”.

3.2.3. *Derived measures*

3.2.3.1. *Measure n⁻¹*

3.2.3.1.1. *Measure n⁻¹ sound roots*

Measure n⁻¹ is used to express the passive. The underlying patterns are anC₁aC₂aC₃, yinC₁aC₂iC₃. The vowel of the preformative (in both perfect and imperfect) may be stressed in positions eligible for stress and surface

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⁷⁸ For the dialect of Bily, see De Jong 2000:205. For group II, see ibid.:309.
forms often show raised a, e.g. ángiṭa’, yíngiṭi’ “be cut”, ánwikal, yínwikil “be eaten”. The paradigms are:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect sg.</th>
<th>perfect pl.</th>
<th>imperfect* sg.</th>
<th>imperfect* pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ánbiṣaṭ</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭuw</td>
<td>yínbiṣit</td>
<td>yínbāṣṭuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭṭ</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭṭuw</td>
<td>tīnbiṣit</td>
<td>tīnbaṣṭuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭṭiy</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭṭin</td>
<td>tīnbaṣṭiy</td>
<td>tīnbaṣṭin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

* In the imperfect forms the underlying [a] ‘reappears’ in syllables closed by C₂ (here ʃ) after elision of i preceding C₃ (here t). The fact that the i preceding ʃ is actually underlying [a] can also be concluded from the fact that it is not elided from forms like yínbiṣit (i.e. the form is not yín(i)bṣit; a form which would be analogous in terms of elision and anaptyxis to a form like yīkitbuw). In a similar manner, the participles are formed using the underlying pattern minC₃aC₂iC₁, e.g. mínbiṣṣiṭ, minbaṣṭah, minbaṣṭin, minbaṣṭāt “rejoicing”.

The inflectional base of the verb has been reinterpreted as underlying |inbaṣiṭ|, instead of |nbaṣiṭ|; verbal prefixes are then vowelless (i.e. y-, t- and n-) and for the 1st p. sg. com. the prefix is ∅ (see also below inšāl in 3.2.3.1.3.).

3.2.3.1.2. Measure n-1 C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial geminate verbs are: inC₃aC₂C₁ and yinC₃aC₂C₁, e.g. inhāṭṭ, yinhāṭṭ “be placed” and inṣabb, yinsiḥabb “be poured”.

3.2.3.1.3. Measure n-1 C₂ = y or w (mediae infirmae)
The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial weak verbs are: inC₃aC₂ and yinC₃aC₂, e.g.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect sg.</th>
<th>perfect pl.</th>
<th>imperfect* sg.</th>
<th>imperfect* pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>inšāl</td>
<td>inšāluw</td>
<td>yinšāl</td>
<td>yinšāluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inšilt</td>
<td>inšiltuw</td>
<td>tīnšāl</td>
<td>tīnšāluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inšīltiy</td>
<td>inšīltin</td>
<td>tīnšāliy</td>
<td>tīnšālin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

* Notice the absence of vowel harmony, and the paradigmatically fixed intital i-.

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79 It is unsure whether the initial vowel of the perfect is a- (i.e. anḥaṭṭ) or i-.
3.2.3.1.4. **Measure n-1 C$_3$ = y or w (mediae infirmae) participles**
Participles are shaped on the pattern minC$_1$āC$_3$: minšāl, minšālah, minšālin, minšālāt “carried away, removed”.

3.2.3.2. **Measure t-1**
No instances of measure t-1 were recorded in these dialects.

3.2.3.3. **Measure t-t**

3.2.3.3.1. **Measure t-t sound roots**
Underlying patterns for measure 1-t are: aC$_1$taC$_2$ aC$_3$ yiC$_1$taC$_2$iC$_3$. Like in measure n-1, raised a is found in unstressed syllables of the surface forms, e.g.: áštīgāl, yištīgil “work”, áttīfag, yǐttīfīg “agree” and ástawa, yištīwiy “ripen; be cooked (of food)”. Paradigms for C$_3$ = y are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>áštaṛa</td>
<td>yíštiriy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>áštaṛuw</td>
<td>yíštiruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áštaṛat</td>
<td>tištiriy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>áštaṛin</td>
<td>yíštirin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ištaṛayt</td>
<td>tištiruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ištaṛaytuw</td>
<td>tištiruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ištaṛaytiy</td>
<td>tištirin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ištaṛaytin</td>
<td>tístirin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ištaṛayt</td>
<td>níštiriy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ištaṛayna</td>
<td>níštiriy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.3.2. **Measure t-t C$_3$ = w or y (mediae infirmae)**
An example of a medial weak measure 1-t verb is iḥtāḡ, yiḥtāḡ “need”.

3.2.3.3.3. **Measure t-t C$_2$ = C$_3$ (mediae geminatae)**
An example of a medial geminate measure 1-t verb is i’tazz, yi’tazz (bi) “be proud (of)”.

3.2.3.3.4. **Measure t-t participles**
Patterns for measure 1-t participles are miC$_1$tiC$_2$iC$_3$ (underlying miC$_1$taC$_2$iC$_3$), miC$_1$taC$_2$ C$_3$ ah/ih, miC$_1$taC$_2$ iC$_3$ an, miC$_1$taC$_2$ āt.

Examples are: mǐštīgil “working”, miftārsih “predatory (of animals)”, mīštīwy “ripe, cooked (sg. masc.)”, mistāwyih “ripe cooked (sg. fem.)”. mittīfīg “agreed (sg. masc.)”, mittafgāt “agreed (pl. fem.)” and mǐtīniy “taking care of, providing for”.

Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are: miḥtāḡ “in need”, miltammīn “having gathered (pl. masc.)”.

One example of a passive 1-t participle is mittahamīn “accused (pl. masc.)” (cf. C.A. root w-h-m).
3.2.3.4. Measure ista-

3.2.3.4.1. Measure ista-

Like measure 2, measure ista-1 has morphologically alternating short vowels: a in the perfect and i in the imperfect. The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect sg.</th>
<th>imperfect sg.</th>
<th>perfect pl.</th>
<th>imperfect pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>istafham</td>
<td>yistafhim</td>
<td>istafhamuw</td>
<td>yistáfimuwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>istafhamat</td>
<td>tistafhim</td>
<td>istafhamin</td>
<td>yistáfimuwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>istafhamt</td>
<td>tistafhim</td>
<td>istafhtuw</td>
<td>tistáfimuwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>istafhamtiy</td>
<td>tistáfihmiy</td>
<td>tistafhimin</td>
<td>tistáfimuwn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>istafhamt</td>
<td>astafhim</td>
<td>istafhamna</td>
<td>nistafhim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.4.2. Measure ista-1 $C_2 = y$ (mediae infirmae)

Measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.3. Measure ista-1 $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae)

Measure ista-1 verbs of final weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.4. Measure ista-1 verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae)

Patterns for medial geminate measure ista-1 verbs are: istaC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$, yistaC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$, an example is (i)sta’add, yista’idd “prepare oneself”.

Short a in the perfect preceding stressed ē may be raised (e.g. ista’addêt > ista’iddêt), see also remarks in 3.2.2.7.1. and 3.2.3.5.2.

3.2.3.4.5. Measure ista-1 participles

Particiles of measure ista-1 verbs have the pattern mistaC$_1$C$_2$iC$_3$, e.g. mista’gil “in a hurry”.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mistaC$_1$iC$_2$C$_3$: mista’idd “having prepared, ready”.

3.2.3.5. Measures 2 and t-2

Measure 2 has morphologically alternating short vowels: a in the perfect and i in the imperfect. The patterns are: C$_1$C$_2$C$_3$, C$_1$C$_2$C$_3$, yC$_1$C$_2$C$_3$, C$_1$C$_2$C$_3$.

Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed a. The patterns are taC$_1$C$_2$C$_2$C$_3$, taC$_1$C$_2$C$_2$C$_3$.

3.2.3.5.1. Examples of measure 2 sound roots

Like in group I, the high vowel i of imperfect measure 2 may be elided in open syllables. The initial geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples are: yzabbtw “they do a proper job”, bittall’uw giṣāyid “you (pl. masc.) recite (lit. bring up) poems”, biybarrkuw ‘āsil “they let a thoroughbred cover”, the latter in I.P.A. [bɪl’barko wʔa’si:l].
Similar elisions may take place in sandhi, as in thammāš ʾlbunn “you roast the coffee beans” and w ʾttxallīy ʾtgāmr ʾišwayyīh “and you let it (burn) a little (to) become glowing embers”.

r or l following the high vowel i may inhibit its morphophonemic elision, e.g. itfassiruḥ “you explain it” and biʾyāʾssirīn īmʾūk ʾišwayyīh “they (pl. fem.) have some influence on you”.

When C₂ = C₃, the elision of i does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. thālīlūh “you analyze it” (I.P.A. [ətʰhɑlloʰ]).

3.2.3.5.2. Measure 2 tertiae infirmae
Paradigms for measure 2 tertiae infirmae verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>sawwī*₂</td>
<td>sawwuw</td>
<td>ysawwiy</td>
<td>ysawwuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>sawwat</td>
<td>sawwin</td>
<td>tsawwiy</td>
<td>yasawwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>suwwēt</td>
<td>suwwētuw</td>
<td>tsaww/-fy</td>
<td>tsawwuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>suwwētiy</td>
<td>suwwētin</td>
<td>tsawwiy</td>
<td>tsawwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>suwwēt</td>
<td>suwwēni</td>
<td>asawwiy</td>
<td>nsawwiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ For raising of a in closed syllable preceding stressed ē see remark in 3.2.2.7.1.
*₂ Like in forms of the imperfect (see remark * in 3.2.2.5.2.) final -ʾi > -ā when suffixed, e.g. sawwāh “he did it”.

3.2.3.5.3. Examples of measure 2 primae hamzah
The verb “feed” is wakkal, ywakkil, e.g. ḥatta maʿ ywakklūne # “so that they wouldn’t give us food”, gīʿadna šahārāyhn, fi ʾlgbāl hā/dmacronbelowiy binḥūm. innās kānat bitxāf itwakkilne “we stayed two months in these mountains as we moved around. People were afraid to give us food”.

3.2.3.5.4. Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect
In measure t-2 the vowel a is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns are taCa₂C₂aC₃, ytaCa₂C₂aC₃.

Unlike the situation in group I dialects (especially so in those of the Rmelāt and Sawārkah, see De Jong 2000:212), the ta- prefix in the perfect and imperfect of measure t-2 is stable and is hardly ever reduced to (i)t-.

When the imperfect preformative t- of the 3rd p. sg. fem. and of the 2nd p. sg. and pl. masc. and fem. precedes, the resulting sequence tta- is reduced to ta-. ₈₀ For tertiae infirmae t-2 verbs the paradigms are:

₈₀ I have referred to this before as a haplological drop of the verbal prefix ta- (from an initial sequence *tata-). This interpretation however pre-supposes verbal imperfect pre-
“have lunch”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*₁</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect*₁</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>taḡaddi’</td>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>taḡadduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. fem.</td>
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<td>3. fem.</td>
<td>taḡaddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
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<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>taḡaddētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. fem.</td>
<td>taḡaddētiy</td>
<td>2. fem.</td>
<td>taḡaddētīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>taḡaddēt</td>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>taḡaddēni’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ With a verb like ta’ašša, yta’ašša “have dinner” raising of a in the ta- prefix is regular, e.g. (perfect) ti’aššat, ti’aššēt and (imperfect) 2nd p. sg. masc. ti’ašš.

Notice that the 3rd. p. pl. masc. and fem. of the perfect have become homophonic with the 2nd p. pl. masc. and fem. (respectively) of the imperfect. And the 3rd p. sg. masc. of the perfect is homophonic with the 3rd p. sg. fem. of the imperfect.

Raising of final *-ā is indicated here as -ʾi, but phonetic values may also be slightly lower (i.e. nearer to I.P.A. [eʔ]).

*₂ Notice also apocopation.

3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns

Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a taC C iC₁ pattern, e.g. taḡlib “throwing out (of a fish line)”, taḥbīs “drying (trans.)”, tadrīb “training (trans.)” and a gahawah-form taḥadīr “coming down”.

A C₁ = y verbal noun is found in tirbāt álǧimal “training the camel”.

Verbal nouns for measure t-2 were not recorded. For the quadrilateral verb ta’aknan, yta’aknan “be annoyed”, however, the verbal noun t’iknin was recorded.

3.2.3.5.6. Measures 2 and t-2 participles

Active participles of measure 2 have a mC₁ aC C iC₂ C₃ (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt) pattern, e.g. m’aggid “travelling”, m’allīq “keeping suspended”, for C₂ = y msawwiy, msawwyih etc., “making, doing” and for C₃ = C₁ mḡaddid, mḡaddidih (without elision of the short vowel i), etc. “renewing”.

The pattern for the passive measure 2 participle is mC₁ aC C iC₂ C₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt), e.g.: mlawwa “coloured”, mnaššaf “dried, hardened” and mtallal “piled up”, for C₃ = y msawwa, msawwyih etc., “made, done” and for C₂ = C₃ mḡaddad, mḡaddadīh etc. “renewed”.

fixes like ta-, ya-, and na-, whereas these are actually t-, y- and n- (the latter two implying the first). The interpretation of reduction of the initial geminate is therefore preferred here.
The pattern for measure $t$-$2$ active participles is $mtaC_1aC_2C_3iC_3 (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt)$, but in participles often the $ta$- prefix has been reduced to $t$- (pattern $mitC_1aC_2C_3iC_3 (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt)$, e.g. $mit'aššīl “deep-rooted”, mithaddīr (min) “originating (from)”, mitḡawwīz “married” and for $C_3 = y$ $mtaḡaddyī, mtaḡaddyīh$ etc. “having eaten lunch” and also $mitharriyī, mitharriyīh$ etc. “striving for, aspiring”.

3.2.3.6. Measures $3$ and $t$-$3$
Like measure $2$, measure $3$ has morphologically alternating vowels: $i$ in the imperfect and $a$ in the perfect. Patterns for measure $3$ are: $C_1āC_2aC_3$, $yC_1āC_2iC_3$.

Measure $t$-$3$ has morphologically fixed $a$ in the perfect and imperfect, and like in measure $t$-$2$, the $ta$-preformative is not often reduced to $t$-. Patterns for measure $t$-$3$ are: $taC_1āC_2aC_3$, $ytaC_1āC_2iC_3$.

Also like in measure $t$-$2$, the $ta$- preformative of measure $t$-$3$ in the perfect is usually not reduced to $(i)t$-.

3.2.3.6.1. Examples of measures $3$ and $t$-$3$
Paradigms for measure $3$ are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>kāwan</td>
<td>kāwanuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kāwanat</td>
<td>kāwanin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>kāwant</td>
<td>kāwantin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kāwantiy</td>
<td>kāwantuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>kāwant</td>
<td>kāwanna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some suffixed examples are: suffixed: $kāwanatu$ (stressed on first syllable) “she quarrelled with him”, $kāwannah $ “we quarrelled with him”, $kāwantinnuh $ “you (pl. fem.) quarrelled with him” and (imperfect) $tkāwni$ “you (sg. fem.) quarrel with him”, $ykāwninnuh $ “they (fem.) quarrel with him”, $ykāwnūh $ “they (masc.) quarrel with him”.

A $C_3 = y$ verb has the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>lāga</td>
<td>lāguw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lāgat</td>
<td>lāgin*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>lāget</td>
<td>lāgetuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lāgetiy</td>
<td>lāgetin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>lāget</td>
<td>lāgēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the endings: -uw and -in instead of -aw and -an current in group I.

Some examples of suffixed forms are: hū lāgāh “he met/found him”, hī lāgā́tk “she met/found you (sg. masc.)”, hī lāgā́tu “she met/found him” (cf. 3.1.10.5.) and hinnah biylāginn/ -innik “they meet/find you (sg. masc./fem.)”.

Examples for measure t-3 are: [kān] bīntarā̄fag ʾīw bīntašābāg “we used to travel together and race together” and (for C= y) būkrā́h hantālagā “tomorrow we’ll meet”, huwwa ytalāguw “they meet”, intin talāgin (like in measure t-2, initial tta- is reduced to ta-, cf. 3.2.3.5.4.) “you (pl. fem.) meet”. The vowel a preceding stress may be raised, as in the example ytālaḡ “he receives medical treatment” and the perfect tiḥālafuw “they became allies”.

Notice again the absence of vowel harmony in the 3rd and 2nd p. pl. masc. and sg.: -uw and -in, contrasting with -aw or -ow and -an in group I.

3.2.3.6.2. Measures 3 and t-3 participles
Active participles of measure 3 have the pattern mCāCiC3 (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt), e.g. mḡāhdīn “fighting (pl. masc.) in a ǧīhād”, mkāf ʾih “compensating (sg. fem.)”.

A passive participle (pattern mCāCaC3) is mtāradīn “having been pushed back (in a fight)”.

Active participles of measure t-3 have the pattern mtaCāCiC3 or mitCāCiC3 (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt); like in participles of measure t-2 (cf. 3.2.3.5.6.), the ta- preformative is often reduced to (i)t-. Both mtawāḡdīh and mitwāḡdīh “present (sg. fem.)” were recorded and also mithāyig lay “it seems to me” (cf. MSA root h-y-).

3.2.3.6.3. Measures 3 and t-3 verbal nouns
A verbal noun for measure 3 that was recorded is ǧīhād “war against unbelievers” and another is msāʾadah “help, assistance”. Verbal nouns of the type tCēCiC3 were not recorded.

3.2.3.7. Measure 4

3.2.3.7.1. Measure 4 sound roots perfect and imperfect
Like in many Bedouin dialects of Sinai, verbal measure 4 is found in group VI as well.

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* Such as they have been reported for the dialect of the Aḥaywāt of group I, see Stewart 1990: 186 (text 69) and 118 (text 37).
The patterns are $aC_3aC_3$ for the perfect and $yiC_3iC_3$. The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“have breakfast”</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>áfṭar</td>
<td>áfṭaruw*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yifṭir</td>
<td>yifṭiruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áftarat</td>
<td>áftarin*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tifṭir</td>
<td>tifṭiruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ifṭart</td>
<td>ifṭartuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tifṭir</td>
<td>tifṭiruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ifṭartiy</td>
<td>ifṭartin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tifṭiriy</td>
<td>tifṭirin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ifṭart</td>
<td>ifṭarna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tifṭir</td>
<td>tifṭir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Notice again the absence of vowel harmony in the endings
*2 The anaptyctic vowel in forms like (here underlined) tifṭiruw and yifṭirin is voiceless and therefore barely audible.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 $C_2 = w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect
Patterns for measure 4 mediae infirmae are: $C\bar{a}C_2$ ($C_1C_3$ t) yC_1C_3, e.g. rád "he wanted", ridt (I.P.A. [ritʃ]) “I wanted”, yríd “he wants”. The paradigms are like those of šāl, yšīl (see 3.2.2.4.).

Some examples of suffixed forms are: rádatīh “she wanted him”, ridnāh “we wanted him”, intuw ridtīh “you (pl. masc.) wanted him”, intin ridtin-nuh “you (pl. fem.) wanted him” and rádinnuh “they (fem.) wanted him”.

3.2.3.7.3. Measure 4 $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) perfect and imperfect
The patterns for measure 4 $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) are $aC_1C_2a$ (perfect) and $yiC_1C_2iC_3$ (imperfect). The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“give”</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>áṭa</td>
<td>áṭaw*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yiṭaw</td>
<td>yiṭow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áṭat</td>
<td>áṭin*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yiṭin</td>
<td>yiṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>aṭayt</td>
<td>aṭaytaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tiṭ*2/-iyy</td>
<td>tiṭuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>aṭaytiy</td>
<td>aṭaytina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tiṭiy</td>
<td>tiṭiyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>aṭayt</td>
<td>aṭayna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iṭiy</td>
<td>nīṭiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the endings in tertiae yā’ perfects as well: -uw and -in instead of -aw and -an current in group I.
*2 Notice the presence of the apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. forms in measure 4 as well.

Some suffixed examples are: hinnah aṭinnuh “they (fem.) gave him” and hinnah aṭinnuh iyyāh “they (fem.) gave it to him”. 
3.2.3.7.4. Measure 4 $C_1 = w$ (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect
An example of a measure 4 $C_1 = w$ (primae wāw) verb is awğı’a, yuġi’ “hurt, cause pain to”, e.g. ibtūġ’uh “it (sg. fem.) hurts him” and ‘idnī awğı’aṭnī “my ear hurt me”.

3.2.3.7.5. Measure 4 $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect
Verb forms of measure 4 $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) were not recorded, or not recognized as such.

3.2.3.7.6. Measure 4 imperatives
Examples of imperatives for measure 4 sound roots are like imperatives for the $i$-type imperfect (see 3.2.1.5.).

Imperatives of $C_3 = y$ roots are: $i’ṭ$ (apocopated), $i’tiy, i’tuw, i’tin$. Suffixed examples are: $i’ith-iyyāha “give it (sg. fem.) to her”, $i’tuh luh “give it to him”.

3.2.3.7.7. Measure 4 participles
The participles for sound roots have a miCCiC pattern, e.g. mifṭir, miftirih, miftirin, miftirāt “having eaten breakfast”.

For mediae infirmiae there are participles of the type mrīd, -ih, -in, -āt “wanting”. Another example is mjīr “running”.

3.2.3.8. Measure 9
Paradigms for measure 9 are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;turn red&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>iḥmaṛṛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>iḥmaṛṛat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>iḥmaṛṛayt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>iḥmaṛṛayty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>iḥmaṛṛayt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Particples are: miḥmaṛṛ, -ah, -in, āt.

3.2.3.9. Quadriliteral verbs
Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect ($i$) and perfect ($a$).

---

82 Though for the verb rād, yrīd measure 1 participles ṭāyid, -ih etc. were also accepted by my informants.
“ululate”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*₁</th>
<th>imperfect*₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>zaġraṭ</td>
<td>zaġraṭuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>zaġraṭ</td>
<td>zaġraṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>zaġraṭt</td>
<td>zaġraṭtw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>zaġraṭṭiy</td>
<td>zaġraṭtín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>zaġraṭt</td>
<td>zaġraṭtín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>zaģraṭt</td>
<td>zaģraṭné</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ ṭṭ is assimilated to ṭṭ, e.g. zaģraṭṭiy.

*₂ Initial tz is assimilated to dz or zz, e.g. (partially) # idzaġriṭ or (totally) # izzaġriṭ.

“improvise rhymed song”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>hawḏas</td>
<td>hawḏisuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>hawḏisat</td>
<td>hawḏasin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hawḏast</td>
<td>hawḏastuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>hawḏastiy</td>
<td>hawḏastín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hawḏast</td>
<td>hawḏasna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>hawḏast</td>
<td>hawḏasna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Forms like hawḏisat and hawḏisuw show raising of a > i (see 3.1.1.7.).

The verbal noun is hǧēsiy or thīǧis. Similarly, the verb hawḏan, yhawḏin “improvise rhymed song in public” has verbal nouns hǧēniy or thīǧin.

4. Remarks on Phraseology

4.1. Nunation

Tanwīn is not a feature of MzA or BWA.

Of course, there are the loans from MSA, which may have come via other dialects, such as masalan “for instance”; the s for *ṭ (in a ẓʾ-speaking dialect!) is a clue that this loan came via a dialect in which interdentals are not part of the phoneme inventory, such as Cairene.

Other examples of such MSA loans with nunation are: tabʾan “of course”, tagriban “approximately”, ʾaṣlan “in origin”, fiʾlan “indeed, actually” and hāliyyan “currently”.

4.2. Negation

Negating a verb is done with mā preceding the verb form, although bi-partite mā + verb form + ʾs is also used. Of my informants, one speaker
used mā + verb form for more emphatic negation (almost always in combination with xālīṣ “at all”) and the compound negation for ‘normal’ negation. Another informant, who actually speaks the ‘original’ dialect better, used the single negation, and only the compound negation by way of exception.

Examples are iw biytaraǧǧuw lmašāyix illy kān ḥīnha mawǧūdīn mā ywaddūhuw Falaṣṭīn iywaddūhuw Maṣir # “and they asked the sheikhs, who were there at that time, not to send them to Palestine, (but) to send them to Egypt…” and ḥād-illy ya’niy bākluh, law mā liḥāg daktūr aw ḥāwiyy biymūt “and this (person) that he (i.e. a snake) bites, if he doesn’t (quickly) get to a doctor or a snake charmer, he dies”.

4.3. The b-imperfect

The originally sedentary feature of the b-imperfect to express the habitual present tense is widespread in Sinai.83

Some examples are iw biddugg bi ʾid ilhōn ingūl ʾalēh ʾid ilhōn, iw baʾad kidīyyih . . . ilbāryād hū iblyiğliš binḫuṭt ēḥ? “and you pound it with the pestle, we call it the pestle, and after that . . . (when the water in) the teapot is boiling and we put what?” and hū mūhū fāhim kidīy, hū mūhū ʿārif . . . inna mā bitrīduh “he did not understand this, he did not know . . . that she did not want him” w Aḷḷah btug ʾid kidīyyih w btgahwiy nnās84 iw btaxaṛraf iw bittūb . . . biṭḥawiq ilkalām illy zimān “By God, you sit down like this and you give the people coffee (or tea)85 and you talk and you get . . . you improvise the type of talk of old times”.

See also remark in 3.2.2.4. on reduction of the diphthong in a form like biyšīl > biṣīl.

4.4. Future Marker

To express “volition” or “need” MzA uses bidd + pron. suffix (see also 4.11.).86

Often not only volition or need is expressed, but also a sense of futurity of the action expressed in the following verb. Examples are: (futurity)
halḥīnit bidd-āx d iššuggah w uxuš...w unšur “now I shall take the net and go in (i.e., into the water), and spread it”.

To express futurity, the imperfect form may also have prefixed ha-, e.g., ya’niy halḥīnit álwalad il’āsīl illíy hú ’indina nihá’...hatlāguh ibyasma’ kilām uḥāh “that is, the true son that we have here with us, you will find that he listens to what his father says”. In the instances recorded, this ha-was invariably used to express inevitability connected to stating a general truth. law istagduw ’a lḥikāyah diy, hayaqta’-áššiǧar;87 hayaqta’ūh “if they would seek to imitate this (story), they would cut down the trees, they would cut them down”.

In the many cases, however, the future is expressed with the simple imperfect, as in intah law ga’att bukrārah hinīh, asūfluk wāḥid iygūlūk ēh? ’al-ēh? ’ala ttadrīb dih. “If you stay here tomorrow, I’ll get you someone who will tell you what? About what? About this training (of camels)’.

4.5. fīh “there is / are”

fīh is used to express existence or availability of something,88 e.g., iw fīh i’šāb fi lbaar bitdāwiy ssukkar “and there are herbs in the desert which cure diabetes”.

The negation is usually mā fīh (or K-form ma fīš), e.g., ġār ánnaxal, mā fīh izrā’ah zamān “there were only palm trees, in the old times there was no agriculture”.

Also māš may be used for negation (but was only heard in BWA): gabl ilfasil kān ya’niy hwēl alfēn ittala...ya’niy māš katīr “before the separation there was, that is, around two thousand, three...that is, there was not much” and w Alḥāyī māš isdūd fīhe...iblādna hādiy “By God, there are no dams in it...in (this) our land”.

4.6. Some Conjunctions

4.6.1. Conjunctions lamma and yōm

Like in many dialects of Sinai, conjunctions lamma and yōm, or variant forms based on these, are used for “when”.89

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87 hayaqta’ūw + aššiǧar.
89 For use of yōm in dialects of northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:692 (map 71).
4.6.1.1. yōm

4.6.1.1.1. yōm used independently

yōm may be used meaning “when”, e.g. yōm liḥguw war-ālbal, šār ʾilkōn ...yōm šār ʾilkōn gāmūw gasamuw miʾi Zwayyid ḫinnuṣṣ “when they had caught up with the (tribe who had stolen their) camels, there was a fight. When the fight was over they then divided (the camels) equally with (Sheikh) Zwayyid”. Another example is yāʾniy kilu ...iṭnēn kilu yōm ma fiš hawa xāliš “(we catch) like a kilo, two kilos when there is no wind at all” and fīh ṣārayih, ḫalhīn ilḡbāl yōm tīḡhī, subhān Allāh rabīna miʾtini yull šīy “there is water. If you come to the mountains now—God be praised—our Lord takes care of everything”.

4.6.1.1.2. yōm in combination with in

4.6.1.1.2.1. yōmin used independently

yōmin may also be used for “when”, like in the following example: yāʾniy kūnna šabāb ʿala ẓzamil w ʾintasābag w ʾinsābag yōmin nḡ-āl-ārāb,91 fīhīnt lay kēf? “that is, we were young lads riding camels, and we’d race each other and we’d race and when we’d come to the village, you see what I mean?”

yōmin was only recorded in BWA.

4.6.1.1.2.2. yōmin + obj. suffix as subject of the clause

There were no instances of direct suffixing of yōmin.

4.6.1.1.2.3. min yōm

min yōm(in) is often used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”, e.g. kūnṭ fī Maṭariyyih sākin, bāss bāṣūf ilḡbālāt ḫāḍūlah ḫala ʿala yūnī w anā fī Maṭariyyih law-ḍāsū ʿin min yōmin fakkat Sīnih, law kōn yōm alf iḡnēh mānī gāʾid “I was living in Maṭariyya,92 but I kept seeing these mountains on my retina (lit. my eyes) while I was in Maṭariyya. (even) If they, ever since Sinai was liberated, would have given me a thousand pounds for every day, I would not have stayed (in Maṭariyya)”.

Another example is min yōm addāʾk gašalatha ḥurnūʾk “from the moment that they have given you her twig,93 she’s your wife”.

90 gāṃuw (lit. “the stood up”) is here translated as “then”, i.e. like unconjugated gām, which is often used in narrating a chain of events that took place in the past, see De Jong 2000:231.

91 nḡiy + āl-ārāb.

92 Many members of Bedouin tribes in Sinai spent the years of the Israeli occupation of Sinai (following the 1967 war) as refugees in the Egyptian Nile Delta.

93 A twig is traditionally given to the groom in betrothal ceremonies as a token of the girl’s engagement to him.
4.6.1.2.4. min yōm in combination with ma

4.6.1.2. lamma and lumma
Both lamma and its variant lumma (probably a hybrid form of lamma and yōm ma) are often used for “when” and “until”.

4.6.1.2.1. lamma and lumma “when” used independently
Examples of lamma used for “when”: alḥīnit lamma bigūl luḵ intah min wēn? bitgūl luḥ ana Mzēniy “now, when he says to you ‘Where are you from?’ You say to him ‘I am a Mzēniy’,” inhum gōṭaruw ḥnūh aṣil lamma ṭıakkir Sīna zamān alblād hēdiy maḥál “they went there because when you would see (as it was) before this land was dry”.

An example of lumma (current in MzA, but not in BWA) inta lhīn aḍḍayf lumma biyğiḵ, lumma biyiği ḍḍayf, ta’mal luḥ gaḥwah94 “Now when the guest comes to you, when the guest comes, you make coffee for him”.

4.6.1.2.2. lamma + in. lamma or lumma + in was not recorded

4.6.1.2.3. lamma and lumma “until”
Lumma (see also remark below in 4.6.1.3.) or lamma may be used in combination with laġāyit for “until”, e.g. (prosodically lengthened a in the first syllable) laġāyit lumma ddaxanah btabga bē/dmacronbelow “until (when) the smoke becomes white”. But also without laġāyit, as in iw byinhāṭṭ luḥ šwayyih sayy ma tgūl fi ššamis lamma yṛūb “and it is placed in the sun a bit, as you say, until it curdles” and bithuṭṭ . . . ţamir issiyāl nār lamma tāḥaḏam “you put . . . coal of the acacia tree in the fire (and wait) until it becomes coal”.95

4.6.1.3. lōm (+ in)
An example of lōm + ma was recorded in MzA: iw ţīna Dihāb nīḥāniy lōmma midāris fātaḥin . . . “and we came to Dihāb here when schools (were) opened”. Lumma of the preceding paragraph is to be interpreted as shortened lōm+ma.

lōm was not heard in BWA.

94 The last part of the sentence shows Koine influences; instead of ta’mal luḥ gaḥwah, proper MzA would be more something like itsaww luḥ gaḥwah or tgahwīh.

95 “Become coal” is a gloss from my informant. I could not find a dictionary which lists this verb, but I suppose that the root h-ḡ-m is in some way related to the root ḡ-m-r, as in ḡamrīyyīḥ “glowing ember”.
4.6.2. ḥatta

4.6.2.1. ḥatta “until”, “so that”

ḥatta “until” was recorded in bitdugguh iw biti:ğluh96 ‘ala lmaryyih aw mā ḥatta tiğluh ‘alayyih ‘you pound it and boil it in water or water until you boil it in water’.

ḥatta was also recorded meaning “so that”: ya’niy halhinit ābalad il’asıl ʾilliy hu ‘indina nihā’... hatlağuh ibyasma’ kilâm ābūh. ibyarda’... ya’niy ḥatta ‘ābūk ibyarda’ ‘alēk’ w aṃmuk ibtarda’ ‘alē’k’... “that is, the decent son that we have here (in our community)... you’ll find that he listens to (the words of) his father. He is pleased.... that is, so that your father is pleased with you and your mother is pleased with you”.

4.7. Auxiliaries and Verbal Particles

4.7.1. gām

Unconjugated gām used as a ‘marker of consequent action’ was not recorded in these dialects. In only one instance (but conjugated) gāmund was used in a narration of events: yōm šār ilków gāmuw yōm liḥguw war-ābil, šār ilków... yōm šār ilków gāmuw gasamuw mī ’iZwayyid innuṣ “when they had caught up with the (tribe who had stolen their) camels, there was a fight. When the fight was over they then divided (the camels) equally with (Sheikh) Zwayyid”.

4.7.2. ṛāḥ

ṛāḥ was not recorded as an auxiliary or particle in MzA or BWA.

4.7.3. Conditional particles

4.7.3.1. Variations on kān as a conditional particle

4.7.3.1.1. in + kān

An example of in + kān “if”: min ziliṭ iṣgayyir zayy ziliṭ šayyd aw ziliṭ ġanām mā yḍurr bass inkān min ziliṭ īṣṣa;yaḥa l il’ukkah... “(skin) from a young animal like a young gazelle or a young goat, it is not bad, but if it is from the young gazelle, it is better for the ’ukkah”.97

96 Prosodic lengthening is here used to express long duration of time, see also 1.2.3.5.
97 A ’ukkah is like a watersack (girbih) made from animal skin, but smaller and made from the skin of a young animal, making the leather smoother.
4.7.3.1.2. **Suffixed** inkān
Instances of suffixed kān were not recorded.

4.7.3.1.3. il + kān
Instances of il + kān were not recorded.

4.7.3.1.4. kān preceded by CA loans iz or iza
An example of kān preceded by iz or iza meaning “if”: (a line of poetry) w izkān intuw bitluftīḥ ōla miyyīḥ “and if you're going to be around here a hundred (counts)” and ra‘ānīy[ yīḥ]…alimsimmīḥ diyyīḥ. ḏī iz kān nilgāha fi ṣgāgni’…ġār naqta’ aṣṣuggah kidiy …w intuṣṣhī “a scorpion fish, this venomous one. If we find this in our nets, we have to cut the net like this…and throw it away”.

4.7.3.1.5. kān as an independent conditional
An example of kān used independently as conditional “if”: ihna bnīftixīr bēha ḥatta kān biyglūw waddīy w ħātiy “we are proud of it (sg. fem.) even if they treat us like slaves (lit. they say “bring (this), get (that)!”)”.

Another example is: law žīn ib tafkīr, kān iddarāhīm ḏillīḥ…masalan alḥīnit ‘ašar t-ālāf…ixlāl arba’ t-uṣhur xamīs t-uṣhur…il‘ašar t- alāf ḏillīḥ talghīn ‘iṣrīn alf “if it (i.e. the money) came (to you) by brainwork, if this money…for instance it is ten thousand now…over four or five months…you'll find that these ten thousand pounds have become twenty thousand”.

4.7.3.1.6. kān, inkān or ilkān introducing alternatives
kān may introduce alternatives, like in ḥakamūw ʿalēhuw b sīnih ṭarīd…min Ŝīnīh b ilmarḥah ḥatta mā ywakkhīn…kān wāltī w uxtī w uxtī y nāsī “they sentenced them to a year of total exile…from Sinai, so that they would not (be able to) feed us, be it my mother and my sister and my brother and…(all) my family, that is”.

Another example is: w inḥuṭṭuh fiḥa. kān ġilī/dmacronbelow ʾaw irfayyi lāzm iyyūn miš ya‘niy nō‘ayn “and we put it in there. Be it thick or thin, it shouldn’t be two kinds (mixed), that is”.

4.7.3.2. **Absence of a conditional particle**
Often conditional sentences are not introduced by a particle, e.g. il…alḥīn ākalat ib sinnaha, hū yitff kidiy f-īdu, iw yaxabāthā kidiy “there…now if it has bitten with its tooth, he (i.e. the snake charmer) spits in his hand, like this, and slaps it (sg. fem. i.e. the place of the bite)” and ʿījātnāḥ fi lxēṭ. iw mnā…mnīmīyy ṣwayyah zayy ‘ašarah mitīr, iw bīnūnṣūr ṭānīy “if we have
caught it in the net, (and) then we what? We walk a little farther, like ten metres, and we throw out (our net) again”.98

4.8. Presentative Particles

4.8.1. ir′ or ar′

Presentatives ir′ or ar′ were not recorded.

4.8.2. hē + suffix

To draw the listener’s attention to something or someone, a presentative particle hē may be used followed by a personal pronominal, e.g. hēhū ġi′! “there he is!”, hēhī ġāt “there she is!”, hēhuvwa ġuw “there they (masc.) are!”, hēhinnaħ ġiň “there they (fem.) are!” (lit. “has/have come”).

4.8.3. Particle wlin ~ wilin, win

The particle wlin is used mainly to present a sudden or unexpected turn in a narration,99 but in the following example the development referred to is hardly unexpected or sudden: ‘ašār dagāyig iw tigībha ma fiš dig… kam digīgih w tigībha ġa lğa ītīniy w līnhī yōm āstuwat… bitṭallīḥha “ten minutes and you flip it over after less than a min… a few minutes and you turn it on its other side and there it is, when it has become cooked… you take it out”.

Another example is with the variant particle ilin + suffix: w fi ṭxarṛāfah diyyih . . . ilīnnih īrkāb ġin100 “and in this story . . . there they were, the riding animals came” (recorded in MzA).

4.8.4. Particle wlā +

An example of the presentative particle wlā (used more or less like wlin): w ibtalḥagha ġa šṣāḡ gaštēn ṭalāṭih wlaḥa mistawyiḥ “and you put it on the šṣāḡ and flip it two or three times, and there it is: cooked!” (recorded in BWA).

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98 The fishing technique described is with nets (sg. šuggah, pl. šgāg) on a line (xayt; here xēṭ) while the fishermen stand on the edge of the coral reef by the deep water (‘ala harf ilbāḥah) and throw out their nets on the deep side.
100 īrkāb is pl. (of small numbers) of īrkābih. Notice that the reference is in the pl. fem., see ‘concord’ in 4.16.
4.9. ġayr

ġär (< ġayr) may be used preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action, e.g. īlimḥilliy ġär įyxaddim ’ā ḍdyyf “the host should serve the guest” and īrawwāhna luh, ana qulta ēh? ġär ārawlīh luh. awaddīh l alḥurmah ḍiy, yimkin āssīfi ḍal-īdhī “we went to him, [and] I said what? I need to go to him. I’ll take him to this woman, maybe she can cure him (lit. the cure is by her hand)”. 

4.10. Intensifying Particle la

The particle la intensifying the 1st p. sg. com. was not recorded.

4.11. bidd or widd + pron. sufffix

To express “want” or “need” speakers of BWA use bidd and widd side by side (the latter is heard more inland, the former nearer to the coast). In MzA only suffixed bidd is common. Examples for “need” or “want” are: widdna nlaggī Wādiy Sli ḍī “we want to go to Wadiy Islah” (BWA), ēš biddūk? “what do you want?”, biddūh yāxišīr mi-ḥāniy iḥallū “he wants to take plants from here to analyze them (sg. masc.)”.

Like in other dialects as well, often not only volition is expressed, but also a sense of futurity of the action expressed in the following verb, e.g. ḫalḥīnit bidd-āx/dmacrōnbelow iššuggah w ṭuxušš... w ʿunṣūr “now I shall take the net and go in (i.e. into the water), and spread (it) out”.

4.12. ʿād

The particle ʿād is current to express "so, thus, then". Examples are: ʿād yōm tišrif ḍal-ṣarafat ilįGa ḍyīnsāb gād fi sēl Wādiy Fēṛān “so when you look out at the highest point of alGā’ it flows there into the flood course of Wadi Fēṛān” and ʿād wēn lagga? “so where did he go?”.

4.13. yabga

yabga is not very current, but may be heard at times meaning “so, then”, as in yabga tāʾāmhin ḥiluw “so their (pl. fem.) taste is sweet”.

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101 In group I widd is current.
102 Wādiy Isla (as it is usually indicated on maps) runs from almost due east of aṭ-Ṭūr into the mountains. In group I the name of this wadi is pronounced Sliy (cf. 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5.).
4.14. Characteristics of the Narrative Style

4.14.1. Imperative of narration

The narrative imperative is one of the characteristics of the narrative style. An example is *w ashabuw syūf; zimān ġār b isyūf.* [...] *iw ūtax taxi ġax w asla ġw kitif wāhid, iw ū hu yušurud, īṣurduw rawwāw tTaṛābīn.* “and they drew (their) swords. In the old days it was only with swords [...] And they hit and hit and hit, and they wounded somebody’s shoulder, while he was fleeing, they fled and went to the Taṛābīn”. Another example is (after somebody had stepped on a mine) *innās ġw ‘ilēh dammuw kulluh fī ddaq’āh, nāzīl...zayy ssēl. limmūh w ahānuw dammuw, iw huṭtwuwa li ṛaww’hun tTaṛābīn.* “people came to him, all his blood had run on the ground …like a flood. They gathered it together and buried his blood and put him on a camel and they went away”.

4.14.2. kān as a temporal marker

As another characteristic of the narrative style, unconjugated *kān* can be used as a marker to indicate the past, e.g. *bass zimān fī sSu‘ūdiyyah hnūtiy kān innās mà btalga tākil* “but in the past in Saudi Arabia over there people could not find (anything) to eat”, *ilṃayyah kān bitganniy fī lwādiy hāda* “water used to flow through (narrow) canals in this wadi”. In most cases, however, *kān* is conjugated for number and gender.

4.14.3. Dativus ethicus

Several instances of the ethical dative were recorded. Examples are: *kān ‘indin-ayw-marākib...marākib bass iṣgayyāt ya’nīy...iṣgayyāt...tālāṭah mitir aw arba‘ah mitir ya’nīy timšiy bēhin min bā ad āṣṣa‘ab timš lūk itnēn bēha* “yes, we used to have boats…boats, but small, that is…small ones…three or four meters (in length), that is, you go with them beyond the reef, you go for yourself two (kilometers) with them”. Another example is: *min yōm ātxušš lūk talāṭ arba‘ mitir ba‘id ‘an iṣṣā‘ab ma biy giók xāliṣ. lākin law mišēt ‘ā-ṣṣa‘ab byimšiy warā‘k* “when you go (for yourself) in (into the sea) three or four metres, far away from the reef, it (i.e. the Mor-ray eel) will not come to you at all. But if you walk on the (edge of the) reef, it will come after you”.

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4.15. *Pluralis paucitatis*

For limited or countable numbers often the healthy plural form is used, instead of the broken plural. Examples are: *tamān fāṭirāt ‘aṣar fāṭirāt* “eight loaves, ten loaves”. Another pl. form, used for greater or unspecified numbers is the broken pl. *fāṭāyir*.

Similarly, a pl. is used in designations of quantity like *w ithuṭṭ ‘alēhin ēh? gadd ‘aṣar iǧrāmāt minhin* “and you put what on them? About (the quantity of) ten grams of these (lit. them (pl. fem.)” (see remark in fn 63, p. 148) and *‘aṣar kilāt (~ ‘aṣarāh kilu)* “ten kilos”.

4.16. *Concord*

Limited or countable numbers of things are referred to in the pl. fem. and so are plurals of animals. Examples are: *binǧīb arruğfān iw birrağaġidhin f-āss̱aḥan* “we bring the loaves of bread and we pile them up on a plate” and *il ‘aṣar t-ālāf dillih talghin ‘išrīn al’f* “these ten thousand (pounds), you’ll find them (to have increased to) twenty thousand”. Other examples are: *halḥin ilwīdiyān…aġlabīyttin la Biniy Wāṣil…ka milkiyyih, tawǧad lēhin warāg fi ddēr, tawǧad lēhin warāg kidiy…ya’niy…aġlabīyt ilwīdiyān inNabīg…išŠārim…* “nowadays most of the wadis belong to the Baniy Wāṣil…as property, you’ll find a piece of paper on them in the monastery, you’ll find a piece of paper on them like that… that is… most of the wadis near Nabg, Šarm….”. Also plurals of animals are referred to in pl. fem., e.g. *iw fiḥ ħūt kīr f-ālbihar iw fiḥ iɣrūš, bass ɣrūš diy mā-ḥadd ya’niy mā-ḥadd িবাকিলান.βass ya’niy iβnįṭādhin ɣarṭiḥ b iλxbistung b ǐxayt biɣiŋin fi ǐxayt ɣarṭiḥ* “and there is a lot of fish in the sea, and there are sharks, but these sharks, that is, nobody eats them. But, that is, we fish for them also with a line, they also come on a line”.

5. *A Sketchy Remark on Pitch*

The type of pitch often heard in the speech of (predominantly older) men of group I was not heard in MzA or BWA.\(^{103}\)

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\(^{103}\) I merely conclude the absence of this feature in my material. I do not exclude the possibility of its existence in this group.
CHAPTER THREE

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE TAṚĀBĪN, ḤWĒṬĀT, ĞARĀĞRAH, TAYĀHA, BADĀṚAH, DBŪR AND MALĀLḤAH

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the Bedouin dialects of the Taṛābīn¹ (of Rās Ṣadr on the Gulf of Suez, abbreviated as TAṢ, and of Nwēbi on the Gulf of ‘Aqabah, abbreviated as TAN), Ḥwēṭāt (of Ğidy in Sinai,² abbreviated as ḤwA), Ğarāğrah (of Malbad, some 40 km to the southeast of Rās Ṣadr,³ abbreviated as GrA), Tayāha (on the Tīh plateau of central Sinai, abbreviated as TyA), Badāṛah (in ar-Ramlah,⁴ abbreviated as BdA), Dbūr (some kilometres south of Qalʿat al-Ǧindiy,⁵ abbreviated as DbA) and Malālḥah (on the border with Israel, not far from al-Gṣaymah,⁶ abbreviated as MIA) are described as forming the southern continuation of group I.⁷ This is also the dialect type spoken in the northern Sinai by the tribes Rmēlāt, Sawārkah, Biliy, Masāʿīd, ‘Ayāydah, (farther into eastern central Sinai) Ahaywāt (as it appears in Stewart 1987 and 1990) and the Taṛābīn of the north. This type, which was earlier described in De Jong 2000:Chapter 1, links up to the dialect spoken by the Ďullām in the Negev Desert, described in Blanc:1970. The same dialect type is spoken by branches of the Bedouin

¹ The Taṛābīn claim descent from the Bugūm of the southern Ỉīḡāz (see Holes and Abu Athera 2009:62 [fn 4] and 66 [fn 67]).
² Geographical coordinates of Ğabal al-Ǧidy are appr. 30.10.00 North and 33.09.00 East, see Google Earth (there spelled Jabal al Jiddi).
³ Geographical coordinates of nearby Ğabal al-Malbad are appr. 29.29.41 North and 33.05.55 East, see Google Earth.
⁴ Badāṛah were recorded in a small settlement located at appr. 29.02.50 North and 33.33-39 East, see Google Earth. Another recording session was conducted farther towards the east a few kilometres south of Ğabal Fōgah or Fawqa, coordinates appr. 29.01.26 North and 33.40.22 East, see Google Earth.
⁵ Geographical coordinates of Qalʿat al-Ǧindiy are appr. 29.51.00 North and 33.07.50 East, see Google Earth. If my memory serves me well, it is the settlement visible on Google Earth around the coordinates 29.48.30 North and 33.07.30 East.
⁶ Al-Gṣaymah is at appr. 30.40.08 North and 34.22.00 East, see Google Earth (there spelled Quseima).
⁷ The Malālḥah are actually on the border with Israel in the northeast of Sinai. They were included here, since their dialect was not discussed in De Jong 2000.
tribes Tayāha, Taṛābīn and ‘Azāzmah living in the Negev Desert, and has been succinctly described in Henkin 2008. The dialects of the same group I (or Negev-) type, but spoken more toward the central parts of Sinai (ḤwA, DbA, BdA, TyA, ĞrA, TAṢ, TAN and MlA)\(^9\) will be collectively referred to here as ‘southern group I dialects’.

1. Phonology

1.1. Consonants

1.1.1. Inventory of consonants

The inventory of consonantal phonemes of ḤwA, DbA, BdA, TyA, ĞrA, TAṢ, TAN and MlA (in the northeast) is identical to that of group I in De Jong 2000:10

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vd = voiced, vl = voiceless, emph. = emphatic/velarized

Of consonants listed here, those in brackets are heard in loans, such as q and ’ in the word qurʾān “Koran”. They are marginal as a phoneme, such as ž in ẓabbaṭ, yẓabbiṭ “do properly”, or are allophone, such as ž for ġ; in

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8 The triangular area in the central north of Sinai which is indicated on the map as Ḥwēṭiy territory (between the dirahs of ‘AyA, nTA and AhA) was not visited during this research. For the maps in the appendix I have simply followed the findings for ḤwA as spoken by Ḥwēṭāt to the southwest of this area to colour in this area as well.

9 See remark in fn 7, p. 193.

some of the dialects ž is highly regular, while in other dialects it is rare. The phonemic status of r is sometimes disputed, and therefore r is bracketed in this inventory.¹¹

1.1.2. Interdental fricatives /t̪/, /d̪/ and /d̪̪/

Reflexes of *t̪ and *d̪ are interdentals t̪ and d̪ (I.P.A. [ʈ] and [ɖ]) respectively. Emphatic d̪ (I.P.A. velarized [ʈ]) is the interdental reflex of both *d̪ and *ʈ, e.g. (as reflex of *d̪ in) rawd̪ (pl. riḍān) “small watercourse between low mountains” (DbA), ḥāmiḍ “sour” (BdA), ḏayf “guest” (TyA) and (as a reflex for *d̪ in) ydall “he remains” (TAN) and  qedarah “his back” and  ḏimy “thirst” (both ḞrA).

In a number of lexemes ż (usually loans from MSA or Egyptian Arabic) is the current reflex, like in żābīṭ “officer”, b aẓẓaḥt “precisely”, mazbūṭ “correct”, muḥāfij “governor”, niẓām “system”, ẓurūf “circumstances” (TyA) (notice that in the latter three examples short high vowels have not been dropped from the open initial syllables, which is another indication of their status as loans), Ṿaẓzām, Ṝaẓẓīm “organize”, ḡawūẓ (pl. ḡawāwīẓ) “large storage tank for oil” (in ḤwA and TAṢ), ḡāḥih ḡūzī “a disgusting thing” (DbA), etc.¹²

In all dialects both ḡāḍa and velarized ḡāḍa “this (sg. masc.)” may be heard, except in ḤwA, where such velarization as in the latter form is not current.

The reflexes for *t̪ and *d̪ are interdentals t̪ and d̪. Examples for *t̪ are: nahārit “we plough” (ḠrA), tillāgah “refrigerator” (BdA and tallāgah and tal̪ “ice, snow” in TAṢ),¹³ biyṭannuū ḡa “they come back to her” (ḤwA).

For *d̪: nubdur “we sow” (ḤwA), kiḍb “lying” (BdA) and aḍbaḥah “I slaughter it (masc.)” and miḍrāh¹⁴ “winnowing fork” (both ḞrA).

There are also exceptions: in ḤwA *t̪ in “refrigerator” and “ice; snow” has a reflex t¹⁵ tillāgah, tal̪ and also ḡaddūṭīh “story; fairy tale” (BdA, TAṢ).

In some loans from MSA (presumably via speakers of Cairene) the reflex for *t̪ is s, e.g. taṣīr “influence” (TAN), bit ʾassīr’ālēḥ “it (fem.) has an

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¹¹ For remarks on the notation of r or ṛ, see De Jong 2000:65–67.  
¹² Additional examples may be found in De Jong 2000:60. In TAN Ṿaḥfij with emphatic interdental as final consonant was also recorded.  
¹³ In winter temperatures below zero are not uncommon in the higher parts of the mountainous region of southern Sinai.  
¹⁴ I was told that the ‘older’ word for “winnowing fork” in ḞrA is actually digrān, a term I also heard used by speakers of ḤwA.  
¹⁵ t for *t̪ in lexemes tal̪ and tillāgah is also regular in dialects of groups VI and VII in 1.1.2. of chapters I and II.
influence on him" (TyA), tuṛās “legacy” (ḤwA), ḥādsih “accident”, bi ḥays (cf. MSA bi ḥaytu) “so as to…” (TAṢ) and masalan “for instance” (all dialects), and for *ḍ it is ẓ, as in zakālak “likewise” (DbA) or kazālak (TAṢ), bala m’āxza “no offense intended” (DbA) and bizr “seed” and bizrih “seed (n.u.)”, but ḥū byubdur ibḍār “he sows seeds” (TAṢ).

1.1.3. *Velar stops /k/ and /g/

Like in other group I dialects *k and *q have unaffricated reflexes k (I.P.A. [k]) and g (I.P.A. [g]). These group I dialects do not have a separate phoneme /k/ (contrast groups II, VI, VII and VIII).

1.1.4. *Post alveolar affricate /ǧ/

A regular realisation of /ǧ/ in southern group I dialects is [ɗʒ] (with varying degrees of the plosive onset [d] of this affricate; also [dʒ]). The fricative allophone ż (I.P.A. [ʒ]) for /ǧ/ is more regular in southern group I dialects than in those of the north and it is particularly frequent in ḤwA.

1.1.5. *Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/

In all southern dialects of group I a measure of glottalization in the realisation of /ṭ/ may occur. Often the glottal release, which coincides with the release of the ṭ, is not very clear. Much more clearly audible is the complete lack of aspiration in the release of ṭ—resulting from the total closure of the vocal cords—and the immediate onset of voicing for the following vowel, which coincides with the release of ṭ.

In one case the reflex for *ṭ was t: ti’mih “bait”, which must be related to the root ṭ-l-m (DbA). The form tal’ah “(a usually rocky) watercourse between two mountains used to climb through (i.e. a pass)” is presumably related to the root ṭ-l- “ascend” (TAṢ).

1.1.6. *Glottal stop (ḥamzah)

Like in many other groups in Sinai, the reflex for *ʼ in the verb “ask” is ʾ: sa’al, yas’al. Also the presentative arʼ or irʼ “behold!” shows ʼ for *ʼ (< root *rʼ-y).

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16 Compare MSA ka-dālik, after metathesis > dākālik, and after reinterpreting morpheme boundaries of da-kālik as dākā-lik, after which -lik could be interpreted as the suffixed preposition l used as a presentative. See also remark on kizālu in fn 4, p. 117.

17 Also reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:418.
In *ra’s “head”, loss of ‘ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel ṭās in all dialects. The pl. is ṭūs in TyA, ḤwA, DbA, BdA, ḠrA, but pl. ryūs in TAṢ and TAN.

Reflexes of the pl. pattern *CiCaC (or *CuCaC) are often CCAc in these group I dialects, e.g. ṛkab “knees”, šnaṭ “suitcases”, hgan “injections”, nxaṛ “noses”, etc.

1.1.7. Secondary velarization

Like in dialects of group I in the north (see De Jong 2000:63–65), secondary velarization is a feature typical of southern group I dialects as well. In many cases a combination of a velar (g, x or ġ) with l, r or b will produce velarization, especially with u, ā or a, ā in its vicinity. Some of many examples are: xuḷḷah, (pl.) xḷal “screened off private section of a tent” (TAṢ), mxaḷḷaḷ “pickled” (ḠrA), ḡḷaḷ “grain, cereals” (ḠrA), ḡuḷḥ “desert giant” (ḠrA), ṭuḷḷ “of the desert” (ḠrA), ṭugḅ “after him” (DbA), ṭaḷḷ “heart” (DbA), ḡāḇīḥa “before her” (ḠrA), xaḷḷāḥ “he let them” and xaḷḷah ṭyaqṭaḷa “let him go free” (both BdA), ḡḷayyil “little”, ḡḷall “less; least” (both TAṢ).

Notice the phonemic difference in this respect between gullah, pl. glal “pitcher, jug” and gillih “lack, paucity”.\(^{18}\)

1.1.8. Liquids l and ḡ

In ḤwA there is a phonemic opposition between /l/ and /ṛ/ in the minimal pair drās “threshing” and ḍṛās “the hard remains of the stems after threshing (thrown away as refuse)”. In TyA a near minimal pair dāriy “knowing (sg. masc.)”—dāṛī “my house” (though stress differs) may be used to isolate /l/ and /ṛ/ as phonemes as well.

Generally, the combination ār will be velarized, unless i follows within morpheme boundaries (see also De Jong 2000:65–67). There are many examples, of which some are: miṭmāṛah “storage for grain”, škārh “sack

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\(^{18}\) There is a phonemic difference, but to identify the different phonemes causing this difference in meaning is problematic.

A gullah “waterjar” (pl. glal) is referred to as bittiyiyih (pl. batīṭiy) in TAṢ, while older people refer to the waterjug as zimzimiyih (which reflects underlying a in the second syllable, hence not *zimzimiyih), cf. the well Zamzam in Mecca. The word gullah is also used in metaphorical reference to a shell fired by a tank. karnifffah (pl. karānīf), originally refers to the thick part of the palm leaf where it attaches to the stem, but is now also used metaphorically for the head of a tank-fired shell.
for grain” (ḤwA), faxxār “pottery”, nār “fire”, nahār “day(-light)”, ḡrār “jar (pl.)” and kṭār “many (pl. com.)”, kbār “old (pl. com.)”. Also: mixšār “large wooden fork used to stir food”, zwāṛah “visit to (the tomb of) a saint” (DbA), xuwwār “inferior type of camel, bred for meat”, byār “wells”, Badāṛah “name of the tribe Badāṛah”, hwār “one-year-old camel” (all TyA).

Notice, however, how following (either present or elided) i within morpheme boundaries blocks such velarization, e.g.: albāriḥ “yesterday”, šārib “lip; having drunk (sg. masc.)”, ʾagārib “scorpions”, sāriḥ “taking the goats and sheep out to graze (sg. masc.)” and (elided) ʾārfīn “knowing (pl.)”, Bšāriyyah “of the tribe Bišāriyyah (referring to a type of camel)”, šāri “street, xarārīf “stories” and tārīx “history”.

Another illustration is the difference in velarization (i.e. its presence or absence) in bindāṛǧih mdāṛaǧih “we take it (in travel) in stages” and in the plural form in Sēl liXbāṛ “the Wādiy (lit. Stream) of the fields”, but the other pl. form xibārīy “agricultural (plots of) land fed by rainwater”.

1.1.9. Nasal n

No remarks.

1.1.10. Devoicing of final voiced stops, liquids and nasals in pause

A feature noticed in TyA is the glottalization of (especially) the ā in an ending -āC in pause > -āʾ, after which the C (in all recorded instances this was an alveolar) is no longer pronounced. Examples are (the dropped final consonant is indicated in square brackets): Fēṛāʾ # [n] “Wādiy Fērān”, kattāʾ # [l] “killer”, Nṣayṛāʾ # [t] “(a sub tribe) Nṣayrāt”, blāʾ # [d] “land”.

1.2. Vowels

1.2.1. Inventory of vowel phonemes

Like northern group I dialects, southern group I dialects have three short vowels and five long vowels:

short:  i  u  long:  ĩ  ū
        a  ā
1.2.2. Long vowels

1.2.2.1. Allophones of long vowels ē and ī

Like in group I dialects of the north, phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ occurs in most southern group I dialects as well. However, in TAṢ, ĞrA and TAN this feature was found to be less regular than in the other group I dialects. Examples are sīf “sword” (TyA), zīn “good” (TyA).

Notwithstanding such phonetic overlapping, the phonemic status of phonemes /ē/ and /ī/ can be established with a minimal pair like šēn “bad”—šīn “name of letter Š”.

In several dialects of group I imperfect forms of the verb “dry” (root y-b-s) monophthongization has remained absent, keeping the morphological pattern transparent, e.g. yaybas “he dries (intrans.)” (recorded in ḤwA, ĞrA, TyA, TAṢ).

1.2.2.2. Allophones of long vowels ō and ū

In neutral environments, i.e. in the absence of velarization and without preceding back spirants, older diphthongs *ay and *aw have been monophthongized as ē and ō. As long vowels, the phonemic status of /ū/ and /ō/ can be established through a minimal pair like: rūḥ “go! (imperative sg. masc.)”—rōḥ “soul”.

In positions influenced by velarization, /ū/ is realized relatively low, near I.P.A. [oː], but phonemic clash with reflexes of *aw is avoided, since *aw tends to be realized as a diphthong aw in such positions.

In verbs with wāw as their first radical, the diphthong aw has often not been monophthongized, which keeps verb forms morphologically transparent, e.g. nawgaf “we stand” as opposed to monophthongization in tōgid “you light” (both in DbA and ḤwA) and tawṣafni “you describe to me” and tōzin “you weigh” (both in TAṢ). But in TyA both yawsal “he arrives” and yawrid “he gives water” have diphthongs. In ĞrA there appears to be a tendency to monophthongize aw in closed syllables, e.g. yawrid “he waters”, but yōrduw “they water”. Examples in BdA: yowgaf “he stands” and yōkīha “he ties it (fem.) closed”.

Some C₁ = w verbs in ḤwA also have imperfect forms occurring without incorporated wāw, e.g. tīgīf “she stands”, tagfin “they (pl. fem.) stand”, yirīd “he waters” and tardīy “you (sg. fem.) water”, but a form like tīzin for “you weigh” was not accepted during direct elicitation.

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19 Shawarbah 2007:432 also reports yir(i)d and yīṣil for TyA.
Notice that in the forms *tigíf* and *yiríd* the vowel of the first syllable is actually underlying *a*, hence it is not dropped in open unstressed syllable (which would have resulted in forms like *-tgif* and *-yrid* and ‘reappears’ as *a* in closed syllables (cf. the sg. fem. forms quoted).

### 1.2.2.3. Allophones of long vowel *ā*

The long vowel *ā* may have a realization as high as I.P.A. *[ɛː]*, mainly in neutral positions and when followed by *i* or *ɪ* in the next syllable (but within morpheme boundaries), as in *nāsiy* “having forgotten (act. part. sg. masc.)”. *nāyim* “asleep (act. part. sg. masc.)”, *rāsiy* “anchored (act. part. sg. masc.)”, *dārīy* “knowing (act. part. sg. masc.)” and *ḡārīy* “running (act. part. sg. masc.)”.

But *ā* is realized nearer to I.P.A. *[aː]* in positions like *nās* “people”, and also in *nāsī* “my people” (contrast *nāsiy* above).

Also in ḤwA the phonetic difference between *ā* in *mākil* “having (sg. masc.) eaten” and *nāyim* “sleeping (sg. masc.)” (both near I.P.A. *[ɛː]* and in *nākil* “we eat” and *nām* “he slept” (both nearer to I.P.A. *[aː]*)) is clear. Another example is */ā/ (near I.P.A. *[aː]*) in *šāl* “he carried” and *šāyil* “carrying”, where */ā/ is nearer to I.P.A. *[ɛː]*.

In velarized environments, *ā* is realized near I.P.A. *[aː]*, as in *rāsiy* “my head”, *dārī* “my house” and *ḡārī* “my neighbour”.

The difference in realizations of *ā* in *rāsī* and *rāsiy* may be explained by recognizing either */ā/ and velarized */ạ̄/, or */r/ and velarized */ṛ/ as separate phonemes. In the case of differences in a near minimal pair like *nāsiy* and *nāsī*, absence or presence of velarization is irrelevant. We could isolate */ɛː/ and */ā/ as separate phonemes.20

However, since *nāsī* is stressed on the final syllable, whereas *nāsiy* is stressed on the first, concluding stress as being phonemic would be equally justified, if we would choose to regard *[ɛː]* and *[aː]* as allomorphs of */ā*/.

#### 1.2.2.4. Shortening of long vowels

Like in northern group I dialects, shortening of unstressed long vowels is a feature of allegro style in southern group I dialects as well.21

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20 The problem of identifying phonemes in cases such as described here was discussed before in De Jong 2000:65–67.
21 Shawarbah 2007:421 reports for TyA of the Negev that shortening of long vowels in unstressed positions only occurs in open syllables; in closed syllables their length is retained.
1.2.3. Short vowels

1.2.3.1. Isolating phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/

In a number of minimal pairs short high vowels /i/ and /u/ can be isolated as phonemes:

- Xiḍr “male given name” — xuḍr “green (pl. com.)”
- xirm “elongated species of fish” — xurm “hole”
- ʼiğb “offspring” — ʼuğb “after”
- ʼgirbih “watersack” — gurb “nearness”
- ḥībb “kiss!” — ḥubb “love”
- ʼsifr “zero” — ʼsufr “yellow (pl. com.)”
- šiggah “his guest section of the tent” — šuggah “fishing net”

Minimal pairs to isolate /a/ on the one hand, and /i/ or /u/ on the other hand are much easier to find, e.g.:

- ʼhabb “grain” — ḥubb “love”
- ʼhatt “he placed” — ḥuṭṭ! “place!”
- ʼšadd “he pulled” — ʼsidd! “pull!”

1.2.3.2. Phonetic factors influencing the quality of I

The subject of phonetic factors influencing the phonetic quality of I has been discussed at some length in De Jong 2000:70–74.

In the pl. com. form for colours or physical defects /i/ tends to show up in neutral environments, and /u/ in velarized or labial environments, but different dialects show different short vowels. Forms recorded are:

- šidf in ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA, BdA, DbA, but šudf in TAṢ “left-handed (pl. com.)”;
- ʼimy in ĞrA, ḤwA, BdA, DbA, but ʼumy in TyA and TAṢ “blind (pl. com.)”;
- ʼirįg in ĞrA and BdA, but ʼurįg in TyA, ḤwA and TAṢ “limping (pl. com.)”;
- zirg in ĞrA, TyA and ḤwA, but zuṛg in TAṢ, BdA and DbA “blue; black (pl. com.)”; hibr in BdA, but hubl in DbA “dim-witted (pl. com.)”.

Apart from such variation in different tribal dialects, /u/ is regular in ḥumr “red (pl. com.)”, xuḍr “green (pl. com.)” and ʼsufr “yellow (pl. com.)” in all dialects. Other recorded forms pl. com. are turš “deaf” (TyA), ḥumg “stupid, silly” and xuṛs “dumb” (both ḤwA and TyA).

The short vowel in the imperfect of the verbs “eat” and “take” is /i/ in all dialects discussed here: yākil and yāxi. Imperatives of these verbs tend to have /u/ in the velarized forms of the sg. masc.: xuḍ and kuḷ (velarization is
indicated here with a subscript dot in \( d \) and \( l \). In the other forms \( u \) is dropped, but velarization remains, as in (sg. fem.) \( ḥwēṭāt \), \( ṣāriy \), (pl. masc.) \( ḥwēṭaw \), \( kḷaw \) and (pl. fem.) \( ḥwēṭin kḷin \). When such forms are preceded by a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel with a phonetic value near I.P.A. \( [v] \) is regular: \( yā nās ukḷūw “eat, people!” and yā ḥrāyym ukḷín “eat, women!” \) (examples from TAṢ).

Like in other dialects of Sinai, medial geminate verbs tend to show \( i \) in neutral environments, and \( u \) elsewhere. Some of many examples are (for all dialects, unless indicated otherwise), \( u \) in: \( ydugg “hit, pound”, yḍurr “be harmful to”, yxuḍḍ “churn”, ykjūḍḍ “bite”, ymuṣṣ “pour”, yṯubb “find, encounter; go to”, yxuṣṣ “enter”, yṯuṣṣ “throw”, yhuṭṭ “place”, yṛudd “be related to; answer”, ytuxx “shoot, fire”, yluwx “be soaked in”, yruṣṣ “sprinkle”, yḡukk “churn, shake” and ykkt – yktt “go downstream in a wadi” (ḤwA, BdA, but ~ ykkt in TAṢ).\)

\( i \) is heard in: \( yšidd “pull, tighten”, yʃiṣk “loosen”, yliff “go around, turn”, ymidd “stretch out”, ytiff “spit”, yshr “let dry (of dates) in a mašārrah”, yriff “flutter (of tent cloth)”, yḡiff “dry”, ytimm “take place”, yhimm “be important for”.

### 1.2.3.3. Morphological conditioning of the short high vowel

Since a separate phoneme /k/ is not found in group I, exceptions like those noted for groups VI–VIII (and in group II)\(^{24}\) are not found in group I.

### 1.2.3.4. Allophones of short vowels

Allophones of short vowels \( i, u \) and \( a \) are like those described for group I in De Jong 2000:74–76, which are in turn also like those in group VI.

#### 1.2.3.4.1. Allophones of /i/

Allophones of /i/ are like those described for group VI.

#### 1.2.3.4.2. Allophones of /u/

Allophones of /u/ are like those described for group VI.

\(^{22}\) A supra-segmental feature like velarization could also have been indicated in \( x \) or \( k \), e.g. \( ḥwēṭ \) and \( kūl \), or throughout, e.g. \( ḥwēṭ \) and \( kūl \), but since velarization spreads, marking it in one location may be sufficient.

\(^{23}\) Again we see variation of the high vowel in the contiguity of \( k \), see remark in fn 18, p. 30 above.

\(^{24}\) See De Jong 2000:253.
1.2.3.4.3. Allophones of /a/

1.2.3.4.3.1. /a/ in non-raised positions
Allophones of /a/ in non-raised positions are like those described for group VI.

1.2.3.4.3.2. Raising of (*)/a/ preceding long stressed vowels
Although raising of a in the pattern CaCīC has been characterized as regular and therefore morphophonemic in dialects of group I of the north, such raising is optional in most southern group I dialects, except in ḤwA, where it is also concluded to be morphophonemic. In DbA raising of a tends to be inhibited by preceding h, ', x or ġ (with preceding h was not recorded in DbA).

Except when a is preceded by ', such raising is not inhibited by phonetic factors in the other southern group I dialects. Examples recorded are (illustrating all dialects, except ḤwA and DbA): ṣarīmih ~ ṣirīmih “bridle”, al’Arīš ~ al’Irīš “name of the town al-Arish”, xalīǧ ~ xīlīǧ “gulf”, āris ~ īrīs “bridegroom”, rahīf “travelers”, daqīg ~ dīqīg “flour”, rafig ~ rifīg “companion”, rahīf “thin”, ḡalīd ~ gīlīd “thick”, rafig ~ rifīg “light” and also ǧanīy “rich”.

Forms only recorded with raised a are: gibīlah “tribe”, kiṭīr “much, many”, ġimī “all”, bi’ir “camel”, kībūr “big; old”, sījūr “small; young”, gidīm “old”, āris “bridegroom”, īqīn “dough”, ḡızīn “sad”, bīxīl “stingy”, ʾllīy “male given name ēhalfringleftAliy” and ṭīrīy “moist, soft”.

In most group I dialects of central and southern Sinai preceding hamzah blocks such raising, e.g. ʾaṣīl “thoroughbred” and ʾatīm “orphan” and also in verb forms (ʾ)aǧīb “I bring”, (ʾ)ašīl “I carry”, (ʾ)aǧīk “I come to you”, (ʾ)arīd “I want” and (ʾ)abiʾ “I sell” (see however remarks in 3.1.1.8. and 3.2.1.2.). Forms with the b-imperfect are treated similarly, e.g. babī, barīd (raising of a in mediae yā’ verbs of the type (b)ibī or (b)irīd for the 1st p. com. sg. is rare in the dialects discussed here, see also remarks in 3.2.1.2.).

– No instances were recorded of raised a preceding stressed CCī, examples are: baṭṭīx “watermelon”, baddī “improvisor of rhyme”, xarrīǧ “alumnus”, sakkinah “knife”, garnūt “octopus”, sab’īn “seventy”, xamsīn “fifty”, Kattrīn “(St.) Catherine”, kabīt “matches”, xanzīr “extra growth of twigs (to be removed) on lower stem of the grafted almond plant (lit. pig)”, ġargīrih “watercress (n.u.) (?)” and many more.

– Instances of raising of a preceding stressed Cē in TyA, ḤwA and DbA one will hear e.g. ʾilēha ~ ʾalēha “on him”). Such raising in the suffixed
preposition ‘ala (e.g. ‘alēh > ‘ilēh) was not observed in TAṢ, TAN, ĞrA, MLA or BdA.

In verb forms we find optional raising in ḤwA, TyA, ĞrA like mašēt ~ mišēt “I walked” (~ mišit in ḤwA), lagēt ~ ligēt “I found” (~ ligit in ḤwA, TyA), fadēt ~ fidēt “I sacrificed”, though in MLA, TAṢ and BdA such raising was absent; forms there are e.g. mašēt, fadēt (ligit only appears as i-type). Notice that in verb forms of the a-type imperfect raising of a may take place when it precedes ē, but not in forms with diphthongs (i.e. when it precedes ay), so e.g. ramayt “I threw”, gawayt “I went home before sunset”.

- raising of a preceding CCē is not current in MLA, TAṢ, TAN (though once suwwēt), BdA or TyA. Forms with raised a, though optionally so, like middēt, šiddēt etc. are however current in ĞrA, ḤwA and somewhat less so in DbA.

- raising of a preceding stressed ĕ is regular in all dialects discussed here, but optional, e.g.: Tayāha ~ Ṭiyāha “name of tribe Tayāha”, Ğamāl ~ Ğimāl “Ḡamāl (‘Abd anNāṣir)”, riḇā’ “camel in its sixth year”, gināḥ “small irrigation canal”, ḡărādīl ~ ḡirādīl “buckets”, bahāyim ~ bīḥāyim “cattle (pl.)”, gazāzīh ~ gizāzīh “bottle”, Sawārkīh ~ Suwārkīh “name of tribe Sawārkah”.

- raising of a preceding stressed CCā is optional: fissāy “expert farter”, giṣṣaṣ “tracker”, billāṣ “thief; extortionist”, biṛṛād “teapot”, wiǧ ʚ “suffering pain”, milyān “full”, hiǧǧān “camel rider”. Such raising was heard mainly in BdA, ḤwA, ĞrA and TyA, but was found to be much less current in MLA, TAN, TAṢ and DbA.

N.B. sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects have short stressed final -á(ʾ) (if not raised).

- raising of a preceding stressed ā is optional: ġumūs ~ ġamūs “food dip”, xurūf ~ xarūf “lamb”, ġunūb ~ ġanūb “south” and yuhūd ~ yahūd “Jews”. With initial hamzah such raising remains absent (contrast with groups VI–VIII): (ʾ)aḥūy “my father” and (ʾ)axūy “my brother”, and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae wāw verbs (ʾ)agūm “I get up”, (ʾ)agūl “I say” (see remark * below).

- raising of a preceding stressed ā: (all dialects have a CaCăC stress-type) ġīmāl “camel”, libān “milk”, ṣīḡār “trees”, (a gahawah-form) šihār “month”, sībāg “race”, mičāh “with him” and verb forms mišā “he walked”, kitāb “he wrote” and (gahawah-form) yixāzin “he stores”. Here

too preceding hamzah prevents such raising, e.g. (’)adáb “good manners”, a verb form (’)axád “he took” (TyA) and gahawah-forms like (’)aháļ “people”, (’)a’áma “blind”, (’)a’árağ “limping, lame” and (’)axáḍar “green”.

- raising of a preceding stressed u does not occur when *hamzah precedes the a: (’)axušš “I enter”, (’)ahuṭṭ “I place” (in contrast to such forms as uxušš etc., heard mainly in groups VI–VIII).
- raising of a preceding stressed i does not occur when hamzah precedes the a: (’)ašidd “I pull tight”, (’)amidd “I stretch out” (in contrast to such forms as iśidd and imidd etc. heard in groups VI–VIII).

Stress in perfect forms of verbal measures n-1 and 1-t is ánwikal, áttifag, etc. (see 3.2.3.1. and 3.2.3.3.). The article is stressed in a sequence álCvCv(+) (see 2.1.1.1.), e.g. álǧimal “the camel”, álbuṣal “the onions”.

Like in groups VI–VIII, when a follows stressed i in closed syllable, it is raised, as in yínḍirib “he is beaten”, yittifig “he agrees”.26

1.2.3.4.3.3. Raising of the feminine morpheme (T)
The a of the fem. morpheme is regularly raised in neutral environments and reaches a phonetic value near I.P.A. [ı̃].

Such raising is usually found in pausal positions, but also, though less regularly so, sentence-medially. Examples are: ǧibál al Iǧmih ba’ád atTīh “The ēghmah mountain lies behind the Tīh”, (first word in) kilmih magyūlah “a spoken word”, ba’ád kidiy agaṭṭiha b almallih xālis “after that I cover it completely with hot sand”,27 tíṭil allibbih w lannha ēh? mistawyih tamām attamām “you take out the libbih and there it is what? Perfectly cooked”.

In velarized environments such raising does not take place, e.g. šurtah “police”, giliṣḥah šwayyiḥ “a little thick”, (second word in) kilmih magyūlah “a spoken word”, alğiṣṣah “the story”, baxūrah “incense”, xūxah (velarized throughout) “peach”, ‘aḍmah “bone”, māsk alxūṣah f-īdī “holding the knife in my hand”.

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ‘ and h, e.g. mā tukfurha ‘aṣān mā t’affan itxallha fāthih “don’t close it (i.e. the bottle), so that it doesn’t spoil, you leave it open”.

26 And also like in groups VI–VIII, in the verb forms yínḍirib and yittifig, the raised a will again ‘reappear’ as a when in closed syllables, e.g. yínḍārbuow and yittāfguow, see also 3.2.3.1.1.

27 mallih is the hot sand under the glowing embers in which the loaf of bread (libbih) is baked. A libbih is a thick round of dough baked in hot sand and embers. This type of bread is also prepared by men when they are travelling.
1.2.3.5. Prosodic lengthening of short vowels

To express extra emphasis, such as on long durations of time, long distances or great quantities, speakers often prosodically lengthen short vowels. Examples are: īw mīnnih āḥ? iysawwlūh yōm yabṛaːd fī māʾūn nadīf “and after that what? they carefully pour it into a bottle (through a funnel) when it (slowly) cools off in a clean container”, mahāl mā biyğiɣ maṭār wala kān ligīt alhamād hāda aʃadār “barren, no rain comes (to it) nor did I ever see (lit. find) this flat stony land” green”.

1.2.4. Long vowels and diphthongs

1.2.4.1. Monophthongization of diphthongs *ay and *aw

Like in group VI, in positions not influenced by velarization, or preceded by X, older diphthongs *ay and *aw have in most cases become monophthongal ē and ō with realizations near I.P.A. [eː] and [oː].

Examples listed for group VI for *ay may also be heard in group I. Some additional examples are: ĥešna “our army”, šen “bad, ugly”, swēkin “(dim. of) living”, asSwēs “Suez”, zēt “oil” and examples for ō listed for group VI may also be heard in group I, nō “type, sort”, ġōz “husband”, gōltak “what you said (lit. your saying)”, lōnah “its (sg. masc.) colour”, gōm “enemy tribe”, gōz “sandy hill, dune”, and lōz “almonds”.

When *ay and *aw are preceded by X or velarized consonants, they have not been monophthongized, but have remained diphthongal.

Examples are (for ay) ěyn “eye”, ṣyũ “food”, xayr “goodness”, xayl “horses”, ḥayt “walls”, sayf “hunting”, dāyf “guest”, and examples of verbs are haṭṭayna “we placed”, xaddayna “we churned”, iṣṭarayna “we bought”, dahlayt “I stayed” and (for aw) ħawf “year”, āwðih “given name āwðah”, xawf “fear”, xawt “sound; voice”.

There is a tendency to prosodically lengthen the first element of the diphthong ay (which has an I.P.A. value between [a] and [ɛ]), especially in positions with primary stress. Forms with such lengthened diphthongs were heard mainly in TAṢ, TAN, ŠrA and BdA. Examples are ɢay “food”, ay “eye”, ayb “disgrace”, xayt “thread”, xaynīh “severe cold (as a disease)”, ḥaːy “strength”, saːyf “summer”, saːyd “hunting”, Fraːyğ “male given

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28 Stewart 1990:232 (glossary) lists hāmādh “flat barren stony land”. For further references, see ibid.

29 Shawarbah 2007:422–423 describes a situation for TyA of the Negev where monophthongization of *ay (as ē or ĩ) and *aw (as ō) is general and not conditioned by phonetic environment.
name Frayg”. Similar lengthening of aw was heard in tgawtir “you go” and bya:wṭuw “they travel (on foot?)”.

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, mawgūd “present (adj.)”, aw’a “watch out!”30 and also šawlīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and also verb forms like awrid “I water” and awgaf “I stand up” and ţawma “they came to us”. The advantage is that the arrangement of root consonants in a morphological pattern like aC1C2aC3 (as in awgaf instead of õgaf, compare e.g. ašrab “I drink) has remained transparent.

The suffixed preposition lay “to me”, bay “with me” are better interpreted as lay + y and bay + y. In analogy to these forms, one will also hear fay “in me” in all dialects (~ finī in ĠrA).

1.2.4.2. Isolating long vowels /ī/, /ū/, /ā/, /ē/ and /ō/ as phonemes

In many dialects of group I the phonetic difference between /ē/ and /ī/ in neutral environments is often minimal, and in some lexemes the phonemes overlap. Such overlapping results from the higher realisation of /ē/, rather than from a lower realisation of /ī/. Examples are sif “sword”, šīx “sheikh”, bit “house”, ītnīn “two”, sanatīn “two years”, źīn “good”, dāyfin iftitāt (“< fi:tāt”) “tiny children”. In such examples the ē is not quite full ĭ, but it is very near [iː].

A few instances of such overlapping were heard in MLA, TyA, HWA, DBA and ĠrA but none were heard in TAN, TASH and BDIA.31 Possible minimal pairs to isolate the five long vowels are (see also De Jong 2000:79):

dër “monastery”—dīr “turn (trans.)!”—dūr “turn (intrans.)!”—dōr “floor (in a building)”—dār “house”

ġēbih/-ah “bring it!”—ġēbih/-ah “his pocket”—ġābih/-ah “he brought it”, gōm “enemy tribe”—gūm “get up!”

1.2.4.3. Allophones of ā

In the dialect of the Taṛābīn of group I, ā in neutral surroundings is realized near I.P.A. [eː], but this is the case usually only when i follows (within morpheme boundaries) in the next syllable (like e.g. ‘ārif “knowing” and mizāri “fields for agriculture”, but rāyib “curdled (of milk)”), or ‘vanished’ i disappeared from a preceding syllable, e.g. drās “threshing”. In other

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30 In HWA, ASA and HNA aw’a is conjugated: aw’a tans, aw’i y tansiy, etc. “don’t you forget!”. In the other dialects it was left unconjugated for number and gender, e.g. aw’a tansin “don’t you (pl. fem.) forget”.

31 My Taṛbāniy informant claimed such overlapping to be a feature of northeastern (of Sinai) dialects, e.g. Rmelāt and Sawārkah. See also MAP 5 in De Jong 2000:659 (appendix).
(non-velarized) environments the phonetic value is slightly lower, nearer to [æː], as in for instance in šāyī “my tea”. Thus also the phonetic difference in /ā/ in the examples šāl (near I.P.A. [æː]) “he carried” and šāyīl (nearer to I.P.A. [ɛː]) “carrying”.

When velarization is involved, /ā/ is backed as I.P.A. [ēalphaLatinēlengthfull] as in dāṛ “house”, xalāṣ “and that’s it!”, dāṛūbah “thoroughbred (fem.) camel”, etc. Minimal pairs, or near minimal pairs like ģāṛī “my neighbour” and ģǟriy “running” thus become possible. Similarly dāṛī “my house” and dǟriy “knowing” (both with [ēalphaLatinēlengthfull] and [ɛēlengthfull] resp.), but the question remains which phonemes are actually isolated.

1.2.4.4. Reflexes of final *-ā(’)
Like in dialects of group I in the north, the reflex of final *-ā in neutral environments is often -iy. Some examples found in all dialects discussed here are: šṭiy / ášṭšiy “(the) winter”, šiy / áll šiy “(the) evening”, hnīy “here”, grīy “villages”, miy / álmiy “(the) water”. Colours are: sawdīy or sōdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, (a gahawah-form) šaḥabīy “sand-coloured”, hāmsīy “a darker shade than šaḥabīy (sg. fem.)”. Physical defects: āṛīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, hāmgīy “stupid (sg. fem.)”, xǎrīy “dumb, mute (sg. fem.)”, ḫawlīy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)”, šadfīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, Ṯynīy “blind (sg. fem.)” and a diminutive form ḫūy “little bald (dim., sg. fem.).”

Raising was also heard in the forms īlyiy (compare CA īlyā) “upper grinding stone of a hand mill” and dīnyiy “world”, atTrayyiy “the Pleiades” (in TAṢ, but in BdA a/rayyīy), Ğawzīy “Gemini” in BdA and ġnīy “singing” in TyA.

In the perfect verb form ġa’ “he came” such raising is absent (contrast the DwA form ġyiy, see De Jong 2000:416). Raising is also absent in the pron. suffix of the 1st p. pl. com. -na “our; us”, e.g. w ḫuagīd f-álwaḍīy w ʾašṣāyiḥ, Aḷḷāh yaṛḥamih, [mā] ḥūnina ḥmāṛ nāgl igṛayybih fiji /dmacronbeloẉ ahārih ilnā “and he was going in the wadi, and the old man—God rest his soul—
(and) we did not have a donkey, was carrying a small waterskin on his back to us” (TyA).

In MIA and TyA final *-ā of the pron. suffix of the 3rd p. sg. fem. is raised, e.g. rabbayt̪iṭ̪iṭ̪ + hiy, w māt aḥūhiy w hī mā raḥ’ānat, wala ḥatt-āddriy ġa’ ʿalēhiy. iw fi ġāzittiy...ma’iṭ...yamʿātašíyi mn ihniy min-hāda. w iykāwnūhiy là tgiyiʿ indi; “I raised her and her father died before she was (even) 40 days old, and I even stopped breast feeding her (lit. ‘nor did the milk come to her’, i.e. because of the shock suffered by the mother caused by her husband’s death). And after her wedding...snatched (lit. snatch-ing)...they snatched (lit. imperfect: they snatch) her away from here, from here. And they had to fight her so she would not come (back) to me” (TyA) and itgūm iṭṭa ʚʚ imhiy, see 2.5. of this chapter.

In the other dialects (TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, ĠrA, DbA and BdA) raising of *-ā in this pronominal suffix is absent. Instead, a glottal catch, especially in pause, often accompanies the final (short) -a, e.g. b addastah bağība’ # “by the dozen I get it (sg. fem.)” (TAṢ), ya’niy kān aḥna mnaẓẓmīnha... ifwāğ ʿa talat t-iyyām.. “that is, we used to organize it (sg. fem.)...in heats over three days...” (talking about camel racing) (ḤwA).

When back spirants h, x, ġ or velarized consonants directly precede final *-ā, it is not raised, but in most cases has a -a’ (with glottal stop, also in sandhi, and usually stressed) reflex. Examples are: mīn-ihniy bnāxaṭir ašṣāṭt...ala zzamil...iw binġīb ‘alēhin i/dmacronbelowṛā’ “from here we go to the market on the coast...on camels...and we bring sorghum on them (i.e. on their backs)” (ḤwA), kān ‘indaḥ safrā’...āssafrā’ hē/dmacronbelowiy mānī ʚ ‘ārifha biyɡūluw ‘alēha ēš...“if you have jaundice...this jaundice I don’t know (it) what they call it...” Other examples are: bēḍā’ “white (sg. fem.)”,

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37 Assimilated rabbayt + hiy, see 2.5. of this chapter.
38 Assimilated t + ta’iṁhiy, see 2.5. of this chapter.
39 raggad, yraggid would literally mean “cause to lie down/sleep”, but here it refers to inserting (i.e. grafting) the twig into the incision in the stem and then cover it (usually with tape). Compare to “abdecken (bei Tomatenanbau, d.h. die Pflanze in eine Grube drücken und mit Erde überdecken)” in Behnstedt and Woidich 1994:168.
40 Contrast with remarks on group I dialects in northern Sinai in De Jong 2000:166.
41 For the verb xaṭar, yaxaṭir see Stewart 1990:283 (glossary): “to go to get supplies of corn and the like”.
42 In ḤwA and DbA reduction of ē in this form was observed: biḍā’.
zargá ‘~ zirgá “blue” (in all dialects)\(^{43}\) (often as a euphemism for “black”), xaḍrā “green (sg. fem.)”, awrā “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, gar’ā “bald (sg. fem.).” (but notice raising—since here further spread of velarization to the right is blocked by \(y\)—in the diminutive form gray’īy).\(^{44}\)

N.B. In MIA some instances of the sg. fem. were recorded with long final -ā, ṣafrá, zaṛgá, xaḍrā and also ḡaḥā “morning”.

When historical \(a\) in open syllable directly precedes, raising of final *-ā(’) remains absent, e.g. gifá “neck”, aná “I”, ḡaṭā “cover, lid”, ḡadá “lunch”, ḡašá “dinner”, dawá “medicine”, samá “sky”, sawá “together”, ṭaná “young boy”.

In a form like ṭaxá “abundance”, ḡaḥá “morning” there is a combination of inhibiting factors preventing such raising (historical \(a\) in open syllable preceding and \(X\) preceding in combination with the spread of velarization).

When \(a\) in preceding open syllable is not historical, but a gahawah-vowel, such raising of final *-ā(’) is not inhibited, e.g. šaḥabý “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, kaḥalíy “variety of blueweed”.

In TAṢ a phonemic difference in stress was noticed in the pair of adjectives ḡawlíy and ḡáwliy: saxaḷah ḡawlíy “a cross-eyed (sg. fem.) lamb”—ḡídiy ḡáwliy “a one-year-old billy goat”.

Like in other dialects of group I (see De Jong 2000:82), a short (underlying) \(a\) in open syllable directly preceding will prevent such raising (provided this \(a\) is not a gahawah-vowel), e.g. ḡašá “dinner”, ḡadá “lunch”, nidá “moistness, dew”, gifá “nape of the neck”,\(^{45}\) aná “I” and also in velarized forms like ṭará “moist ground”, wará “behind”, ḡará “windscreen”, ḡadá “law”.

Final -a in verb forms of the perfect of tertiae infirmae is not raised, e.g. ḡadá “he sacrificed”, mašá “he walked” and also velarized forms like ramá “he threw”, waṭá “he went to buy”.

When the preceding \(a\) is a gahawah-vowel, raising in neutral environments is not prevented, e.g. šaḥabý “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, kaḥalíy “variety of blueweed”.

These reflexes of final *-ā, whether raised or not, are usually stressed, even when a heavy sequence precedes within morpheme boundaries, e.g.

\(^{43}\) Contrast zargý in DA, see Blanc 1970:124 [13].

\(^{44}\) In TyA of the Negev the un-raised stressed endings are also short and are cut off with a glottal stop, e.g. buḍá “white (fem.)” and ʼorá “one-eyed (fem.)”, see Shawarbah 2007:422, 425 and remark on p. 418.

\(^{45}\) The vowel \(i\) in the forms nidá and gifá is raised (underlying) \(a\).
sōdíy or sawdíy “black (sg. fem.)”, ‘arǧíy “limping (sg. fem.)” and xaḍrá’ “green (sg. fem.)”, ṭarmá “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”.

When the preceding heavy sequence contains the article, stress on the article is regular, e.g. ášštíy “the winter”, álif ʚ iy (al + f ʚ iy) “the viper”, álğaḍa “the lunch”, ānnída “the moistness, dew” and gillt álḥayá “impudence”.

N.B. “here” is hniy in all dialects (although in MlA ~ hāna) and K-form hína may be heard in all dialects.

The forms with final -iy also occur sentence-medial. When suffixed, however, long ā will ‘reappear’. An illustrative example is in Bailey 2004:173 (entries 449 and 450, in my own transcription) wāǧīb al-ḥisnīy 더라 griy wa drīy (3 instances of raising) “he who's received benefaction must feed and shelter”, but no raising in (two) suffixed forms in man ad’a li ḥisnāh yāxīd garāh “he who’s invited his benefactor will feed him”.46

1.2.4.5. **Allophones of long vowels ḍī, i, ō, and ū**

1.2.4.5.1. **Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on i and ū**

Primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following i and ū towards (but not completely) (resp.) I.P.A. [eː] and [oː].

1.2.4.5.2. **Off-glide in ḍī and i**

Off-glides in /eː/ and /iː/ have been described for group I in De Jong 2000:85–86.

1.2.4.5.3. **Off-glide in ō and ū**

Off-glides in /oː/ and /uː/ have been described for group I in De Jong 2000:86.

1.2.4.6. **Diphthongs**

Dialects of group I have four diphthongs: ay, aw, iy and uw. Although the transcription of poems recorded from the Tīhiy poet “Tayāhā” (Ḥusayn bin Ḥamad bin Miṣliḥ bin āmīr at-Tayāhā) and the Turbāniy poet “Unayz” (Unayz Aḅuw Sālim Swaylim al-Urēdmacronbeloẉī) in Holes and Abu Athera 200947 does not reflect diphthongal reflexes of *ay and *aw when preceded

46 Such reappearance of ā in suffixed forms is also reported for TyA of the Negev, e.g. mī ʚ ziya, but mī ʚ ziyan “our goats”, see Shawarbah 2007:424.

47 See pp. 47–62 for “Unayz” and pp. 67–81 for “Tayāhā”. Examples in ‘Unayz’s poetry are: ġer (p. 53, l. 6), ěbin (p. 53, l. 8), rađéna (p. 56, l. 10), ȅn (p. 57, l. 21), hōl (p. 60, l. 19), ḍeṭ (p. 61, l. 1), ǧebat (p. 61, l. 9) though gaddaymāhīn (p. 54). In Tayāhā’s poetry: al-guseʿma (p. 69, l. 5), fīr ʚ ōn (p. 69, l. 13), xēs (p. 72, l. 11), ȍn (p. 77, l. 5), ȅnāh (p. 79, l. 3), děf (p. 79, l. 10), xēr (ibid.), ǧēnāh (p. 80, l. 11), but also dəllaw (p. 80, l. 21).
by X or in velarized environments, by my own findings for the dialects TyA and TAN described here are quite conclusive: in such positions reflexes tend to be diphthongal in these dialects of group I.

1.2.4.6.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw

1.2.4.6.1.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw in neutral environments

In positions not preceded by X (i.e. back spirants ḥ, ḫ, ġ or h) or velarized consonants *ay and *aw have usually become ē and ā, cf. 1.2.4.1. In final positions, verbal endings ay and aw have also remained diphthongal, as in e.g. tansay “you (sg. fem.) forget”, yansaw “they forget”, harataw “they ploughed” and also ǧaw “they came”.

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, which has preserved morphological transparancy, e.g. taybīs “drying (transitive verbal noun of measure 2 verb root y-b-s)”, sawdīy (~ sōdy) “black (sg. fem.)”, mawǧūd “present”, and also initial sequences of prima wāw verbs often show diphthongs, e.g. awgaf “I stand up”, nawrid “we give water”, although such forms co-occur with monophthongized forms (in this case ŏgaf and nōrid). The prima yāʾ verb (perfect) yibis “dry (intrans.)” also shows a diphthong in the imperfect yaybas, although the form with the monophthong yēbas also occurs.

1.2.4.6.1.2. Reflexes of *ay and *aw in non-neutral environments

1.2.4.6.1.2.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw preceded by X

Reflexes of *ay and *aw preceded by X have remained diphthongal. Phonetic values range between [ai] and [ei] for *ay and between [au] and [ou] for *aw. Some examples are: (for ay) xayl “horses”, ǧayt “rain”, Ḩaywāt “name of tribe (dim.)”, ūyb “disgrace” and min yūm ūlū’ iššayl, iyxall-attamir hayl “when the rising of Canopus (is there), it causes the dates to fall” (recorded in BdA), (for aw) hawǧal “wooden threshing board”, ḥawlīy “cross-eyed”, ḥawl “year”, ḫawřaʾ “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, xawf “fear” (an

48 Also for TyA of the Negev unconditional monophthongization of *ay and *aw (> ē or ĩ and ḍ resp.) is reported, see Shawarbah 2007:422–423.

49 One of my TAN informants is actually a son of the late ḇeqeq.

50 Although I recorded a few instances of endings -iy and -uw in TAN and TyA in a-type imperfects (as in e.g. tāšrabiy and yāšrabaw), in the majority of possible cases the endings are in conformity with the rule formulated for group I, e.g. tāšrabay and yāšrabaw.

51 Canopus (Ar. Suhayl) is visible just above the horizon in the southern sky around mid-October. See also the proverb in Bailey 2004:725: suhayl iyxall ar-ruṭab hayl (in my own transcription this would be iššayl iyxall-ārrṭab hayl) “Canopus makes the ripe dates fall”. Dates are said to be ripe for harvest as early as July in Ṯebā, then two months later in Ṭīrān, another month later in Rās Ṣadr and again a month later in the Delta.
example of ġ preceding aw was not recorded). Examples of verb forms are yadbahaw ['yādbehau] “they slaughter”, tāzra’aw ['tuzra’au] “you (pl. masc.) grow (crops)”.

1.2.4.6.1.2.2. Diphthongs *ay and *aw preceded by velarized consonants
Reflexes of *ay and *aw preceded by velarized consonants have remained
diphthongal. The phonetic value of the first element of the diphthongs
tends to be slightly raised and is higher than when preceded by X: [ei] and
[ou]. Examples listed in De Jong 2000:87–88 may serve to illustrate the
situation in the group I dialects discussed here as well: (for ay) ṭayr IPA
[soum] “fasting”, tawr [t’our] “overhanging cliff”.

Other diphthongs were heard in tawr “bull” and tawb “garment”, where
velarization has spread backwards (i.e. from right to left) through the word.

1.2.4.6.2. Diphthongs -iy and -uw

1.2.4.6.2.1. Reflexes of final *-ī and *-ū
Like in other dialects of Sinai, the diphthongs iy and uw occur in a variety
of positions.

Unlike the situation in group VI, i-type perfect forms of the tertia yā’
verbs pattern 3rd p. sg. masc. CiCi (underlying |CaCiy|) commonly occur
in group I. Examples are: ligiy “he found”, fihiy “he was surprised”, diriy (b)
“he became aware (of)”, nisy “he forgot”, ġiliy “it became expensive”.

Final -iy may also reflect older final *-ā, as in miıy “water”, in the saying
alḥisniy tnazzl algidir ‘an algidir, lit. “benefaction removes one cooking
pot (over a fire) (to make place) for another”,52 (reflecting the sg. fem. pat-
tern *CaCCāʾ for physical defects) ’arǧiy “limping (sg. fem.)”, habliy “sim-
ple-minded (sg. fem.)”, ‘armiy “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours
(also *CaCCāʾ) sawdiy “black”, šahābiy “sand-coloured”. -iy may also reflect
*-ā, as in hniy53 “here”, miżiy “goats”.54 In groups VI–VIII the reflex for
*-ā(’) is often -i’, except in patterns for sg. fem. forms for colour or physi-
cal defects. The regular reflex then, like in group I, is -iy.

52 A saying expressing the right of a host to come to someone else who has a fire, to
cook food there for his guests; the man with the fire then as a deed of benefaction will
remove his own pot to make place for the pot of the man acting as a host. See also Bailey
2004:164 (saying 419). In a more general sense the saying may also call for a special favour
for those who have special obligations (like having to receive a guest).
53 Final stressed -iy for *-ā is regular in group I. In the dialect of Biliy, however, the same
-i’ reflex was recorded for *-ā and also *-ā’, see De Jong 2000:89.
54 See also Stewart 1990:248 (glossary), root m-’-z.
Like in group VI, final -iy may reflect final *-i’ in biriy “innocent”, final *-iy in šibiy “boy”, giwiy “strong”, tiry “moist; soft”, *-ay’ in šiy “thing” and the nisbah ending for the sg. masc., e.g. ‘Abbādiy “(member) of the ‘Abābdah”.

Instances of final (but unstressed) -iy sequences created by anaptyxis are: ḥakiy # “telling” and ǧišiy # “billy goat” (the morphological bases are ḥaky and ġidy resp.).

Instances of final -uw or -iw sequences created by word-final anaptyxis are: baduw # “Bedouin (pl.)”, ḥiluw # “sweet; beautiful”.

Examples of diphthongs created by word-medial anaptyxis are: biyšūf “he sees”, kāwiyha “its (sg. fem.) cauterization” and alāwldād “the boys”.

For remarks on diphthongal endings in a- and i-type perfects of tertiae infirmae see 3.2.2.5.1.

The adverb “here” is in most dialects hniy, which may derive directly from hunā(ʾ) or hinā(ʾ).

Final -iy reflects final *-i’ in biriy “innocent”, final *-i’ in nibiy “Prophet”, šibiy “boy”, giwiy “strong”, final *-ay’ in šiy “thing” and the nisbah-ending for the sg. masc., e.g. Suũūdiy “Saudi”.

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs

Long vowels may be lengthened: (expressing a long duration of time) w iytaxālaṭaw w yalabaw lamba yītiṭuw “and they mingle and play (a long time) until they grow tired”, (expressing an extreme degree) aliḥrayyim ḥadallāk ibʾād “those women far away”, Ṽayyitta bārdih “its (sg. fem.) water is (extremely) cold”.

The first element of a diphthong is also often lengthened. This occurs mainly in TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, ḠrA and BdA (much less regularly in the other dialects) and predominantly so in monosyllabics, e.g. ʾaṣy “bread; food”, ḥayt “walls”, ʾayn “eye”, xaṣṭ “thread”. Such lengthening does not appear to be related to extra emphasis.

55 The ‘Abābdah are an Arabic speaking (though originally speakers of Beja, a Cushitic language) African tribe living in the eastern desert of Egypt (and across the border in northeastern Sudan), to the south of the Maʿāzah.
2. Stress and Phonotactics

2.1. Stress

2.1.1. Rules for word-stress

Stress in group I is of the máktabah-type. Rule order is the same as in group VI: elision—stress—anaptyxis.56

Verbal gahawah-forms of the i-type imperfect, like yáḥalbuw “they milk”, receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

The stress rules for central and southern group I dialects are like those described for group I in De Jong 2000:91–92. The rules can be summerized as follows:

1) Speech pause # does not have the function of a consonant for the stress rule (contrast # for anaptyxis rule below in 2.3.)

2) The domain of stress is formed by
   a.) the last three syllables of a word, including the article al- and the verbal an- prefix (and the suffixes), the vowel preceding the t-infijix (of measure 1-t) if these are part of the last three syllables.
   b.) or the last four syllables, when there are no heavy sequences

3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequences are stressed.

4) The following types of ‘heavy’ sequences occur: vCC(C) and vC(C) (including v(h)).

5) The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed (see examples in 2.1.1.1.)

6) a) In the absence of a heavy syllable, stress the vowel in the second syllable from the left (all dialects except TAṢ), or
   b) In the absence of a heavy sequence, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left (TAṢ).

56 The same rule order is reported for TyA of Negev in Shawarbah 2007:425. Stress in Negev TyA can be characterized as: fa ʾal, fi ʾil/fu ʾil/fa ʾil or fa ʾal, fa ʾalah/-ih, fa ʾalath, fa ʾa(ʾ)/ fi ʾy, yifʾ y/ yafʾ a (tertiae inf.), alfa ʾal (stressed article), anfa ʾal, yinfaʿ il (surface form yinfiʿ il), anfuʿ alat (verb measure n-t), aftaʿ al, yiftaʿ il (surface form yiftiʿ il), aftaʿ alat (verb measure 1-t).
2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences

Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are:

ášštiy “the winter”, ál’aša’ “the dinner, álǐf’iyy “the viper” (first i is anaptyctic), šalāt álǐšiy (first i is anaptyctic) “evening prayer”, álǐlab (first i is anaptyctic) “the tins”, mádrasah “school”, āštāqāl “he worked”, āttāqāf “he agreed”, áŋgasal “he was washed”, álbašāl “the onions”, álwalad “the boy/son”, ǧarābī “I hit (perfect)”, ǧarābīth “I hit (perfect) him”, walādkīy “your (sg. fem.) son”, zēnīn (i stressed) “good (pl.masc.)”.

For forms like libṣītih “she wore it”, libṣītih “I wore it” and šīrṣītih “she drank it”, šīrṣītih “I drank it” recorded in ĞrA, see remarks in 2.4.4.

2.1.1.2. Examples of stress in words without heavy sequences

2.1.1.2.1. Stress in CvCvC(v)

Examples of stress in (C)vCv(C)\(^{57}\) are:

(CvCvC: in all dialects: abār “needles”, ahāl “people, family”, akāl “he ate” (the latter only in DbA, TyA, ḤwA; kal in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ĞrA), (“I come” is aġīy in all dialects of group I).

(CvCvC: ajāy “cof-fee”, ḥanāş “spider”, malāq “hard flat rock (on which no footprints show)”, gaṭăs “he dived”, waγāf “he stood up”, warāg “paper” and šibīy “boy”, birīy “innocent”, tirīy “moist; soft” (“he comes” is yğīy) and gahawah-forms šahān “plate”, šahār “month” and ba’ād “after”).

2.1.1.2.2. Stress in (C)vCvCv(C) and (C)vCvCvCv(C)

In the following sequences stress is placed thus:

\(^{57}\) When v, in this pattern is not preceded by C, it is underlying |a|. 
agreed”, *al-’arabiyy* “Arabic”, *al-bádawiyy* “the Bedouin”, and also *(i)byáhafruw* “they dig” (for such gahawah-forms of *i*-type imperfects with vowel-initial endings see remark in 2.1.2.4. below) and *aláhamar* “the red” and *aláxaḍar* “the green”.58

Stress in TAN, ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA, DbA and BdA (for remark on MlA see *1 below) is on the second syllable: *xašábah, farášat, ǧarábw, Tawáṛah* or (with raised pre-stress *a*) *Tuwáṛah* “Tawarah (tribes)”, *akálat* “she ate” (the latter only in DbA, TyA, ḤwA) and (gahawah-forms) *gaháwah, axáḍar, aḥári, a ṣárag, taḥári, ya ṣárag*.59

When *(C)(v)C* precedes a sequence *(C)vC(CvC)* in these dialects (but see remark*2 on TyA below) stress is also on the second open syllable from the left: *algaháwah* “the coffee”, *annahášal* “the (big black) ant”, *ingalábat* “she overturned”, *ixtaláfat* “she was different”, *ištaġáḷat* “she worked”, *aššaǧáṛah* “the tree; bush”, *alwaṛágah* “the paper (n.u.)”, *azza ḷátar* “the thyme”, *annaxáḷah* “the palm tree”, *ištağaḷaw* “they worked”, *in/dmacronbeloẉ arában* “they (fem.) were beaten”, *azzalámah* “the man”, *in/dmacronbeloẉ arábat* “she was beaten”, *assabágah* “the race”, *a ǧabátih* “she pleased him”, but also (gahawah-forms) *alaxáḍar* “the green” and *aláxaḍar* “the red”59 and also *azZaġáṛah* “Wādiy Zaġaṛah (a tributary of Wādiy Dḥabab)”. When the heavy sequence preceding *(C)vC(CvC)* is created by a long vowel, stress is usually also on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *káwanátih* “she fought him” (recorded in TyA, ḤwA, BdA, ĞrA), but *káwanatih* in DbA and also *mgáḅalatak* “the meeting with you” (the latter two stressed on long *a*) in BdA.

*(C)vC(CvC)*: stress in TAN, TyA, ḤwA, DbA and BdA is on the third syllable from the right: *ṛagábatih, naxáḷatih, ya ṣáragaw, ya ṣáragan, yahártuw*, etc.

Stress in such sequences in TAṢ and MlA is on the fourth syllable from the right: *rágabatah, náxaḷatah, yá ṣáraqw, yá ṣáragan, yáḥartuw*, etc. (for such gahawah-forms of *i*-type imperfects with vowel-initial endings see remark in 2.1.2.4. below) (for a remark on ĞrA see *3 below).

In forms which become like a *CvCvCvC(C)* (‘surface’) sequence as a result of bukaṛa-insertion (see 2.2.2.1.), the bukaṛa-vowel is ignored for the placement of stress, e.g. *(buṅkaṛa-vowel underlined)* *záġaraṭat* “she ululated”.

58 The latter two of which are—in terms of stress assignment—best interpreted as *al’axaḍar* and *al’aḥhamar*.

59 See preceding fn.
In MLA stress varies in ((C)(v)C) (C)vCv(C); both (al)gaṣalāh and (al)gāṣalāh, (al)gahāwah and (al)gahāwah, sākanaw and sakānaw “they settled”, etc. can be heard. Similar variation occurs in TyA, but only when (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)vCv(C): aššāġarāh “the tree; bush” algāṣalāh “the twig”, minṭā’amah “grafted (sg. fem.)”, but also mašlaḥātak “your interest”.

TyA however shows variation, since also forms with stress on the first open syllable from the left were recorded, like azzālāmah “the man”, ingāḷabat “she overturned”, ingāṭa “they (pl. fem.) were cut off”, inḥāšaḥaraw “they were crammed together”.

Stress in ǦrA is placed thus: ṛagābatih, farāšatih, naxāḷatak, naxāḷatih, but in elicited verb forms the gahawah-vowel was ignored and stress was placed accordingly: yāaṛagaw “they sweat”, tāaṛagan “you (pl. fem.) sweat”, tāaṛagay “you (sg. fem. sweat)” (i.e. stress is placed as if forms are yaṛagaw, taṛagan, taṛagay resp., which are therefore concluded to be the underlying base forms).

2.1.2. Exceptions to the stress rule

2.1.2.1. Stress on reflexes of *-āʾ and *-ā

Reflexes of *-āʾ in the sg. fem. of colours and physical defects, whether raised or not, will be stressed, although they have been reduced to short vowels, e.g. xaḍráʾ(ʾ) “green (sg. fem.)”, ṣafráʾ(ʾ) “yellow (sg. fem.)”, bēdāʾ(ʾ) “white (sg. fem.)”, gārāʾ(ʾ) “bald (sg. fem.)”, āwrāʾ(ʾ) “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”.

These reflexes are also stressed when they have been raised (to final iy, see 1.2.4.4.), e.g. sōdīy  ~ sawdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, šadfīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, ḥawlīy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)” and also with a gahawah-form šaḥabīy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)” (i.e. yellowish light brown).

Notice that stress in forms like  işlemleri, dawāʾ, pronominal anāʾ and also a verb form mašāʾ etc. is in conformity with the stress rules, and also when the article precedes and receives stress, this is according to stress rules, e.g. āl’ašāʾ, āddsawaʾ and also miy “water”, šty “winter”, šiy “evening” and ʿalmiy “the water”, aššiṭy “the winter” and šālat ālīšty (where the first i is anaptyctic) “the evening prayer”.

Reflexes of -ā in pronominal suffixes, whether raised or not, will not be stressed (unless they are part of the only syllable available for stress, e.g.

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60 Such variation in stress is also present in dialects spoken nearby, such as those of the northern Taṛābin, Sawārkah and Rmēlāt, see De Jong 2000:664 (map 15).
lná “to us”), e.g. ‘indína(’) “with us", ygīna(’) “he comes to us” and mínha(’) or mínhiy “from her”.

The pair saxaläh hawlīy “a cross-eyed (sg. fem.) lamb”—įdīya háwlīy “one-year-old billy goat” could be used to show phonemicity of stress (recorded in TAṢ).

2.1.2.2. Stress on final nominal *-īy reflexes in *CaCiY
In group I, reflexes of the pattern *CaCiY are CaCiY or (after raising the short vowel a) CiCiY and are stressed on the ultimate, which is in conformity with the rules formulated in 2.1.1.2., e.g. wilīy “holy man”, nabiy ~ nibiy “prophet”, šibiy “boy”.

2.1.2.3. Stress in al + *CaCiY
When the article precedes a CaCiY sequence it is stressed, e.g. ānnibiy or ānābiy “the Prophet”, āsshabi or āššibi “the boy” and āwilīy “the holy man”.

2.1.2.4. Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms
Examples of stress in gahawah-forms (see also 2.1.1.2.2.) are: ba’āḏhum “each other”, naxálha “her datepalm”.

For assignment of stress in i- and u-type gahawah-imperfects the elision of the high vowel, made possible by the insertion of a gahawah-vowel, is ignored, e.g. yāḥalbin “they (fem.) milk”, tāhartuww “you (pl. masc.) plough”, tāxabṭah “you beat it” (these latter three in TAṢ and MIA) or yaḥálbin, tahárťuw, taxábṭah (other dialects).

Resyllabication of sequences CaCaCatv > CaCCitv is not a characteristic of group I dialects.

2.1.2.5. Stress in vCCICv
A short high vowel is not dropped from a sequence vC, C, IC, V and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.1.2., e.g. biyḥálľīuw “they make heaps” and biyḏafffijīhin “they dry them (fem.)” and saddī “my dam”. The geminate is in these cases reduced.61

An exception to this exception recorded in TAN and TAṢ is sg. fem. m’āyyiyih, pl. masc. m’āyyīyin and pl. fem. m’āyyiyāt (sg. masc. m’āyyīy) (i.e. the forms are not •m’āyyīyih, •m’āyyīyin and •m’āyyīyāt) for “feeble, sapless (esp. as a result of too much food or drink)”. For active participles of the verb ta’āknan “be irritated”, see 2.4.4.

61 The same is reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:421.
2.1.3. Stress units

2.1.3.1. Stress in combinations with preposition min and negated personal pronouns

Like in group VI, the preposition min may form one stress unit with the following word, as in min-taḥat “from below”, min-ki/dmacronbelowiy “from this”, min-iḥniy “from here”, min-ihnuh “from there”, min-warā’ “from behind”.

In negated pronominals stress is on the first syllable: mānī, minta, mintiy, mihna, mintuw, mintin mūhū, miha (also miḥī), mūhuṃ, mihin or māhin (in forms like mūhūmma and mihūnna stress is on the second syllable).

2.1.3.2. Enclitically suffixed prepositions l and b

2.1.3.2.1. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition l

Enclitic suffixation of the suffixed preposition l is less regular than in group VII, but does occur. An example (in ĞrA) is ḳala ḥittah ygūl-ilhā’, iygūl-ilh-ʾAmn Saʾid “to an area he calls, he calls (it) ᚫm Saʿīd”. Notice that in case of enclitic suffixing the shorter form lha is used instead of the independent form lēha.

2.1.3.2.2. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition b

Enclitic suffixing of suffixed preposition b was not recorded.

2.2. Phonotactics

2.2.1. The gahawah-syndrome

2.2.1.1. The gahawah-syndrome: a-insertion in *aXC sequences

The gahawah-syndrome is active in all dialects discussed here. Some of many examples are: ḍahār “back”, saxālah “lamb”, šaharayn “two months”, yahalbūha “they milk her”, Zaḡārah “name of a tributary wadi (coming from the west) of Wādiy Ḩabb some 10 km northwest of the town Ḥab”, aḥawal “cross-eyed”, šaḥabīy “sand-coloured”, taḥāt “under”.

2.2.1.2. Morphological categories showing variation

The gahawah-syndrome is active in forms of the past participle (i.e. where $C_i = X$: maXC₂ūC₃) like maʿārīf “known”, maʿāzūl “separated, isolated”, maʿāgūl “reasonable”, maḥarūṯ “ploughed”, maḥarūg “burnt”, maḥṣūṭ “placed” and maxarūm “pierced”, but also maxlūṭ “mixed”, maxṣūṣ “special”, mahīyūn “insulted”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC₂vC₃(ah): maḡarib “time of sunset”, maḥawiy “treated by a ḥāwiy (i.e. a snake charmer)”, maxazan “storage place”, but also (a loan) mahraḡān “festival”.

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Although derived measures are usually unaffected by the gahawah-syndrome, some verbal nouns of measure 2 do show gahawah-vowels, like in DbA taḥagīg (< taḥġīg) “allotment of shares of food (ḥiggīḥ) during the annual visit to a sheikh’s tomb (zwārah)” was recorded, in MIA taǧarīb “going north”, in ĠrA taḥawīš “collecting”, taʿāšib “removing weeds”, taḥabīš faḥām “making (by controlled burning) of charcoal”. But forms without gahawah-vowels were also recorded, e.g. taḥwilna “our transfer”, taʿḏib “punishment” and taḥbiš faḥām (in TAṢ).

2.2.1.3. Morphological categories in which the gahawah-syndrome is not active
The gahawah-syndrome is not active in derived verbal measures (for exceptions in verbal nouns of measure 2, see remark in the preceding paragraph 2.2.1.2. above). Examples are like those listed for group VI.

The examples of elatives listed for ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are also found in our group I dialects discussed here: aḥsan “better/best”, aḥla “more/more beautiful, sweeter/sweetest”, aġlab “more/most” (and also a loan aġlabiyyah “majority”) and aġla “more/most expensive”.

In loans (from Standard Arabic or Cairene) the gahawah-syndrome is usually absent, e.g. baḥs “research” and ahlān! “welcome!” and also yaʿniy “that is; it means”, and yaʿmal “he makes”.

Like in group VII, the fem. morpheme in construct state becomes -at when it follows XaC (also where a is a gahawah-vowel), so that the sequence CaXaCat is the result. When such a sequence is directly suffixed with a vowel-initial suffix, the resulting CaXaCatv sequence is not resyllabified (contrast MzA of group VI). Examples are naxaḷatī “my palm tree” and gāḥawatak (TAṢ and MIA) or gahāwatak “your coffee” (other southern group I dialects).

2.2.2. Articulatory delay in the realization of alveolar sonorants (liquids l, r and n)

2.2.2.1. Articulatory delay in the realization of r: the bukaṛa-syndrome
Examples of bukaṛa-vowels are (underlined): hiǧirīh “his lap”, yašaraban “they (fem.) drink”, zaḡaṛaṭat “she ululated”, kāṯurw “they became many”.

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63 baḥs instead of MSA baḥṭ: s for t is an indication that the loan came via a sedentary dialect such as Cairene, which lacks interdentals in its phoneme inventory.
64 See remark in fn 51, p. 137.
65 Since a of the first syllable only appears in closed syllables (e.g. kuṭūr, but kaṭrīt), the underlined u is here interpreted as a vowel created by the bukaṛa-syndrome, rather than a vowel whose elision is inhibited by it.
Examples of the bukara-syndrome inhibiting the elision of a preceding high vowel are alikbār tafātir alisgār “old people are the records of young people”⁶⁶ and ykassīr albikāriq “he smashes the coffee pots”.

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukara-syndrome creating vowels: Ṣadir alḤayṭān “Ṣadr al-Ḥayṭān; name of the mountain range between Rās Ṣadr and Nixl”.

The form núbudur alʾayš “we sow the (seeds for making) bread” is comparable to the form yūdkur ṣannibiy discussed in De Jong 2000:114. The application of rules is as follows (here the high vowel eligible for elision is in bold print; the anaptyctic is underlined; the bukara-vowel is bold and underlined):

| N.B. Since the bukara-rule is a late phonetic surface rule, the vowels produced by it are inconsequential for the placement of stress (i.e. the stress rule is applied before the bukara-rule), e.g. zágharaṭan “they (fem.) ululated”, also in dialects that would otherwise stress CaváCaCv(C), as in e.g. ṛagábatak “your neck” (see remark in 2.1.1.2.2.). |
| base form | sandi elision | anaptyxis | bukara-insertion |
| yūdkur + v | yūdkur v | yūdkr v | yūdykr v | yūdkur v |
| núbudur + v | núbudur v | núbdr v | núbudr v | núbudur v |

2.2.2.2. Influence of l
Like r, l may also be involved in inhibiting elision of the short vowel. Examples are (preserved vowels underlined) min aqdam gibāyīl alliy hin-nih…alliy huṃma Badāṛah “of the oldest tribes, which are…who are Badāṛah”, nizīl alxawāḡiḥ “the foreigner got out (of the car)” and min awwil alʾumr “from the beginning of (his) life”.

Examples of ‘expanded’ or ‘greater’ bukara-vowels preceding l in sandhi (where the vowel is not a cluster-resolving anaptyctic as described in 2.3.2.) are (‘greater’ bukara-vowels underlined): aṣīl alwādiy fīh imlūḥih bardāk “because there is also salinity (of the soil) in the wadi”, arramīl assāxīn “the hot sand”.

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in ṣibil and raḡīl
The forms bil “camels” and ábil “the camels” and bīlha “her camels” were recorded several times in ḤwA (not in the other dialects).

⁶⁶ tafātir, cf. MSA daftar, dafātir. The saying stresses the importance of oral tradition: young people should use the experience of older people by consulting them. More or less like the African (Senegalese?) saying “when an old man dies, a library burns down”.
Like in group VII, ṛāǧil, mainly in in the exclamation yā ṛāǧil can be heard regularly. In one instance (in TAṢ) a woman was addressed with the fem. form ṛāǧliḥ: ṭab w Allāhiy yā ṛāǧliḥ, úgu’diy ‘indihin “okay, by God, woman, (go) stay with them (i.e. your children)”.

ṛāǧil for was recorded a few times, but the current word for “man” is raǧǧāl (or, with a raised vowel a, riǧǧāl, pl. rǧāl).

2.2.2.3. Articulatory delay in the realization of n
A short high vowel i in open syllable in sandhi is often not elided, due to a delay in the realization of n, e.g. ba’aǧìn aná “I knead”, biyšūfin al’ayš “they (fem.) see the bread”. The (relatively) high sonority of n may also create a preceding vowel as in assamin aššīḥiy “the white wormwood ghee”.

Articulatory delay in (fōga >) fōguna “above us” was also recorded several times.

2.2.3. Articulatory delay of āyn following geminates
Instances of articulatory delay of āyn following geminates were not noticed.

2.3. Anaptyxis

Rules formulated for group VI are also valid for group I dialects.

2.3.1. Word-medial anaptyxis
Word-medial anaptyxis takes place like in group VI.

2.3.2. Anaptyxis in sandhi

2.3.2.1. Anaptyxis in clusters resulting from ‘colliding’ morphological base forms
In group I dialects sandhi clusters of four consonants caused by the collision of morphological base forms are resolved through anaptyxis like in group VI.

2.3.2.2. Anaptyxis in #CC and CC#
When speech pause directly precedes or follows CC, the resulting cluster #CC or CC# is resolved like in group VI.

2.3.2.3. Consonant clusters resulting from I-elision in sandhi, with subsequent anaptyxis
One example of clusters in sandhi after I-elision, eliminated by anaptyxis (the intermediate form with cluster is marked here with a preceding *):
2.3.2.4. Resyllabication of word-medial CVCCICV, and of CVCCIC VC sequences in sandhi
Like in group VI, the resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV > CVCICCV (e.g. yiktibuw > yikitbuw) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVCCIC VC > CVCICC VC (e.g. mihnit alḥuṛmah > míhint alḥuṛmah) is optional (see 2.3.2.3.).

2.3.3. Exceptions to the anaptyxis rule
2.3.3.1. Unresolved consonant clusters
Not all clusters are eliminated. Especially clusters of which the first consonant is nasal or a liquid followed by a voiceless second consonant are left intact. e.g.: sā’altha “I asked her”, ta’ālamtha “I learned them (pl. fem.)”, bintha “her daughter”, aftakart # “I thought”.

Clusters may be left unresolved in sandhi as well, e.g. ɪstaɣaḷt fi Šarm ašŠēx “I worked in Šarm ašŠēx”, gult ʿanha “I said about her” and ʿind baʿaḍhum “with each other”, gāmat albint maḥḥa “the girl got up with her”, šīrt baxlaṭ “I started to be confused”.

When assimilation between the first and second consonant takes place, the cluster will remain intact as well, e.g. (in sandhi) istafatt kīṭīr “I gained a lot” (< istafadt).

2.3.3.2. The role of sonority of consonants involved in unresolved clusters

2.3.3.3. Some special cases with regard to anaptyxis
2.3.3.3.1. Consonant clusters with initial geminates
When the first two consonants of a three-consonant cluster form a geminate, this geminate is usually (partially) reduced, e.g. (word-medial) widdna “we want, need”, gillt al’ilm “lack of science” and lih aḍḍwēw ʿād “so it (sg. masc.) had the little light”. Examples of such reduction listed for group VI may be heard in group I as well.

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67 For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:323–328.
2.3.3.2. *Preposition* ʰind + C
The suffixed preposition ʰind takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. ʰindaha “with her”, ʰindak “with you (sg. masc.)”, ʰindikiy “with you (sg. fem.)”, ʰinduhuw “with them (pl. masc.)”, ʰindihin “with them (pl. fem.)”, ʰindukuw “with you (pl. masc.)”, ʰindikin “with you (pl. fem.)” and ʰindina “with us”.

Clusters in sandhi are left intact, however, e.g.: ʰind ᵁmmih “with his uncle”.

2.3.3.3. *The 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. pronominal suffixes in consonant clusters*
The 2nd p. sg. masc. pronominal suffixes ʰC-ak / ʰv-ak behave predictably in group I.

2.3.4. *Phonetic quality of the anaptyctic*

2.3.4.1. *Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyctics*
The phonetic quality of the word-medial anaptyctic vowel is a lax and centralized [ı], towards [ə], in front environments and a lax and centralized [u], towards a moderately rounded [ə], in back environments.68

2.3.4.1.1. *Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyxis in clusters form “colliding” base forms*
The situation is like in group VI (and also group I in De Jong 2000:128).

2.3.4.1.2. *Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in clusters after I-elision*
The situation is like in group VI (and also group I in De Jong 2000:129).

2.3.4.1.3. *Anaptyctics in clusters resulting from elision of ʰi from T*
The situation is like in group VI.

2.3.4.2. *Phonetic quality of anaptyctics in sandhi*

2.3.4.2.1. *Phonetic quality of word-initial anaptyctics in sandhi*
Word-initial anaptyctic vowels tend to have a phonetic value near a lax and centralized [ı].

Examples listed for group VI (and also for group I in De Jong 2000:130) also illustrate the situation in TwA and HnA.

Imperatives of the verbs (a)xaᵈ “take” and (a)kal “eat” are ʰxud, ʰxdỳ, ʰxduw, ʰxdỳn and ʰkul, ʰkľỳ, ʰkľúw, ʰkľin.69 When a speech pause precedes, the

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68 This is the same as described for group I in De Jong 2000:128.
69 All these imperative forms show considerable velarization.
anaptyctic vowel resolving an initial cluster will be near I.P.A. [v], e.g. # uḳḷîy, # uḳḷîw, # uḳḷîn (not recorded in MIA).

2.3.4.2.2. Phonetic quality of word-final anaptyctics

Anaptyctic vowels resolving word-final clusters have a phonetic quality near I.P.A. [v] in labial and/or velarized environments. Anaptyctics in neutral environments will be near (centralized) [ı]. Examples for group VI (and those listed for group I in De Jong 2000:130–131) can also be heard in group I dialects discussed here.

2.3.5. Stressed original anaptyctics

The reflex of the pattern CICaC (i.e. *CuCaC or *CiCaC) is CCaC. Stress is then placed in conformity with rules described in 2.1.1. When a consonant or speech pause precedes, the cluster # CC or C CC will often be resolved by an anaptyctic (indicated here as ə): # əgṛáb, áləgṛab “waterskins”, # əḥgán, áləḥgan “injections”, # əwrāš, áləwṛaš “workshops”. But when assimilation precedes, a resulting geminate will be reduced, and anaptyxis will not take place, e.g. # əṣwar, áṣṣwar (pronounced áṣwar) “pictures”, # ənxār, ánxxar (pronounced ánxaṛ) “noses”. These anaptyctic vowels are not stressed in the group I dialects discussed here.

Plurals include: ʚṣiy, álə ʚṣiy “sticks”, ḥṣiy, áləḥṣiy “stones”, but there are no anaptyctic vowels in forms with an assimilated preceding article like (al + ṭḥiy >) árrḥiy “hand mills”, and also (al + lḥiy >) álļḥiy “beards”.

N.B. Of these dialects some have short forms like lhaʾ or lhiy, lnáʾ etc., or longer forms like lēha, lēna etc. Forms of the suffixed preposition l with initial stressed i were not recorded in these group I dialects in the centre and south of Sinai (for more remarks on suffixed prepositions see 3.1.16.).

2.4. Elision of Short Vowels

All group I dialects are ‘différentiels’ in terms of short vowel elision. The rule for elision is like that given for group VI.

The rules of morphophonemic elision are compulsory.

2.4.1. Morphophonemic ɬ-elision

Rules given for group VI are valid here as well.

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70 The same is reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:421.
2.4.2. *I-elision in sandhi*

Like in group VI, morphophonemic elisions of short high vowels *i* and *u* in group I are compulsory, but comparable elisions in sandhi are optional.

2.4.3. *Cyclic anaptyxis rule in sandhi*

The optional *I*-elision rule in sandhi may be applied after the execution of the anaptyxis rule, e.g. (the cluster is underlined and in bold print, the anaptyctic vowels are in bold print and the high vowel eligible for sandhi-elision is underlined):

\[ yrawwih + lhin > yrawwiḥ lhin > yrawwiḥ ilhin > yrawwḥ ilhin \] “he goes to them (fem.).”

In this first example the cluster *ḥlh* is resolved, after which the high vowel *i* preceding it lands in open syllable (thus becoming eligible for elision) and is dropped.

Like in group VI, the *I*-elision rule may also be *re*-applied after execution of the rule for anaptyxis, as in the example:

\[ túḏrub ḏ ṭafak > túḏrub ḏ ṭafak > túḏrub ḏ ṭafak > túḏrub ḏ ṭafak \] “you beat your children”.

In this second example the cluster *ḥḍ* is resolved, after which the high vowel *u* preceding *b* is in open syllable (thus becoming eligible for elision) and is dropped, creating a new cluster *ḥḍb*, which is then eliminated by insertion of another anaptyctic vowel, in this case *u*.

2.4.4. *Exceptions to the *I*-elision rule*

When *C*<sub>a</sub> and *C*<sub>b</sub> in *C*<sub>a</sub>*C*<sub>a</sub>*IC*<sub>b</sub> are phonetically close or identical, the short high vowel *I* is not dropped. Examples are (a suffixed noun) *sadditi* “my dam (where crops are grown)”, (a verb form) *yḥalliluw* “they make heaps” and (participles) *mballilih, mballilin* and *mballilāt* “having made wet”.

Also in sandhi this type of elision does not take place, e.g. *šiddit alḥaṛāṛah* “the intensity of the heat” (with clearly audible reduction of the geminate *dd*).

Like in ṬwA, ḤmA and HnA of group VI, elision of the high vowel does not take place in the act. participles (sg. fem.) *mtaʾakninīh*, (pl. masc.) *mtaʾakninān* and (pl. fem.) *mtaʾaknināt* “irritated”. This was the case in TAṢ, ḤwA, DbA, but in ĠRA direct elicitation produced the forms *mtaʾaknin, mta akinnih, mtaʾakinnīn, mtaʾakinnāt* (the forms were not recorded in the other dialects).
As another exception to this I-elision rule, forms recorded in ĠrA like (preserved high vowel is underlined) lībsītiḥ or lábsītiḥ “she wore it” and šīrbiṭiḥ or šārbiṭiḥ “she drank it” should be mentioned; the forms recorded were not (after elision and subsequent anaptyxis; anaptyctics in bold print) lībīstiḥ or lábīstiḥ and šīrībiṭiḥ or šārībiṭiḥ, which one might have expected.

Such forms were however recorded in TAṢ, so that stress may be interpreted to have acquired a phonemic function: šīrībiṭah “she drank it” as opposed to šīrībiṭah “I drank it” (see remarks in 3.2.1.1.).

2.5. Assimilation

Three types of contact asimilations of consonants can be identified:

- regressive partial or total,
- progressive partial or total and
- reciprocal total.

The l of the article only rarely assimilates to a following ġ, as in e.g. aġğamr “the live embers”. Assimilation of l to initial k was not recorded. For examples of these types of assimilation, see De Jong 2000:136–137. In addition to examples listed there, an example of progressive total assimilation recorded in TyA is:

\[ t + h > t̂t \] as in bnaḥarītiṭiy (< bnaḥarītiḥiy) “we plough it”.

The type of metathesis of hissing sounds recorded in groups VI and VII (see 2.5. in the relevant chapters) was not heard in these southern and central group I dialects. Instead, forms like šāġ “iron baking sheet”, sīğiḥ “game of sīgiatan”, sīğiŋ “prison” and tαsṭi̇l “recording”, etc. are current.

In these central and southern group I dialects šams is current for “sun” and šaġar for “trees”.

3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of a in CαC₂jC₃(ah)

Raising of a in the nominal pattern CαC₂jC₃(ah) occurs regularly, but is optional in southern group I dialects (except in HwA, see remark below). Such raising is only inhibited by preceding ’ and is less regular when X
precedes or follows a, although it may take place in such positions (especially when following ’, see examples below). The resulting high ‘surface’ vowel i is not elided. In HwA instances of non-raising were so few that morphological restructuring may be concluded. In DbA raising is mainly absent when ’, ġ, h or x precedes, e.g. ’ādıım “enormous”, ġālıdı “fat, bulky”, ġarılı “strange”, xalıtıḥ “mixture”, ḡağıgı “real” (instances with preceding h were not recorded). For examples see 1.2.3.4.3.2. of this chapter.

3.1.1.1.2. Raising of a in *CaCİy (C₃ = y)
Raising of a preceding *CaCİy (C₃ = y) occurs often, but variation is still heard as well, e.g. birıy “innocent”, (reflecting final *-ıy) in ısbıy “boy”, ġanıy “rich”, ırıy “moist; soft”, nibıy ~ nábıy “Prophet”, guwıy “strong”, wilıy ~ wálıy “saint”, ılıy ~ ılıy “male given name”.

3.1.1.2. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed i
For raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed i in verb forms (with underlying C₁aC₂iC₃ pattern for the i-type perfect), see 3.2.2.1.

3.1.1.3. Raising of a in CaCCİC(-ah)
The short vowel a preceding stressed CCİ is not raised. Examples are: baṭṭıx “watermelon”, baddı “improvisor of rhyme”, xarrıǧ “alumnus”, čakınah “knife”, garrı “octopus”, sab’ın “seventy”, xamsın “fifty”, Krati “(St.) Catherine”, kabbit “matches”. Also in verbal nouns of measure 2 such raising is absent, e.g. tağı “grafting”, ısdığı “putting in operation” and also in a gahawah-form like ıdğa “going north” (see for other examples 2.2.1.2. above).

3.1.1.4. Raising of a in CaCCāC
Raising of a preceding stressed CCā is optional: gi师事务所 “tracker”, billış “thief; extortionist”, fıssıy “expert farter”, biråd “teapot”, ılğı “fridge” and wiği “suffering pain”, mılıyın ~ mlıyın “full”, gáltın ~ glıı “mislabeled”, Sılın “male given name Salmın”, mırılın “ill”, ıfiyın “surprised”, kılın “lazy”, ııgın “camel rider”, sỳıylı ~ sayyıl “acacia trees (coll.)”, but also ı’tısın “thirsty”, ı’tıı “broken, not functioning” and ıkkı “lighter”. Although such raising was heard in all dialects, it is less current in TAN and TAŞ.

N.B. sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects have short stressed final -ā(’) (if not raised) (except in MIA, where long final -ā is also heard).

71 This situation is the same as what has been described for group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:272–273.
72 The word ıkkı is used in TyA; in most dialects of Sinai the word for “lighter” is giddaḥah.
The \textit{a} in closed syllable may then be raised, but this is optional, e.g. \textit{himrā} “red (sg. fem.)”, \textit{himgā} “stupid (sg. fem.)”, but also \textit{zargā} “black; blue (sg. fem.)”, \textit{ṣafrā} “yellow”, etc.

Like in group VI, raising of \textit{a} in the pattern for sg. fem. for colours and physical defects may only take place when final \textit{ā(ʼ)} has \textit{not} been raised to \textit{-īy}.

3.1.1.5. \textit{Raising of \textit{a} in . . . CaCāC . . .}

Raising of \textit{a} preceding Cā is extremely current, but is concluded to be optional, since it is often absent in more careful speech.

Some of many examples are: \textit{matān} – \textit{mitān}, “when?” (in ḤwA), \textit{gibāyil} “tribes”, \textit{zimān} “before in olden times”, \textit{gizāyiz} “bottles”, \textit{bikāriǧ} “coffee pots”, \textit{Tiyāha} “name of a tribe Tayāha”, \textit{ġināyin} “gardens”.

In labial environments, raising may also be towards \textit{u}, as in \textit{muwārik} “cushions supporting the camel rider’s leg” (pl. of \textit{mēṛakah} or \textit{mōṛakah}, see also remarks in 1.2.4.1. and in fn 101, p. 83) and \textit{zuwāyir} “annual visits to sheikhs’ tombs (pl. of \textit{zwāṛah})”, \textit{Ṣuwālḥih} “name of the tribe Ṣawālḥah”.

Examples without raising are: \textit{ṭalāṭīn} “thirty”, \textit{nahār} “day”, \textit{tamām} “excellent”, \textit{Badāṛah} “name of a tribe”, \textit{tafātir} “records”, \textit{ganāt asSwēs} “Suez Canal”, \textit{šamāl} “north”.

Also in group I, raising is less regular when \textit{l} or \textit{r} follows \textit{a}, or \textit{X} precedes, e.g. \textit{kalām} “speaking”, \textit{ṭalāṭah} “three”, \textit{xalāṣ} “ready”, \textit{salām} “peace”, \textit{Garārših} “name of a tribe”, \textit{fārāšīḥ} “thin loaves of bread baked on a šāġ”, \textit{marāǧīḥ} “swings (three legs) for the goat skin (used to churn butter)”, \textit{halāl} “small cattle”, \textit{axawāt} “sisters”, \textit{āšān} “because”, \textit{ḥayātak} “your life”, \textit{ḥamādih} “flat barren land”, \textit{ġaṛāyir} “large sack (pl. of \textit{ġaṛāṛah})”, \textit{ değiştir} “his origin”.

Also when \textit{ʾ} precedes, raising remains absent, e.g. (ʼ)\textit{aṣāyil} “thoroughbreeds”, (ʼ)\textit{asāsih} “his origin”.

3.1.1.6. \textit{Raising of \textit{a} in . . . CaCā . . .}

\textit{a} in open syllable preceding stressed \textit{á} is often (but optionally so) raised (like in group VI), e.g. (raising towards I.P.A. [i]) \textit{ġimál} “camel”, \textit{risān} “halter”, \textit{libān} “milk”, \textit{sibágah} “race” (\textit{sábagah} in TAṢ), \textit{šiǧáṛah} “tree” (\textit{šáǧaṛah} in TAṢ), a verb form \textit{misák} “he took” and (towards [u] in labial and/or velarized environment) \textit{muṭár} “rain”, \textit{duwā} “medicine”. And also in gaha-wah-forms such raising may take place, e.g. \textit{tiḥát} “under”, \textit{šihār} “month” and in verb forms like \textit{yī́ārif} “he knows”.

\footnote{\textit{ġarāyir}: see \textit{ġarāra} in Behnstedt and Woidich 1994:334–335 (glossary).}
Such raising is generally absent when the \( a \) is preceded by *, e.g. \( (\cdot)^{ab\dot{a}r} \) “needles” and \( (\cdot)^{ax\dot{a}d} \) “he took”.

Also, when \( a \) is followed by \( l \), such raising tends to remain absent, e.g. \( g\cdot{l\dot{a}m} \) “pen”, \( m\cdot{\dot{a}l\dot{a}g} \) “hard flat ground (like rock, in which traces are invisible)”, \( z\cdot{a\dot{l}\dot{a}m\dot{a}h} \) “man”, or when \( X \) precedes, e.g. \( h\cdot{a\dot{g}\dot{\ddot{a}}}r \) “rock, stone”, \( \cdot{\dot{g}\cdot{\dot{a}\cdot{n}\cdot{\dot{a}}}m} \) “goats and sheep”, \( x\cdot{a\dot{\ddot{s}\cdot{\ddot{a}}b}}h \) “firewood”, etc. (see De Jong 2000:145–147).

3.1.1.7. Raising of \( a \) in open syllable preceding stressed \( A \)

To summarize the \( a \)-raising rules in one optional rule we can write:\(^{74}\)

\[
a > I / C_{a} = C_{b} A
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
C_{a} & \neq * \text{ or } X & A &= \text{stressed } a \text{ or } \dot{a} \\
C_{b} & \neq l & I &= \text{high vowel } i \text{ or } u
\end{align*}
\]

N.B. Raising of \( a \) may also take place when stress on \( A \) is secondary, e.g. \( f\cdot{\ddot{a}}\cdot{s\cdot{\ddot{s}\cdot{\ddot{a}}b}g} \) “in the race”, verb forms \( \cdot{\ddot{a}}nk\cdot{\ddot{i}t\ddot{a}}l \) “he was beaten”, \( \cdot{\ddot{a}st\cdot{\ddot{u}w\cdot{\ddot{a}}}t} \) “it (sg. fem.) became ripe/cooked” and \( m\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{w}\cdot{\ddot{a}}}l\ddot{\ddot{i}}d} \) “births”, \( m\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{w}\cdot{\ddot{a}}}z\cdot{\ddot{\ddot{i}}}n} \) “weighing scales (pl. of \( m\cdot{\ddot{\ddot{z}\cdot{\ddot{a}}}n} \)”).

3.1.1.8. Raising of \( a \) in \( Ca\cdot{\ddot{C}}\cdot{\ddot{u}}\cdot{\ddot{C}}(\ddot{a}h) \)

Raising of \( a \) preceding \( \ddot{u} \) is optional, e.g. \( \cdot{\ddot{g}\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{m}\cdot{\ddot{
oodle}}}s} \sim \cdot{\ddot{g}\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{m}\cdot{\ddot{\ddot{
oodle}}}}}s} \) “food dip”, \( x\cdot{\ddot{r}\cdot{\ddot{
oodle}}}f \sim x\cdot{\ddot{r}\cdot{\ddot{r}}}f \) “lamb”, \( \cdot{\ddot{g}\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{n}}}\ddot{\ddot{u}}}b \sim \cdot{\ddot{g}\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{n}}}\ddot{\ddot{u}}}b \) “south” and \( y\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{h}}}\ddot{\ddot{u}}d \sim y\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{h}}}\ddot{\ddot{u}}d \) “Jews”, \( \cdot{\ddot{d}\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{r}}}\ddot{b}h\ddot{\ddot{a}}}h \sim \cdot{\ddot{d}\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{r}}}\ddot{b}h\ddot{\ddot{a}}}h \) “beautiful young camel”,\(^{75}\) \( \cdot{\ddot{u}\ddot{r}\ddot{u}} \sim \cdot{\ddot{a}\ddot{r}\ddot{u}} \) “bride”, \( \cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{g}}}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{u}}} \sim \cdot{\ddot{a}\ddot{g}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{u}}} \) “old lady”. With initial \( h\cdot{a\cdot{m}\cdot{\ddot{z}\cdot{\ddot{a}}}h} \) such raising is absent in most dialects (contrast with groups VI–VIII): \( a\cdot{\ddot{b}}\ddot{\ddot{u}}y \) “my father” and \( a\cdot{\ddot{x}\ddot{\ddot{a}}}y \) “my brother”, and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae \( w\cdot{\ddot{a}}w \) verbs \( a\cdot{\ddot{g}}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{u}}}m \) “I get up”, \( a\cdot{\ddot{g}}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{u}}}l \) “I say” (see remark * below). However, in dialects indicated below, isolated instances of such raising were heard when “hamzah preceded, as in \( u\cdot{\ddot{b}}\ddot{\ddot{u}}h \sim u\cdot{\ddot{b}}\ddot{\ddot{u}}h \) “father” (TAN), \( u\cdot{\ddot{x}\ddot{\ddot{u}}k} \sim a\cdot{\ddot{x}\ddot{\ddot{u}}k} \) “your brother”, \( u\cdot{\ddot{g}}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{u}}m} \sim a\cdot{\ddot{g}}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{u}}m} \) “I rise” (both \( H\cdot{\ddot{u}}\cdot{\ddot{w}}A \)), Such raising with preceding *hamzah was not heard in \( T\cdot{A}\cdot{\ddot{S}}, \cdot{\ddot{G}}\cdot{\ddot{r}}\ddot{\ddot{A}}, \cdot{\ddot{B}}\ddot{\ddot{d}}A, \cdot{\ddot{D}}\ddot{\ddot{b}}A \) or \( M\cdot{\ddot{L}}\ddot{\ddot{A}}. \)

Underlying \( C\cdot{\ddot{a}}\cdot{\ddot{C}}\cdot{\ddot{u}} \cdot{\ddot{C}} \) with reduced \( \ddot{a}; ma\cdot{\ddot{\ddot{u}}}n \) “container”, \( b\cdot{\ddot{a}}\cdot{\ddot{b}}\ddot{\ddot{u}}r \) “tractor”, \( g\cdot{\ddot{a}}\cdot{\ddot{n}}\ddot{\ddot{i}}n \) “law”, \( b\cdot{\ddot{a}}\cdot{\ddot{\ddot{u}}}\ddot{\ddot{d}}h \) “mosquitos”. In one instance in \( T\cdot{y}A \) raising in \( b\cdot{\ddot{a}}\cdot{\ddot{b}}\ddot{\ddot{u}}r \) yielded \( \ddot{b}b\cdot{\ddot{u}}r. \)

The gahawah-vowel in open syllable preceding \( C \) is not raised, e.g. \( m\cdot{\ddot{a}\cdot{\ddot{h}\cdot{\ddot{a}}}\ddot{t}\ddot{\ddot{u}}\ddot{t} \) “placed”, \( m\cdot{\ddot{a}\cdot{\ddot{g}}}\ddot{\ddot{d}} \) “tied”, \( m\cdot{\ddot{a\cdot{\ddot{h}}}b\ddot{\ddot{u}}s} \) “locked up”, \( m\cdot{x\cdot{a\cdot{\ddot{n}}}\ddot{u}g} \) “constricted; suffocated”.

\(^{74}\) See also De Jong 2000:147.

\(^{75}\) \( \ddot{d}\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{r}}}\ddot{b}h\ddot{\ddot{a}}h \sim \ddot{d}\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{r}}}\ddot{b}h\ddot{\ddot{a}}h \) is used to refer to a recently acquired beautiful camel or car. It can also be used to refer to one’s recent bride, e.g. \( \ddot{d}\cdot{\ddot{u}\cdot{\ddot{r}}}\ddot{b}t\ddot{\ddot{t}} \).
3.1.1.9. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed u
Unstressed a in open syllable preceding stressed u (in the following syllable) is regularly raised, e.g. kubūr “he grew”, kutūr “he became many”, tuxūn “he became thick”, ǧulūǧ “he became fat”.

The raised a has remained underlying |a| however. It (as a surface u) is therefore not dropped in unstressed open syllables. In addition, in many dialects the vowel ‘re-surfaces’ as a in closed syllables, e.g. kabrit “she grew”, ǧalḍit “she became fat”.

3.1.1.10. a-raising rules combined
Like in dialects of group I in the north (see De Jong 2000:150), we can combine the rules for raising of a preceding a long stressed high vowel:

\[ a > I / C_a C_b \bar{I} \bar{C} \]

\( \bar{I} \) = long vowel ū or ī
\( I \) = short high vowel u if \( \bar{I} \) is ū; short high vowel ī if \( \bar{I} \) is ī
\( C_a \) = * (hamzah)
\( C_b \) = consonant capable of carrying velarization in case of raising to u

Notice that, like in group I dialects of the north (see De Jong 2000:150), the provision of \( C_a \neq * \) is made for the group I dialects described here, i.e. preceding “*hamzah” inhibits such raising. However, in TAN and ḤwA a few forms were recorded which did show such raising: ʿubūh ~ ʿabūh and ugūl ~ agūl “I say”.

3.1.2. Reflexes of \( *C_1aC_2C_3(ah) \)
For reflexes of CaCC(-ah) the following forms were recorded (in all dialects, unless indicated otherwise): badw “Bedouin”, taḥāt “under”, faḥām “charcoal”, waḥdīḥ (but ~ wihdīḥ in GrA) “one (sg. fem.)”, nahiḥ “direction”, ʿaʿāb “difficult”, ʃakl “shape”, ʃāḥan “dish, plate”, ǧīdī “billy goat” (TAŠ, ḤwA, DbA, MIA, GrA), ǧādy (DbA), ʃadr “chest”, (ʿ)akl (TAŠ, TAN, DbA, MIA), wakl “food” (DbA), kirš (TAŠ) “(fat) belly”, kalb “dog”, ǧıdd “grandfather” and ǧīfn “eyelid” (TAŠ).

---

\* Direct elicitation, however, yielded forms like tuxnit “she became thick” in GrA, ǧulṭin “they (f) became fat”; here the a did not ‘resurface’, although the vowel is still to be regarded as underlying |a|, since it is not dropped in open unstressed syllables, e.g. also in these dialects the 3rd p. sg. masc. forms are tuxūn (not •txun) and ǧulūǧ (not •juḏ).
3.1.3. Reflexes of *CaCiC(ah)

In all dialects, unless indicated otherwise: wirk “thigh” (TAṢ), kitf “shoulder” (ḤwA, GrA, TAṢ and TyA; other dialects not recorded), kilmih “word”, širkih “company”.

xāṣin in TyA, xīṣin in TAṢ

3.1.4. Reflexes of C₁uC₂C₃(ah)

Some reflexes of C₁uC₂C₃(ah) are (in all dialects, unless indicated otherwise): bunn “coffee beans”, rizz “rice”, kull “all; every”, aṃṃ (all except BdA,77 ~ umṃ in GrA), umṃ “mother” (BdA), uxt “sister”, Ǧim’ih “male given name” (not recorded in TAN, DbA, BdA), muddih “period”, ḥurmah “woman”, zibdiḥ “butter”, rukbah “knee” (ḤwA, TyA, TAṢ, GrA, TAN, not recorded in other dialects), hinnih “they (fem.)”, šuggah “a woven length of a tent (about 1 m. wide)” (TAṢ, MlA, BdA, TyA, ḤwA, not recorded in other dialects).

3.1.5. Absence of I in open syllables preceding stress

As is the case in all dialects of Sinai, a high vowel I (i.e. i or u) in open initial syllables of the type CIC(+ V) preceding stress (on V) is dropped.

When V is a long vowel, an initial CC cluster is the result, e.g.: snīn “years”, ɟyūn “eyes” and ɟnēh “pound (money)”, ɟbāl “mountains”, drās “threshing”.

Also when V is a short vowel, an initial cluster CC will result, e.g. ṛkab “knees”, šnaṭ “suitcases”, ṣrab “watersacks (goat skins)” and also in diminutives (see 3.1.6. below) like ǧsāyyir “short” (*guṣāyyir), bwēt “little house/tent” (*buwayt).

Exceptions to such elisions are (often loans from MSA, probably via a dialect such as Cairene Arabic), e.g.: niẓām “system” (all dialects), ẓinā’iy “artificial” (TAṢ), tiǧārah “trade” (MlA), ǧirāḥah “surgery” (MlA), (2 instances in) žurūf hukūmiyyah “government circumstances” (TyA), bidāyt albaṭṭīx “the beginning of the watermelon (i.e. the season for growing watermelon)” (TyA), ʿumūman “in general” TyA and turās “legacy” (ḤwA).

Notice that in the instances niẓām and žurūf the sibilant ż is heard instead of more typically Bedouin ġ. In the example turās we have sibilant y

77 Also aṃṃ in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:330.
s instead of more typically Bedouin t (compare MSA turāt). These are additional indications that we are dealing with loans.

Other instances of non-elision include: tulūḥhin “their (fem.) rising (of stars)” (BdA) and all dialects have gizāziḥ (after raising of a in the first syllable of gazāzah) for “bottle”.

Verb forms listed for group VI are also current in our group I dialects and the verb “come” has the imperfect form yǧiy “he comes”.

3.1.6. Diminutive patterns

The usual diminutives expressing ‘littleness’, ‘shortness’, ‘narrowness’ etc. were also recorded in our group I dialects (see examples listed in 3.1.6. for group VI) and also hrayyim is current. In addition, many diminutive forms were heard, and especially in the speech of an elderly woman of the Tayāha, e.g. ḏayfīn iftētāt “tiny children”, swēkin “living (more or less)”, wledi “my little son”, gray’īy “bald (sg. fem.)”.

Another diminutive pattern heard in TyA is C C ayC āC, (i.e. C is reduced) in baṭṭīx iṣḡayrū “small watermelons”. The same pattern is used in TAṢ as in (after reduction of the diphthong) ṣḡarūrah, ṣḡarūrin, ṣḡarūrāt and also graybū “nearish”. Another diminutive heard in TAṢ is ṣḏah sgantūṭah is a “tiny house/room”, ḡleǧān, ḡygaṣigṣūh ḡṣaygṣāt iṣḡayyrāt “they cut it up into little pieces”.

A lexical item coined on the CaCCūC(-ah) pattern in kaṛṛūsah “wheel chair” (TyA).

The hypochoristic -ān suffix, which was recorded in some of the dialects of group I in the north, was also heard in TAN, but not in the other dialects. Examples in TAN are: hniyyān “here” and ki/dmacronbelowiyyān “thus” and alternatively hniyyāniy and ki/dmacronbelowiyyāniy (see 3.1.15.1.).

3.1.7. Pattern aC C aC

The pattern used for colours and physical (and sometimes mental) defects is (for sg. masc.) aC C aC, (e.g. abyaḍ) and aC aC aC (e.g. áhamar, stressed
on the first syllable) where $C_1 = X$. Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

The sg. fem. forms have a $C_1aC_2C_3$ pattern, with a final */-ā/ that has been shortened and which is often in pause followed by an unreleased glottal stop (e.g. $bēdā'$, $hāmrā'$; in MIA some forms were recorded with long final /-ā/).82 There is an additional $a$ following $C_2$ when it is $X$ and final */-ā/ is raised to */-īy/* when $C_3$ is neutral (e.g. $šahābīy$). Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

In the pl. com. forms for colours and physical defects all dialects show $C_1IC_2C_3$ as the pattern, i.e. $C_1C_2C_3$ or $C_1uC_2C_3$ (see 1.2.3.2.). Plural forms for “black” and “white” are $sūd$ ($C_2 = wāw$) and $bī$ ($C_2 = yā'$).

3.1.8. The elative patterns $aC_1C_2aC_3$, $aC_1aC_2C_3$ and $aC_1C_2a$

Elative patterns in group I are like in group VI: $aC_1C_2aC_3$, e.g. aktar “more; most”, $aC_1aC_2C_3$, e.g. agall “less; least” and $aC_1C_2a$ (without gahawah-vowel), e.g. a$hīla$ “sweeter; sweetest”.

3.1.9. Initial $a$

3.1.9.1. The article and the relative pronoun

The article is $al$- in all dialects of group I and the relative pronoun is $alliy$.83 The article is a stressable unit (see 2.1.1.).

Examples are: $yōm iyṭīḥ álmaṭar$ [...] $biyḥuṭṭuw bdārhum$ “when the rain falls, they plant their seeds”.

The relative pronoun is $alliy$. Examples are: $alliy byašṛab inn alhāmid hāda w alliy biyfītt minnih$ “there are those who drink from this sour (milk) and there are those who make fattah with it”.

The vowel in the preposition $fi$ is often dropped when it collides with $a$- of the article, as in e.g. $f-āšštiy$ “in the winter” and $f-ālğibal$ “in the desert (lit. the mountains)” and also with unstressed $a$ of the article, as in $f-alwādīy$ “in the wadi”.

Prepositioned $ha$- was heard used predominantly in adverbial $halḥīn$ “now”.

---

82 Like in the dialect of the Dawāğrah, see De Jong 2000:446 and 661 (map 9).
83 Holes and Abu Athera 2009:214 also report $al$- and $alliy$ as the current forms in their corpus of Bedouin poetry; the exception is their poet $Šbaylāt$ (of Baniy Ḥasan in northern Jordan), who uses $il$- and $illi$ thus “aligning himself […] with the ‘sedentary’ dialects”.
84 $alliy$ is often elliptically used for something like $fīh$ ($mīn an-)$ni$ās $alliy$...
Only in a few instances ha- was used in its ‘specifying’ function: fi ha-
addikmih ‘a ṭūl la šilēhāt wala ġayrih f-āddkam “there are no chalets in (i.e. near) that hill or anything (at all) in the hills” (ḤwA), šuft miy . . . ṭāfiḥ fi
ha-lgiddāf “I saw water . . . overflowing in this ferry boat” (ṬyA).

Much more current in ḤwA, however, is postpositioned ha, e.g. alliy
‘āwiz iy . . . tynawwi f-ālbil āssibag ʾinm āssibag ha biywaddih ʾinm ālājimal
ha “there are those who want to vary in (sending) camels from one race to this other race (and) who will send from these camels” (for more detail,
see 3.1.13.2.).

3.1.9.2. Other instances of initial a
Other instances of initial a- are: aṃṃ (except ṣmṃ in BdA and aṃṃ ~
ṣmṃ in ḠrA) “mother”, uxt “sister” in all dialects, aḥna is “we” in ḤwA and
aḥna ~ iḥna in ḠrA (in the other dialects only iḥna) and the pl. for (ʿ)ibrah
“needles is (ʿ)abār. In all dialects pl. forms of the type CCaC are current,
e.g. ʿswar “pictures” and ʿgrab “waterskins”.

yā yuṃṃa is used in many group I dialects (also those that have aṃṃ
for “mother”) for “oh mother”.

3.1.10. The feminine morpheme (T) in genitive construction
T in genitive construction is treated like in the dialect of the Samā’nah of
group II in the north,85 the vowel of T in construct state will be a, whenever a precedes in open syllable. Otherwise, the T-vowel will be i in con-
struct state when a consonant precedes, or absent when a long vowel precedes.86

3.1.10.1. T in genitive construction preceded by a in open syllable
Like in group VI, the feminine morpheme -ah ~ -ih in construct state becomes -at when aC directly precedes. Examples of aCT + suffix: (dual)
sanatēn “two years” and ṭagabatih “his neck” (for stress, see 2.1.1.2.2.).

Notice that resyllabication of a (nominal or verbal) CaCaCTv sequence
does not take place in group I dialects (contrast MzA of group VI), e.g.
darabatih “she hit him” and ṭagabatih “his neck”.

---

86 In ṬyA of the Negev T > -at when historical aC directly precedes, otherwise > -t or -it, see Shawarbah 2007:424.
3.1.10.2. The rule for T not directly preceded by aC or ă
Like in group VI when not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme -ah becomes -it (or -t when a long vowel ă directly precedes, see 3.1.10.4.) in construct state.

The i of the ending -it may then be subject to the rule for high vowel elision, after which resulting clusters are often eliminated by insertion of an anaptyctic. Examples listed for group VI may also illustrate the situation in our southern group I dialects discussed here.

3.1.10.3. T preceded by the gahawah-vowel a
Forms in which a gahawah-vowel a directly precedes T in open syllable are treated the same way as forms in which such a preceding a is ‘historical’. Examples are: gahawatī “my coffee”, gahawatah “his coffee” and gahawatak “your coffee” (for stress in these forms see 2.1.1.2.2.) (treatment of T preceded by the gahawah-vowel a could not be checked in MLA).87

3.1.10.4. T following ā
T preceded by ā yields -āh, e.g. ḥamāh “mother-in-law” and when in construction, T > -t, as in ḥamātak “your mother-in-law”.

3.1.10.5. Nominal ending -it in construction vs. verbal 3rd p. sg. perf. ending -at
The high vowel i of the nominal ending -it is dropped when it is in open unstressed syllable, e.g. nāgtah “his she-camel”.

The low vowel a in verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. perf. is not dropped, e.g. lāgatah “she found him”.

3.1.11. Genitive marker

The genitive marker is šuġḷ for sg. masc., šuġḷah (sg. fem.), šuġḷin (pl. masc.) and šuģḷāt (pl. fem.) in our group I dialects discussed here; ḥagg(ah) is not used. Sometimes the K-form btā’ is used.

Paradigms in these dialects are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E.g.</th>
<th>Ilbēt +</th>
<th>I’llibih +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šuģḷah</td>
<td>šuģḷuhum/-w*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuģḷha</td>
<td>šuģḷhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šuģḷak</td>
<td>šuģḷuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuģḷkiy</td>
<td>šuģḷkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šuģḷi</td>
<td>šuģḷna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87 In TyA of the Negev T preceded by gahawah-vowel a > -it, e.g. ra’awit ǧanām “grazing small cattle”, see Shawarbah 2007:244.
A preference for the construct state instead of indirect annexation could not be concluded from the available data.

3.1.12. Personal pronominals

3.1.12.1. Independent pronominals

In group I dialects of the central and southern Sinai the following independent pronominals are used:\textsuperscript{88}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>hū huṃ(ṃa) / huwwa\textsuperscript{1}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hī hin(na)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>int(ih) intuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>intiy intin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>anā iḥna \textsuperscript{2}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1} huwwa was also heard used for the pl. masc. in TAN, MIA, but not in the other dialects of group I discussed here.\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{2} In ḤwA aḥna; in ǦrA iḥna ~ aḥna.

Negated\textsuperscript{90} (in all forms stress is on the first syllable, except in mūhūṃṇa and mīhīnna)\textsuperscript{3}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>mūhū mūhuṃ(ṃa)\textsuperscript{4}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mīhī mīhin(na)\textsuperscript{5}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mint(ih) mintuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mintiy mintin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>mānī maḥna \textsuperscript{6}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1} In ǦrA direct elicitation yielded ‘double’ forms like anā mānī, int(ih) mint(ih), intiy mintiy, hū mūhū. Such double forms are also often used in the other dialects.

\textsuperscript{2} mūhū ~ māhū in ḤwA

\textsuperscript{88} Independent pronominals in TyA of the Negev are: anā(h), int(ih) (int), intiy, hū(h), hī (h), aḥna, intuw, intin, huṃ(ṃah) and hin(nih), see Shawarbah 2007:426.

\textsuperscript{89} For possible origins of the forms (possessive/object) -huw and the subj. (independent) pronoun huwwa, see De Jong 2000:163 (remark \textsuperscript{2}) and NOTE in 3.1.12.2. of chapter I.

\textsuperscript{90} In poetry recorded by Holes and Abu Athera (2009:225) the negation is commonly mā + pronoun (+ bī).
3.1.12.2. Pronominal suffixes

In group I the following pronominal suffixes are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>C-ah / C-ih *1, v-(h)</td>
<td>-hum*6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>-ha*2</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>C-ak, v-k*3</td>
<td>-kw*7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>-kiy*4</td>
<td>-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(C)C-i, v-y (poss.)</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ni (obj.)*5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assimilation of initial $h$ to preceding voiceless consonants is current in our group I dialects, e.g. simi’tta “I heard her”, tbuxxa “you spray it (sg. fem.)”, hissa “her noise”.

For allomorphs used in combination with the preposition ‘ind, see below 3.1.16.

*1 Group I, has with -ah/-ih, contrasting with -u(h) of groups VI–VIII.

*2 -ha ~ -hiy in MIA and in TyA (-hiy is predominant in the latter). The pron. suffix -hiy was also heard in group I dialects in the north of Sinai. The (partial) phonetic conditioning effective in group I dialects of the north (i.e. directly preceding $ā$ calling for the appearance of -ha there instead of -hiy), is concluded not to be operative in MIA and TyA. Examples in MIA are: iw minnih biyṭa“nūhiy, iw yagṭa’aw w iyguṣṣūhiy “and then they graft it (sg. fem.), and they cut and clip it (sg. fem.)” and aḥūhiy “her father”.

*3 Contrast C-ak and v-k with heavily velarized -k/-uk of groups VI–VIII.

*4 Invariable -kiy is characteristic of group I, see also De Jong 2000:164. Contrast with -k and -ik of groups VI–VIII.

*5 Suffixes -i and -ni for the 1st p. sg. com. are stressed, but unstressed -i and -ni also occur.

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91 The spelling with 3 identical consonants is for reasons of morphological transparency. These forms are not different from tbuxxa and hissa.

92 For -ha or -hiy among sub-confederations of Tiyāha in Negev see Shawarbah 2007:426.

93 See De Jong 2000:164–166 and 674 (appendix), map 35.
3.1.12.3. Pronominal suffixes and negation
In group I the negation is formed with single (preceding) mā, which leaves pronominal suffixes unaffected.

3.1.13. Demonstratives
3.1.13.1. Near and far deixis
Demonstratives in TAṢ and TAN are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc. sg.</td>
<td>hāda*1</td>
<td>hāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. sg.</td>
<td>hēdy</td>
<td>hēdy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>hādāl<em>2</em>3</td>
<td>hādāl*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com. pl.</td>
<td>hādāl</td>
<td>hādāl*4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The same forms were heard in TAN.
*2 Unvelarized hāda is sporadic in TAṢ, but hāda ~ hāda in TAN.
*3 hōdal was also elicited in TAṢ, but did not occur in spontaneous speech.
*4 The same forms were heard in TAN.

“There . . . is/are!” hayhū ǧa’, hayhī ǧat, hayhum ǧaw, hayhin ǧan.
Demonstratives in TyA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc. sg.</td>
<td>hāda ~ hāda</td>
<td>hāda~hāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. sg.</td>
<td>hēdy</td>
<td>hēdy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>hādāl~hādāl</td>
<td>hādāl~hādāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>hādāl</td>
<td>hādāl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Forms without initial hā-, hē- or hō- are rare.

During direct elicitation, the existence of forms like hēhū or hayhū in TyA was denied. Instead, forms like ar‘ih ǧa’ “there he has come”, āriḥhiy ǧat
“there she has come!”, annāś áriḥhum ġaw “there the people have come!” were said to be current (see 4.8.1).

Demonstratives in ḤwA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>hāda</td>
<td>hāḍāk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>hāḍal(lah)</td>
<td>hāḍallāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>hēdyī*</td>
<td>hēdīk(ih)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* hēdyī was heard three times, but with an exceptionally high ā, (slightly higher than I.P.A. [ɛː], but not fully [eː]).

As a feature considered (by several informants of different tribes) to be very typical of ḤwA, Ḥwēṭiy speakers often use postpositioned ha (UNDifferentiated for gender and number). Examples are: w alliy ‘āwiz yašṛab minnih ā...alḥāmi/d宏观eloẉ “and there are those who want to drink from it, what... (from) this sour (milk)” (for a remark on the elliptic use of alliy, see fn 84, p. 235). Another example is aṣṣgayyrāt ha “these young ones (pl. fem.) (in ref. to camels)”.

“There he/she/they is/are (litt. has/have come)!” is hayhū ǧa∗, hayhī ǧat, hayhuṃ ġaw and hayhin ġan.

Demonstratives in DbA are:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near deixis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>hāda</td>
<td>hāḍal(lah)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>hēdyī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Notice the same demonstrative for the pl. com. in ḤwA (see above).

Far deixis* |

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>hāḍāk(ah)–hāḍāk(ah)</td>
<td>hāḍallāk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hēdīk(ih)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hayhū “there he...” was recorded once.

---

94 For a discussion on attributive hā, see Fischer 1959:56.
Demonstratives in MLA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hāda</td>
<td>hāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hēdiy</td>
<td>hēdiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* hēdikt alḥīn was recorded three times for "now, at this moment".

The system of demonstratives in BdA is clearly mixed; hā- or hē- initial demonstratives for near deixis only occur in the singular, while the only pl. form dillīh must be due to contact with (one of the) dialects of the bordering tribes Sawālḥah (group VII) and Ḭēlāṅ (group VIII).

Demonstratives in BdA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hāda</td>
<td>hāda*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hēdiy</td>
<td>hēdiy*2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Sentence-final di was recorded twice.

*2 Sentence-final diy was recorded three times and also hādiy was heard twice.

*3 hā-initial demonstratives for pl. com. were not recorded, whereas dillīh was recorded five times.

*4 hādāk was recorded twice, and once dākah.

ar’ih was recorded for “there he is!”

Demonstratives in GhrA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hāda</td>
<td>hāda*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hēdiy</td>
<td>hēdiy*1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 diy was recorded three times.

*2 In one instance a separate demonstrative for the pl. fem. was recorded during direct elicitation: alihrayyim hādan “these women”. This dem. was however not heard in spontaneous text.

---

95 For a demonstrative dillā in combination with a noun in older texts (Nuzhat an-nufūs), see Zack 2009:103.
“There he/she/they is/are (lit. has/have come)” is hēhū ǧa, hēhī ǧat, hēhumma ǧaw and hēhinnah ǧan. Alternatively ir’ + pron. suffix is used: ʿirh ǧa, ʿirhha ǧat, ʿirhhum ǧaw and ʿirhhin ǧan (see 4.8.1).

3.1.13.2. Specifying ha-
Specifying ha- is quite regularly used in southern group I dialects. Examples are binfijitt halfattih a ţul “we immediately make this fattah” (DbA), bitgēha mīn hassiḡ “you get it (sg. fem.) from the (lit. this) market” (MIA), w allēy msawwwy . . . mitmārah f-alblād—bingūl ʿālēha mitmārah—halmitmārah hēdiy byillguhā ttibīn . . . “and there are those who have made . . . an underground grain storage in the ground—we call it (sg. fem.) a mitmārah—this mitmārah they add the straw to it (sg. fem.)” (ḤwA), and in all dialects hallīn is current for “now”.

3.1.14. Interrogatives
Interrogatives recorded in southern group I dialects for
   in ḤwA and DbA: 1) min, 2) wiš, ēš / ēh, 3) lēh, 4) matān / mitān, wagṭēh, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kam + sg., 9) kuṭrayh, gaddēh.
   in TAṢ (marked with * were also recorded in TAN): 1) min*, 2) ēš* / ēh*, 3) lēš* / lēh*, 4) matā (’) / matā, wagṭēš, 5) wēn*, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf*, 8) kam* + sg., 9) gaddēš / giddēš.
   in ǦrA: 1) min, 2) ēh, ēš (the latter much less), 3) lēh, 4) matā / mitā, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kām* + sg., 9) kuṭrayh, gaddēh.
   *, kām (with long ā) was elicited, kam (with short vowel) was not recorded.
   in TyA: 1) min, 2) ayš / ēš / ēh, 3) lēš, 4) ?, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kam + sg., 9) kuṭrayš.
   in BdA: 1) min, 2) ēš / ēh, 3) lēš / lēh, 4) matā, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kam + sg., 9) kuṭrayš, gaddēš.
   in MIA: 1) min, 2) ēš / ēh, 3) lēš / lēh, 4) ?, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf / kīf, 8) kam + sg., 9)?

---

3.1.15. Adverbs

3.1.15.1. Adverbs: “there”, “over there (far away)”, “here”, “thus”, “now”, “still”, “afterwards, after that”

Adverbs recorded are:

“there”  
* hnuh*1 (all dialects)
* fī ḥaḍāk (MLA, GrA, TyA, DbA, BdA)
* fī ḥaḍākah (DbA)

“over there (far away)”  
* ḡād (all dialects)
* ḡādiy (TyA, TAṢ, TAN)

“here”  
* hniy*1 (all dialects)
* hniyyih (all dialects)
* hniyyān(iy) (TAN, TyA)*2

“thus”  
* kidīy (all dialects)
* kidīyyih (all dialects)
* kidīyyān(iy) (TAN, TyA)*2

“now”  
* halḥīn (all dialects)

“still”  
* lissā (GrA, DbA, ḤwA, BdA, TAṢ, TAN, ḤwA)
* assā (TyA, ḤwA)

“afterwards, after that”  
* ʿugub kidīy (all dialects)
* baʿ adēn (all dialects)

*1 mín-iḥniy “from here; this way”, mín-iḥnuh “from there” are treated as one unit for stress assignment.

*2 The hypochoristic -ān(iy) suffix is typical for group I dialects in the (north-)east of Sinai. It was also recorded in the dialects of the Sawārkah, Rmēlāt and Aḥaywāt, see De Jong 2000:153.97

The connector ʿugub ma (ʿugb + ma) is sometimes shortened to ʿugma, e.g. ʿugma halāfaw alēhum addīn “after they had sworn an oath on their religion to them” (BdA).

3.1.15.2. “maybe”

For “maybe” direct elicitation in TAṢ yielded forms based on the root x-w-f (e.g. xūfaḷlah) and k-w-d (e.g. kūd). xūfaḷlah / xawfaḷlah / (sometimes reduced as) xafṭallah is used to refer to undesired possibilities, while kūd refers to desired possibilities.98 kūd may also be suffixed, examples are: ālǧimal kūdinnah zēn “maybe (let’s hope) the camels are good”, arraǧāǧīl

97 See also Brockelmann 1966 (Vol. I):394.
kūdinhuṃ ṭayybīn “maybe (let’s hope) they are good men” and aliḥrayyim kūdinhin ṭayybāt “maybe (let’s hope) they are good women”.

Forms elicited for (variations on) xawf are: xawfaḷḷah (inkin) mintin ṭayybāt “perhaps you (pl. fem.) are no good”. xạ̄f (velarized) may also be suffixed, e.g. xạ̄finnah māhū ṭayyib “perhaps he is no good”, xạ̄finkin mintin ṭayybāt “perhaps you (pl. fem.) are no good” and an unsuffixed form xạ̄fīn,99 as in xạ̄fīn mā nalḡāha “perhaps we won’t find it (sg. fem.)”.

3.1.15.3. balḥayl “very, extremely”
balḥayl for “very, extremely” was recorded twice, but only in MIA: (A) ʾ iw tākil…(X) ḥāǧih…(A) ḥāǧah ḥiwbah xālīṣ…(X) balḥayl! w Allḥal balḥayl… “(A) and you eat…(X) A thing…(A) something very tasty…(X) Very! By God, very (tasty)…”

3.1.15.4. bišwēš “slowly, carefully”
The adverb bišwēš was not recorded in any of the group I dialects discussed here.

3.1.15.5. min xawf “lest”
min xawf in the sense of “lest” (see De Jong 2000:179) was not recorded.

3.1.16. Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes

Suffixed prepositions l “for”, ‘ala “on” and ma ‘with” in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise)100 are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l+*1</th>
<th>‘ala4*6</th>
<th>ma’4*10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>läh/lish*2</td>
<td>lēhum*7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lehā*3</td>
<td>lēhin*8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>lak*4</td>
<td>lēkuw*9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lēkiy</td>
<td>lēkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>lay(y)</td>
<td>lēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 For the paradigm of l+ in TAN, TyA, DbA and ḤwA see below. The independent preposition is l ~ lī.
For an alternative paradigm in BdA, see below.
*2 The vowel in TAṢ and ĞrA is usually a, in BdA i. In MIA lah ~ lēh.
*3 The suffix -ha ~ -hiy in MIA.

99 The form xạ̄fīn is reminiscent of the form xafīn reported in Stewart 1990:303 (text 32), l. 87 (+ fn).
100 TAṢ was taken here as a starting point, and deviations in other dialects are described in notes.
246 TARABIN, HWETAT, GARAGRAH, TAYHA, BADARAH, DBUR, MALALHAH

*4 In MLA lak ~ lēk.
*5 -huw in Ġra. In ḤwA, MLA and TAN -huṃ ~ -huw(wa).
*6 In TyA, DbA and ḤwA raising of the a of the first syllable is regular, but only when preceding ē. So: 'ilēk, 'ilēhum etc., but usually absence of raising in 'alāy. The independent preposition is 'ala ~ 'a.
*7 In TAN, BdA, MLA 'alēh. In TyA, ḤwA and DbA 'ilēh ~ 'alēh. In Ġra 'alih.
*8 In TyA -hiy. Shawarbah 2007:419 reports for TyA of the Negev the form like mḥḥiy "with her" as well.
*9 In TAN, BdA, MLA 'alēk. In ḤwA and DbA 'ilēk.
*10 For the paradigm in TAN, see below.

The vowel of the first syllable is i in BdA, also in closed (and stressed) syllables: mi’āh, miḥha etc. Raising of a in open unstressed syllable occurs regularly in other dialects, e.g. mi’āh (but a in stressed closed syllable, e.g. má’kuw).

The prep. ʰl in TAN, TyA, DbA, ḤwA (and as alternative in BdA):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>laḥ*1</td>
<td>ḥuṃ*5</td>
<td>m’āh</td>
<td>mi’huṃ<em>5</em>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lḥa*2</td>
<td>lḥin*3</td>
<td>mi’ha*6</td>
<td>mi’hin*6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>lāk</td>
<td>lkuw</td>
<td>m’āk</td>
<td>m’kuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lkiy</td>
<td>lkin*3</td>
<td>mi’kiy</td>
<td>mi’kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>lay(y)</td>
<td>lna(’)</td>
<td>m’ay</td>
<td>mi’na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In TyA līh.
*2 In TyA lhiy.
*3 In ḤwA lhin and lkin ~ lhinnih and lkinnih.
*4 The independent preposition is m’, e.g.: tāx’d im’āk libbtak fi ḡēbtak…fādak ’you take your libbah (a thick round loaf of bread baked in hot sand) with you in your pocket…in your hand’.
*5 In ḤwA and TAN -huṃ ~ -huw(wa).
*6 ’ + h often assimilates to ḥḥ: miḥha, miḥhuṃ, miḥhin.

101 Notice that such raising remains absent when the short a is the product of reduction of ā in pre-stress position, as in mag’ād šāsēh (< šāsēh) "a construction of piled rock with an old Ford chassis serving as a roof used as mag’ād in Malbad (Garā’rah)" (Ġra).
Suffixed prepositions \( \text{fi} \) “in”, \( \text{min} \) “from” and \( \text{war}a \) “behind” in TAŚ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ĠrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{fi+} & \text{min+} & \text{war+} \\
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
3. \text{ masc.} & \text{fah}^{*1} & \text{fihum}^{*5} & \text{minni} & \text{minhum}^{*5} & \text{war}āh & \text{warāhum}^{*5} \\
& \text{fīhuṃ}^{*2} & \text{minnih} & \text{minhuṃ}^{*5} & \text{warāh} & \text{warāhin} \\
2. \text{ masc.} & \text{fak}^{*3} & \text{fikw} & \text{minnak} & \text{minkw} & \text{warāk} & \text{warākw} \\
& \text{fīk} & \text{mink} & \text{mink} & \text{warāki} & \text{warāki} \\
1. \text{ com.} & \text{fāk(y)}^{*4} & \text{fīka} & \text{minni} & \text{minna} & \text{warāy} & \text{warāna} \\
\end{array}
\]

*1 \( \text{fih} \) (with short \( i \)) in MIA, \( \text{fīh} \) (with long \( ī \)) in TAN, BdA, ĠrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA. In all dialects: \( \text{fīh} \) (with long \( ī \)) is used for “there is/are”.

*2 -hiy in TyA.

*3 \( \text{fīk} \) in TAN, BdA, ĠrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA.

*4 \( \text{fīnī} \) in ĠrA.

*5 -huw in ĠrA and -huṃ ~ -huw in ḤwA and TAN.

Suffixed prepositions ‘\( \text{ind} \) “with”, \( \text{hawāla} \) “around” and \( \text{fōg/fawg} \) “over” in TAŚ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ĠrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{‘ind+} & \text{hawāla+*3} \\
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
3. \text{ masc.} & \text{‘indah} & \text{‘induhuṃ}^{*2} & \text{hawalāh} & \text{hawalāhum}^{*5} \\
& \text{‘indah}^{*1} & \text{minni} & \text{minn} & \text{hawalāhin} \\
2. \text{ masc.} & \text{‘indak} & \text{‘induk} & \text{hawalāk} & \text{hawalākw} \\
& \text{‘indak} & \text{minni} & \text{minn} & \text{hawalāk} \\
1. \text{ com.} & \text{‘indi} & \text{‘indina} & \text{hawalāy} & \text{hawalān} \\
\text{fōg+*5} & \text{pl.} \\
3. \text{ masc.} & \text{fōgah} & \text{fōghum}^{*2} & \text{fōgah} & \text{fōgah} \\
& \text{fōgha}^{*1} & \text{fōghi} & \text{fōg} \\
2. \text{ masc.} & \text{fōgak} & \text{fōgkuw} & \text{fōgak} & \text{fōgak} \\
& \text{fōgkiy} & \text{fōgkin} & \text{fōg} \\
1. \text{ com.} & \text{fōgi} & \text{fōgna} & \text{fōgi} & \text{fōgi} \\
\end{array}
\]

*1 -hiy in TyA.

*2 -huw in ĠrA and -huṃ ~ -huw in ḤwA and TAN.

*3 This prep. was not recorded with suffixes in BdA, ĠrA and MIA.

*4 An alternative hawālah was recorded in TAŚ and hawēlah in TAN.

*5 In ḤwA the preposition is diphthongal: fawgha, fawgha, etc.
An interesting grammaticalisation recorded in DbA is byākluw min iğnūbāha “they eat from all sides (around them)“.

Suffixed prepositions are negated with single preceding mā, e.g. mā ʿindī “not with me”, mā fōgak “not above you”.

3.1.17. Numerals and counted plurals

3.1.17.1. Cardinal numbers 1–10

Independent cardinal numbers are (forms that precede counted nouns follow in brackets): wāḥid / wīḥdih*, tnēn / tīntēn*, talātīh (tālat), arbaʿah (arbaʿ), xamsīh (xams), sittih (sitt), sabʿih (sabʿ), tāmānīyih (tāmān), tīsīh (tīsī), ʿašārāh (ʿašār).

*1 wāḥid and wīḥdih may follow the counted noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. wallad wāḥid “one boy” and bint wīḥdih “one girl”.

*2 tnēn and tīntēn may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. walladēn ʿtnēn “two boys” and ʿīdāy attīntēn “my two hands” and riğlāy attīntēn “my two legs” (TyA, TAṢ, ḠrA, ḤwA).

The form adāy “my hands” was recorded in DbA. Direct elicitation in ḤwA yielded īdānī instead of īdāy for “my hands”.102

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic t- (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. arbaʿ t-infār “four people”, xamīs t-īyyām “five days”.

3.1.17.2. Ordinal numbers 1–10

Only three ordinals were recorded: awwil, ṭānīy, ṭālīṭ.

3.1.17.3. Numerals: n and up

Numerals 11–19 recorded are: ḥdāšaṛ, tnāšaṛ / iṭnāšaṛ, talattāšaṛ, arbaʿātāšaṛ, xamīstaṭaṛ, sittāšaṛ, sabāʿaṭāšaṛ, tāmāntaṛ, tīsīṭaṛ in all dialects.

In ḤwA and BdA these forms ending in -āšaṛ co-occurred with forms ending in -āʿīš, e.g. tālattāʿīš, arbaʿātāʿīš, xamīstāʿīš, etc. In MlA the months of November and December were referred to as šahār iḥdā ʿīš and šahār iṭnāʿīš (resp.).

102 This is perhaps a hybrid form of ādāy “my hands” (like in other dialects) and ādānī “my ears”, or the pl. ādān was directly suffixed with the pron.: ādānī “my hands”.

103 In the forms ending in -āṣar velarization is indicated in r, in the forms ending in -āʿīš, it is indicated in the long: ā.
Numerals 20–90:

\[\text{‘išrīn, ūlātīn, arba’īn, xamsīn, sittīn, sabīn, tāmānīn, tīsīn.}\]

Numerals 100–900:

\[\text{mīyyīh, mīytēn, ūlītīmīyyīh, rubī mīyyīh, xumīsmīyyīh, suttīmīyyīh, subī mīyyīh, tūmīmīyyīh, tūsī mīyyīh.}\]

Numerals 1,000–10,000:

\[\text{alf, alfēn, ūlātīlāf, xamīslāf, arba’īlāf, sīttīlāf, tāmānlāf, tīslāf, ’āṣār t-lāf.}\]

Long ā of the first syllable is usually reduced to short a, e.g. ūlātīlāf “three thousand”.

Numerals 11,000–1,000,000:

\[\text{ḥdāḥṣar alf, mīl alf, mīyvtēn alf, mīlyōn / malyōn (and ūlātīlāyīn).}\]

Some plurals recorded with proclitic t- are: tīsī t-ālāf “nine thousand”, ’āṣār t-īyyām “ten days”, sītt t-ušhūr “six months”,\(^{104}\) sabī t-infār “seven persons”.

Months are usually referred to by numbers, e.g. ūlāt “January”, f-awwil iḥdā’īš “in the beginning of November”.

3.1.18. The dual

Suffixing -ēn (or -ayn) to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. raffayn “two tent sections”, šaharayn “two months”, yōmēn “two days”, šwālēn “two (large) sacks”.

Older forms of the dual (?)\(^{105}\) are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. TAṢ and TyA forms riǧlāy “my (two) legs”, īdāy “my hands” (unsuffixed pl. forms are riǧlān and īdān).

Forms recorded in ḤwA are: īd “hand”, īdān “hands”, īdāha “her hands”, īdāhin “their (fem.) hands”, but īdāni “my hands”. A form heard in ĞrA is īdāhuw “their hands”.

\(^{104}\) sītt t-ušhūr is actually pronounced like sitt ušhūr (reduced tt t > tt). The proclitic t- is concluded from other forms, like xamīs t-ušhūr “five months” and tāmān t-ušhūr “eight months”.

\(^{105}\) It is not certain that these forms in final -ān, and suffixed as -ā +, are older dual forms (see also remarks in De Jong 2000:87 (+ fn 341); one could also imagine a perhaps more likely analogy with pl. forms like sīgān (sg. sāg) for “thighs”, kī ān (sg. kū) “elbows”, dīrān (sg. drā) “forearms”.

Plural forms in BdA and DbA are with initial a-: adēk “your hands”, adēhum “their hands”, adēhin “their (fem.) hands” and “my hands” in DbA is adāy, but was recorded as adayy in BdA.

Forms recorded in MIA are only sg.: īd “hand” and īdi “my hand”. Forms in TAN are īdaṛak and īdaṛah, and pl. forms īdaḥ “his hands” and riğiḥē “his legs”.

These forms are also used as plurals—not only as duals—as is clear from recorded instances like yāklūw b īdāhuw “they eat with their hands” and biyyussinhin, īw byyūfīrinnaḥ ḍaḍar ... al-īdāhin ... āššār ār ḍaḍa “they (fem.) shave them (fem., i.e. the goats), and they (fem.) plait it (sg. masc.) into a saddle girth... this hair” and ib riğiḥāhin ibyīdisin “they (fem.) thresh with their (fem., i.e. animals) feet”.

### 3.2. Verbal Morphology

#### 3.2.1. Regular verbs

##### 3.2.1.1. Regular verbs perfect

For measure 1 the two principal underlying patterns for the perfect are (i-type) C₁aC₂iC₃ and (a-type) C₁aC₂aC₃ (for C₁aC₂uC₃ see 3.2.1.3.). The paradigms in TyA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect “drink”*₁</th>
<th>perfect “sit”*₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>širibt*₁</td>
<td>ga’ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>širibna*₁</td>
<td>ga’adaw*₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>širib*₁</td>
<td>ga’adat*₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šarbuw*₂</td>
<td>ga’adaw*₅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>šarbit*₂</td>
<td>ga’adtn*₅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šarbin*₂</td>
<td>ga’adtn*₅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>širibty*₁</td>
<td>ga’adtn*₅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>širibin*₁</td>
<td>ga’adtn*₅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šarbuw*₂</td>
<td>ga’adtn*₅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šarbin*₂</td>
<td>ga’adtn*₅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>širibtiy*₁</td>
<td>ga’adtn*₅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>širibtin*₁</td>
<td>ga’adtn*₅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šarbit*₁</td>
<td>ga’adtn*₅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šarbin*₁</td>
<td>ga’adtn*₅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ The short vowel i of the open and unstressed first syllable is underlying [a] and is therefore not elided in these group I dialects (i.e. forms are not *šrib, *šribt, etc.) (cf. the verb ġulūḍ in 3.2.1.3.).

*₂ Notice that the underlying a ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. This is not the case in TAṢ, ĞrA, MIA; forms there are širbit, širbw and širbin. Other examples are: tilfuw “they grew old”, wiğer “she stood”. Like in TyA, the a does ‘reappear’ in HwA: ‘argit “she sweated”, yabsuw “they dried”, waslit “she arrived, reached”; DbA: fahyit “she was surprised” and daryit “she became aware”; BdA: nasyit “she forgot”, ġarmit “she was fined”; TAN: fahmit “she understood” (cf. the verb ġulūḍ in 3.2.1.3.).
Raising of a in open syllable preceding stress is regular, but optional, e.g. fitáḥ “he opened”.

Stress is CaCaCv in TAṢ. The other group I dialects discussed here (including TAN!) stress CaCaCv (but MIA shows variation in this respect, see remarks in 2.1.1.2.2.).

The consonant cluster dt assimilates to tt.

In TAṢ suffixed forms only distinguished by stress are: širibṭah “I drank it (sg. masc.)” (< širib + ah) and širibṭah “she drank it (sg. masc.)” (< širbit + ah).

In ḠrA, however, the high vowel of the verbal ending is not elided (and hence no subsequent anaptyxis takes place): hi líbsītih “she wore it”, hi širbītih “she drank it”, hi lágyītih “she found it”, but anā libīstīh “I wore it”. No such forms were recorded in MIA.

3.2.1.2. Regular verbs imperfect
Like in most dialects of Sinai, the imperfect is characterized by vowel harmony in the verbal prefixes, and like in group VI, this vowel harmony is also found in the 1st p. sg. com. of i- and u-type imperfects of some of the group I dialects discussed here: ḠrA, BdA and in some instances also in TAN (e.g. lēš inžīl? “why should I dismount?”). The other group I dialects (TAṢ, TyA, DbA, ḤwA and also the large majority of forms in TAN) have initial a- in all vowel types, see also De Jong 2000:299.

There are three imperfect patterns: yaCi ĉCaCv, yuCICuCi ĉCv and yiCi ĉCi ĉCv.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yāšrab</td>
<td>yāšrabaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tāšrab</td>
<td>tāšrabaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>āšrab</td>
<td>nāšrab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāšrabay</td>
<td>tāšraban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paradigms for i- and u-type imperfects are like those listed for group VI with differences in initial vowels in the 1st p. sg. com. as described above here (i.e. aktīb and ạdṛub or āktīb and ạdṛub).

Measure 1 verbs i-type (e.g. yahariṭ) and a-type (e.g. ya’arag) with C1 = X have the following paradigms.
For stress in these forms see 2.1.1. and 2.1.2.4.

*2 Notice that in gahawah-verb forms the initial vowel does not harmonize with the base vowel of an i-type imperfect.

For the morphological status of the i, and reasons for not indicating its elision (i.e. the forms are not written here as e.g. yahārt), see remarks in De Jong 2000:94, fn 94).

Perfects and participles of these verbs ḥarát and ḫaṭíg are like those of ga’ād and śirīb (see 3.2.1.1).

3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *C₁aC₂uC₃, *yaC₁C₂uC₃

The verb “grow fat” as example of an ‘Eigenschafts’ verb-type elicited in ḤwA, BdA, TAṢ:

“grow fat”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>u-type perfect*¹</th>
<th>u-type imperfect*¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ġulúd</td>
<td>yağāluḍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ġulúdaw*²</td>
<td>yağāluḍaw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ In unstressed open syllables the surface u (of the first syllable) is not dropped (i.e. forms are not *ġ luḍ, *ġ luḍt, etc.) and is therefore to be interpreted as being underlying |a| (cf. the verb śirīb in 3.2.1.1.).

³² Notice that the underlying |a| of the pattern ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. This is not the case in TAṢ, ĠrA, MIA; forms recorded there are ġulḍit, ġulḍuw and ġulḍin. For TAN I have extrapolated ‘reappearance’ of a here based on its ‘reappearance’ in the i-type perfect (compare śirīb *² in 3.2.1.1.).

³³ Due to the relatively high sonority of the preceding l, the high vowel u is usually dropped when d is word-final, e.g. yağāld # and tağāld #. See also remarks *² and *³ in 3.2.1.2. on ordering the gahawah-rule and the rule for high vowel elision in the imperfect.
4. Like in *ahárit* (see 3.2.1.2. above) the initial vowel does not harmonize with the base vowel.

For the imperfect this paradigm with gahawah-forms was elicited in ḤwA. In other dialects a paradigm like that of *yuḏrub* (i.e. *yuḡluḏ*, etc.) is current.

3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles

Like in group VI, active participles are formed with the patterns \( C_i ā C_j C^\{ah/-ih\} \) (sg. fem.), \( C_i ā C_j C^\{in\} \) (pl. masc.), \( C_i ā C_j āt \) (pl. fem.).

When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: ḫiṣid ih “she wants/loves him”, šāribtiäh “having drunk (sg. fem.) it (sg. masc.)” (both ḤwA), šāribtīa “having drunk (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)” (TAṢ).

3.2.1.5. Regular verbs imperatives

Imperatives of regular verbs are like in other dialects of group I, e.g. áṣrab, áṣrabay, áṣrabaw, áṣraban “drink!”, úḡʿud, úḡʿdiy, úḡʿdaw, úḡʿdin “sit down!” and îmsik, îmsiṭiy, îmsikaw, îmsiḳın “grab, take hold!”.

3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs

3.2.2.1. Verbs \( C_i = w \) (prima wāw)

In group I dialects discussed here there is a mild preference for monophthongs in *i*-type imperfects, while *a*-type imperfects more often have diphthongs, e.g. warád, yōrid “give water”, waṣál, yōśín “weigh”, waṣál, yawsal “arrive”, but forms like yawsird and yōṣal were also heard. 107

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>yawṣal</td>
<td>yawṣalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tawṣal</td>
<td>tawṣalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>tawsal</td>
<td>tawsalaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tawsalay</td>
<td>tawsalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>awṣal</td>
<td>nawsal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

106 See De Jong 2000:3102.

107 Holes and Abu Athera 2009:212 recorded initial *yā*- in poetry from south Jordan and Sinai. Two instances of forms with initial short vowel (*yagā* and *tigāf*), typical of dialects on the periphery of the Syrian desert, were also recorded. These prefixes (i.e. *yā*- etc.) were also reported for the dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt in southern Jordan, see Palva 1984–86:300.
* In ḤwA two parallel imperfect paradigms were recorded for the C₁ = waḏw verb warad “give water”: one without waḏ (yirid), and one with incorporated waḏ (yōrid):

The i-type imperfect has the following paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“water”</th>
<th>imperfect without waḏ*₁</th>
<th>imperfect with waḏ*₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yirid</td>
<td>yarduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tirid</td>
<td>yardin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tirdi</td>
<td>tarduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tardiy</td>
<td>tardin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>(’)arid</td>
<td>nirid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ Notice that the vowel of the first syllable is underlying |a|: it is raised to i in open unstressed syllable (except when ʾ precedes), but appears as a in closed (and stressed) syllables. Compare this to the perfect paradigms of širib (see 3.2.1.1.) and ǧulūḍ (see 3.2.1.3.).

Similar paradigms in ḤwA were recorded for yigif (paradigm like yirid above) ~ yawgaf (paradigm like yawṣal above).

*₂ In ǦrA the imperfect of this verb is with incorporated waḏ. The tendency during elicitation was to monophthongize aw > ō in closed syllables, but to maintain diphthongs in open syllables, e.g. yōrduw “they give water”, but yawrid “he gives water” (the paradigm for the perfect warad is like gaʿād, see 3.2.1.1.)

Other primae waḏ verbs are: waḏaʿ, yōği “hurt”, waḷāʾ, yawliy “come near”, waḵāʾ, yōkiy “tie closed”, waṭāʾ, yawtiy “go shopping”.

Verbs with the pattern yiwCiC or yiwCaC (like those current in e.g. Cairene Arabic) were not recorded in these dialects.

Imperatives of the verb wiʿiy, yawʿa “pay attention” (root w-ʿ-y) are awʿa, awʿay, awʿaw and awʿan in ḤwA, DbA, e.g. awʿan rūskin “mind (pl. fem.) your (pl. fem.) heads!”. Forms recorded in TAṢ, TyA were recorded with base vowels dropped: awʿa, awʿiy, awʿin and awʿuw, e.g. awʿa tans “don’t you forget (sg. masc.)!” and awʿin tansin “don’t you forget (pl. fem.)!”.

In BdA and ḠrA the imperative of the sg. masc. was left unconjugated for grammatical number and gender and used as a general particle of warning (a similar particle was recorded in some dialects of group VII): awʿa rāṣak, awʿa rāskiy, awʿa rūskaw, awʿa rūskin for “mind your head(s)!“ (BdA) and also awʿa tans, awʿa tansay, awʿa tansaw and awʿa tansan “don’t
forget!” (ǦrA). Other dialects have regular imperative forms like aw’an rūskin and aw’aw tansaw (Forms in MIA and TAN were not recorded).

Imperfect forms with base vowel i in most dialects have ő as in yōği “it hurts”, yōký “he ties closed”, yōrid “he waters” yōzin “he weighs”, yōgid “he lights” (recorded in MIA, BdA, TAN and ḤwA). Some dialects (also) have diphthongs in these i-type imperfects, like yowlw “they come near”, yawṭuw “they go shopping” (both MIA), yawrid and yawgid (both TAṢ), yawký “he ties closed” but yōkiha “he ties it (sg. fem.) closed (both BdA) and diphthongs in a-type imperfects yawsal “he arrives”, yawsaf “he describes” and yawğa’ (all three TAṢ), yowqaf or yawqaf “he stands” (ḤwA and TAṢ). Sometimes such verbal imperfects are without wāw, e.g. agīf “I stand”, tigīf “you stand” (both ḤwA).

Participles:

Active participles have a C₁āC₂iC₃ pattern, e.g. wārid, wārdih, wārdīn, wārdāt “having watered”.

maC₁C₂ūC₃ is the pattern for the past participle, as in mawǧūd (-ah, -īn, -āt) “present” for the root w-ġ-d in all dialects except ḤwA, where twice māǧūd was recorded. Roni Henkin lists a form maylūd co-occurring with mawlūd, see Henkin 2008:362 for tribes in the Negev (see also fn 101, p. 83).

3.2.2.2. Verbs C₁ = y (primaе yā’)
In TyA, ḤwA, TAṢ and ĠrA the diphthong of the first syllable in the imperfect is left intact (perfect) yibís, (imperfect) yaybas (not recorded in the other dialects).

Notice that, like in the verb širib (see 3.2.1.1.), the vowel of the first syllable of the perfect is underlying |a|, so that it ‘reappears’ in closed syllables (in those dialects that also have šarbit): yibís “it (sg. masc.) dried”, but yabsit “it (sg. fem.) dried”.

3.2.2.3. Verbs C₁ = *ʾ (primaе hamzah)
The verb “eat” has the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect*₁</th>
<th>perfect*₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yāḳil</td>
<td>yāḳluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>akāl</td>
<td>akālaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḳil</td>
<td>tāḳlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akālat</td>
<td>akālan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tāḳil</td>
<td>tāḳluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akālt</td>
<td>akāltuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḳliy</td>
<td>tāḳlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akaltiy</td>
<td>akaltin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>āḳil</td>
<td>nāḳil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akalt</td>
<td>akalna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ The long vowel ā is clearly lower than in the present participle (without velarization) māḳil, but velarization in the imperfect (as indicated here in k)
is only limited in most dialects. Velarization is clearly stronger in BdA. Such velarization could perhaps be described as ‘phantom’ velarization. 108

All dialects discussed here have the imperfect vowel i in the imperfect.  *2 The perfect is without initial a- in TAŠ, ĞrA, MIA (TAN is uncertain). Stress is then kalát, kaláw and kalán.

The paradigms for the verb “take” (‘-x-d) are comparable (in the perfect d + t usually assimilates to > tt, e.g. axattuw).

Present participles are with initial m-: mākīl, māklih, māklīn, māklāt.
Past participles are: māxūd, -ah, -īn, -āt (all forms are velarized).
Imperatives are: kūl, kliy, kluw, klin

The verbal noun is (‘)akl “eating” (also “food”), but wakl was recorded in BdA. The passive verb “be eaten” is ánwakal, yínwikil.

3.2.2.4. Verbs C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae)

3.2.2.4.1. Verbs C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect

In group I dialects the perfect and imperfect paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>gāl</td>
<td>ygūl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gālat</td>
<td>tgūl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>guḷt</td>
<td>tgūl*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>guḷtiy</td>
<td>tgūly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>guḷt</td>
<td>agūl*4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In TAŠ and ĞrA the ending -aw varies with -uw. In the other dialects the ending is regularly -aw.

*2 Media yāʾ verbs (with long base vowel ā) have the same endings.

*3 Notice that shortened base vowels in the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect (like e.g. tanam, tugul and tšīl) were not recorded in these group I dialects.

*4 See remarks in 3.2.1.2. on vowel harmony of the initial vowel of the sg. com. (uguł) in ĞrA and BdA.

For media yāʾ verbs (with long base vowel ā) ḤwA, BdA, ĞrA, TyA and TAŠ have the same endings, but forms in DbA were recorded with vowel harmony: tnāmāy, ynāmaw, ynāman, tnāmaw and tnāman. Situation in MIA and TAN is unknown (see also remark * in 3.2.2.4.2. below).

---

108 ‘Phantom’ velarization is here meant to indicate the effect of velarization present in these forms, while the cause of this velarization (originally the vowel u in the imperfect) is no longer present, since the vowel u has been replaced by i. Compare this to velarization left behind by u in forms (e.g. ṛkab “knees”, ḡrab “waterskins”), even after its total disappearance; the effect of the so-called vanished u, as described in Blanc 1970:128 [17].
The verb šāf, yšūf was recorded in all dialects with short vowel u only: šuft “I saw”.

Verbs $C_2$ = $y$ are like in group VI as well, e.g. šāl, yšīl (and šīlt) (for a remark on originally measure 4 verb rád, yrīd, see 3.2.3.7.2. of this chapter).

3.2.2.4.2. Verbs $C_2$ = $w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmae) imperatives
Short base vowels in the sg. masc. imperative in mediae infirmae verbs are rare; I have heard it in BdA in imperatives gum “get up!” and nam “go to sleep!”, but other imperatives in BdA all had long base vowels, e.g. gūl “say!”, šīl “carry, take away!”, although there are also isolated instances of gul “say!”.

Regular imperatives have long base vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>long ū</th>
<th>long ĩ</th>
<th>long ā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>gūl</td>
<td>gūluw</td>
<td>šīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gūliy</td>
<td>gūlin</td>
<td>šīliy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gūliy</td>
<td>gūlin</td>
<td>šīliy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These endings without vowel harmony were heard in HwA, BdA, TyA, TAṢ and ǦrA. In DbA the endings were heard with vowel harmony: nāmāy, nāmaw, nāman (not recorded in TAN and MlA).

Imperatives used with the verb ġāb, yġīb “bring” are: hāt, hātiy, hātuw, hātin.

N.B. Often the diphthong iy is reduced to i in forms like biygūl, biyšīl > bigūl, bišīl.

3.2.2.4.3. Verbs $C_2$ = $w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmae) participles
Present participles are like in other groups, e.g. gāyil, gāylih, gāylīn, gāylāt.

Past participles are magyūḷ, -ah, -īn, -āt, but more current is mingāl, -ah, -in, -āt.

3.2.2.5. Verbs $C_3$ = $y$ (tertiae infirmae)

3.2.2.5.1. Verbs $C_3$ = $y$ (tertiae infirmae) perfect
Like in the other groups of the south of Sinai, $a$-type and $i$-type perfects of tertiae infirmae verbs have often become mixed.

Unmixed paradigms in TAṢ for the $a$- and $i$-type perfects are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“walk**1”</th>
<th>“find**2”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>mašā(’)</td>
<td>mašāw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mašāt</td>
<td>mašān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mašēt</td>
<td>mašētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mašētiy</td>
<td>mašētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>mašēt</td>
<td>mašēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Raising of a in open pre-stress syllable is current in the a-type perfect, e.g. mišá(’) and mišēt.

The same paradigm was recorded in ĠrA, BdA, though in the latter the 3rd p. sg. fem. was produced as mášyit.

In DbA and ḤwA the verb has two parallel conjugations: both as a-type and as i-type, e.g. mášā ~ mášiy, mášāt ~ mášyt and mišēt (< *mašēt) ~ mišēt.

The same paradigm was recorded in ĠrA

In BdA the 3rd p. sg. masc. is also ligīy, but the underlying |a| of the first syllable ‘reappears’ when the syllable is closed: lagyit, lagyuw and lagyin. In the rest of the paradigm the verb is treated like an a-type perfect: ligēt (< lagēt), etc.

In DbA and ḤwA the verb has two parallel conjugations: both as a-type and as i-type, e.g. ligá ~ ligīy, ligát ~ lagyit and ligēt ~ ligīt.

The perfect paradigm for “forget” recorded in TAṢ is mixed: (sg.) nasá(’), nasát, nasīt, nasītiy, nasīt and (pl.) nasáw, nasán, nasītuw, nasītin, nasīna. In these forms a of the open first syllable is usually raised to i, as in e.g. nisīt.

DbA has two parallel conjugations: nasá(’) ~ nisīy, the conjugation elicited for “forget” in ḤwA is unmixed i-type: nisīy, nasyit, nisīt, etc.

Material for MlA and TAN was limited, but the same mixed paradigms appear to be in use there.

3.2.5.2. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) imperfect
Paradigms for the imperfect in TAṢ are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“find”</th>
<th>“walk”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yalga</td>
<td>yalguw*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talga</td>
<td>yalgan*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>talga*2</td>
<td>talguw*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgiy*3</td>
<td>talgan*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga</td>
<td>nalga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The type of raising of final -a (e.g. yansī) heard in group VI is not current here.

*2 Apocopated imperfects for the 2nd p. sg. masc. are current only in BdA and TyA (where both full forms and apocopated forms may be heard used

---

*109 ‘Parallel’ should not be understood here as two conjugations that are kept separate, either by individual speakers or in different contexts. On the contrary: forms from either paradigm appear to be used at random. The topic certainly deserves more space than can be afforded here. On ‘parallel forms’, see fn 5, p. 117 in this volume.
side by side). Only few instances were heard in ĞrA, DbA and TAN, and none in TAŠ, ḤwA and MlA.

*3 Notice that in the a-type the final base vowel -a is dropped in the endings of the 2nd p. sg. fem. and the 3rd and 2nd pl. masc. forms, but not in 3rd and 2nd pl. fem. forms.

*4 See remarks in 3.2.1.2. on possible vowel harmony of the initial vowel of the sg. com. (īmšīy) in ĞrA and BdA.

Endings with base vowel (i.e. -ay, -an and -aw, as in talgay, t/yalgan and t/yalgaw) were heard in TAN, ḤwA, DbA and BdA. In ĞrA and TyA these co-occurred with endings without the base vowel. Material is too limited for conclusions on MlA; only one relevant form was recorded there: talgūhuw “you’ll find them”.

3.2.2.5.3. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) imperatives
Dialects where apocopated imperfects are current (mainly in TyA and BdA, but also in ĞrA, DbA and TAN, see remark *2 in 3.2.2.5.2.), may also use apocopated imperatives for the sg. masc.

3.2.2.5.4. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) participles
Active participles have the patterns C ıāCiy, CıāCyih, CıāCyīn and CıāCy āt. E.g. nāsiy, nāsyih, nāsyīn, nāsyāt “having forgotten”.

3.2.2.5.5. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) verbal nouns
A verbal noun of a verb C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) is mašy.

3.2.2.6. The verb “come”

3.2.2.6.1. The verb “come” perfect and imperfect
The verb “come” was recorded in all group I dialects as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ġa(ʾ)</td>
<td>ġaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ġat</td>
<td>ġan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ġīt</td>
<td>ġītuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ġītiy</td>
<td>ġītin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ġīt</td>
<td>ġīna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In ĞrA forms with initial t- often showed a following vowel as well: tiği y ~ tği, tiğiw ~ tğiw and tiğın ~ tği.
The apocopated form in BdA and TyA is tiḡ.

Informants of ĞrA and BdA did not produce a form iḡy here (contrast with remarks on vowel harmony in 3.2.1.2.).

The verb “come” imperatives

Imperatives used with the verb “come” in ĞrA, BdA and TyA are: taʿāl, taʿāliy, taʿālaw, and taʿālin. The same forms are used in TAṢ, but there the pl. fem. shows vowel harmony: taʿālan.

In ḤwA the sg. masc is taʿā and in DbA taʿāl. In both ḤwA, DbA the endings of the other forms also show vowel harmony: taʿālay, taʿālaw, and taʿālan.

Material for MlA and TAN is too limited for conclusions.

The verb “come” participles

Participles of the verb “come” are: ġāy, ġāyih, ġāyin, ġāyāt.

Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)

Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect.

Paradigms for mediae geminatae verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“pull”</th>
<th>perfect*₁</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šadd</td>
<td>šaddaw*₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šaddat</td>
<td>šaddan*₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šaddēt</td>
<td>šaddētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šaddētiy</td>
<td>šaddētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šaddēt</td>
<td>šaddēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ Raising of a preceding a syllable with ē may occur in ḤwA, DbA and ĞrA (e.g. šiddēt), but it is much less regular than in the other dialects, see also remark in 3.2.3.5.2.

When the geminate is velarized, the ē of the ending is diphthongal ay. E.g. haṭṭayt “I placed” and haṭṭaytuw “you (pl. masc.) placed” (notice that a is not raised, so not ḥiṭṭayt or ḥuṭṭayt, or something similar).

*₂ Notice vowel harmony in the 3rd p. pl. endings in BdA, ḤwA, DbA, ĞrA, MlA and TAN.

In TAṢ and TyA, however, both -aw and -uw were heard as endings of the 3rd p. pl. masc., e.g. haṭṭaw ~ haṭṭuw “they placed”. In TAṢ froms with the ending -uw are most commonly heard.

*₃ In ĞrA and BdA also forms with vowel harmony were recorded, e.g. anā bihibb “I love”, bišidd “I pull” (~ aḥibb and ašidd), and also a form buṭuxx “I shoot” in TAN, cf. remarks in 3.2.1.2.
3.2.2.7.2. Verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) imperatives
Imperatives of mediae geminate verbs are e.g. *limm*, *limmiy*, *limmuw*, *limmin* “gather!” and with base vowel *u*: *xušš*, *xuššiy*, *xuššuw*, *xuššin* “enter!”.

3.2.2.7.3. Verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae)
Active participles geminate verbs are e.g.: *lämm*, *lämmih*, *lämmīn*, *lämmāt* “having gathered”.
Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when $C_1 = X$, e.g. *maḥāṭūt* “placed” (see 2.2.1.2.).

3.2.3. Derived measures

3.2.3.1. Measure n-$1$

3.2.3.1.1. Measure n-$1$ sound roots
Like in group VI (but contrast VII and VIII), The vowel in the preformative of measure n-$1$ is stressable in the perfect and in the imperfect (see 2.1.1.). The underlying patterns are: anC$_1$ aC$_2$ aC$_3$, yinC$_1$ aC$_2$ iC$_3$. The $a$ in the imperfect is raised to $i$ in open syllables, but ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. Paradigms are:

```
“rejoice”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*1</th>
<th>imperfect*1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ámbiṣaṭ</td>
<td>inbašāṭaw*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbašāṭat</td>
<td>inbašāṭan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inbašāṭt*2</td>
<td>inbašāṭtuw*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbašāṭṭiy*2</td>
<td>inbašāṭtin*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭt*2</td>
<td>inbaṣaṭna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

*1 For stress in these paradigms, see 2.1.1.
*2 $t + t$ assimilates to $tt$.
*3 Vowel harmony is absent in the ending -*uw* in TAṢ. In TyA -*uw* co-occurs with -*aw* and in other dialects the ending is -*aw*.

3.2.3.1.2. Measure n-$1$ C$_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-$1$ of medial geminate verbs are: (i)nC$_1$ aC$_2$ C$_3$ and yinC$_1$ aC$_2$ iC$_3$, e.g. *indabb*, *yindabb* (*miy*) “be filled (with water)”.

3.2.3.1.3. Measure n-$1$ C$_2 = y$ or w (mediae infirmae)
The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-$1$ of medial weak verbs are: inC$_1$ aC$_2$ C$_3$ and yinC$_1$ aC$_2$ C$_3$. The paradigm for the perfect is:
“be carried”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>inšāl</td>
<td>inšālaw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšālat</td>
<td>inšālan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšilt</td>
<td>inšiltuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inšilt</td>
<td>inšīlta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In TAṢ both -uw and -aw were heard as endings

3.2.3.1.4. Measure n-1 $C_z = y$ or $w$ (mediae infirmae) participles
Participles are shaped on the patterns minCₐC₃, -ah/-ih, -in, -āt.

3.2.3.2. Measure t-1
Measure t-1 was recorded once in TAṢ in (the loan from presumably Cairene) yittākil “it (sg. masc.) is eaten”, but the verb current in TAṢ for “be eaten” is (perf.) ānwakal, (imperf.) yānwikil. No other instances of measure t-1 were recorded in these group I dialects.

3.2.3.3. Measure 1-t
3.2.3.3.1. Measure 1-t sound roots
Underlying patterns for measure 1-t are: aC₃taC₃aC₃ yiC₃taC₃iC₃. Like in measure n-1, a > i is found in the unstressed syllables of the surface form for the imperfect (such raising is compulsory) and also in the perfect (where such raising is optional), e.g.: áštiġal ~ áštaġal, yístiġil “work”, áttifag ~ áttafag, yittifig “agree” and ástuwa ~ ástawa, yístiwiy “ripen; be cooked (of food)”.

Notice, however, that although the morphophonemic base vowel a ‘reappears’ in closed syllables when verbal suffixes follow, e.g. yixtílf + verbal suffix -uw > yixtálfuw, no a ‘reappears’ in the example yítibir “he considers” + pron. obj. suffix -ih > yîtibirh “he considers him” (recorded in TAN).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>áštara</td>
<td>áštaraw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áštarat</td>
<td>áštaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ištarayt</td>
<td>ištaraytuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ištarayt</td>
<td>ištaraytna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

110 Similarly so in TyA of the Negev, e.g. yittafguw “they agree”, see Shawarbah 2007:296.
111 The fact that a does not ‘reappear’ in this case suggests that the “reappearance” of a is not a rule which is synchronically executed.
*1 In TAṢ both -uw and -aw were heard as endings
*2 In BdA and TyA apocopated imperfects (like tištir) are possible. In other dialects the form is tištiriy.
*3 Notice that the base consonant y is not dropped here. In DbA the forms are without the base yā’: tištiriy, y/tištiruw and y/tištirin. These forms were reported to be acceptable in ĞrA as well.
In ḤwA the base yā’ was dropped only in the 2nd p. sg. fem.: tištiriy, but the pl. forms were y/tištáryuw and y/tištáryin.
The verb was not recorded in MIA and TAN.

Comparable forms occur with the verb ástuwa, yístiwiy: (e.g.) yistawyin “they (pl. fem.) ripen”.

3.2.3.3.2. Measure 1-t $C_2 = w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmae)
An example of a medial weak measure 1-t verb was not recorded (in the verb ástäwa, yístiwiy the wāw is not a weak radical).

3.2.3.3.3. Measure 1-t $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae)
An example of a medial geminate measure 1-t verb is iftakk, yiftakk “be solved (of a dispute/problem)”.

3.2.3.3.4. Measure 1-t participles
Patterns for measure 1-t participles are miC$_1$tC$_2$iC$_3$ (underlying miC$_1$taC$_2$iC$_3$), miC$_1$taC$_2$C$_3$ah/ih, miC$_1$taC$_2$C$_3$īn, miC$_1$taC$_2$C$_3$āt.
Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg. masc.</th>
<th>sg. fem.</th>
<th>pl. masc.</th>
<th>pl. fem.</th>
<th>translated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mixtīlif</td>
<td>mixtīlif</td>
<td>mixtīlīn</td>
<td>mixtīlāt</td>
<td>“differing”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mišṭiriy</td>
<td>mišṭaryih</td>
<td>mišṭaryīn</td>
<td>mišṭaryāt</td>
<td>“having bought”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mittīfig</td>
<td>mittīfāgih</td>
<td>mittīfāgin</td>
<td>mittīfāgāt</td>
<td>“agreed”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are not available.

3.2.3.4. Measure ista-1

3.2.3.4.1. Measure ista-1 sound roots
Like measure 2, measure ista-1 has alternating short vowels: a in the perfect and i in the imperfect. The paradigms are like those listed for group VI. An example is istahwan, yistunghin b “consider to be hayyin, i.e. unimportant”.
3.2.3.4.2. Measure ista-ı C₂ = y (mediae infirmae)
A measure ista-ı C₂ = y (media infirm) verb recorded in TAŞ is ista'iš (1st p. sg. com. ista'išt), yista'iš (fi) “choose to live (in a certain place)”. 

3.2.3.4.3. Measure ista-ı C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae)
A measure ista-ı verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmiae) is istawla, yistawliy. An example of a participle is kān mistawlīnna “they occupied us (i.e. our land)”. 

3.2.3.4.4. Measure ista-ı verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for medial geminate measure ista-ı verbs are: istaC₁C₂C₂, yistaC₁iC₂C₂. Paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect⁶¹</th>
<th>perfect⁶²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yista’idd</td>
<td>ista’add</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>yista’iddaw</td>
<td>ista’addaw⁶³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>tista’idd</td>
<td>ista’addat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tista’iddin</td>
<td>ista’addan⁶⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tista’iddiy</td>
<td>ista’iddet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tista’iddauw</td>
<td>ista’iddétuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>asta’idd</td>
<td>ista’iddétiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ Raising of a preceding stressed i occurs, but is limited (perhaps under influence of following ę). See remarks in 3.2.2.7.1. and 3.2.3.5.2.
*² Notice (optional) raising of a to i in positions preceding stressed ė.
*³ In TAŞ and TyA the ending was recorded as -uw.
*⁴ In TyA the ending was recorded as -in, in other dialects (incl. TAŞ) as -an.

3.2.3.4.5. Measure ista-ı participles
Participles of measure ista-ı verbs have the pattern mistaC₁C₂iC₃, e.g. mista’gil, mista’iglih, mista’iglin, mista’iglāt “in a hurry”.

No instances were recorded of measure ista-ı verbs of medial weak roots. For mediae geminatae the pattern is mistaC₁iC₂C₃: mista’idd, mista’iddih, mista’iddin, mista’iddät “(having) prepared”.

3.2.3.5. Measures 2 and t-2
The patterns for measure 2 are: (perfect) C₁aC₂C₃ (imperfect) yC₁aC₂C₃.

Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed a. The patterns are (perfect) taC₁aC₂C₃aC₃, (imperfect) ytaC₁aC₂C₃aC₃.
3.2.3.5.1. Examples of measure 2 sound roots

Like in other groups, the high vowel \( i \) of imperfect measure 2 is elided in open syllables. The initial geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples of (compulsory) morphophonemic elisions are: \( \text{iṭgallbih} \) “you flip it (sg. masc.) over”, \( \text{biyğammrūw} \) “they gather (harvest) with outstretched arms”.

Examples of (optional) sandhi elisions: \( \text{nṛawwḥ alMīdān} \) “we go to alMīdān” and \( \text{biyṛarrākb alfrūād} \) “we mount the ploughs”.

\( r \) following the high vowel \( i \) may inhibit its morpho-phonemic elision, e.g. \( \text{biyfakkirūw} \) (fi) “they look (at)” and in sandhi \( \text{ydawwir alṣūr} \) “he looks for the safe storages”.

When \( C_2 = C_3 \), the elision of \( i \) does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. \( \text{biyḥāllīlūw} \) “they make little heaps” and (in sandhi, same root, but different meaning) \( \text{mḥallīl ibnākli yā ṛāǧil} \) “(it’s) ḥalāl, we eat it, oh man!”.

The paradigms for measure 2 verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>fāƙkar</td>
<td>fāƙkaraw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fāƙkārāt</td>
<td>fāƙkārān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>fakkārt</td>
<td>fakkārtuw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fakkārtiy</td>
<td>fakkārtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>fakkārt</td>
<td>fakkārāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* TAṢ and TyA have varying -\( uw \) and -\( aw \) endings in the 3rd p. pl. masc. of the perfect, e.g. \( \text{ṛawwaḥaw} \) “they went” and \( \text{karrabuw} \) “they tied (ropes)”. In TyA the -\( uw \) ending appeared during direct elicitation, but -\( aw \) came out in spontaneous texts.

3.2.3.5.2. Measure 2 tertiae infijirmae

In the imperfect apocopated forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc. may again be heard mainly in TyA and BdA, but also in: \( \text{tsaww} \sim \text{tsawwiy} \) “you do”, \( \text{tfass} \sim \text{tfassiyy} \) “you fart”.

Paradigms for tertiae infijirmae verbs are:

---

112 A \( \text{ḏimm} \) (pl. \( \text{ḏmūr} \)) is the quantity of harvest held in two arms.
113 The meaning of the verb \( \text{rawwaḥ}, \text{yrωwīh} \) is “go”, rather than its more specific meaning of “go home” (e.g. in Cairene Arabic, see Hinds and Badawi 1986).
114 \( \text{fard}, \text{pl. frād} \) is the current word for “plough”.
115 For \( \text{gaṣr}, \text{pl. gṣūr} \) see fn 42, p. 47.
“make, do”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*(^1)</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>sawwa</td>
<td>sawwaw(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>sawwet</td>
<td>sawwetuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>sawwety</td>
<td>sawwetin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>sawwétiy</td>
<td>sawwétena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>sawwét</td>
<td>sawwéna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*\(^1\) Raising of a preceding stressed ē (> sawwët) is a feature of ĞrA, ḤwA and somewhat less so of DbA. Such raising is much less, or not current in MIA, TAṢ, TAN, BdA or TyA (see 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.2.2.7.1.).

*\(^2\) Here too the endings -aw and -uw were both heard in TAṢ and TyA: sawwaw ~ sawwuw “they made/did” (other dialects only sawwaw).

*\(^3\) Apocopated forms are regularly heard only in BdA and TyA.

3.2.3.5.3. Examples of measure 2 primae hamzah
Like in many other dialects, the verb “feed” is wakkal, ywakkil “give food” and wadda, ywaddiy is “bring, take to”.

3.2.3.5.4. Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect
In measure t-2 the vowel a is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns are taC\(_1\)aC\(_2\)C\(_2\)aC\(_3\), ytaC\(_1\)aC\(_2\)C\(_2\)aC\(_3\).

Like in group VI, the ta- prefix in the perfect and imperfect of measure t-2 is stable and is only rarely reduced to (i)t-\(^{116}\)

“have lunch”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*(^4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>taġadda</td>
<td>taġaddaw(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taġadat</td>
<td>taġaddan(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>taġaddët</td>
<td>taġaddëtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taġaddëtiy</td>
<td>taġaddëtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>tağiaddët</td>
<td>tağiaddëna(^3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*\(^1\) The ending is -uw ~ -aw in TAṢ and TyA.

*\(^2\) The ending is -in in TAṢ and TyA.

*\(^3\) a of the ta- prefix in the perfect may be raised, e.g. tiġaddët.

*\(^4\) Reduction of initial tta- > ta- in the imperfect is regular.

*\(^5\) Apocopation is only regular in BdA and TyA.

\(^{116}\) Like with measure t-2, reduction of ta- > t- in measure t-3 appears to be regular in TyA of the Negev, e.g. yitṛāfaq “he is accompanied on his travel” (Shawarbah 2007:394), yitlāgaw “they meet” (ibid.:296).
3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns

Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a taC1C2īC3 pattern, e.g. (MSA loan) tahrīb “smuggling”, taybīs “drying (trans.)” and a gahawah-form taḡarīb “going north”\(^{117}\) (for more examples see 2.2.1.2.).

Verbal nouns recorded for t-2 are tsubbug “racing (on camels)” (ḤwA) (see fn 126, p. 100) and tkissir “breaking into pieces” (ǦrA).

3.2.3.5.6. Measures 2 and t-2 participles

Active participles of measure 2 have a mC1aC2C2iC3 (-ih/ -ah, -īn, -āt) pattern. Passive participles have a mC1aC2C2aC3 (-ih/ -ah, -īn, -āt) pattern. An example of a C3 = y verb is mlaggiy, mlaggyih, mlaggyīn, mlaggyāt “going”.

The ta- preformative of measure t-2 is often reduced to t- in participles, so that for t-2 active participles the pattern is mitC1aC2C2iC3 (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. mitrāḥhil “being on a trek”, mitḍakkir “remembering”, mitkassir “having been broken into pieces”, mitga kull “not paying attention” and (for C3 = y) mitgaddiy “having eaten lunch”. This is generally the case in TAṢ, ḤwA, MlA, GrA, DbA. On the other hand, also (but fewer) participles with the ta- preformative were heard, e.g. mitamakkin, mitaʾakkid “convinced” and also mitaʾallim ~ mitaʾalim “educated” (TAN, TyA) and in several dialects mtaʾaknin “irritated” was elicited (data for BdA are insufficient for a conclusion).

3.2.3.6. Measures 3 and t-3

Measure 3 has morphologically alternating vowels: i in the imperfect and a in the perfect. Patterns for measure 3 are: C1āC2aC3, yC1āC2iC3.

Measure t-3 has morphologically fixed a in the perfect and imperfect, and like in measure t-2, reduction of the ta-preformative to t- does occur, but such reduction is rare. Patterns for measure t-3 are: taC1āC2aC3, ytaC1āC2iC3. Like in measure t-2, intital tt- in the imperfect is reduced to t- (see examples in 3.2.3.6.1.).

3.2.3.6.1. Examples of measures 3 and t-3

Examples of measure 3 are: (imperfect) yāʾwid “return”, yrāfīg “be a travelling companion for (someone)”, yḷāgīy “find”, (perfect) sāfaraw “they (masc.) traveled”, sāfaran “they (fem.) traveled”, ḥāṛabaw “they fought a war against”. Apocopeation in 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect of tertiae yā verbs was again only noticed in TyA and BdA.

\(^{117}\) For the system of orientation, see remarks in De Jong 2000:469, fn 48.
Examples of measures t-3: (imperfect) biytawāfagaw “they agree (with each other)”, biytawā’adaw “they set a time (for a court session)”;*18 (perfect) tarāfag “I was accompanied (on a trip)”, talāgēna “we met each other”, talāgan “(fem.) meet each other”, tāḥāṛabaw “they fought a war (against each other)”. In TAṢ pl. endings for 3rd p. masc. and fem. lacked vowel harmony in some cases, e.g. biytasābaguw “they race each other”, biytarāfaguw “they accompany each other (as travelling companions)”, talāgin (< *ttalāgin) “they (fem.) meet each other”, but talāgan “they (fem.) meet each other”.

3.2.3.6.2. Measures 3 and t-3 participles
Active participles of measure 3 have the pattern mC1āC2iC3 (-ih / -ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. mwāfijig “agreeing”, mlāgyih “having found (sg. fem.)”. mkāwnīn “fighting (pl. masc.)”.

A passive participle (pattern mC1āC2aC3) is the origin for the loans mḥāwalah “attempt” and msā’adah “help, assistance”.

Like in measure t-2, active participles of measure t-3 often have a reduced preformative (ta- > (i)t-) in the pattern mitC1āC2iC3 (-ih / ah, -īn, -āt) (see also remarks in 3.2.3.5.6.). Among the few instances of participles of measure t-3 recorded are: mitdāxlīn “having sought refuge as daxīl (pl. duxala) with each other”, mitwāsyih “flat, even”.

3.2.3.6.3. Measures 3 and t-3 verbal nouns
Verbal nouns for measure 3 recorded are mkāsaḥah “having sex” and a loan bala mʾāxza*19 “no offense intended”. Verbal nouns of the type tC2ēC3iC3 were not recorded.

3.2.3.7. Measure 4

3.2.3.7.1. Measure 4 sound roots perfect and imperfect
Verbal measure 4 is active in group I. The patterns for this measure are (perfect) (’)aC1aC3, (imperfect) yiC1iC3 and the active participle has a pattern miC1iC2iC3 (-ih, -īn, -āt).

Of many examples are: arkarb, yirkib, active participle mūrkib “cause (someone) to ride”, asnād, yisnid was heard in MIA for “go to Palestine”*20 and ar’ad, yir’id in DbA for “thunder”.

The verb aftar, yiftir “have breakfast” is in most dialects of group I a measure 4, but in some cases (like in TyA) measure 1 may also be used:

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*18 In TyA of the Negev such reduction of ta- > t- appears to be regular, see e.g. yitgahwa “he is served coffee or tea” (Shawarbah 2007:174), atxayyad “I imagine” (ibid.:330).
*19 bala mʾāxza is probably a loan from MSA via Cairene Arabic, hence z as a reflex for *d, see also fn 63, p. 221.
*20 Measure 2 for this root sannad, ysannid is current for “go upstream in a wadi” (being the opposite of the verb katt, ykutt (or ykitt) “go downstream in a wadi”.
fitīr (and, remarkably so, with the ‘reappearing’ a in closed syllables of the i-type perfect: fitīr),\textsuperscript{122} yiftīr.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 $C_2 = w$ or y (mediae infirmæ) perfect and imperfect

The verb ṭād, yāid “want” has become measure 1 in ḤwA, ḠrA, TAṢ, BdA with participles ṭāyīd, ṭāyīn, ṭāyāt.

In TyA participles are mrīd, mrīdī, mrīdin and mrīdāt, but verb forms are without initial a: ṭād, ṭādat etc. (situation in MLA, DBA and TAN unknown).

3.2.3.7.3. Measure 4 $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmæ) perfect and imperfect

In all group I dialects of southern Sinai the verb ā’ta, yiṭṭiy is verbal measure 4.

In DbA, ḤwA, ḠrA, TyA, BdA the verb ḏawā’, yiḏwīy “return home before sunset (with small cattle)” is measure 1, the participles are then ḏawīy, ḏawīyi, ḏawīyn, ḏawīyat.

In the other tribal dialects TAṢ and ḤwA this verb is current as a measure 4. Participles are then miḏwīy, miḏwīyi, miḏwīyn, miḏwīyat (situation in MLA unknown).

Another tertia yāʾ measure 4 verb is agra yiḏriy, with the participle migriy “serve a proper meal to a guest”.\textsuperscript{122}

Like in group VI, ā’ta, yiṭṭiy is a measure 4 verb in most dialects of group I. The perfect and imperfect paradigms for this verb are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>á’ta(ʾ)</td>
<td>yiṭṭiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>á’taw\textsuperscript{*1}</td>
<td>yiṭṭuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>á’tat</td>
<td>tīṭiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>áṭan</td>
<td>yiṭṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>á’tayt</td>
<td>tīṭųw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>á’taytuw</td>
<td>tīṭųw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>á’taytiy</td>
<td>tīṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>á’taytin</td>
<td>tīṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>á’tayt</td>
<td>niṭṭi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{*1} Also in TAṢ the ending is -aw (but often -uw elsewhere).\textsuperscript{123}

\textsuperscript{*2} Apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. forms in the imperfect of measure 4 are heard in TyA and BdA.

\textsuperscript{122} The term ‘reappearing’ could be a misnomer here, since there may never have been an original perfect form with a in the first syllable. The a only appears in closed syllables here because the entire measure 1 paradigm (compare simī above in 3.2.1.1.) is applied to the root f-t-r.

\textsuperscript{123} Cf. remarks in fn 144, p. 111.

\textsuperscript{123} Such -aw endings appear to be phonetically conditioned in TAṢ (i.e. they appear following velarized consonants), at least more so than morphologically conditioned; -uw endings also occur in tertiae yāʾ verbs, provided the environment is neutral (i.e. no velarized consonant precedes). The ending -uw does however occur in non neutral environments as well (see e.g. measure 9 verbs in 3.2.3.8.).
When followed by a speech pause or a consonant an anaptyctic is inserted: tîṭ when followed by # or C.

3.2.3.7.4. Measure 4 $C_1 = w$ (prima wāw) perfect and imperfect

awka, yūkiy “tie (closed) tightly” is a prima wāw/tertia yāʾ measure 4 verb.

3.2.3.7.5. Measure 4 $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect

Verb forms of measure 4 $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) were not recorded, or not recognized as such.

3.2.3.7.6. Measure 4 imperatives

Examples of imperatives for measure 4 sound roots are like imperatives for the $i$-type imperfect (see: 3.2.1.5.).

Imperatives of $C_3 = y$ roots are: for the sg. masc. (apocopated) $iṭ (~ iṭiy)$ in TyA and BdA, but only $iṭiy$ was heard in the other dialects of group I. For sg. fem. $iṭiy$, pl. masc. $iṭuw$ and pl. fem. $iṭin$.

3.2.3.7.7. Measure 4 participles

The participles for sound roots have a miC1C2iC3 pattern, e.g. mifṭir, mifjiṭriḥ, mifjiṭrīn, mifjiṭrāt “having eaten breakfast”.

Participles of the prima wāw/tertia yāʾ verb awka, yūkiy are (act. participles) mūkiy, mūkyiḥ, mūkyīn and mūkyāt and (pass. part.) mawkā, mawkayāḥ, mawkayīn, mawkayāt.

For mediae infirmae there are participles of the type mC1īC3 (-ih, -in, -āt) like mrīd “wanting” (in TyA, see 3.2.3.7.2.) and also annās tallaw mgīrīn “people appeared (while) running fast” (DbA).

3.2.3.8. Measure 9

Paradigms for measure 9 are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ihmarṛ</td>
<td>ihmarṛraw*</td>
<td>yihmarṛ</td>
<td>yihmarṛraw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ihmarṛat</td>
<td>ihmarṛran</td>
<td>tihmarṛ</td>
<td>tihmarṛran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
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<td>ihmarṛaytuw</td>
<td>tihmarṛ</td>
<td>tihmarṛraw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ihmarṛaytiy</td>
<td>ihmarṛaytin</td>
<td>tihmarṛiy</td>
<td>tihmarṛran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ihmarṛayt</td>
<td>ihmarṛayna</td>
<td>aḥmarṛ</td>
<td>nihmarṛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In TAṢ the endings are -uw.

Participles are mihmarṛ, -ah, -in, āt

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124 Morphological $i + w > ū$, see De Jong 2000:90.
An interesting measure 9 verb heard in ḤwA and TAṢ is iḥlaww, yiḥlaww “improve (intrans.)” (for a quadriliteral verb based on the root h-l-w in BdA see 3.2.3.9. below).

3.2.3.9. Quadriliteral verbs
Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect (i) and perfect (a). The paradigms listed for group VI zaġraṭ, yzaġriṭ “ululate” are the same in group I.

The typically Bedouin verb type with inserted wāw between C₁ and C₂, C₁ōC₂aC₃, yC₁ōC₂iC₃ may show a full diphthong like in gawṭar, ygawṭir (often so in DbA, ḤwA), a slightly diphthongal ow, e.g. gowṭar, ygowṭir (especially so in BdA, but also in other dialects) or monophthongal ō (usually so in TAṢ, ǦrA, TyA, MlA and TAN). The paradigms for the verbs (including buṅa-vowels, see 2.2.2.1.) are like those listed for group VI.

Quadriliteral verbs may also have a ta- preformative. The vowel of the perfect and imperfect is then fixed a. A quadriliteral verb with C₄ = y is tagahwa, ytagahwa and has the paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect sg.</th>
<th>perfect pl.</th>
<th>imperfect sg.</th>
<th>imperfect pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>tagahwa</td>
<td>tagahwaw*</td>
<td>ytagahwa</td>
<td>ytagahwaw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tagahwat</td>
<td>tagahwan</td>
<td>tagahha</td>
<td>ytagahwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tagahwēt</td>
<td>tagahwētuw</td>
<td>tagahhw/-a</td>
<td>tagahhwaw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tagahwētīy</td>
<td>tagahwētin</td>
<td>tagahhīy</td>
<td>tagahwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>tagahwēt</td>
<td>tagahwēna</td>
<td>atagahwa</td>
<td>ntagahwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Endings -aw tend to be -uw in TAṢ.

An apocopated imperative for the sg. masc. is tagahw “drink tea / coffee!” (the final cluster hw # is then resolved: tagáhuw #).

Participles are mtagahwiy, mtagáhiwyih, mtagahhiwīn, mtagahhiwyāt.

Other examples (recorded in TAṢ): tagahraṣ, ytagahraṣ “wriggle the body to create a comfortable position to lie down (usually in pain)”, tagarmaṣ, ytagarmaṣ “wriggle the body, especially the shoulder, into soft sand to find a more comfortable position to sleep”, taṭawṭaḥ, ytaṭawṭaḥ “swing, sway (e.g. of a tree in the wind)”. Another verb heard in TAṢ is karkam, ykarkim “add turmeric”.

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125 Realizations listed here are how they were heard as predominant in the dialects mentioned (following in brackets).
In BdA a quadriliteral *iḥlawla*, *yahlawliy* expresses an increasing degree of acquiring a certain quality (here *ḥilw* “sweet; good; nice”) “get better and better”, e.g. *algirbih iḥlawlat* “the watersack became better and better (as a result of it being used)”.

4. **Remarks on Phraseology**

4.1. **Nunation**

Tanwīn is not a feature of any of the dialects of group I, but may be heard in poetry or sayings (and then has the shape –*in*).126

Loans from MSA which show nunation are like those listed for other dialect groups, e.g.: *ṭab* ُ&*an* “of course”, *masalan* “for instance”, ‘*āmmatan* “in general”, dā*yan* (in ḠrA dī*man* was recorded) “always” (< MSA dāʾ*iman*), *hāliyyan* “currently”, aḥyānan “now and then”, tagrīban “approximately”.

4.2. **Negation**

A verb is usually negated with single *mā* + verb form.127 Examples are: *albiʿir hāda lah arbaʾ t-iyyām mā warād* “this camel had not drunk for four days”, azzarʿah hāda mā biykallif yaʾniy sbūʾ isbūʾayn “this work on the land does not take (more than) like one, two weeks” (ḠrA), *albiʿrān alimxawwarāt mā bništirīhin xalāṣ* “the bastard camels, we don’t buy them at all’ (TyA).128

A negated suffixed preposition is w ḵ*inn mā fi*ni lay ḥa*y*l “and suddenly there was no strength in me” (ḠrA). For the negation of ‘existential’ *fīh* see 4.5. below.

4.3. **The b-imperfect**

Like almost everywhere in Sinai,129 the b-imperfect to express the habitual present tense is also current in group I. Some examples are: *alkilmah hē*di*y bitʾassirʿ alēḥ kibūrih “this word has a great effect on him” (TyA), *min tum-

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126 Tanwīn (ending –*in*) was noticed by Holes and Abu Athera 2009:214–219 to be “particularly common in the more traditional diction” in the poetry of the two Sinai poets recorded by them (‘Unayz (TAN) and Tayāha (TyA)) and the Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk of southern Jordan. Its use is optional and often for metrical reasons.

127 Holes and Abu Athera (2009:225) found no instances in their corpus of poetry of verbal compound negation *ma* . . . *š*.


129 The only exception to this rule is the dialect of the Dawāġrāh, see De Jong 2000:478.
4.4. Future Marker

To express “volition” or “need” widd + pron. suffix may be used.

Examples of widd expressing futurity/volition are: asma’, widd-axarrafak ’ala gișṭ ḍaqqabb ḥāḍa “…listen, I’ll tell you the story of this lizard” (ǦrA), awṣafnī addarib…law widdi aravwīh min sābagat il’Irīš fi lMidān…min ’indak min-ihniy…“describe the way to me…if I want to go from the race of al’Arīš at Midān…132 from your place from here…” (TAṢ), widd-dhin…widdhin mákan…mákan, mā fīh mákan mint mā tǧīb wala ḥāḏiḥ…“these things (lit. “they (pl. fem.”))…they need (spending of) money…money…if there is no money, you don’t get anything” (MIA).

Examples of imperfect forms with prefixed ha- to express futurity are: iw yōm tígilbih, hayṣīr annā’m taḥūt w alxašin fōg “and when you flip it over, the soft (side) will be down and the coarse (side) will be up” (MIA), law kattārit lēha…fa: algamiḥ…iddētha algamiḥ…hattallī xišin “if you add more to it (fem.), then the wheat…if you’ve added wheat to it (fem.)…you’ll take it out coarse” (ǦrA), miš hatā’arfaw tištarkow ma’ ba’aḏkwaw “you (pl.) won’t be able to cooperate with each other” (TAṢ).

The future can also be expressed with the simple imperfect, as in w Aƚlāh lḥīn law tas’al nuṣṣ annās iygūl lak w Aƚlāh mā-driy ’anha “…by God, if you now ask half the people they’ll (lit. he’ll) tell you ‘by God, I don’t know about it (sg. fem.)’” (BdA).

4.5. fīh “there is / are”

Examples of fīh used to express existence or availability of something are ā fīh garyah isimha Midān āssibag ḥāḍa “yes, there is a village named Midān (where) this race (is held)” (see fn to 4.4.) (ḪwA), min ḥāḍa… ‘arāb

130 “Mouth” is more regularly afám or āfum.
131 Holes and Abu Athera (2009:212–213) report that in their Sinai poetry the b-imperfect is much less current than in casual speech, but does occur. The “dominant imperfect form [in their Sinai material] is bi-less”. In their southern Jordanian material it is rare, but in the material from their northern Jordanian poet “bi-forms occur very frequently”.
132 An annual camel race is held on the plain of Midān in northern Sinai, some 22 km west of al’Arīš, see map in De Jong 2000:654 (in appendix), location nr 26.
ihnéy w fih 'aráb zayy 'aráb iFrayğ … “from here … (there is) a family here and there are people like the family” of Frayğ (MIA).

The negation is usually ma fih, but sometimes (K-form) mā fiš may also be heard. An example is: hāḍa sāfyī mā fih xarrāf “this is a thoroughbred, there’s no discussion (about it)” (both GrA).

Another current negation is māš, e.g. ḥabbiṭ rāsak lā yṣūfak alḡazāl … alḡazāl law tār xalāṣ almiġrib biyṛūḥ māš ġizlān “keep your head down, so the gazelle doesn’t see you … if the gazelle flees, that’s it, at sunset time he goes away and there aren’t any gazelles” (TAN).

4.6. Some Conjunctions

4.6.1. Conjunctions lamma and yōm

Like in many dialects of Sinai, conjunctions lamma and yōm, or variant forms based on these, are used for “when”.

4.6.1.1. yōm

4.6.1.1.1. yōm used independently

An example of yōm used in the meaning of “when”, e.g. garrib garrib yōm ‘Awdhī ġa’ widdah ymidd ’a lḡazāl iw lan ilimhāṣid biy ārri’d ib rāṣīh “he came nearer and nearer, (and) when Awdah came to take aim at the gazelle, there the Governor suddenly rose with his head (becoming visible)” (TAN), ā, ḥabīb alWaṭyih lliy bēn ali’iLīgāt iw bēn a … iw bēn aṣṢuwlīhīh … yom taṣṣālātōw … ali’Līgāt w iMzēnih … yōm gāl at’ān yā aṭṭā ’ān “yes, the war at Watyah that took place between the ‘Lēgāt and … the Sawālḥah … when they attacked each other … the ‘Lēgāt and the Mzēnah … when he said let war break out!” (BdA).

A variant of yōm is yam, as in the example iw yam bahuṭt allibbih w baẓammīrha, iw ‘uğuṭ ma-žammirha šwayyiḥ kidīy, bahuṭt almallīh “and when I put the libbah and roast it in hot embers, and after I have roasted it a little in embers like this, I put the hot sand” (HwA).

The a in yam must be the product of reduction of the diphthong aw.

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133 For the different possible translations of ‘arab (pl. ’urūbān), see Stewart 1990:399 (glossary).
134 garrib is an imperative form of the narrative style, see 4.14.1.
135 at’ān yā aṭṭā ‘ān “lit. let the bubonic plague break out” is reported (oral communication in the field) to be the war cry of the great tribe of Ḥarb, of whom the Mzēnah are said to be an offshoot, cf. Introduction, I. d. remark *12.
4.6.1.2. **yōm in combination with in**

4.6.1.2.1. **yōmin used independently**

An example of **yōmin** used independently for “when” is *iw yōmin tistiwi̱y... biḥuṭṭin ilhā’ assamin iw minnih byigilbūha* “and when it becomes cooked... they add the ghee to it (sg. fem.) and then they stir it (sg. fem.)” (ḤwA).

4.6.1.2.2. **yōmin + obj. suffix as subject of the clause**

There is an example of **yōmin** suffixed with an object suffix as subject; the subject is we: *fiza’na ʿād, iw yōminna fiza’na... sawwēna ġēna, iw limmēna lāhāmīh kullah fi gaḥl aššantah* “so we ran away, and when we ran away... we did [...] we came, and we gathered all his flesh in the bag” (DbA).136

4.6.1.2.3. **min yōm**

An example of **min yōm(in)** used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”: *kēf bitsawwiy allibbih... min yōm ma bta’āginha, lamma biṣaṭwiha w iṭḥakhikha* “how do you make libbah... from the moment that you knead it (fem.), until you slap it and scrape it”137 (TAṢ).

4.6.1.2.4. **min yōm** in combination with **ma**

An example of **min yōm** in combination with **ma**: *laḡāyit bitagaṭṭa’ tagṭī kiḍiy... laḡāyit ma yanšaf, lamma yanšaf... yōm ma yanšaf biṇǧīb īš... ūswālāt xayš... šikāyir*138 kiḍiy *iw biya’tā’ābba fīhin* “until it is cut to pieces like this... until it dries. until it dries... when it has dried we bring a sack of cloth... bags like this and it is stuffed in them” (ḤwA).

4.6.1.2. **lamma and lumma**

**lamma** is often used for “when” and “until”. Also a form like **lam** was recorded (a variant **lum** was not heard).

4.6.1.2.1. **lamma “when” used independently**

Of many examples of **lamma** used for “when” are: *iw minnah tsawwiy fiha ēš lamma ṭṭallīḥha*? “and after that what do you do with it (fem.) when you

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136 The story is about a man who died after he had stepped on a land mine; some areas in Sinai are still extremely dangerous because of land mines from past military conflicts.

137 The **libbah** is baked in hot embers in the sand. When it is ready, the cook will slap the loaf to clean it of sand and scratch and scrape it to remove other irregularities. The two quadriliteral verbs clearly express repetitive actions here.

138 škāṛāh, šakāyir “gunny sack”, see Wehr 1980.
take it (fem.) out?” (TAṢ) and lamma titlīḥa w ilḥā ēh? w ilḥā bastawik339 “when you take it (fem.) out (then) it is what? Then it is (texture like) biscuit” (ḤwA) and rabbna lamma biyrīd azzalāmah yīkirmih byikirmih “When our Lord wishes to be generous to a man, he is” (BdA).

A form lam was also recorded several times, e.g. iw lam byatla‘ ašši‘īr gadd kidīy, ibyanšaf, w ibyahasdíih “and when the barley has grown (lit. comes up) this high, it dries and they harvest it” (ǦrA).

4.6.1.2.2. lamma + in
Examples of lamman are few, and were only recorded in ĞrA and TAṢ: in ĞrA bindarrīh lamman laḡāyit itsīr gamiḥ sāfiy “we winnow it until it becomes pure (clean) wheat” and in TAṢ bass lamman intah lam ḥaṭṭayt kidīy w šaddēt ibyīnkīrīb, iw byuruštūh mín-taḥat f-ānnīgaf ”but when you, when you have placed it and pulled tight it is in distress. And they tie it to the nagal from below”.140 The other dialects did not show instances of lamman or variations thereof.

4.6.1.2.3. lamma and lumma “until”
Lamma and lumma maybe used in combination with laḡāyit for “until”, e.g. wāḥid min ḥiluw la ḥiluw laḡāyit . . . lamma biyṣīr . . . ǧamal “one (grows) from beautiful to (more) beautiful until . . . it becomes . . . a (full grown) camel” (ĞrA) (for an example of lamman + laḡāyit see 4.6.1.2.2. above).

An example of lamma used as “until”: tusxun lamma tiḡliy kidīy “you heat (it) until it boils” (BdA).

An example of lumma recorded in TAṢ: kull ḥamāmih ’alēha šarāk, āššarāk fi ktāfha min-īniy, iw mín fōq ēš? alliy hū bi šṣūf ḥāda, xīṭān […] zayy kidīyyih, lumma ēš? ibyinzīl ašṣagīr ’a lḥamāmih ’a ḥaarha “there is a net on every pigeon, the net is under her shoulders here, and on top what? this (thing) with this wool, threads […] like this, until what? (until) the falcon comes down on the pigeon, on its (fem.) back”.

4.6.1.3. lōm (+ in)
Lōm—but only in TyA and ĞrA—was also heard in the meaning of “when”: itḫuṭṭha f-aššams. lōm itgīy, linn hī rāybih “you put it in the sun. When you come (back), there it (suddenly) is curdled (milk)” (ĞrA).

339 bastawik is a metathesis of baskawit “biscuit”.
140 The technique described here is used to lure precious falcons to a live pigeon tied to the claws of a nagal (a cheaper bird of prey). When the saqr strikes, its claws will be caught in the net in which the pigeon is tied.
4.6.2. ḥatta

4.6.2.1. ḥatta “until”, “so that”

ḥatta was usually recorded in the meaning of “even”, e.g. w Aḥlāhiy ʾinna gaṭāʾ ablād yā ʾĪd. ḥatta lbarid katalna f-allēl . . . “By God, the land has come to misery, oh ʾĪd. Even the cold was too much to bear for us (lit. killed us) at night . . .” (TyA).

4.7. Auxiliaries and Verbal Particles

4.7.1. gām

Unconjugated gām used as a ‘marker of consequent action’ was not recorded in these dialects.

4.7.2. ṛāḥ

An example of the use of ṛāḥ used as an auxiliary recorded in ĞrA: kān mistawlīnna lMaṣrīyyih, aḥna ṛāḥ inʿīs maʾhuw.. istawlāna lyahūd ṛāḥ inʿīs maʾhuw “(when) the Egyptians occupied us we (then) lived with them . . . when the Jews occupied us, we then (went and) lived with them”. The material of the other dialects does not show such examples.

4.7.3. Conditional particles

4.7.3.1. Variations on kān as a conditional particle

4.7.3.1.1. in + kān

An example of in + kān “if”: inkān fīha ḥarig, bitḥukkha “if there are burnt spots on it (sg. fem.), you wipe it (off)” (ḤwA).

4.7.3.1.2. Suffixixed inkān

An instance of suffixixed inkān is: ṭab lēš sawwa fīhīn zayy kiḍiy inkānnih zaʿīm īw zēn kān . . . “okay, so why did he do that to them (fem.) if he was a general and a good man?” (TyA).

4.7.3.1.3. il + kān

Instances of il + kān were not recorded.

4.7.3.1.4. kān preceded by CA loans iz or iza

izkān ilhā masalan ilhā . . . maṭabb iddrās biʿid . . . biyshīluw ʿa lbiʿrān “if there is for it (fem.), for instance there is for it (fem.) a threshing floor far away, they carry (it) on camels” (ḤwA).
iskān lih ṭalāb, binǧībih lih . . . māš ṭalāb, tawakkal ’a-Īlāh “if he has a wish, we get it for him . . . if there is no wish, he sets out on his journey” (TyA).141

kān may also be suffixed, as in iskānnih ḍayf ġāliy bnadbaḫ lih . . . iw iskānnih ḍayf min iligrayybīn hōدائ bin’āssīh “if he is a dear guest we slaughter for him . . . and if he is a guest of these relatives we give him a (regular) dinner” (TyA).

4.7.3.1.5. kān as an independent conditional
An example of kān used independently as conditional “if”: kān ġitūni f-allēl axarrfak ṛawāy-akṭar “if you would have come to me in the evening I would have told you more stories” (BdA), (S) iw kān ’āyz itsawwha fāṭtih . . . (Ī) aywah ġūl lay kēf ’ādiy bitsawwīha fattah yā Slēmān . . . “(S) And if you want to make it (fem.) as a fattah (food dip) . . . (Ī) Yes, so tell me then how you make it a fattah, oh Slēmān” (DbA).

4.7.3.1.6. kān, inkān or ilkān introducing alternatives
kān may introduce alternatives, like in šūfūhūm kān ali’Lēgāt walla sṢawālḥih “go see (pl. masc.) them (to see if they are) Lēgāt or Šawālḥah” (BdA). Another example is yōm tāḥāṣdīh bitdawwir lak hitt-allīy fīh . . . iġbāl fīh malāg . . . tālīgha142 ēh? mitwāsyih. bitgūm itkaawwmah kullah fōg ba’āqāh. iw minnih bitḏāb alḏīmāl, kān ’индak bī rān iktār walla bī rēn . . . “when you harvest it, you look (for yourself) a piece (of land) in which there is . . . desert (land) with hard ground . . . you’ll find it (sg. fem.) what? Flat. You (then) start piling everything on top of each other. And then you get the camel, whether you have many camels or (just) two” (ǦrA).

4.7.3.2. Absence of a conditional particle
Examples of conditional clauses not introduced by a particle are: ’インドak bahāyīm ibtafa’ burn ḍāḏayf ḡadā “if you have cattle you run and bring lunch for the guest”, widdhin mākan . . . mákan, mā fīh mákan mint mā tḏāb wala ḥāḡīh . . . “they (pl. fem.) need (spending of) money . . . money . . . if there is no money, you don’t get anything” and an example of both an introduced and an un-introduced conditional clause is (talking about a loaf of bread baked in sand) inkān fīha ḥārīg, bitḥukkha . . . ib xuṣah . . . mā fīha ḥārīg hi bitnaffīdaḥ-nta lak b ayyi ḥāḡah kidīy “if it is burnt, you scrape it . . . with a knife . . . (if) it is not burnt, you clean it (sg. fem.) for yourself with anything like . . . ”.

141 tawakkal, ytawakkal ’-Allāh lit. “put one’s trust in God” is the current phrase used for “set out on a journey”.
142 tālīgha: talq (apocopated talga) + ha; the short vowel i is an anaptyctic vowel.
4.8. Presentative Particles

4.8.1. ir’ or ar’

Examples of presentatives ir’ or ar’ are: ar’ihum443 all-akbars minnī mūhum ‘ārfínhin “see those, who are older than I am, don’t know them (fem.)”.

Forms with apocopation are: ar’īh ā “there he is (lit. has come)!”, ārihīmu āw “there they are (lit. have come)!”, ārihīyi āt “there she is (lit. has come)!” (TyA). Forms with ar’ + were also heard in TAṣ and in Grā ḥrihūw “there they (masc.) are!” and ḥrihīn “there they (fem.) are!”.

4.8.2. ḥē + sufffix

The presentative particle ḥē followed by a personal pronominal to draw the listeners attention to something or someone is current, e.g. (recorded in Grā) ḥēhū ā “there he is!”, ḥēhī āt “there she is!”, ḥēhūmu āw “there they (masc.) are!”, ḥēhīnah ān “there they (fem.) are!”.

In TAṣ forms with hā + were recorded, e.g. ħāhī ā-dalmīšikih “there’s the problem!”, but also with initial hay +, as in hayhū ā, hayhī āt, hayhūm āw, hayhīn ān. Such initial hay + was also heard in DbA and ḤwA.

4.8.3. Particle wlin ~ wilin, win

Like other examples for listed for other groups, a development introduced by the particle wlin (w + lin) need not be unexpected or sudden, but is rather the intended result of an earlier action, as is clear in the first two examples cited here: wagit ma ṭāb alḏūrūn bīyallūh mṣallab, iwlinn alỳāy wawhād w attībin wawhād “when the (threshing on the) threshing floor has been good, he leaves it in a pile,444 and there’s the yield445 by itself (on one side) and the straw by itself (on the other side)” (ḤwA). Another example is mumkin itbarkīh min awwil maṛrh yōm itḡy tawgaf, ḥw linnīh yubrück “you can let it kneel from the first time when you come and stand still, and then it kneels” (TyA).

443 Notice that ar’ihum is not an apocopated imperative. The question is also whether full grammaticalization as a particle has actually taken place. Since these recorded examples were directed to one male interlocutor, it cannot be concluded whether or not it (i.e. ir’i or ar’i or its apocopated pendant) would be conjugated for number and/or gender.

444 mṣallab was glossed to me as “in a pile”, but perhaps its meaning is closer to “having been separated into grains of wheat” and is thus related to salībā: salībit ruzz “Reiskörner (grains of rice)”, see Behnestedt and Woidich 1994:206.

445 Ġwīs is often used in the general meaning of “food”. Here the reference is clearly to the yield of the harvest.
An example with both \textit{wlā} and \textit{wlin} is: \textit{w ihniyyih w lā wāhid ligītih w ba'adēn iw linnih biytālīh fay wlin biyğūl lay ġāṛ itsūg inta ġīt dārī... “and here there was (suddenly) someone I ran into (lit. I found) and after that (and) there he was making claims against me saying to me ‘you have to pay the truce payment, you were trespassing on my property (lit. house)’” (ĞrA). Another example is \textit{iwlin mā fih 'ašā “and there’s (suddenly) no dinner”} (TAN).

An example of suffixed \textit{winn} is: \textit{iw ġīna, w Allāhiy w innah ġīaww zēn “and we came, by God, and (suddenly) the weather was fine”} (DbA).

A variant \textit{wlan} was also recorded, as in \textit{iw lan ilimḥāfiji biy arrid ib rāsih “there suddenly the Governor rose with his head (becoming visible)”} (TAN).

4.8.4. \textit{Particle wlā +}

An example of the presentative particle \textit{wlā} is \textit{w lā wāḥid ligītih “and (suddenly) there was someone I ran into to”} (see preceding paragraph 4.8.3.\textsuperscript{146}

4.9. ġār

\textit{ġär} (< \textit{gayr}) may be used (in all dialects discussed here) preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action, e.g. \textit{albu ġār ġār ibyitātabba’an. ya’niy ibi’ir iw hū ėš, min fōg ássinah ibtabda mi’āh taṭbi’ ittabbi’ albi’ir “the camels need to be trained. That is, the camel when it’s what? Over a year (old) you start training with it, you train the camel”} (TAŞ) and another example \textit{alliy ‘āwiz iy...iynawwi f-ābil ássibag imn ássibag ha biywaddih imn álģimal ha...masalan imṣayyiṭ alģimal a/tmacronbelow/tmacronbelowāniy imṣayyiṭ...ġāṛ yiṭlig ġēha minnih masalan “if he wants to diversify the camels (for) the race and this (other) race, he’ll take him from this camel... (there is) for instance a good reputation , the other camel has a good reputation, he then needs to let her be covered by him, for instance...”} (TyA).

A particle \textit{irkān} (presumably < *\textit{gayr kān}) “need be, be only” was heard in TAŞ: \textit{alḥīn intuw sūgkuw...iw talabātkuw rkan alMasūrah “now, you, your market... and your shopping goods are only from alMāsūrah”} and in BdA \textit{hāda-rkan māk má’āk yūkutlaq āḍḍama fih “(in) this (place) you need to have water with you, otherwise thirst will kill you there (lit. in it)”}.

\textsuperscript{146} This presentative was also heard by Holes and Abu Athera (2009:227) in the poetry of the Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk of southern Jordan.
4.10. **Intensifying Particle la**

The particle *la* intensifying the 1st p. sg. com. was not recorded in these southern group I dialects. There is an example however in which *la* intensifies: *hāḍa la ṛasmiy Tīhiy* . . . “he’s really officially a Tīhiy” (BdA).

4.11. **bidd or widd + pron. suffix**

To express “want” or “need” speakers of group I dialects use suffixed *widd*. Examples for “need” or “want” are: *widdī-yyāk itxarrīfni* “I want you to tell me” (TAṢ) and *alblād bass lissā’ widdha takrīm* “but the land still needs to be prepared for agriculture” (ḠrA) and *widd* being translatable with “want” or “in order to” in *garrīb garrīb yūm ‘Awdih ǧa’ widdah ymīdd ‘a lḡazāl īw lan ilímḥāfīd biy’ārrid īb rāsih* “he came nearer and nearer, when ‘Awdah came he wanted to (or: in order to) take aim at the gazelle, there suddenly the Governor stuck his head out (becoming visible)” (TAN).

Examples of *widd* used to express futurity rather than wish are: *mūhū ‘ārif zayy intih* . . . (interviewee) *lā hā/dmacronbelowa ēh? imsawwyīn ṛawāǧīḥ l assī* . . . “curdled milk . . . they put it in the goat skin so then it becomes what? They’ll have made a tripod for the goat skin” (ḤwA), *lagga yāt iblād, lagga ‘ād itlāwah Ṣadir walla tlāwah /Dmacronbelowaháb?* “to which (part of the) land did he go, did he go towards Ṣadr or towards ēDmacronbelowahab?” (TAṢ) and *iw bingayyil wē:n iw bingayyil nuṣṣ alblādāt ‘ādiy ana w Aḷḷāh zamān . . . iyyām ḥarib . . . “and where do we rest during the heat of the day? And so we’d

4.12. **‘ād**

The particle *‘ād* is extremely current to express “so, thus, then”. Examples are: *ṛāyib . . . biyḥuṭṭūha fiji assī in . . . ‘ād bitsīr ēh? imsawwyīn ṛawāǧīh l assī in . . . “curdled milk . . . they put it in the goat skin so then it becomes what? They’ll have made a tripod for the goat skin” (HwA), *lagga yāt iblād, lagga ‘ād itlāwah Ṣadir walla tlāwah /Dmacronbelowaháb?* “to which (part of the) land did he go, did he go towards Ṣadr or towards Dahab?” (TAṢ) and *iw bingayyil wē:n iw bingayyil nuṣṣ alblādāt ‘ādiy ana w Aḷḷāh zamān . . . iyyām ḥarib . . . “and where do we rest during the heat of the day? And so we’d

147 A *kārm* (pl. *krūm*) is a private orchard or garden in which people grow their agricultural products.

148 The phrase *ṣall(iy) ‘ā-nnibiy* is often used to draw the attention of those present to what one has to say.

149 For an illustration of such a tripod from which the goat skin is swung to churn butter, see Behnstedt and Woidich 1985:559.
rest right in the middle of the lands during the heat of the day. By God, in the old days I... during the days of war...” (BdA).

4.13. yabga

*yabga* may be heard sometimes meaning “so, then”, as in *yabga hāda wāḥid alḥīn ṭilī... min alliy byaṣhamow “so this was then someone now... who came forth from those who have a sound understanding” (TAṢ) and *wagit ma dannat allibbah taharkalat hassētha, yabga libbah āṣtuwat “and when it has sounded (it produces a knocking sound) the libbah it moves a little when you touch it, then the libbah has become cooked” (ḤwA). *(aj)mal byiddīha ġarbal aḥmūd... yabga ġarbal ǧimāl... “the (male) camel gives her a camel... so then there has come a camel in her...” (BdA). Another example in ĞrA is *kull biyrawwiḥ bētīh xālās... yabga... kull rawwah bētīh, biy’dall al’arīs ‘ād w al’arūs gā’din... yōm, yōmēn ṭalāṭīh ‘ind ba’adhuw “everybody goes to his home, that's it... so (after) everybody has gone home, the groom and bride stay... for a day, two, three days with each other...” In MlA metathesized *yagba* was recorded.

4.14. Characteristics of the Narrative Style

4.14.1. Imperative of narration

Some examples of the imperative of narration are: *garrib yā mḥāfiḍ iw garrib iw garrib, iw ‘Awdah m’ah iw garrib wūxumrūw iw garrib... alimḥāfiḍ biy’arrūd ib ṭūṣīḥ kidīyyān algazāl šāfīh šarad... “the Governor came nearer*¹⁵⁰ and nearer and nearer while ‘Awdah was with him and he came nearer and they hid and he came nearer... the Governor sticks his head out like this (and then) the gazelle saw him and fled”. Another example is *wadd arrgląd iw hāt arrгляд “(many) men came and went (lit. send the men and bring the men)” (both examples TAN).

4.14.2. kān as a temporal marker

Unconjugated *kān* is very frequently used as a marker to indicate the past, e.g. *ya’niy kān aḥna mnaẓẓmīnha... ifwāq ‘a talaṭ t-iyyām... “that is, we used to organize it (fem.)... in heats (held) over three days...” (ḤwA),

¹⁵⁰ The narrative imperative used directly addresses the Governor: (lit.) “Come nearer, oh Governor”.

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kān lagētnī l alḥīn alʿamaliyyah taʿbānīh “shall we get you a wheel chair or artificial legs? I said ‘No, let’s see the artificial legs’... if (I would have taken) a wheel chair you would have found me... the whole business until now in poor condition” (TyA) and basma xarārīf zamān biyġūl lak int taḡawwaz w int mintah ārifḥīy, mā bitṣūfha gār kān bitṭīy ‘indak “I hear stories of old times that tell you you’d get married (to a girl) that you didn’t know (lit. while you didn’t know her), you’d not see her until she came to live with you (i.e. on the wedding day itself)” (TAṢ) and taḥ īw kān biybiʿūh wēn? “Okay, and where would they sell it (sg. masc.)?” (TAṢ), īw kān alimḥāfijīd īymī: ʿalā-lġīmāl īw kā:īn ṣyfāsīy... “and the Governor bent (all the way) over to the side on the camel and farted...” (TAN) and ana mānī ārif, mā-na kān batasaṣayyad maʿ nās bāṣ hū fi ʾēṣ? f-āxīr aṣṣayf “I don’t know, I used not to go hunting with people, but it is when? At the end of the summer” (TAṢ).

kān was much less frequently used as a verb and conjugated as such, but one such example is alḥuṛmah hā/dmacronbelowiy kānat zamān alliy biygūluw lēhiy Šēxah biṭṭill lay “this woman whom they called Šēxah in the old days used to come and look in on me” (TyA) (biṭṭill < biṭṭill).

4.14.3. Dativus ethicus

Some instances of the ethic dative are:153 lamma biyšūfah ṣagir, biyģūm ibyitīlg lak ānnigaḥ hāda “when a falcon sees it, he’ll then set the nagal free (for you)” (TAN), āṣīl fīh attabīʿūh, lamma lhīn hāḍōl ibyiḥ núw mā fiḥ maṭār mīn xams isnīn, mūḥum ārifīn źabīʿīt Sīnah kēf, banaw lak fi ḥittah w xalāṣ “because there is nature, when these (people) are now building while there hasn’t been rain for five years, they don’t know (about) how the nature of Sinai is. They built (something) in a (certain) place (for you) and that’s it” (TAṢ).154

karrūsih, lit. “little chair” shaped on the dim. pattern CₐCₐC UTCₐ. The text was recorded from a man who had lost his legs after driving over a land mine. He lives in an area where a wheel chair would be useless, since there are no paved roads or paths.

The interviewer, who is a Tūrbāniy from Ṛās Ṣadr, here imitates a more north-eastern type of dialect by substituting -ḥa with -ḥīy, the latter of which is also characteristic of TyA, but not of his own dialect (TAṢ).

Holes and Abu Athera (2009:228) also report instances in the poetry of the Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk from southern Jordan.

In the past people have built in the wadi that runs straight through Ḏahab. When in 2004 a flood came, it washed away a MacDonald’s restaurant, which had been built too near the sēl (actually, almost right in the middle of it).
4.15. Pluralis paucitatis

For limited or countable numbers often the healthy plural form is used instead of the ‘broken’ plural. Some examples are: luğum min aḥuw rḥāyāt “a mine with disks” (broken pl. rḥiy) (DbA), dawyāt “(types of) medicine(s)” (broken pl. ádiwyih) (TAṢ), arba’ sanawāt “four years” (broken pl. snīn) (MlA), talāt marṣāt “three times” (TAN), ġhāzāt “artificial legs” (broken pl. ġiğīzih) (TyA).

4.16. Concord

An example of a limited number of men is (in the first part of the sentence reference is in the pl. masc.; in the second part the reference to the same men is in pl. fem.): biytsābagow lēhuw arba’ hūḏīn mī’ ba’aḏhuw… xamsih, ibyiǧrin lēhin iṯnēn kīlih tālātah kīlih… “four camel riders race (for themselves) each other…five, they (pl. fem.) run (for themselves) two kilometres, three kilometres” (GrA). Another example is: ḥása lbān, īw sukūr fiḏdiy, w alḥilbih…(Ī) w alḥilbih…(X) aywah…hāḏōl tarayyag bihīn aṣṣubuḥ ’ā-xal−arrīg…(Ī) ’ā−xal−arrīg…(X) aywah saba’ t−iyyām… mīn yōmin tibdiy fī hāḏōl lamma tōfīhin…(Ī) tamām… “rosemary, white (lit. silver) sugar and fenugreek…(Ī) and fenugreek…(X) Yes, these you have for breakfast in the morning on an empty stomach…(Ī) On an empty stomach…(X) Yes, (for) seven days…from the moment you start with these until you have finished them (fem.) completely…” (MlA).

5. A Sketchy Remark on Pitch

The type of pitch heard in group I predominantly among older men in the north east could also be heard among older men in group I dialects discussed here.

155 The disks of the landmine are metaphorically compared here to handmills used for grinding, which have a similar shape and size.
156 Holes and Abu Athera 2009:222 remark that “plural and collective nouns referring to human beings of either gender [also] normally attract fem sing agreement, especially when the reference is generic”. For further interesting observations on ‘agreement’, see ibid. 220–223.
157 For the verb awfa, yūfijiy (or yōfijiy) “achieve in full”, see De Jong 2000:219, fn 430.
CONCLUSIONS

I. COMPARING DIALECTS

a. Methods of Comparing Dialects

To present an overall picture, a number of maps have been added in the appendix, which show a number of features of the dialects spoken in the area. To facilitate direct comparison, data used in maps in De Jong 2000, which cover the dialects of the northern Sinai littoral, have also been incorporated in these maps. A total of 13 maps have been added, which illustrate dialect features not used in De Jong 2000. In these additional maps dialect features are set as criteria for comparison to show differences between dialects spoken by tribes in the centre and south of Sinai; setting the same features as criteria for a comparison to be illustrated in maps would not have yielded very significant results in De Jong 2000, but these criteria do offer new perspectives when the entire area of Sinai is represented in a map.

In De Jong 2000 the northern Sinai littoral was shown to be an area of transition. This transition is between a largely Bedouin type of dialect (labelled group I), spoken by the majority of the Sinai tribes, and which has also been referred to as Negev Arabic (described in Blanc 1970) on the one hand, and the sedentary dialect of the eastern part of the Šarqiyyah province in the Nile Delta of Egypt.

Dialects in De Jong 2000 were compared using the 'step method'. Since the dialects form a geographical continuum, the linear nature of the comparison (i.e. only dialects bordering on each other were compared, mainly in a west-east (or vice versa) distribution) does not present a problem; after having made the comparison the continuum proved to be linguistic as well.¹

However, since the dialects of central and southern Sinai do not form such a geographical continuum, a comparison using the step method becomes too two-dimensional, since more dimensions are needed to group dialects that do not lie along a more or less neat two-dimensional line.

¹ One of the reasons is that in the case of the Bedouin dialects of the northern Sinai littoral we saw—from east to west—a gradual disappearance of 'Bedouin' dialectal features, yielding to more sedentary features also found in the dialect of the eastern Nile Delta. The central and southern regions of Sinai do not form a continuum in the same or a comparable manner.
For this reason the method of multi-dimensional scaling yields more reliable results for the grouping of dialects. All dialects (also the ones that do not geographically border on each other) are compared to each other on the basis of all features used as criteria for comparison. This means that also dialects that are far apart will receive a full comparison in this method, whereby the relative typological distance between these geographically far removed dialects can also be established. The advantage is clear: the fact that for instance TAN and TAṢ are clustered relatively near to each other may be interpreted as the result of a common history of these dialects; both are dialects of the same tribe (Taṛābīn), although today these two varieties are spoken at locations hundreds of kilometres apart.²

Another advantage of the multi-dimensional scaling method is that parallel forms are more easily fitted into the comparison; every feature receives its own column in which every dialect is marked for the presence or absence of this feature. When two parallel possibilities exist, their presence in the same dialect will be marked in the two columns created to record these features.

To give an example: When dialect A shows the use of interdentals, in dialect B interdentals have been replaced by stops, and in dialect C both forms with interdentals and forms with stops (which were originally interdentals) occur, this will be marked as follows:

E.g. in dialect A we heard: \( \text{axad}, \text{tāṛ}, \text{ḍarb} \), In dialect B: \( \text{axad}, \text{tāṛ}, \text{ḍarb} \) and in dialect C: \( \text{axad} \sim \text{axad}, \text{tāṛ} \sim \text{tāṛ}, \text{ḍarb} \sim \text{ḍarb} \)

\[
\begin{array}{c|ccc}
\text{t, d, ŋ} & \text{t, d, ŋ} \\
\hline
\text{dialect A} & + & - \\
\text{dialect B} & - & + \\
\text{dialect C} & + & + \\
\end{array}
\]

The programmes Proxscal and Alscal will then plot dialect C exactly between dialects A and B (C sharing characteristics with A inasmuch as it shares (other) characteristics with B). Distances between the different points in the plot represent differences between dialects; the greater the distance between two points, the greater the difference between the two dialects represented.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
0 & 0 & 0 \\
\hline
\text{A} & \text{C} & \text{B}
\end{array}
\]

² From Nwēbi’ (centre of TAN territory) to Ṛās Ṣadr (centre of TAṢ territory) is approximately 200 kilometres as the crow flies.
II. Remarks to the Maps in the Appendix

The maps in the appendix are ordered (with a few minor modifications) in conformity with the numbering used in De Jong 2000 (Maps referred to there are indicated in italics and with ‘in 2000’). Dialect features were used as criteria for comparison between dialects and the outcome of these comparisons between dialects is illustrated in maps in the appendix of De Jong 2000. When a comparison based on the same criteria yielded no differences inside central and/or southern Sinai, no map has been drawn for that feature in the appendix of the volume in hand. Such features are, however, briefly mentioned in the remarks following below, and have been treated in the relevant paragraphs of the respective descriptive chapters of this study.

When a map was drawn for De Jong 2000, and not for the study in hand, this should be taken to mean that difference(s) with respect to the feature discussed only shows up in the dialects of the northern region discussed in De Jong 2000. References to the paragraphs discussing such features follow the remark in brackets as: ‘(cf. + numbering)’.

a. Criteria for Comparison from De Jong 2000 Producing Differences/Similarities in Central and Southern Sinai

Before going into the various differences that are found in dialects of central and southern Sinai, and the maps that illustrate these differences, first a number of characteristics\(^3\) shared by all dialects in the central and southern Sinai are listed here:\(^4\)

NB, in the text below:

– ‘No map in this volume' means that the feature discussed is not illustrated in a map in the appendix of this volume, since no differences were found inside central and southern Sinai for that feature set as criterion for comparison.

\(^3\) The reasons for incorporating the features listed below as a basis for dialect comparison are given in footnotes to the text in De Jong 2000:37–47.

\(^4\) Since there is little point in producing maps that only illustrate shared characteristics throughout the area, such characteristics are listed here separately. For a comparable summary of shared characteristics of dialects in northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:30–38. To facilitate comparison I have followed the same numbering here, but have had to rearrange the order of listing in a few cases. Where additions had to be made for central and southern Sinai (when differences not found in northern Sinai do occur in this area), this is specifically mentioned.
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- ‘No map’ means that neither in De Jong 2000, nor in the volume in hand a map has been produced, since the feature set as criterion does not produce a difference in the entire region of Sinai).
- ‘New MAP (followed by a number from 75 to 87)’ means that an additional map appears in the appendix of this volume below (for a feature for which no map appeared in De Jong 2000). The new maps for additional features set as criteria for comparison have been numbered from MAP 75 to MAP 87 (the last map—MAP 88—shows the subdivision into dialect groups in the entire region of Sinai).
- ‘MAP (followed by a number from 1 to 73)’ means that both in De Jong 2000, as well as in the appendix in this volume a map has been produced to illustrate differences between dialects in the entire region of Sinai. The numbering of these maps is parallel to the numbering used in De Jong 2000.
- Features used in De Jong 2000 to establish relative ‘Bedouinness’ or ‘Sedentariness’ (in a linguistic sense) of dialects under discussion are marked ‘(B-S)’.
- For further remarks see ‘Remarks to the maps in the appendix’ below.

(the numbering/capital letters used here are in reference to the list in De Jong 2000:37–47).

2. and 3. All dialects in central and southern Sinai have three interdental reflexes \( t, \ d \) for respectively *\( t \), *\( d \) and \( d \) in which *\( d \) and *\( \dot{d} \) have merged (additional difference for central and southern Sinai) (cf. 1.1.2.)

\(^5\) In the north dialects were identified where \( d \) and \( t \) were disappearing (Axrasiy, AxA), or had already disappeared (Biyyaḍiy, BA), see De Jong 2000:331–332 and maps 2 and 3 (in ibid., appendix).

A. Like in northern Sinai, all dialects in central and southern Sinai have affricate \( \ddot{g} \) or fricative \( \dot{z} \) (or both in free variation) for *\( \ddot{g} \) (no map, cf. 1.1.4.)

B. Like in northern Sinai, all dialects in central and southern Sinai have a voiced (unaffricated) plosive reflex \( g \) for *\( q \) (no map, cf. 1.1.3.)

No MAP 2 in this volume (MAP 2 in 2000).
No MAP 3 in this volume (MAP 3 in 2000).

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C. Like in northern Sinai, none of the dialects in central and southern Sinai show affrication of *k or *q (no map, cf. 1.1.3.) (B-S).

D. Like in northern Sinai, all dialects have three short vowel phonemes /i/, /u/ and /a/. The short high vowels i and u can be isolated through minimal pairs, but like in northern Sinai this phonemic opposition is limited (no map, cf. 1.2.3.2.) (B-S).

E. Like in northern Sinai, reduction of geminated C_{2} (C_{a}C_{a}) when C_{3} (C_{b}) is followed by V, i.e. a cluster C_{a}C_{a}C_{b}V > C_{a}C_{b}V: this reduction occurs regularly in all dialects of central and southern Sinai (no map, cf. 2.3.3.3.1.) (B-S).

F. See remark below.*

G. Like in northern Sinai, a preference for the construct state instead of direct annexation was not unequivocally apparent in central or southern Sinai. Instead, a comparison is made on the basis of the use of btá, šuql, hagg (MAP 29, cf. 3.1.11.) (B-S).

H. Like in northern Sinai, nunation (or tanwin) is not current in any of the dialects of central and southern Sinai (no map, cf. 4.1.) (B-S).

I. Like in northern Sinai, the locative preposition fī “in” occurs in all dialects of central and southern Sinai (no map, cf. 3.1.16.).

J. Like in northern Sinai, productivity of diminutive patterns is difficult to establish (no map, cf. 3.1.6.) (B-S).

K. Use of mār / mēr “so, then, but”, mār was heard only in MIA (no map) (B-S).

L. Use of interrogative ʿalām + pron. suffix “why, what for?”: like in northern Sinai, this interrogative has been recorded in several dialects, like the example ʿalāmuk y-Abuw Zēd? (GrA) “what’s the matter with you, Abu Zayd” (no map, cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).

* F. Like in northern Sinai, the second pl. masc. pron. suffix -kuw is regular in groups I and VI, but in groups VII and VIII we have -kuw (or -kuw) ~ -kum (or -kum) (see new MAP 80, 3.1.12.2.).

Of characteristics used for maps in De Jong 2000 (pp. 37–47, numbering of maps used there again runs parallel to numbering of maps presented here), the following remarks can be made for Bedouin dialects in the centre and south of Sinai.

1. /k/ and /ḳ/ as separate phonemes in the phoneme inventory: not in group I, but both are present in phoneme inventories of groups VI–VIII (cf. 1.1.1. and 3.1.12.2.).

MAP 1 in this volume (MAP 1 in 2000).

In northern Sinai only two tribal dialects (ʿAgA and SaA) showed the presence of /k/ as a separate phoneme. It was surmised then that this was in fact a feature more commonly present in dialects of southern Sinai. It was also reported in De Jong 2000:246 that the Samāʾnah had migrated from the southern mountainous region of aṭ-Ṭūr to the Gatyah oasis, where they reside today. This migration, as I was told one day by an older Smēʾniy, would have taken place around the year 1900.7

The assumption in De Jong 2000:283–285 of /k/ being a more typically southern Sinaitic feature can now indeed be corroborated; we see that the southern groups VI, VII and VIII all show this separate phoneme in their phoneme inventories. The MAP also shows that in ʿAgA and BdA the /k/ in the pronominal suffix -aḳ was heard with a degree of velarization, in any case a higher degree of velarization than in (other) group I dialects. In ʿAgA such velarization would be attributable -k, resulting in a compromise form by transferring its velarization onto the new pron. suffix -ak (hence -ak). In BdA velarization may be due to dialect contact; the Badāṛah are surrounded by Ṣawālḥah, and—no longer being on the Tīh plateau, but to the south of the escarpment in the reddish sands of ar-Ṛamlah near Ġabal Ḥmayyir8—have considerably less contact with other group I tribes like Tiyāha, Ḥwēṭāt and Taṛābīn (of Nwēbiʿ).

2. and 3. See remarks made above (no maps in this volume, cf. 1.1.2.) (both B-S).

4. Secondary velarization, or emphatization: several differences were recorded in the centre and south of Sinai (cf. 1.1.7.).

MAP 4 in this volume (MAP 4 in 2000) shows the degree of velarization generally present in the dialects compared here. To illustrate this for central and southern Sinai the pl. forms of kibīr and kīṭīr are adduced.

7 Von Oppenheim 1943:164 mentions that (in my translation) “parts of the ʿOlēḳāt have settled in Upper Egypt […] Nowadays they mostly call themselves ʿOgēlāt”. These ʿOgēlāt may well be related to the ʿAgāylah (i.e. speakers of ʿAgA) whom we find today as neighbours of the Samāʾnah in Bir Gatyah, see map in De Jong 2000:656.

8 Geographical coordinates of their current abode are appr. 29.02.53 North and 33.33.39 East. The white rectangular shapes, already plainly visible from an elevation of 1,000 metres on Google Earth, are their tents, which are made of flour sacks (donated by USAID).
These pl. forms can be velarized, as in *kbәr and *ktәr, or velarization lacks and */ә/ is even realized relatively high (near IPA [ɛː]), as in *kbәr and *ktәr. In group VI realizations are *kbәr, but no velarization in *ktәr.

5. Partial or complete monophthongization of older diphthongs *ay and *aw and possible phonemic overlapping of */e/ and */i/ (cf. 1.2.2.1. and 1.2.4.5.).

MAP 5 in this volume (MAP 5 in 2000) illustrates which dialects have phonetic overlapping of */e/ and */i/ (e.g. sֶf ~ sֶf "sword", šәx ~ šix "sheikh") and which dialects lack this feature.

6. Tendency to retain length of long vowels in unstressed positions. In dialects of central and southern Sinai shortening of long vowels in such positions is a feature of allegro speech (cf. 1.2.2.4.) (B-S).

No MAP 6 in this volume. MAP 6 in 2000 shows in which dialects shortening of long vowels in unstressed positions takes place. If such shortening occurs in central or southern Sinai dialects, it is a feature of allegro speech and thus clearly of a phonetic nature.

7. Raising of the short vowel a in positions preceding A. (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2., 3.1.1.5., 3.1.1.6. and 3.1.1.7.) (B-S).

MAP 7 in this volume (MAP 7 in 2000) shows where short vowel a in open syllable tends to be raised when directly preceding primarily stressed ā or a within word boundaries (e.g. katәbτ > kitәbτ and bakәrғ > bikәrғ).

8. Raising of the feminine suffix (T) (often referred to as ʾimәlah of *-ah).

The map reflects a generalized situation (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.3.).

MAP 8 in this volume (MAP 8 in 2000) shows the different degrees of raising of the fem. morpheme -ah (either as a pausal feature or a sandhi feature).

9. Extreme raising of final *-ā or *-āʾ > -iy, or less extreme raising > -iʾ (MAP 9, cf. 1.2.4.4.) (B-S).

MAP 9 in this volume (MAP 9 in 2000) illustrates the different reflexes of final -āʾ(’) in neutral (i.e. non-velarized) environments encountered in Sinai.

10. Absence of raising of final -ā or -āʾ (MAP 10, cf. 1.2.4.4.).

MAP 10 in this volume (MAP 10 in 2000) shows reflexes of final -āʾ(’) in non-raised positions.

11. Diphthongal reflexes of *ay and *aw (cf. 1.2.4.1., 1.2.4.6. and 1.2.4.7.).

MAP 11 in this volume (MAP 11 in 2000) shows the reflexes of diphthongs *ay and *aw when directly preceded by back spirants (X) or emphatics (M) present in Sinai dialects.
12. Stress in mediae geminatae where the geminate is word-final. (cf. 2.1.1.).

No MAP 12 in this volume. MAP 12 in 2000 shows stress in forms with final geminates. In central and southern Sinai the vowel directly preceding a final geminate is invariably stressed (e.g. yḥuṭṭ “he places”, tšidd “you pull”, tinḥāṭṭ “it (sg. fem.) is placed”, aššáṭṭ or iššáṭṭ “the coast”) and thus the whole central and southern region shows no difference in this respect.

13. Stress in maCCaCah (cf. 2.1.1.1.).

No MAP 13 in this volume. MAP 13 in 2000 shows stress assignment in the pattern maCCaCah. All dialects in central and southern Sinai have the máCCaCah stress-type.

14. Stress in *CaCvC (i.e. surface forms CvCaC, CvCiC or CvCuC) (cf. 2.1.1.2.).

MAP 14 in this volume (MAP 14 in 2000) illustrates stress assignment in patterns CiCiC (including CuCuC; both being ‘underlying’ CaCi/uC) and CaCaC.

15. Stress in *CaCaCv (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.).

MAP 15 in this volume (MAP 15 in 2000) shows stress assignment in the pattern CaCaCv.

16. Stress in *CaCaCaCv (MAP 16, cf. 2.1.1.2.2., was 2.1.1.2.1.3. in De Jong 2000).

MAP 16 in this volume (MAP 16 in 2000) shows stress assignment in the pattern CaCaCaCv.

17. Resyllabication of *CaCaCV sequences. Such resyllabication is not a feature of any of the dialects of central and southern Sinai, e.g. waṛagah “piece of paper”, gahawah “coffee” (cf. 2.1.1.2.2., was 2.1.1.2.1.6. in De Jong 2000) (B-S).

No MAP 17 in this volume. MAP 17 in 2000 shows the presence/absence of the Naǧdiy type of resyllabification: CaCaCV > CCvCV. This type of resyllabification was not heard in central or southern Sinai.

18. The article and preformatives of measures n-1 and 1-t as stressable units (cf. 2.1.1.2.2.) (B-S).

MAP 18 in this volume (MAP 18 in 2000) shows stress assignment in verbal measures n-1 (of VII) and 1-t (or VIII) and in sequences (with article) alCaCaC.

19. The gahawah-syndrome (cf. 2.2.1. and 2.2.1.3.) (B-S). No MAP 19 in this volume. MAP 19 in 2000 shows the spread of the gahawah-syndrome. The syndrome is active in all dialects of central and southern Sinai.
20. Presence of initial CCV in a limited number of morphological patterns (cf. 2.3.5.) (B-S).
   MAP 20 in this volume (MAP 20 in 2000) shows reflexes of the pattern *CICaC.
21. Raising of a in C aC iC ah (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.1.1.1.).
   MAP 21 in this volume (MAP 21 in 2000) shows raising (or absence of it) of short vowel a in pre-stress open syllable in a sequence CaCiC(ah).
22. Raising of a in *CaCCaC (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.1.1.4.).
   MAP 22 in this volume (MAP 22 in 2000) shows raising (or absence of it) of short vowel a in a pre-stress closed syllable in a sequence CaCCaC(ah).
23. Raising of a in open syllable preceding ī (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.1.1.8.).
   MAP 23 in this volume (MAP 23 in 2000) shows raising (or absence of it) of short vowel a in pre-stress open syllable in a sequence CaCiC(ah).
24. The pattern for colours and physical defects (cf. 3.1.7.).
   No MAP 24 in this volume. MAP 24 in 2000 shows reflexes of the pattern *ʾaCCaC for colours and physical defects. In southern and central Sinai the current reflex for this pattern is aCCaC in all dialects.
25. The definite article and the relative pronoun (cf. 3.1.9.1.) (B-S).
   MAP 25 in this volume (MAP 25 in 2000) shows the form of the article and the relative pronoun.
26. Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable of a number of irregular nouns (cf. 3.1.9.2.).
   MAP 26 in this volume (MAP 26 in 2000) is on the short initial vowels in the lexemes for “mother” and “sister”.
27. Treatment of T (the feminine suffix morpheme) (cf. 3.1.10.).
   MAP 27 in this volume (MAP 27 in 2000) shows the behaviour of the fem. morpheme (T) in construct state.
28. Elision of the T-vowel in construct state (cf. 3.1.10.).
   MAP 28 in this volume (MAP 28 in 2000) is on the elision of the short vowel of the fem. morpheme (the T-vowel).
29. The genitive exponent (cf. 3.1.11.).
   MAP 29 in this volume (MAP 29 in 2000) shows the different genitive exponents used for the analytical genitive in Sinai dialects.
30. Gender distinction masc./fem. in 2nd and 3rd p. pl. (cf. 3.1.12., 3.2.1.1., 3.2.1.2.) (B-S).
   No MAP 30 in this volume. MAP 30 in 2000 is on the absence or presence of gender distinction masc./fem. in plurals of personal pronouns, adjectives and verb forms. In all dialects of central and southern Sinai this distinction is made.
31. The independent personal pronominals of the 3rd p. sg. masc. and fem. (cf. 3.1.12.1.).
   MAP 31 (MAP 31 in 2000) is on the shapes of the pronominals for the 3rd p. masc. sg. and the 3rd p. sg. fem. “he” and “she”.
32. The 1st p. sg. com. pronominal (cf. 3.1.12.1.).
   No MAP 32 in this volume. MAP 32 in 2000 is on the shape of the pers. pronominal for the 1st person sg. com. “I”. The form used in the entire central and southern Sinai is *ana*, stressed either on the first or on the second syllable (covered in MAP 14).
33. The 1st p. pl. com. personal pronominal (cf. 3.1.12.1.).
   MAP 33 (MAP 33 in 2000) is on the shape of the pers. pronominal for the 1st person pl. com. “we”.
34. The pronominal suffix for the 3rd p. sg. masc. (cf. 3.1.12.2.) (B-S).
   MAP 34 (MAP 34 in 2000) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 3rd person sg. masc. “him (obj.)” or “his (poss.)”.
35. The pronominal suffix for the 3rd p. sg. fem. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).
   MAP 35 (MAP 35 in 2000) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 3rd person sg. fem. “her”.
36. The pronominal suffix for the 2nd p. sg. masc. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).
   MAP 36 (MAP 36 in 2000) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 2nd person sg. masc. “you (obj.)” or “your (poss.)”.
37. The pronominal suffix for the 2nd p. sg. fem. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).
   MAP 37 (MAP 37 in 2000) is on the shape of the pronominal suffix (obj. or poss.) for the 2nd person sg. fem. “you (obj.)” or “your (poss.)”.
38. The pronominal suffix for the 1st p. sg. com. (cf. 3.1.12.2.).
   No MAP 38 in this volume. MAP 38 in 2000 is on the shapes of the pronominal suffixes (obj. and poss.) for the 1st person sg. com. In all of central and southern Sinai “me (obj.)” or “my (poss.)” (stressed) *i* (possessive) and (stressed) *-nī* (object) (usually ~ unstressed -*i* and -*nū*).
39. Emphatization of *d* in demonstratives of near deixis if not followed by -*i* (cf. 3.1.13.) (B-S).
   MAP 39 (MAP 39 in 2000) gives the demonstratives for sg. masc. near deixis “this”.
40. The sg. fem. demonstrative (cf. 3.1.13.).
   MAP 40 (MAP 40 in 2000) gives the demonstratives for sg. fem. near deixis “this”.
41. Gender distinction in pl. demonstratives (cf. 3.1.13.1.) (B-S).
   No MAP 41 in this volume. MAP 41 in 2000 is on gender distinction in pl. demonstratives. In central and southern Sinai no such distinction is made, except in MzA, but material is insufficient for definitive conclu-
sions. In MAP 32 the pl. com. forms of demonstratives are given for central and southern Sinai (information is incomplete for northern Sinai).

42. Interrogative “who?” (cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).
MAP 42 (MAP 42 in 2000) compares the different shapes of the interrogative “who?”.

43. Interrogative “where?” (cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).
No MAP 43 in this volume. MAP 43 in 2000 is on the shapes of the interrogative “where?” In central and southern Sinai this interrogative is wēn in every dialect.

44. Interrogative “how?” (cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).
No MAP 44 in this volume. MAP 44 in 2000 is on the different forms for the interrogative “how?” In central and southern Sinai the current form is kēf or kīf.

45. Adverb “there” (cf. 3.1.15.1.) (B-S).
MAP 45 (MAP 45 in 2000) gives forms used for the adverb “there”.

46. Shape of the adverb “here” (cf. 3.1.15.1.) (B-S).
MAP 46 (MAP 46 in 2000) gives forms used for the adverb “here”.

47. The preposition l “to” + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix (cf. 3.1.16.) (B-S).
MAP 47 (MAP 47 in 2000) compares the different varieties of the preposition “to” + 3rd person. sg. masc. suffix: “to him”.

48. The preposition m(a) “with” + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix (cf. 3.1.16.).
MAP 48 (MAP 48 in 2000) gives the different varieties of the preposition “with” + 3rd person sg. masc. suffix: “with him”.

49. Numeral “one (fem.)” (cf. 3.1.17.).
No MAP 49 in this volume. MAP 49 in 2000 shows forms of the sg. fem. numeral “one”, The form wiḥdih is current throughout central and southern Sinai.

50. The 3rd p. pl. masc. verbal ending of a-type perfects (cf. 3.2.1.1.).
MAP 50 (MAP 50 in 2000) is on presence/absence of vowel harmony in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. masc. perfect.

51. The 3rd p. pl. fem. verbal ending of a-type perfects (cf. 3.2.1.1.).
MAP 51 (MAP 51 in 2000) is on the presence/absence of vowel harmony in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. fem. a-type perfect.

52. The i-type perfect (cf. 2.1.1.2.2. and 3.2.1.1.).
MAP 52 (MAP 52 in 2000) is on the i-type perfect of verbs *CaCiC: 3rd person sg. masc., 3rd person sg. fem. and 1st person sg. com.

53. Vowel harmony in the preformative of the imperfect of verbal measure 1. (cf. 3.2.1.2.) (B-S).
No MAP 53 in this volume. MAP 53 in 2000 is on the absence/presence of vowel harmony in the preformative of the a-type imperfect:
yaCCaC or yiCCaC. All dialects of central and southern Sinai show such vowel harmony, e.g. yašrab “he drinks”.

54. The 3rd p. pl. masc. verbal endings of a-, i- and u-types imperfects (cf. 3.2.1.2.).
MAP 54 (MAP 54 in 2000) is on the presence/absence of vowel harmony in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. masc. endings in a-, i- and u-type imperfect.

55. The 3rd p. pl. fem. verbal endings of a-, i- and u-types imperfects (cf. 3.2.1.2.).
MAP 55 (MAP 55 in 2000) is on presence/absence of vowel harmony (i.e. low short vowel a or high short vowel i) in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. fem. in a-, i- and u-type imperfect.

56. Imperfect preformative of measure 1 primae wāw verbs (cf. 3.2.2.1.) (B-S).
No MAP 56 in this volume. MAP 56 in 2000 is on the vowel in the imperfect preformative of primae wāw measure 1 verbs. This vowel is not i (as in e.g. yiwṣal) in central or southern Sinai dialects, but a as in yawṣal, or (aw >) monothongized to ō (~ ū) as in yōṣal.

57. Perfect of primae hamzah verbs (cf. 3.2.2.3.).
MAP 57 (MAP 57 in 2000) shows the (3rd person sg. masc.) perfect forms of primae hamzah measure 1 verbs: with or without initial a-.

58. Imperfect vowel in primae hamzah verbs (cf. 3.2.2.3.).
MAP 58 (MAP 58 in 2000) is on the vowel i or u in the (3rd person sg. masc.) imperfect forms of primae hamzah measure 1 verbs.

59. The active participle of primae hamzah measure 1 verbs (cf. 3.2.2.3.).
No MAP 59 in this volume. MAP 59 in 2000 shows the forms of the active participle of primae hamzah measure 1 verbs. In central and southern Sinai these are with initial mā-: mākil, māxīd.

60. 3rd p. sg. masc. perfect of the verb “come” (cf. 3.2.2.6.1.).
No MAP 60 in this volume. MAP 60 in 2000 compares perfect forms of the verb “come”: 3rd person sg. masc., 1st person sg. com., 3rd person pl. masc. and 3rd person pl. fem. In none of the dialects of central and southern Sinai initial i- or ū- (i.e. īja or ūja for “he came”) is current.

61. Imperfect of the verb “come”. (cf. 3.2.2.6.1.).
MAP 61 (MAP 61 in 2000) gives imperfect forms of the verb “come”: 3rd person sg. masc., 1st person sg. com.: with or without lengthened preformative vowel.

62. Measures n-1, 1-t and (a)sta-1 or (i)sta-1 (cf. 3.2.3.1.1. and 3.2.3.3.1.).
MAP 62 (MAP 62 in 2000) is on occurrence of initial a- in the preformatives of measures n-1 and 1-t perfect and on imperfect.
63. Measure \((a)sta\)-1 or \((i)sta\)-1 perfect and imperfect (cf. 3.2.3.4.1.).
No MAP 63 in this volume. \textit{MAP 63 in 2000} is on measures \((i)sta\)-1: perfect and imperfect. In all dialects of the central and southern Sinai the patterns \((i)staC_1aC_2C_3, yistaC_1aC_2iC_3\) with morphologically alternating vowels \(a\) and \(i\) are current.

64. Measure \(ta\)-2 or \((i)t\)-2 (cf. 3.2.3.5.4.).
No MAP 64 in this volume. \textit{MAP 64 in 2000} is on measures \(ta\)-2 or \(t\)-2: perfect and imperfect. In the entire central and southern Sinai reducing the preformative \(ta\)- to \((i)t\)- may at times occur, but it is not current.

65. Frequency of use of measure 4 verbs (cf. 3.2.3.7.) (B-S).
No MAP 65 in this volume. \textit{MAP 65 in 2000} is on presence/absence of measure 4. In the entire central and southern Sinai an active verbal measure 4 is current.

66. Typical Bedouin verbs of the \(C_1awC_2aC_3, yC_1awC_2iC_3\)-type (cf. 3.2.3.9.) (B-S).
No MAP 66 in this volume. \textit{MAP 66 in 2000} is on the typically ‘Bedouin’ verb-type with inserted \(wāw\) \(C_1ōC_2aC_3\) (or \(C_1awC_2aC_3\), \(yC_1ōC_2iC_3\) (or \(yC_1awC_2iC_3\)). In the entire central and southern Sinai this verb-type occurs regularly.

67. The sg. fem. active participle + object suffix in construct state (cf. 3.2.1.4.) (B-S).
No MAP 67 in this volume. \textit{MAP 67 in 2000} is on sg. fem. act. participles followed by an obj. suffix: a construct state results, or does not. In all dialects of central and southern Sinai a contrac state will result, e.g. \(hī mrīdtah\) or \(rāyidtah\) “she wants him”.

68. Negation: single \(mā\) or compound \(ma\ldots+š\) (cf. 4.2.) (B-S).
\textit{MAP 68 (MAP 68 in 2000)} is on verbal negation: is \(mā\) + verb form used, or compound \(mā\) + verb form + \(š\)?

69. Use of the \(b\)-imperfect for the habitual present tense (cf. 4.3.) (B-S).
No MAP 69 in this volume. \textit{MAP 69 in 2000} is on use of the \(b\)-imperfect. The \(b\)-imperfect is current in all dialects of central and southern Sinai.

70. Future particle \(ha\)- (cf. 4.4.).
No MAP 70 in this volume. \textit{MAP 70 in 2000} is on use of the future particle. The future particle \(ha\)- may be heard in all dialects of central and southern Sinai.

71. Use of \(yōm(-in)\) or \(lōm(-in)\) “when” (cf. 4.6.) (B-S).
\textit{MAP 71 (MAP 71 in 2000)} is on the occurrence of \(yōm\), \(lōm\) for the conjunction “when”. These forms are regular in all dialects of central and southern Sinai.
72. Marker of consequent action (unconjugated) gām (cf. 4.7.1.).
MAP 72 (MAP 72 in 2000) is on the occurrence of gām as a “marker of consequent action” for the conjunction “when”. This gām is not regular in central or southern Sinai dialects; only in ʿLA it was recorded a few times.

73. Use of widd or bidd (cf. 4.11.) (B-S).
MAP 73 (MAP 73 in 2000) is on the use of widd or bidd to express “want” or “need”.

74. No MAP 74 in this volume. MAP 74 in 2000 shows the dialect groups identified in northern Sinai. A map showing dialect groups in the entire Sinai is MAP 88 in the appendix of the volume in hand.

b. Added Criteria for Comparison of Dialects in Central and Southern Sinai

In addition to comparisons based on the 73 features listed above, a total of 13 features are added here to serve as criteria for comparison to further illustrate differences/similarities in dialects of central and southern Sinai. These features (numbered 75–87) are listed below:

75. Raising of a in closed syllable preceding stressed ē: lammēt > limmēt, sawwēt > suwwēt (new MAP 75 in this volume, cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2., 3.2.3.5.2. and 3.2.2.7.1.).

76. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed ē: mašēt > mišēt (new MAP 76 in this volume, cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2., 3.2.2.5.1.).

77. Mutual influence of hissing sounds: metathesis in forms like ṣāḡ—šāz and sīḡih—šīzih (new MAP 77 in this volume, cf. 2.5.).

78. The pl. masc. personal pronominal “they” (new MAP 78 in this volume, cf. 3.1.12.1.).

79. Negated personal pronouns “not he”, “not she”, “not you (sg. masc.)”, “not I” (new MAP 79 in this volume, cf. 3.1.12.1.).

80. The 2nd p. pl. masc. pronominal suffix (new MAP 80 in this volume, cf. 3.1.12.2.).

81. The pl. com. demonstrative “these” (new MAP 81 in this volume, cf. 3.1.13.1.).

82. Interrogative “when?” (new MAP 82 in this volume, cf. 3.1.14.).

83. Shape of the preposition ṣaṭ “on” with 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix (new MAP 83 in this volume, cf. 3.1.16.).

84. The 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect of mediae geminatae verbs (new MAP 84 in this volume, cf. 3.2.2.4.1.).
85. The sg. masc. imperative of mediae geminatae verbs (new MAP 85 in this volume, cf. 3.2.2.4.2.).
86. The 3rd p. sg. masc. perfect of tertiae yāʾ verbs (new MAP 86 in this volume, cf. 1.2.4.4., 3.2.2.5.1.).
87. The apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. of tertiae infirmae imperfect (new MAP 87 in this volume, cf. 3.2.2.5.1.).

III. Isoglosses

a. The Identified Isoglosses in Central and Southern Sinai

Below follows a list of isoglosses which result from the comparison of dialects based on features treated in the maps in the appendix, which were set as criteria for this comparison. The numbering of the criteria corresponds with the numbering of the MAPs in the appendix. The numbering of the criteria (nrs 1–73) here again corresponds to the numbering used in De Jong 2000:600–601.9 In addition to these, criteria nrs 75–87 (in MAPS 75–87, see preceding paragraph) illustrate further differences between dialects in the centre and south of Sinai.

In some cases—mainly where new features were set as criteria for comparison within the centre and south of Sinai—the data for the dialects in this comparison were incomplete; the dialects discussed in De Jong 2000, which now border on our more northern dialects discussed here, were not compared before on the basis of the additional criteria introduced for the dialects discussed here.

The totals of differences listed below have been calculated as follows: a partial difference has been counted as half in the total; often parallel forms result from dialect contact, so that one form may be identical to a form heard in a neighbouring dialect, while parallel to this form (in the same meaning) another form was heard, which was not heard in the same neighbouring dialect.

In cases where the comparison was incomplete due to the lack of data in one (or both) of the dialects compared, the uncertain outcome has been counted as half as well. The total numbers of isoglosses were calculated to be drawn into MAP 0 in the appendix.

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9 N.B. the numbering of the isogloss bundles here does not correspond to the numbering of isogloss bundles in De Jong 2000.
The percentages listed below were however calculated on the basis of a corrected total; uncertain outcomes have been subtracted from the total of the 95 features serving as criteria for comparison. Isogloss bundle number –1– may serve as an example: we count 4 full differences and 5 partial differences. These add up to \((4 + 2.5) = 6.5\) differences. We also count seven uncertain differences. From the total of 95 we subtract this 7, which brings the corrected total to 88. We then calculate 6.5 as a percentage of 88: 
\[
\frac{6.5}{88} \times 100 = 7.386364.
\]
This is rounded off to be 7.4%. This means that 7.4% of a total of 88 features set as criteria for comparison between the two (geographically bordering) dialects yield differences. These percentages were calculated to be used in the ‘step method’ calculation.

N.B.

* The absolute numbers of isoglosses drawn into MAP 0 as bundles cannot be compared to the absolute numbers forming isogloss bundles drawn in MAP 0 in De Jong 2000, since the two maps illustrate comparisons based on different totals of dialect features set as criteria for comparison.
* The numbers between hyphens refer to the numbering of isogloss bundles in MAP 0 in the appendix (these numbers are not related to the numbering of isogloss bundles in De Jong 2000). The numbers followed by a bracket \(\) refer to the numbering of the maps in the appendix in De Jong 2000 and in the appendix of this volume (but the maps numbered 75–87 only appear in the volume in hand).

–1– Isogloss bundle nr –1– distinguishes SA from MIA.

\[
\begin{align*}
4 \text{ differences: } & 23), 39), 48), 87) \\
7 \text{ uncertain differences: } & 4), 27), 37), 72), 77), 79), 82) \\
5 \text{ partial differences: } & 14), 45), 46), 47), 78)
\end{align*}
\]
Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 88) 7.4%

–2– Isogloss bundle nr –2– distinguishes MIA from nTA.

\[
\begin{align*}
2 \text{ differences: } & 16), 58) \\
11 \text{ uncertain differences: } & 4), 23), 57), 72), 76), 77), 78), 79), 81), 82), 87) \\
5 \text{ partial differences: } & 14), 40), 45), 46), 47)
\end{align*}
\]
Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 84) 5.4%
-3– Isogloss bundle nr –3– distinguishes nTA from TyA.

  5 differences: 21), 48), 52), 58), 83)
  9 uncertain differences: 4), 27), 72), 76), 77), 79), 81), 82), 87)
  4 partial differences: 14), 15), 23), 86)

  Total 11,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 86) 8.1%

-4– Isogloss bundle nr –4– distinguishes ’AyA from AḥA.

  4 differences: 16), 23), 52), 85)
  9 uncertain differences: 4), 27), 57), 72), 76), 77), 79), 82), 87)
  6 partial differences: 14), 15), 35), 46), 48), 58)

  Total 11,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 86) 8.1%

-5– Isogloss bundle nr –5– distinguishes ’AyA from ḤwA.

  7 (minus 1*) differences: 11), 16), 33), 39), 52), 75), 83)*
  10 uncertain differences: 4), 27), 57), 72), 76), 77), 79), 81), 82), 87)
  5 partial differences: 14), 15), 35), 48), 58)

  * The difference is in raising of a (’alēh > ’ilēh), which is already covered in MAP 76).

  Total 13,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 85) 10%

-6– Isogloss bundle nr –6– distinguishes ḤwA from AḥA.

  11 (minus 1*) differences: 11), 23), 33), 35), 39), 72), 75), 76), 82), 83)*,
  85)
  1 uncertain difference: 27)
  1 partial difference: 46)

  * The difference is in raising of a (’alēh > ’ilēh), which is already covered in MAP 76).

  Total 10,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 94) 11.1%

-7– Isogloss bundle nr –7– distinguishes ḤwA from TAṢ.

  16 (minus 1*) differences: 5), 7), 15), 16), 21), 22), 33), 39), 52), 57), 71),
  75), 76), 81), 82), 83)*
  0 uncertain differences
  1 partial difference: 25)
* The difference is in raising of a (‘alēh > ‘ilēh in 83)), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 15,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 16.3%

–8– Isogloss bundle nr –8– distinguishes TyA from AḥA.

8 differences: 21), 23), 48), 72), 76), 81), 83), 87)
2 uncertain differences: 27), 82)
2 partial differences: 46), 86)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 93) 9.7%

–9– Isogloss bundle nr –9– distinguishes AḥA from DbA.

8 differences: 21), 23), 48), 72), 76), 81), 83), 87)
2 uncertain differences: 27), 82)
2 partial differences: 46), 86)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 93) 9.7%

–10– Isogloss bundle nr –10– distinguishes DbA from TyA.

6 differences: 21), 35), 48), 75), 82), 87)
0 uncertain differences
1 partial difference: 81)

Total 6,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 6.8%

–11– Isogloss bundle nr –11– distinguishes TAṢ from ĜrA.

9 differences: 15), 16), 22), 71), 75), 76), 81), 83), 87)
0 uncertain differences
3 partial differences: 7), 26), 33)

Total 10,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 11%

–12– Isogloss bundle nr –12– distinguishes ĜrA from ḤwA.

8 differences: 5), 21), 39), 52), 57), 82), 83), 87)
0 uncertain differences
3 partial differences: 25), 26), 33)

Total 9,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 10%
-13– Isogloss bundle nr –13– distinguishes TAṢ from ʿLA.

37 (minus 2*) differences: 1), 4), 9), 10), 11), 22), 23), 26), 31), 34), 35), 36), 37), 39), 40), 42), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 54), 55), 60), 61), 62), 71), 72), 73), 75), 76), 77), 79), 80), 81), 82), 83)*, 87)
 0 uncertain differences
5 partial differences: 7), 8), 14), 45), 58)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) and 83) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 37,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 39.5%

-14– Isogloss bundle nr –14– distinguishes ĠrA from ʿLA.

34 (minus 2*) differences: 1), 4), 7), 9), 10), 11), 15), 16), 23), 31), 34), 35), 36), 37), 39), 40), 42), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 54), 55), 60), 61), 62), 72), 73), 77), 79), 80), 81), 82, 83)*
 0 uncertain differences
6 partial differences: 8), 14), 26), 33), 45), 58)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) and 83) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 35 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 36.8%

-15– Isogloss bundle nr –15– distinguishes ḤwA from TyA.

9 differences: 11), 21), 33), 35), 39), 48), 75), 82), 87)
 0 uncertain differences
2 partial differences: 81), 86)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total 10%

-16– Isogloss bundle nr –16– distinguishes ʿLA from ḤwA.

40 (minus 1*) differences: 1), 4), 5), 7), 8), 9), 10), 11), 15), 21), 23), 26), 31), 33), 34), 35), 36), 37), 40), 42), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 52), 54), 55), 57), 60), 61), 62), 72), 73), 77), 79), 80), 81), 82), 83), 87)
 0 uncertain differences
6 partial differences: 14), 16), 25), 39), 45), 58)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 42 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 44.2%
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–17– Isogloss bundle nr –17– distinguishes ḤwA from BdA.

11 (minus 1*) differences: 21), 26), 33), 39), 75), 76), 81), 82), 83)*, 85), 87)
0 uncertain differences
2 partial differences: 42), 78)

* The difference is in raising of a (ʼalēḥ > ʼilēḥ in 83)), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 11 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 11.6%

–18– Isogloss bundle nr –18– distinguishes BdA from TyA.

8 (minus 1*) differences: 11), 26), 35), 48), 76), 81), 83)*, 85)
0 uncertain differences
3 partial differences: 42), 78), 86)

* The difference is in raising of a (ʼalēḥ > ʼilēḥ in 83)), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 8, 5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 8.9%

–19– Isogloss bundle nr –19– distinguishes AḥA from TAN.

10 differences: 5), 11), 21), 22), 23), 35), 48), 72), 81), 85)
1 uncertain difference: 27)
2 partial differences: 42), 78)

Total 11 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 94) 11.7%

–20– Isogloss bundle nr –20– distinguishes ʿLA from BdA.

39 (minus 1*) differences: 1), 4), 5), 7), 8), 9), 10, 11), 15), 16), 23), 31),
34), 35), 36), 37), 39), 40), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 52), 54), 55), 57), 60),
61), 62), 72), 73), 75), 76), 77), 79), 80), 82), 83), 85)
0 uncertain differences
7 partial differences: 14), 25), 42), 45), 58), 78), 81)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 41,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 43.7%

–21– Isogloss bundle nr –21– distinguishes TyA from TAN.

8 (minus 1*) differences: 5), 11), 22), 35), 76), 81), 83)*, 87)
0 uncertain differences
4 partial differences: 42), 46), 78), 86)

* The difference is in raising of a (’alēh > ’ilēh in 83)), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 9 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 9.5%

−22− Isogloss bundle nr –22– distinguishes ʿLA from ḤmA.

6 differences: 4), 31), 47), 60), 72), 79)
o uncertain differences
8 partial differences: 14), 18), 45), 68), 81), 83), 84), 86)
Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 10.5%

−23− Isogloss bundle nr –23– distinguishes ʿLA from $wA.

11 differences: 4), 18), 20), 37), 48), 68), 71), 72), 83), 84), 85)
o uncertain differences
8 partial differences: 7), 14), 25), 50), 54), 58), 79), 81)
Total 15 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 15.8%

−24− Isogloss bundle nr –24– distinguishes BdA from $wA.

46 (minus 2*1 **2) differences: 1), 4), 5), 7), 8), 9), 10), 11), 14), 15), 16), 18), 20), 23), 25), 31), 34), 35), 36), 37), 39), 40), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 52), 54), 55), 57), 58), 60), 61), 62), 68), 71), 73), 75), 76), 77), 79), 80), 82), 83)*2, 84), 85)
o uncertain differences
3 partial differences: 42), 45), 78)

*1 The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) is already covered in MAP 34.

*2 The difference is in raising of a (’alēh > ’ilēh in 83)), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 45,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 47.9%

−25− Isogloss bundle nr –25– distinguishes ʿLA from GrA.

11 differences: 4), 18), 20), 22), 48), 68), 71), 72), 83), 84), 85)
o uncertain differences
10 partial differences: 14), 25), 37), 39), 40), 46), 50), 54), 58), 81)
Total 16 differences; percentage of corrected total 16.8%
Isogloss bundle nr –26– distinguishes ŠwA from GrA.

1 difference: 22
0 uncertain differences
5 partial differences: 7), 39), 40), 46), 79)

Total 3,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 3.7%

Isogloss bundle nr –27– distinguishes ŠwA from MzA.

25 (minus 2*) differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 31), 48), 52), 57), 58), 61), 62), 68), 71), 78), 79), 80), 82), 84)*, 85)*, 86)
0 uncertain differences
8 partial differences: 16), 25), 27), 28), 29), 42), 46), 81)

* The difference here is mainly in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.

Total 27 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 28.4%

Isogloss bundle nr –28– distinguishes MzA from TAN.

35 (minus 3* *) differences: 1), 4), 9), 10), 15), 16), 22), 23), 27), 34), 35), 36), 37), 39), 40), 46), 47)*, 48)*, 50), 52), 54), 55), 60), 61), 73), 75), 76), 77), 81), 82), 83)*, 84), 85), 86), 87)
0 uncertain differences
5 partial differences: 25), 28), 29), 45), 78)

*1 The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) and 48) is already covered in MAP 34.
*2 The difference is in raising of a (’alēh > ’ilēh in 83), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 34,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 36.3%

Isogloss bundle nr –29– distinguishes GrA from MzA.

24 (minus 2*) differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 26), 31), 48), 52), 57), 58), 61), 62), 68), 71), 78), 79), 80), 82), 84)*, 85)*, 86)
0 uncertain differences
9 partial differences: 16), 25), 27), 28), 29), 39), 40), 42), 81)

* The difference here is mainly in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.

Total 26,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 27.9%
Isogloss bundle nr –30– distinguishes GrA from ĠbA.

1 difference: 79)
0 uncertain differences
7 partial differences: 29), 31)*, 39), 40), 61), 82), 85)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

Total 4,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 4.7%

Isogloss bundle nr –31– distinguishes ĠbA from MzA.

21 (minus 2 *1 *3) differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 26), 31)*1, 48), 52), 57), 58), 62), 68), 71), 78), 79), 80), 84)*3, 86)
0 uncertain differences
9 partial differences: 16), 25), 27), 28), 42), 61)*1, 81), 82), 85)*2

*1 The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, but the difference is greater than in bundle –30–, therefore the difference is here not concluded to be partial.

*2 The difference here is partly in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.

*3 The difference here is mainly in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.

Total 23,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 24.7%

Isogloss bundle nr –32– distinguishes BWA from GrA.

27 differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 37), 39), 40), 46), 48), 52), 57), 58), 61), 62), 68), 71), 78), 80), 83), 84), 85), 86)
0 uncertain differences
10 partial differences: 10), 25), 29), 31)*1, 42), 73), 75), 77), 79)*2, 81), 82)

*1 The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

*2 The difference is only in the negated 2nd p. sg. masc. pronoun, therefore a partial difference is concluded.

Total 32 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 33.7%

Isogloss bundle nr –33– distinguishes BWA from ĠbA.

27 differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 31)*1, 37), 46), 48), 52), 57), 58), 61), 62), 68), 71), 78), 80), 82), 83), 84), 85), 86)
308 CONCLUSIONS

0 uncertain differences
12 partial differences: 10), (25), (39), (40), (42), (49), (73), (75), (77), (79), (80), (81)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, the difference is here concluded to be not partial, (contrast remark * below in –34–).

Total 33 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 34.7%

–34– Isogloss bundle nr –34– distinguishes ASA from BwA.

26 differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 37), 46), 48), 52), 57), 61), 62), 63), 71), 78), 79), 80), 82), 83), 84), 85), 86)
0 uncertain differences
11 partial differences: 10), (25), (31)*, (39), (40), (42), (58), (73), (75), (77), (81)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

Total 31.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 33.2%

–35– Isogloss bundle nr –35– distinguishes ASA and ĞbA.

1 difference: 22)
0 uncertain differences
7 partial differences: 31)*, (46), (58), (61), (79), (82), (85)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

Total 4.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 4.7%

–36– Isogloss bundle nr –36– distinguishes ASA from HnA.

2 differences: 21), (48)
0 uncertain differences
3 partial differences: 45), (58), (71)

Total 3.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 3.7%

–37– Isogloss bundle nr –37– distinguishes ASA from MzA.

23 (minus 3*) differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 48), 52), 57), 61)*, (62), (68), 71), (78), (79), (80), (82), (84)*, (85)*, (86)
0 uncertain differences
10 partial differences: 16), 25), 27), 28), 31)*, 42), 45), 46), 58), 81

*1 The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

*2 The difference here is in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.

Total 25 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 26.3%

–38– Isogloss bundle nr –38– distinguishes ḤmA from ṢwA.

7 differences: 20), 47), 48), 60), 71), 81), 85)
0 uncertain differences
13 partial differences: 7), 18), 25), 31)*, 37), 50), 54), 58), 68), 79), 83), 84), 86)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

Total 13.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 14.2%

Finally, to have an idea of the typological distance between the dialects of the Mzēnah and the Baniy Wāṣil, we compare these dialects on the basis of the same criteria:

–39– Isogloss bundle nr –39– is 'virtual' and distinguishes BWA from MzA.

9 differences: 37), 39), 40), 46), 79), 82), 83), 84), 85)
0 uncertain differences
9 partial differences: 10), 16), 22), 27), 28), 73), 75), 77), 81)

Total 13.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 14.2%

b. The Step Method to Calculate Relative Typological Distances between Dialects

The comparisons are made using a total of 95 criteria (73 in maps in De Jong 2000, criteria A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and I (see De Jong 2000:37–38)

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* Since the Awlād Saʿīd (who live more inland in the high mountains towards the east than indicated on the map, see fn 1, p. 115) are not physically located between the two dirahs of the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil, the dirahs of the latter two tribes in actual fact border on each other.
and 13 criteria represented by maps 75–87 added in the appendix of this volume):

Score card:

Below the isogloss bundles between dialects have been ranked from low to high.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isogloss bundle number</th>
<th>between dialects</th>
<th>of groups</th>
<th>number of isoglosses of total incl. uncertain</th>
<th>subtract from 95 for uncertain</th>
<th>percentage of corrected total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>–36–</td>
<td>(ASA–HnA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>(3.5/95)</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–26–</td>
<td>(ṢwA–GrA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>(3.5/95)</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–35–</td>
<td>(ASA–ḠbA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>(4.5/95)</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–30–</td>
<td>(ḠrA–ḠbA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>(4.5/95)</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–2–</td>
<td>(MlA–nTA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11 (4.5/84)</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–10–</td>
<td>(DbA–ṬyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>(6.5/95)</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–1–</td>
<td>(ṢA–MlA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7 (6.5/88)</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–4–</td>
<td>(‘AyA–AbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>9 (7/86)</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–3–</td>
<td>(nTA–ṬyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>9 (8/86)</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–18–</td>
<td>(ṬyA–ṬyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>(8.5/95)</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–21–</td>
<td>(ṬyA–ṬAN)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(9/95)</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–8–</td>
<td>(ṬyA–AbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2 (9/93)</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–9–</td>
<td>(AbA–DbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3 (9/93)</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–5–</td>
<td>(‘AyA–ḤwA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>10 (8.5/85)</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–12–</td>
<td>(ḠrA–ḤmA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>(9.5/95)</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–22–</td>
<td>(‘LHM–ḤmA)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(10/95)</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–15–</td>
<td>(ḤwA–ṬyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(10/95)</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–11–</td>
<td>(ṬAS–ḠrA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>(10.5/95)</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–6–</td>
<td>(ḤwA–AbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>1 (10.5/94)</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–17–</td>
<td>(ḤwA–DbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(11/95)</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–19–</td>
<td>(AbA–ṬAN)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 (11/94)</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–39–*</td>
<td>(BWA–MzA)</td>
<td>VI–VI</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>(13.5/95)</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–38–</td>
<td>(ḤmA–ṢwA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>(13.5/95)</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–23–</td>
<td>(‘LHM–ṢwA)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(15/95)</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–7–</td>
<td>(ḤwA–ṬAS)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>(15.5/95)</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–25–</td>
<td>(‘LHM–ḠRA)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(16/95)</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–31–</td>
<td>(ḠbA–MzA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>(23.5/95)</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–37–</td>
<td>(MzA–ASA)</td>
<td>VI–VII</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(25/95)</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–29–</td>
<td>(ḠrA–MzA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>(26.5/95)</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–27–</td>
<td>(ṢwA–MzA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>(27/95)</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Our figured calculations using the step method show a few results that do not appear to be in concord with earlier results in De Jong 2000: the subdivision into groups is not as clear-cut here in terms of percentages as it was in De Jong 2000. The reason appears to be that in De Jong 2000 we were looking at dialects that form a geographical continuum, which makes the comparison between the groups largely uni-directional (i.e. east-west or west-east, depending on preference).

Our dialects in the centre and south of Sinai do not form a comparable continuum, which makes the comparison between more than two groups (I, VI, VII and VIII) multi-directional. Such a garbled picture is also the result of a comparison between dialects of tribes that—even within certain identified groups—have arrived at different times and have over these different periods of time influenced each other to a lesser or greater degree. In addition, the comparison is between dialects of tribes, who can vary greatly with regard to numbers of members.

To give an example: the tribe Ḥamāḏah is considerably smaller (in terms of numbers of members) than the neighbouring tribes of ʿLēgāt and Ṣawālḥah. ḤmA still shows a number of features which are reminiscent of the group I-type, and presumably this dialect type is much nearer to the original HmA-type than the group to which it has now been assigned (i.e. group VII).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isogloss bundle number</th>
<th>between dialects of groups</th>
<th>number of isoglosses of total incl. uncertain</th>
<th>subtract from 95 for uncertain</th>
<th>percentage of corrected total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>–34</td>
<td>(ASA–BWA) VII–VI</td>
<td>31.5 (31.5/95)</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–32</td>
<td>(BWA–GrA) VI–VII</td>
<td>32 (32/95)</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–33</td>
<td>(BWA–ḠbA) VI–VII</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–28</td>
<td>(MzA–TAN) VI–I</td>
<td>34.5 (34.5/95)</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–14</td>
<td>(ḠrA–‘LA) I–VIII</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–13</td>
<td>(TAṢ–‘LA) I–VIII</td>
<td>37.5 (37.5/95)</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–20</td>
<td>(‘LA–BdA) VIII–I</td>
<td>41.5 (41.5/95)</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–16</td>
<td>(‘LA–ḤwA) VIII–I</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–24</td>
<td>(BdA–ṢwA) I–VII</td>
<td>45.5 (45.5/95)</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* isogloss bundle –39 is ‘virtual’ in the map (but ‘real’ on the ground), see remarks above and in fn 1, p. 115.
The reason to assign ḤmA to group VII is that ḤmA can be concluded to be developing into the direction of this group; ‘originally’ group I features are being replaced by group VII features, as is to be concluded from the variation that occurs. For this reason, ḤmA and ṬA have been assigned to different groups, even though the MDS plots and the step method both show relative typological proximity. The choice to isolate ṬA as a group by itself is thus partly subjectively inspired, and it is not being fully illustrated by the quantifying methods applied here. The only exception is the dendrogram (see p. 375 in the appendix), where ṬA is clearly branched separately, although inside group VI, for instance, the two dialects assigned to the same group (MzA and BWA) branch at exactly the same height. The subjective argument for the decision to nevertheless assign ṬA to a separate group is in the type of characteristics that distinguish ṬA from ḤmA (see next paragraph). In any case, ḤmA is not a proto-typical representative of group VII.11

c. A Continuum: From Group VII Through Group VIII Towards Group I

One may conclude a continuum (albeit on a much smaller scale than the situation on the northern littoral), which is best illustrated in the Alscal (Euclidean Binary, see p. 374) MDS plot: from the typically southern dialect type of group VII (ḤmA is here excluded from VII for not being prototypical, see remark in the preceding paragraph), the continuum moves through ḤmA, via ṬA to group I, for although there is always the question of relative ‘typological weight’, some differences in features set as criteria in a comparison tend to be more illustrative than differences found in other features, especially when seen in combination with features present in other groups. One could say that in this sense, although ṬA and ḤmA show relatively few differences, in cases where they do, ṬA tends to ‘lean towards’ group I, while ḤmA tends to ‘lean towards’ group VII.

To give an example: in 2.1.1.2.1. some imperative forms present in ṬwA and ṬA are cited. We see here that ṬA leans towards group I with its imperative forms kul, gūl, gūm, šīl and nām (without a stressed initial vowel), whereas ṬwA dialects generally do show such vowels, e.g. (ṬwA) úkul “eat!”, úgum “stand up!”, ʾīšil “carry!” and ānam “go to sleep!”.

11 To cite a parallel with biology: if we were to discuss ‘birds’ in general, we would probably choose to be talking about proto-typical examples like a sparrow, a robin or a canary, rather than an ostridge or a penguin, see Aitchison 1987:51–62.
Another example is the difference between velarization in the pl. forms of *kibîr* and *kitîr* (*kbâr* and *ktâr* in ḤmA), but lack of velarization in both forms in ṬwA (*kbâr* and *ktâr*), and ḤmA thus takes up an intermediate position between groups VII and I (the latter having *kbâr* and *ktâr*).

Another illustration of ḤmA occupying such an intermediate position between groups VII and I is placement of stress in CvCvC (see 3.2.2.4.1. and 3.2.2.4.2.). Group I dialects surrounding ḤmA all have CaCáC or CiCiC, while group VII will stress CáCaC and CiCiC, but in ḤmA both possibilities exist as parallel options. This shows that the situation in ḤmA is in these respects more in conformity with the situation in (other) group VII dialects, than it is with the situation in ḤmA, or even group I for that matter. The situation in ḤmA would then be an indication of influences from surrounding group I dialects, if it is not an original feature of ḤmA itself.

There is also the example of a stressable article in the sequence alCa-CaC (see 2.1.1.): in ḤmA, like in group I, álCaCaC is the rule, whereas in group VII (excluding ḤmA) ilCáCaC is regular. ḤmA takes up an intermediate position here, allowing both possibilities as parallel options.

If we combine stressability of the article with stress in the perfect on the initial vowel of the *n*-1 and 1-*t* measures of verbs (see 1.2.3.4.3.2., 3.2.3.1.1. and 3.2.3.3.1.), we see that group I will stress both (e.g. álbaṣal and ánwakal), group VII will stress neither (in group VII álbâṣal and inwâkal), while ḤmA will stress the article, but not the initial vowel in preformatives of the perfect of *n*-1 or 1-*t* measures (álbaṣal, but inwâkal and ittáfâg).

In the negation of verb forms (see 4.2.), we see that ḤmA uses the single mā + verb form, which is like the situation in group I. ṬwA dialects other than ḤmA will use compound mā / ma + verb form + -š(i). ḤmA in this case takes up the intermediate position allowing both possibilities as parallel options (without any apparent differences in meaning, such as is the case in some dialects where the single negation with mā is used when extra emphasis is intended).

Finally, both ḤmA and ḤmA take up an intermediate position between groups VII and I in the allomorphs of the 2nd p. sg. fem. pronominal suffix (see 3.1.12.2.); where group I has invariable -kiy and group VII has ḇ-k, vC-k or CC-ik, both ḤmA and ḤmA have -ik when not directly preceded by ḇ, but -kiy when ḇ directly precedes (i.e. a situation comparable to the allomorphs current in Cairene Arabic, where we have similarly conditioned appearance of allomorphs -ik and -ki).12

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Although both ʿLA and ḤmA seem to take up an intermediate position between group VII and group I, I have chosen to group ʿLA separately as group VIII, because the 2-dimensional MDS plots clearly position it between groups VII and I, while ḤmA is plotted considerably nearer to other group VII dialects, and is thus concluded to be more part of group VII than of group VIII. The dendrogram in the appendix illustrates the same.

In a similar manner the dialect of Baniy Wāṣil has been developing from a presumed ‘originally’\(^\text{13}\) group I-type towards the dialect-type of the Mzēnah. The assumption of BwA originally being a group I type of dialect appears to be supported by BWA’s position on the Alscal Euclidean Binary MDS plot (see p. 374); of all dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII (spoken in the south of Sinai) BWA is located nearest to group I.

If we compare the results of the step method with the multi-dimensional scaling (MDS-) plots produced by Proxscal and Alscal in SPSS we see that these MDS plots provide a better overall picture of the total area.

d. Multi-Dimensional Scaling

In some cases ‘virtual isoglosses’ were introduced in the ‘step method’ to show relative typological distance between dialects that do not geographically directly border on each other—or only seemingly so, as is the case with MzA and BWA.

Since the Proxscal and Alscal programmes (a matrix in the SPSS used for the MDS method) compare all dialects on the basis of the same criteria, all such relative typological distances—also of dialects that do not border on each other and may geographically even be far removed from each other—will receive a graphic representation in the MDS plot generated (see figure 3 in the appendix for the colour version of this plot).

The advantage of this MDS approach over the step method is that relative proximity/distance of every dialect in relation to every other dialect in a larger geographical area is calculated, which is then represented in a plot. Especially in societies with collectives of individuals who are, or were until recently, inherently spatially dynamic (such as a society with (semi-) nomadic tribes), relative typological proximity of dialects that do not geographically directly border on each other is potentially more

\(^{13}\) As I was told by several speakers of surrounding dialects. This is also supported by features (which are also present as parallel to other features in the dialect) still present in BWA. For features that BWA (but not MzA) has in common with group I, see the list in Conclusions, III. g. below. See also remark in fn 5, p. 117 in this volume.
revealing than the same method being applied in inherently spatially static societies (such as is often the case with centuries old villages/towns, rural communities etc. in a more typically non-nomadic context, like for instance in Europe).

In nomadic societies—much more so than in a European context—social collectives like (even if they are only semi-nomadic) tribes travel around, and since much of dialect change originates from contact with speakers of other dialects, influences of dialects of speakers, that today geographically border on these collectives, may have been effective and thus mask an older version of the dialect of that same collective. However, proper interpretation of existing variation may provide insight into earlier stages of such a dialect, at least during the stages in which variation exists, and even after focussing has resulted in the disappearance of parallel forms, interdialect forms may provide such clues.\(^{14}\)

An example to cite here is the parallel existence of -\(^\prime\)k and -\(^\prime\)ak pronominal suffixes for the 2nd p. sg. masc. in the dialect of older speakers of group II in the north.\(^{15}\) If we can take the older speaker’s word for it—and

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\(^{14}\) See Trudgill 1983:chapter 5 and also Woidich 1997.
\(^{15}\) See De Jong 2000:288.
I saw no reason to doubt him—the Samāʿnah lived in the area of ʿat-Ṭūr until the turn of the 19th–20th century. Since dialects there all have -“k, a logical assumption would be that SaA too had -“k at the time they moved to the Gaṭyah oasis in the north. There they came into contact with speakers of Axrasiy (AxA) and Biyyādiy (BA), which resulted in the -ak suffix being introduced to speakers of SaA. The velarization present in the form -“k was then transferred onto the k of the -ak suffix, resulting in the ‘interdialect’ form -aḳ. When both -“k and were -ak were used as parallel forms, “focussing” took place which produced -aḳ as the preferred form, while -“k is (was?) only being used by older men and may thus be expected to eventually result in the disappearance of the latter form.

e. ‘Bedouinness’ vs ‘Sedentariness’

In De Jong 2000:37–47 a total of 41 features are listed as criteria to establish relative ‘bedouinness’ or ‘sedentariness’ of dialects. These features are marked as ‘B-S criteria’ (these are also marked as such in the list in ‘Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai’ above). These B-S criteria are listed here with comments on the score of the three typological groups (VI, VII and VIII) discussed in the volume in hand (the numbering used is in reference to the list in De Jong 2000) (For B-S features used as criteria for comparison numbered from A) to L), see “II.a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai” above):

2. All four groups (I, VI, VII and VIII) show interdental reflexes t for *t and d for *d.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

3. All four groups (I, VI, VII and VIII) show emphatic interdental ẓ for merged *ẓ and *d.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

4. Secondary velarization: group I dialects in the centre (like in other group I dialects) show velarization in both kbār and ktār, groups VI and VIII only have velarization in kbār, but not in ktār, and group VII lacks velarization in both forms: kbār and ktār.

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* In some schools in the Gaṭyah oasis children from different tribes mix.
* And perhaps also by women, but there are no recordings of women speakers of this tribe to verify this.
Score group I: 1; group VI: 0.5; group VII: 0; and group VIII: 0.5.

6. All dialects have a tendency to retain length of long vowels in unstressed positions.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

7. In all groups a in open syllable preceding A (stressed a or ā) is raised.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

9. In group I dialects extreme raising of final *-ā(ʾ) in neutral surroundings is current. In groups VI, VII and VIII final *-ā is raised in a similar manner, but final -āʾ tends to be reflected as -iʾ.
   Group I scores 1, groups VI, VII and VIII score 0.5.

17. None of the dialects in the centre and south of Sinai show resyllabication of CaCaCv sequences.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 0.

18. In groups I and VI the definite article and preformatives of verbal measures n-1 and 1-t are stressable units (e.g. ʾálwalad, ʾánḍarab, ʾáťṭāfāq). In group VII the article is not stressed (e.g. ʾilwālad), although in ḤmA both stress-types are used (e.g. ʾálwalad ~ ʾilwālad). In group VIII the article is also a stressable unit (e.g. ʾálwalad).
   Preformatives of the perfect forms of measures n-1 and 1-t are not stressed in groups VII and VIII (e.g. ʾinḍārab, ʾittāfāq).
   Group I scores 1; group VI scores 1; group VII scores 0 (but ḤmA scores 0.25); group VIII scores 0.5.

19. All dialects have an active gahawah-syndrome.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

20. Presence of initial CC in a limited number of morphological patterns: all dialects have initial CC in CCv... (e.g. ḥmāṛ, sgūr). Groups I, VI, VIII and also ḤmA and (part of) ḠbA of group VII have initial CC in CCv... (e.g. ʾnab “grapes”, ǧrab “watersacks”). Other group VII dialects have however morphologically resolved the initial cluster in this pattern with an initial vowel (e.g. ʾáʾnab, ǧágrab).
   Groups I, VI, VIII and ḤmA and ḠbA of VII score 1. Other dialects of group VII score 0.5.

25. The initial vowel in the definite article and the relative pronoun: a in group I (aI- and aIIy). In group VI and ḤmA of group VII aI- ~ iI- and iIlly. In group VII iI- and iIlly. In group VIII iI- ~ aI- and aIIly.
   Group I scores 1. Group VI and ḤmA score 0.5, Group VII scores 0. Group VIII scores 0.5.

30. All dialects have gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. of personal pronouns, adjectives and verbs.
All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

34. Shape of the personal pronominal suffix for the third p. sg. masc.: -ah or -ih in group I. Groups VI, VII and VIII all have -u(h).
   Group I scores 1. Groups VI, VII and VIII score 0.

39. Emphatization of ḏ in demonstratives hāḏ+, if not followed by i.
   Group I has hāda ~ hāda (with the exception of ḤwA, where only hāda was heard). In groups VI, VII and VIII such velarization of ḏ in this position is absent.
   Group I scores 1. ḤwA, groups VI, VII and VIII score 0.

41. Gender distinction in pl. demonstratives: dialects in central and southern Sinai use pl. com. forms for pl. masc. and fem. (in MzA a pl. form used for the fem. was recorded, but the com. form was more current).
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 0, except MzA, which scores 0.5.

42. All dialects of group I have a short vowel in the interrogative mīn “who?”.
   Groups VI, VII and VIII have a long vowel in mīn.
   Group I scores 1. Other dialects in central and southern Sinai score 0.

43. Initial consonant in the interrogative for “where?”: all dialects of central and southern Sinai have initial w in wēn.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

44. Interrogative for “how”: all dialects have kēf or kīf.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

45. Adverb for “there”: group I has hnuh. Group VI has hnuh ~ hnōṭīy or hnūṭīy, groups VII and VIII have hnōṭīy or hnūṭīy. In all dialects the occasional K-form hnāk can be heard.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

46. Adverb for “here”: group I and BWA have hniy (or hniyyih, and in the central eastern Sinai hniyyān(iy)), groups VII and VIII and MzA have nihāʾ(’) ~ nihāniy. In all dialects the K-form hina (often in its adapted shape as ḥīna or ḥīnīy).
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

47. Preposition l + vowel-initial suffix: group I has lah or lih. Groups VI, VII and VIII have luḥ.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1 (see remarks on the suffixes -uḥ or -aḥ / -iḥ below).

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* Since the true ‘sedentary’ form (i.e. a form used in the Nile Delta and Cairo) is h(i)nāk, I regard hnōṭīy or hnūṭīy as ‘Bedouin’ in this context.
* Since the true ‘sedentary’ form (i.e. a form used in the Nile Delta and Cairo) is hīna, I regard nihāʾ(’) or nihāniy as ‘Bedouin’ in this context.
53. Vowel harmony in the imperfect prefix of verbal measure 1: *yašrab, yiktib, yugud*. All dialects in central and southern Sinai show such harmonized vowels.

All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

56. Imperfect of primæ *wāw* verbs: none of the Bedouin dialects of central and southern Sinai have a morphologically patterned diphthong *ław*. Forms are more typically *yawšal* or *yōšal* “he arrives”, and sometimes the *wāw* is dropped from the stem, like in *talid* “she gives birth”.

All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

65. Use of measure 4 verbs: all dialects use measure 4 verbs relatively frequently.

All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

66. Typical “Bedouin” verb-type with inserted *wāw*, e.g. *sōlaf, ysōlif* “tell”.

In all dialects of central and southern Sinai this verb-type is current.

All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

67. The sg. fem. active participle + object suffix: in all dialects of central and southern Sinai a construct state is current.

All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

68. Shape of the verbal negation: *mā + verb* or *ma + verb + ˢ(i)*. Group I, ´LA (group VIII) and BWA (of group VI) use the singular negation (*mā + verb form*) almost exclusively. MzA (of group VI) uses both types of negation, and in group VII the compound negation is current (*ma + verb + -ˢ*).

Groups I, VIII (´LA) and BWA (of group VI) score 1. MzA (of group VI) scores 0.5. Group VII scores 0.

69. The *b*-imperfect: in all dialects of central and southern Sinai the *b*-imperfect is current.

All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 0.

71. Use of *yōm(in)* or *lōm(in)* for “when”. In all dialects *yōm(in)* or *lōm(in)* is current.

All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

73. Use of *widd* or *bidd* to express “want; need”: group I uses *widd*. BWA (of group VI) and ḤmA (of group VII) use both. The other dialects of group VII, group VIII and MzA (of group VI) use *bidd*.

Group I scores 1. BWA (of group VI) and ḤmA (of group VII) score 0.5. MzA, dialects of group VII (except ḤmA) and group VIII (´LA) score 0.

When we count the ‘Bedouin’ features of dialects of the 30 listed here by adding up the ‘scores’ in the list above, we see the following in the totals:
Group I scores highest\textsuperscript{20} with almost all dialects having 27 features as ‘Bedouin’. Dialects of group VII score 18.5, except the dialect of the Ḥamāḏah, which scores 19.75 ‘Bedouin’ features. The dialect of the ‘Lēgāt (group VIII) scores 21 ‘Bedouin’ features.

Although the dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII score less on Bedouin features (for the Negev dialect) than the group I dialects, if we compare the scores of VI, VII and VIII to scores of the dialects of the Biyyāḏiyah and Axārsah in the north, we see that the dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII in the south still score considerably higher on Bedouin features than BA (scoring 8) and AxA (scoring 9).\textsuperscript{21}

In reference to criteria listed above in ‘Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai’, the following remarks must be taken into account:

There may be reasons that certain typological differences between dialects in the central and southern area of Sinai are indeed also to be interpreted as forming part of a greater ‘development’ of dialects away from the Bedouin type towards a more sedentary type, but in this central and southern area of Sinai a direct and explicit geographical dimension—like the east-west dimension reflecting the ‘Bedouin—less Bedouin’ dimension in the north of Sinai\textsuperscript{22}—is lacking. If certain differences are to be attributed at all to dialect contact of ‘Bedouin’ dialects with the more sedentary type, we would need to know more first of all about the dialects of related (sub-) groups of tribes in other areas such as the related tribal collectives (in many cases with identical names) in present-day Saudi Arabia or Jordan.

Secondly, we would need more historical data on the movement of tribes, or smaller collectives such as families, should we wish to measure with some acceptable accuracy the as yet unquantified influence on Bedouin dialects of speakers of sedentary dialects. To give an example: one

\textsuperscript{20} This is not surprising, since the list was compiled to specifically illustrate the relative ‘Bedouinness’ of dialects in the north of Sinai as compared to the dialect of the ḏullām in the Negev, which all belong to the same group I.

\textsuperscript{21} BA and AxA are cited here as the clearest examples inside Sinai of Bedouin dialects which have acquired sedentary features through influence of dialect contact with sedentary dialects of the Nile Delta, see De Jong 2000:622–627. The numbers 7 and 8 cited here are the result of a count not made in De Jong 2000, but made here for the purpose of comparing groups VI, VII and VIII to group III in the north. Data on BA and AxA are in De Jong 2000:Chapter III.

\textsuperscript{22} See remarks on this east-west dimension in the north of Sinai in De Jong 2000:622–627.
could assume the personal pronominal suffix of the 3rd p. sg. masc. -ah or -ih to be representative of the ‘Bedouin’ type, and thus conclude the -uh suffix (like that recorded in the dialect of the Mzēnah of Sinai) to be more ‘sedentary’ (because it is identical with the -u pronominal suffix found in the Nile Delta), but at the same time we do know that in many Bedouin dialects of the Arabian Peninsula—where influence of sedentary dialects, in any case of those spoken in the Nile Delta or Cairo, is highly unlikely—the suffix -u(h) is current. In other words, if we do not know the ‘original’ form in dialects of related tribal collectives (like the Mzēnah in Saudi Arabia), a conclusion of sedentary influences being responsible for a change -ah > -uh would be premature; dialects of groups VII and VIII could have come from the Egyptian mainland with the pron. suffix -u(h) already in place, but they may also have settled in Sinai while (still) using -ah or -ih, while only at a later stage copying the -uh suffix from the Mzēnah. On the other hand, a development mirroring this hypothetical development could have also taken place, i.e. the Mzēnah may have arrived in Sinai as -ah ~ -ih speakers, and only later copied the -u(h) from the other southern tribes.

Another example of a more typically ‘sedentary’ characteristic would be the absence of initial consonant clusters, such as in examples in TwA (except part of GbA) ēsti “winter; rain”, āgrab “watersacks” (which in group I are more typically štiy and gṛab, see paragraphs 2.3.5. in the descriptive chapters). Although such stressed ‘original’ anaptyctics may

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23 It is not possible to decide here which form is more ‘Bedouin’ than the other. See, for instance, Prochazka 1988:126, where -u(h), -ah and -ih (and also other forms) are listed as occurring in the various dialects of Saudi Arabia.

24 A suggestion once made to me that the speech of Egyptians among the Gbāliyyah who were sent in the sixth century by emperor Justinian I to serve and protect St. Catherine’s Monastery together with the Wallachians would have had a ‘sedentary’ influence on the speech of tribes in Sinai at that time must be dismissed as an anachronism; having been sent to Sinai before islam, it is highly unlikely that these Delta Egyptians came there as speakers of Arabic, let alone the Wallachians.

25 See De Jong 2000:41 (criterion 20: presence of initial CCV in limited morphological patterns). To decide whether initial clusters are tolerated in patterns like CCūC or CCāC, one can add the definite article to such patterns in which the first C is a ‘sunletter’. If assimilation takes place, as in e.g. al + ṣgūr > aṣṣgūr “the falcons” and al + ṭrāb > aṭṭrāb “the dust”, one may conclude that initial CC in such morphophonemic patterns is tolerated. Similarly in a pattern CCāC like al + ṣwar > aṣṣwar “the pictures”. If, on the other hand, no assimilation takes place, but an anaptyctic vowel separates the article and the first C, like in e.g. (i)līṣgūr, (i)līṭrāb and (i)līṣwar, we have to conclude morphophonemic base patterns [iCĆuC], [iCĆaC] and [iCĆaC]. In the latter pattern the preceding (originally anaptyctic) i is then usually stressed on the vowel of the newly available heavy sequence, as in ēṣwar, or with harmonized vowel āṣwar “pictures”.
have been the result of dialect contact with sedentary dialects, in the case of Ṭuwara dialects it is very well possible that the development of incorporating anaptyctic vowels into the morphophonemic base (whereby they became stressable) is one that took place independently, if not altogether imported from other dialects from the Arabian Peninsula with which the tribes arrived in Sinai. In any case, in view of the lack of availability of historical data, we cannot definitively draw the conclusion that this feature is due to dialect contact with ‘sedentary’ dialects.\(^{26}\)

One clear indication that the influence of sedentary dialects has been weaker at least than in the north, is the fact that dialects in central and southern Sinai without exception (still) have the full set of interdentals \(t\), \(d\) and \(\ddot{d}\) in their phoneme inventories. We have seen that in the north the dialect of the Biyyāḍiyiyah has lost ‘neutral’ interdentals \(t\), \(d\), and that the dialect of the Axārsah (both of group III) is in a process of losing \(t\) and \(\ddot{d}\), both dialects replacing these interdentals with stops \(t\) and \(d\).\(^{27}\) Such a development has not taken place in central and southern Sinai, and this fact is one of the most telling ones illustrating that dialect contact of sedentary dialects with Bedouin dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII must have been less intense than the dialect contact between sedentary dialects and the dialects of group III in the north, of which many sedentary features are attributable to contact with Delta dialects such as that spoken in the eastern Šarqiyya.

On the other hand, since G.W. Murray 1935 reports that the Ṭēgāt and Ṣawālḥah lived in the Šarqiyyah before they moved to Sinai almost seven centuries ago (see quote in Introduction, I. d., remark *5), there is a chance that these tribes introduced sedentary features into the area, which were later through dialect contact copied into the dialects of other tribes already present in the area, or who arrived at a later time. Conversely, in this scenario, and with reference to a certain number of Bedouin features now present in the dialects of the Ṣawālḥah and Ṭēgāt, one could perhaps speak of re-bedouinization of these dialects; Bedouin features would then have been (re-)introduced into ṢwA and ṬLA as a result of contact with speakers of Bedouin dialects. This hypothesis can however only be

\(^{26}\) One could perhaps imagine ‘sedentary’ influence from speakers (of various dialects) of (mainland) Egyptian dialects in the town of aṭ-Ṭūr, but then still we would need more data on the intensity of contact between these townspeople and Bedouin tribes in the area, and also on the dialect-type(s) spoken in aṭ-Ṭūr if we want to arrive at some form of an acceptable conclusion.

\(^{27}\) See also remarks in De Jong 2000:621–625.
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corroborated if we could somehow definitively establish the shape of an
earlier type of eastern Šarqāwiy, which is not possible at this stage. We
simply do not know the characteristics of the dialect-type (or even dif-
ferent types)—the degree of ‘Bedouinness’ or ‘sedentariness’—spoken in
this eastern Delta region in the fourteenth century.

What makes this scenario of ‘re-bedouinization’ less likely, is that one
would expect hypercorrections in the re-bedouinized dialects. An exam-
ple of such hypercorrection would be, in case of a ‘re-split’, an interdental
reflex for originally plosives, like $t$ for *$t$, or $d$ for *$d$. I have seen no evi-
dence of such or comparable hypercorrections.

It is more likely that these collectives (the ‘Lēgāt and the Șawālḥah)
kept speaking their own dialects during their stay in the eastern Delta,
or at least their dialects were not extensively influenced by a sedentary
type comparable to types heard in the Delta today, and that such ‘re-
bedouinization’ did not take place when they moved to Sinai. This situ-
ation would be comparable to the situation of the dialect spoken by the
Rašāydah, who are known to have continued to speak their own Nağdiy
dialect (in the privacy of their own homes, in any case) in Sudan and also
in other areas, even though they have been away from their former abode
in the Arabian Peninsula for almost two centuries (since the second half
of the 19th century).

f. The Locations of Isogloss Bundles in Central and Southern Sinai

Isogloss bundles coincide with boundaries of tribal dirahs, simply because
we have chosen geographical borders between the tribal areas (sg. dirah) of
different tribes as the location to draw these isoglosses onto the map. To a
degree, this is of course artificial, but experience has taught that often the
speech of members of the same tribe in the same tribal area will not show
very many differences.28 I did however notice some differences between
members of the Ğbāliyyah who live near the monastery of St Catherine,
and those who live some 40 kilometres away in Wādiy Fērān/ Wādiy
aš-Šēx, in and near Mrēr and aṭ-Ṭarfa.29 Similarly, Mzēnah who live near
the coast will use $šuq̱l$ as the genitive exponent, whereas $hag$ appears to

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28 See also remarks in De Jong 2000:39.
29 Hobbs 1995:40 reports that of the estimated 300 families (or 1,500 souls) of the
Ğbāliyyah, around half live within a 5 kilometre radius from the monastery, and the other
half live in aṭ-Ṭarfa.
be more current with Mzēniy speakers who live more inland, i.e. in the mountains (see 3.1.11.).

Much clearer than in northern Sinai, some of the major isogloss bundles found in central/southern Sinai coincide with visible geological features of the landscape. From the fact that isoglosses in this study are drawn into maps to coincide with borders of tribal dirahs, and borders of some of these dirahs coincide with features of the landscape, the coincidence of isogloss bundles with natural features of the landscape will come as no surprise. In cases where such a natural feature of the landscape is an obstacle for the traveller, isoglosses may accumulate to form thicker bundles. This is no news, of course, since examples from Europe or elsewhere, like rivers (i.e. where they hinder traffic), swamps, mountain ranges, etc. are plentiful.

In Sinai, one of the clearest examples of such coincidence of isogloss bundles with a natural feature of the landscape is the southern escarpment of the Tīh plateau, which is also roughly the location of the major isogloss bundles (numbers –16–, –20– and –24– in MAP 88, see appendix) running more or less southeast-northwest through Sinai between dialects of group I (to the northeast) and dialects of group VII (ṢwA) and group VIII (LA) (to the southwest). Although the dialect of the Badāṛah (assigned here to group I) is now spoken to the south of this escarpment as well, this tribe is originally from the Tīh plateau, where some of their families may still be found. In figure 1 of the appendix the escarpment

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30 Palva 1984–1986:307 remarks that hagg "is the genitive marker used by many dialects of the Arabian Peninsula".

31 A practical way for tribes to decide on the border of their territories is to agree on features of the landscape to represent this border. An example is the “Fjord” on the coast of the Gulf of Aqabah (location appr. 29.25.50 North and 34.49.50 East, see Google Earth), which is accepted by Taṛābīn and Aḥaywāt to be the eastern end of the border between their dirahs.

32 In northern Sinai we identified an ‘invisible obstacle’ coinciding with such a major isogloss bundle: due to the lowly social status of the Dawāgraḥ major isogloss bundles coincide with the borders between their dirah and the dirahs of neighbouring tribes, see De Jong 2000:653 (MAP 00 in appendix), isogloss bundles numbers 6 and 8.

33 The Tīh plateau is Eocene limestone, the high mountains to the south are part of a Precambrian Crystalline base, see webpage http://www.awayaway-sinai.net/main/about_sinai.htm (accessed 10-18-2010).

34 Oral communication from members of the Badāraḥ in the field, and who now live in ar-Ramlah, the sandy area just to the south of this escarpment. Von Oppenheim 1943:52–153 also mentions the Bedāra (in his transcription) as one of the oldest tribes in Sinai, living on Ḏabal ʿIğmah, who were in a ḥilf (alliance) with the Tayāha in older times, after which they had ‘Beziehungen’ (relations) with the Tuwara (lestagh) as well, and have ‘now’ (i.e. in his day) returned again to their old protectors the Tayāha. I had the impression during my visits that they had now returned to their earlier protectors the ‘Lēgāt again.
is visible in the map as the darker shade of grey between the brownish/pink area to the south (the area aptly named aṛ-Ṛamlah, indicated on the map as Debbet er Ramleh) and the high granite mountains of at-Ṭūr and the grey area to the north (limestone plateau of at-Tīh). This escarpment is very difficult to traverse.35

Another example is the isogloss bundle between the dialect of Taṛābīn of Nwēbiʿ and that of the Mzēnah (nr –28– in MAP 88): although both tribes live on the sandy plain of Nwēbiʿ in the Gulf of ʿAqabah of the mouth of Wādiy Watīr—the Taṛābīn in the northern area and the Mzēnah in its southern area—farther inland the border is the mountain range of Ġabal Gunnah running more or less east-west,36 as I was told by my Turbāniy informant.

In Wādiy aš-Šēx the tribal border between the Mzēnah and Ġbāliyyah is the (nowadays) asfalt road that leads through Wādiy aš-Šēx (to Wādiy Fēṛān): at the stretch of this road to the west of at-Ṭarfa Mzēniy territory lies to the north and the territory to the south is claimed by the Ġbāliyyyah.

The dialects of Baniy Wāṣil and the Mzēnah show a number of important similarities. Since the Baniy Wāṣil are said to originally have been speakers of a group I-type of dialect37—and if this is true—the dialect that they speak today must be the result of extensive influence from Mzēniy. On the map the territories of Baniy Wāṣil and Mzēnah are separated by the territory of the Awlād Saʿīd, which might prompt the question why their dialect (ASA) is not more like that of group VI (i.e. BWA and MzA), especially if dialect contact is assumed to be the cause of the development of older BWA towards the dialect type of MzA: how could this contact take place across an area inhabited by another tribe, and how can it be that the dialect of this separating tribe was not or at least much less influenced by MzA?

The answer is that the map in this case does not give a realistic picture of where members of the tribes actually live: the Awlād Saʿīd live much farther inland (the mountainous area in and around Wādiy Ṣlāf; for the location see fn 2, p. 115 in Introduction to Chapter II), thus leaving the

35 For a map showing the passes leading down from the Tīh Plateau to the ‘Dividing Valleys’ (of which the aṛ-Ṛamlah area is a part), see Greenwood 1997:35 (Figure 3–6. The Dividing Valleys).
36 This mountain is erroneously named Jabal Jannah on Google Earth, coordinates are appr. 28.52.30 North, 34.07.50 East.
37 Oral information of sources in the field. See also a comparison of MzA and BWA below.
sandy coastal plain near the town of aṭ-Ṭūr, which they claim as their dirah, deserted. The Baniy Wāṣil and Mzēnah can travel through this area freely, but simply will not settle in this empty land, which is also considered to be Saʿīdiy territory.

Territorial disputes also occur from time to time. The latest (in 2008) large scale conflict was between ʿLēgāṭ and Taṛābīn, when the ʿLēgāṭ, supported in their territorial ambitions by the Ğarāĝrah tried to move into Turbāniy territory south of Rās Ṣadr. The Taṛābīn did not sit idly and watch it occur, but instead rode out to defend their territorial claims in an armed conflict. The matter was settled later in a Bedouin court of justice. Not only were the ʿLēgāṭ sentenced in this Bedouin court of justice for their expansionist aspirations, the Ğarāĝrah too were fined a substantial sum for choosing the ʿLēgiy side in this dispute.

A ‘Virtual’ Isogloss Bundle, Number −39–: BWA and MzA

To show the relative typological proximity of the dialects of the Baniy Wāṣil and Mzēnah, a ‘virtual’ isogloss bundle (number −39–) was drawn into the map (positioned in the Gulf of Suez).

A direct comparison through multi-dimensional scaling already shows their relative proximity. In terms of calculations done for the ‘step method’ this proximity is expressed as 13.4% of differences as the outcome of the total of comparisons.

We see that BWA is ‘partially’ or ‘wholly’ characterized by a number of features that are more of the group I type than of the MzA type. To list examples:

– Like in most group I dialects, raising of short a in CaCCāC has not led to morphological restructuring (then > CICCāC), but is absent or rare (unlike the situation in surrounding dialects, where it is frequent and either optional or compulsory) (see MAP 22).
– The use of a sg. fem. pronominal suffix -kiy, either when following ǚ, or invariably so (i.e. preceded by any combination of vowels and/or consonants, like in group I) (see MAP 37).

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38 This is not to say that a tribe would otherwise normally deny a traveller passage through their dirah. The point is that contact between Mzēnah and Awlād Saʿīd and between Baniy Wāṣil and Awlād Saʿīd is likely to be less frequent, and contact between the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil to be more frequent than the situation reflected by the map may suggest.

39 Oral communication from Turbāniy sources in the field.
- BWA is the only dialect in the area which predominantly uses demonstrative forms with initial $hā$-, like in group I (see MAPS 39 and 40).
- BWA is the only dialect in the area which uses the adverb $hniy$ for “here” (see MAP 46).
- The system of negated personal pronominals is basically like in group I (see MAP 79).
- The interrogative “when” is like in group I $matā$, not like in the surrounding dialects (where one will hear $(i)mṭēh$, $mtēn$, or $mitēn$) (see MAP 82).
- 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms and sg. masc. imperatives of mediae infirmæ verbs with shortened long vowels are not current (i.e. the situation is like in group I). In surrounding dialects such shortening of the long vowel occurs regularly (see MAPS 84 and 85).

Of the partial differences, it is striking that a form used parallel to a form also known in MzA is often of the type found in group I as well. Examples are:

- Like in group I, a reflex (with short vowel) $-āʾ$ (when preceded by an emphatic) is used as parallel to (with long vowel) $-āʾ(ʾ)$ (like in surrounding dialects) for $*-āʾ(ʾ)$, e.g. $fiḍāʾ$ “free time”, but $ṛhāʾ$ “hand mill”.
- Like in group I, $widd$ is used to express “want, need”, parallel to $bidd$, the latter being current in surrounding dialects of group VII (see MAP 73).
- Like in group I, raising of $a$ in closed syllable preceding stressed $ē$ (e.g. $lammēt > limmēt$) is often absent, as opposed to the situation in surrounding dialects where such raising is current (see MAP 75).
- Like in group I, the baking sheet (for the preparation of bread) is called a $sāǧ$ (as opposed to $šāz$ in surrounding dialects). The game of $sūḫēh$ ($sūḫīh$ in group I), however, is referred to as $sūțīh$, like in surrounding dialects.
- The demonstrative for the pl. com. “these” may be heard with initial $hā$- (i.e. $hāḏīl$), as opposed to surrounding dialects, where only forms without such initial $hā$- are current (this may be due to MzA, which has $hāḏīl$ as a parallel form as well, or may be due to forms in group I, where forms with initial $hā$- are predominant).

The combination of these features points toward an earlier group I type of dialect for BWA. This should be seen in combination with the fact that the Banīy Wāṣīl were among the earliest tribes to arrive in Sinai (between 10th and 13th centuries, and perhaps even earlier, see Bailey 1985:33–35, and remarks made above in the Introduction, I. d.). Chances that BWA
acquired these group I features through dialect contact with one of the group I dialects are not great, since the dirah of Baniy Wāṣil does not border on any of the group I dirah’s (nor do I have evidence that it ever did).

The fact that BWA has been grouped together here with MzA to form group VI, is due to the features it shares with MzA. Notwithstanding the relic forms that are assumed to have their origin in its earlier group I-type, some of these features are truly unique for group VI (which makes their origin elsewhere in the region unlikely). E.g.

- The combination of (velarized) \(kbār\) and (unvelarized) \(ktār\) (like in MzA) contrasting with (both velarized) \(kbār\) and \(ktār\) in group I, and (both unvelarized) \(kbār\) and \(ktār\) in surrounding dialects (see MAP 4).
- Raising of \(a\) in open syllable preceding stressed \(a\) and also \(ā\) is like in MzA.
- Initial (\(ʾ\))\(a\)- in “mother”: ‘amm (like in MzA and group I) as opposed to ‘umn in surrounding dialects (see MAP 26).
- The form of the preposition “with” + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix is \(mʿuh\) “with him” and is identical to the form in MzA (and ‘LA and ḤmA), but surrounding and group I dialects have different forms (see MAP 48).
- The 3rd p. sg. fem. perfect of i-type is CiCCat like in MzA, but surrounding and group I dialects have other forms (see MAP 52).
- The combination of 3rd p. sg. masc. and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of “come” are yiǧīy and iǧīy is like in MzA, but forms differ from surrounding and group I dialects (see MAP 61).
- For the pl. masc. personal pronoun for “they” huwwa is current, like in MzA (but most group I dialects have hum(ma)) (see MAP 78).
- The reflex for final *-ā in a-type tertiae infirmae (yā’) verbs is usually (stressed) -\(ʾ\), like in mišīʾ. ligīʾ. nisīʾ (see MAP 86).

The grouping of MzA and BWA together in the same group is also supported by the outcome of the plots generated by the SPSS programmes Proxscal and Alscal: the MDS plots (see pp. 373–374), the dendrogram (see p. 375), the multi-dimensional colour plot, and—although to a somewhat lesser extent—the percentages calculated using the step method (see Conclusions, III. b.).
IV. METHODS OF ILLUSTRATING DIALECT DIFFERENCES

a. Some Remarks on Methods of Illustrating Typological Similarities/Differences of Dialects

One method of illustrating typological distances between dialects is to take the selection of features as they have been recorded in the data set. In this data set every dialect receives its own horizontal row and selected features are recorded in vertical columns. Presence of a feature is marked with the number “1”, absence of the feature with the number “0”. When parallel forms have been recorded in one dialect, presence of these parallel forms will be marked “1” in an equal number of columns.

On the basis of this data set, a distance matrix is then calculated; for each pair of dialects a relative typological distance is calculated (see the distance matrix in the appendix p. 376) (for dialectometrical measurements of distances based on differences and similarities, see Chapter 11. 2. In Behnstedt and Woidich 2005).

Using the calculated distances from the distance matrix, dialects are then plotted into an imaginary three-dimensional cube.

To each of the three dimensions represented by axes X, Y and Z one of the three basic colours red, green or blue is assigned.

Each axis is subdivided in values between zero and 255, in which zero represents 0 value for the basic colour, and 255 represents maximum value for that same basic colour on this axis.40

In this way every point inside the cube receives its own set of three coordinates, the combination of which is unique. Since these coordinates are represented by intensities of basic colours, different colours are produced according to the mix of the different values for these basic colours.

We then take these colours back to the geographical map, and paste them into the dirahs of the tribes whose dialects are represented by these colours. The result is a map in which typologically more similar dialects will show relatively similar colours, whereas more strongly differing dialects will receive more strongly differing colours on this map. An example of the situation in Sinai can be found on figure 8a in the Appendix.

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40 For an introduction to this method of multi-dimensional scaling, see the webpage (in Dutch) by Peter Kleiweg http://www.let.rug.nl/~kleiweg/L04/Tutorial/ti.html.nl (accessed 10-18-2010), which is part of the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States (LAMSAS) project at the University of Groningen (Netherlands).
This map clearly shows the dialect groups as clusters in similar shades of colours:

group I is mainly different shades of light green (and greyish for TAŞ and TAN),
group II is purplish red,
group III is red/dark orange (with a similar shade for eŠA)
group IV is light blue,
group V is purple,
group VI is sea green.
group VII is purple/violet.
group VIII is brownish / dark olive green.

When the three basic colours are assigned to different axes, naturally the colours will change. Examples are figures 8b and 8c in the Appendix.

These maps also appear to corroborate claims of genealogical relatedness of some tribes. The dialects of TAŞ and TAN are spoken by two different branches of Taṛābīn, who live approximately 200 kilometres apart. The fact that they are typologically near is clearly illustrated in the 2-dimensional MDS plots generated by Proxscal and Alscal (see pp. 373–374), where they have been plotted near each other. It is also illustrated by the 3-dimensional colour MDS plot, where the two dialects receive very similar colour shades. The dialect of the northern branch of Taṛābīn (nTA) is however typologically further removed, which is also illustrated in the different plots.

In the same way, the proximity of the two dialects DbA and ḤwA seems to corroborate claims that the two tribes are genetically related, or in any case may have been part of the same confederation in earlier times; the Dbūr are said to have split off from the Ḥwēṭāt as a ʿāylah.⁴¹

Compare these maps to map 88 of the appendix in which the differences have been interpreted and where every group is represented by one assigned colour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group I : yellow</th>
<th>Group II : orange</th>
<th>Group III : pink/light red</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group IV : light blue</td>
<td>Group V : grey/blue</td>
<td>Group VI : green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group VII : light brown</td>
<td>Group VIII : dark yellow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴¹ Von Oppenheim 1943:354–355 already lists this collective (Debūr in his transcription) as a sub-tribe of the Ḥwēṭāt, adding that they are "apparently a branch of the Debūr of Transjordan" (see ibid.:355, note 5). At-Ṭayyib 1997:107 also lists the Dubūr as one of the branches of the Ḥwēṭāt.
The dīrāhs of the Ḥwēṭāt and Ahaywāt

Although interviews with Ḥwēṭāt were recorded in the area of Ǧidy, I have not met with Ḥwēṭāt from the area more to the north in the triangular area drawn on the map between ʿAyA and nTA territory. For the area of Ahaywāt to the south of this ḤwA area, I have spoken to some Aḥaywiys who live near the road from Ṛās Ṣadr to the main (west-east through central Sinai) road Mitlā42–Nīxl, where some families of the Ahaywāt live, not far north of Qalʿat alǦīndiy.43

b. Multi-Dimensional Scaling in a Two-Dimensional Map

The MDS plots in the Appendix (pp. 373–374) show a number of interesting results. First of all, the plot supports the grouping of dialects and observations made earlier in De Jong 2000:44

– Balawiy Arabic (BaA) is shown to be nearest to (other) group I dialects, but its relative distance from these can still be interpreted as illustrative of the special place it occupies within this group.45
– To illustrate the relative typological proximity of group III dialects in the north to the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyyah (eŠA) in the Nile Delta, a ‘virtual’ isogloss bundle was introduced in De Jong 2000.46 The MDS plot also clearly shows this typological proximity.
– The MDS plot corroborates the separate typological status (as not being part of the northern Sinai dialect continuum) of Dwēğiyy (DA, group IV) and ʿArāṣiy (ʿAA, group V). The plot also shows that they are sufficiently far removed from other dialects to be considered as separate ‘groups’.
– The MDS plot shows that groups I, II, III and eŠA (eastern Šarqāwiy) of the north are in a linear sequence (‘west-east’ from left to right in the MDS plot), which reflects the typological continuum they form (geographically running in the opposite direction of the MDS plot).

42 Originally ʿumm ḏīlah, see remark in fn 7, p. 3.
43 Qalʿat alǦīndiy is located at appr. 29.51.04 North and 33.07.50 East, see Google Earth.
44 Observations made here are really based on the comparison based on 95 features which were selected to serve as criteria. Other characteristics not represented in this comparison further illustrate the same results.
45 See remarks in De Jong 2000: 57–58.
46 There bundle number –21–, cf. remarks 611, 615, 619, 622, 625.
c. Other Results of the MDS Plots

In De Jong 2000\textsuperscript{47} a remark from an older speaker of Smē’niy (SaA of group II in the north) was quoted, in which he claimed that his tribe had until a hundred years earlier lived in at-Ṭūr,\textsuperscript{48} where they had owned datepalms. The MDS plot Proxscal Squared Euclidean clearly illustrates the dialect of the Ḥamāḏah (ḤmA of group VII) as being relatively nearest to that of the Samā’nah. The MDS plot generated by Alscal (Euclidean Binary, see pp. 373–374) however does not produce the same result. I have no explanation for this difference between these two plots.

The dialects of Baniy Wāṣil and Mzēnah are plotted relatively near to each other. This is supported by the relatively limited number of isoglosses in the ‘virtual’ isogloss bundle introduced in the preceding pages, which also illustrates such relative typological proximity.

The dialect of Baniy Wāṣil (BWA), which was said by informants to have originally been of the group I-type, is plotted nearer to the group I dialects than any of the other non-group I dialects.

A problem with the outcome of the two-dimensional MDS plot Squared Euclidean Binary (see p. 373) generated by Proxscal is that the distance between e.g. BWA and ĞrA (of different groups: VI and I resp.) is plotted as shorter than the distance between, e.g., ĞrA and MlA, which are of the same group (both of group I), whereas dialects that are typologically more similar should be plotted nearer to each other than dialects that are less similar. The reason is that the number of dialects in group I to be incorporated in the plot is so great that it causes excessive stress, which results from ‘cramming’ hundreds of dimensions into a two-dimensional space. The result is that a less realistic representation like the one discussed here becomes unavoidable. To illustrate that it is stress that causes such distortion, all group I dialects causing such stress have been omitted from the MDS plot below, except ĞrA and MlA.

In this Proxscal MDS plot we see that the distance between ĞrA and MlA has been restored as being relatively shorter than the distance between ĞrA and BWA (dissimilarities are: BWA – MlA = 76, ĞrA – MlA

\textsuperscript{47} See p. 246. For illustration of similarities of these dialects cf. MAPS in the appendix of this volume.

\textsuperscript{48} The name at-Ṭūr is generally used to refer to the high mountainous area in southern Sinai, roughly where the Tuwaɾa tribes live.
Another interesting aspect of the different methods of multi-dimensional scaling is that these invariably lead the same grouping of dialects. Although different methods applied may inside the generated MDS plots lead to different positions of dialects (like ‘AA and DA) that have relatively little in common with the other dialects spoken in Sinai, the different MDS plots do produce comparable clusters of typologically related groups of dialects (see also two other MDS plots and the dendrogram on p. 375).

In addition, we notice that the dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII are all plotted in the southeastern quadrant of the plot generated by Alscal (Euclidean Binary). The importance lies in the fact that, given the diverse

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49 These numbers are only to be interpreted as distances relative to each other; the greater the number, the greater the distance.

50 By “less problematic” I mean that the resulting plot better represents my own subjective impressions of the typological distances of the groups involved.

51 The fact that these three groups are plotted in this quadrant is coincidental to some degree, but the relative proximity of the three groups is not.
origins of the tribal communities before they came to Sinai (and at different times in history), dialect contact is highly likely to have been the acting force in bringing these dialects typologically nearer to each other in a process of levelling.\(^{52}\) In this way the dialects of the different tribes have coalesced (though not entirely) to form a ‘phylum’,\(^{53}\) which now covers the southern tip of Sinai. Several processes of focusing must have taken place. One clear example is the spread of the \(-\text{\textlangle} u\rangle\text{\textrangle}k\) (masc.) and \(-\text{\textlangle} i\rangle\text{\textrangle}k\) (fem.) pronominal suffixes for the 2nd p. sg.; although the proposed development described above (cf. Chapter I, 3.1.12.2., NOTE) may be plausible, it is highly unlikely that the different different tribes who arrived in southern Sinai at different times in history all had these suffixes after having all gone through the same process of innovation (i.e. the reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries) independently and before their arrival in Sinai. A much more plausible scenario is that these suffixes originated in one of the dialects involved in dialect contact, after which they spread throughout the southern region. This development may be difficult to date, but we know that it must have taken place more than a century ago at least, because until ten years ago these suffixes were still present in the dialect of the Samā’nah in the north, who had emigrated from southern Sinai towards the end of the nineteenth / beginning of the twentieth century (see De Jong 2000:246).

d. Grouping Dialects Using a Dendrogram

To arrive at a relatively logical grouping another tool used is a dendrogram\(^{54}\) (generated with the Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of the SPSS) to cluster the dialects of Sinai (including Negev Arabic, ĐA). It is important to remember that a dendrogram illustrates degrees of similarity (or dissimilarity), and

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\(^{52}\) See remarks in Trudgill 1986:39, where the relevance of the geographic parameter of diffusion models is stressed.

See also Palva 2008b:401 “[... the Ṭawara tribes have lived in close alliance since the 17th century (Oppenheim 1943:156–157), and the earlier dialectal differences must have faded away long ago”.

An alternative interpretation could be that these dialects were already much alike before the tribes came to Sinai, but given the heterogeneous history reported for the different tribes in various sources, this is far less likely; in any case this alternative interpretation would fail to explain the current typological position of GbA, whose speakers must have come to Sinai in the fifth century CE as non-native speakers of Arabic (see also remarks in fn 24, p. 321).

\(^{53}\) Other than a possible genetic relationship in the distant past, this term is not meant to suggest a relatively recent common ancestor.

\(^{54}\) See also Behnstedt and Woidich 2005:129.
that we should not conclude a genealogical relationship. A dendrogram generated for all dialects in Sinai is (grouping with Roman numbering was done by hand, see figure 6 in the appendix for the colour version):

Dendrogram of dialects of Sinai
We see here that the Group I dialects quite neatly cluster together, with BaA occupying a special place inside this group. BaA ‘branches’ at a lower level, farther to the right, than the other dialects (see remarks in De Jong 2000:57–58). Groups IV and V branch at a relatively low level as well (even farther to the right than BaA), which supports the interpretation of these dialects as separate groups.

Clustering of the dialects that form groups II and III is also clear from this dendrogram. For remarks on decisions to group clusters of dialects in groups VI, VII and VIII in this manner, see remarks in Conclusions, III. c.

The dendrogram also shows that the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyya (eŠA) and the dialects of groups III (BA and AxA) and also V (ʿAA) are all on the same longer branch. This is due to the fact that these dialects are all more of the sedentary type (in comparison to the other dialects represented here in groups, which are more of the Bedouin type).

A plausible interpretation of the existing situation from a socio-linguistic perspective is that the different groups, in as far as dialects were not genealogically related, have developed from a diffuse situation (or situations, since the different tribes arrived at different times in history) towards a more homogeneous situation through dialect contact, in which certain original forms must have been lost due to processes of koineization through stages of levelling (simplification, reduction in irregularities, focusing, dropping minority and otherwise marked speech forms that exist parallel) and which resulted in a synchronically relatively stable dialect (see Trudgill 1986:107–108 and remarks in De Jong 2000:28–29).

To conclude such a development becomes particularly plausible if we consider the case of the 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. pronominal suffixes -uḳ and -ik (resp.); a scenario in which different tribes of different origins arrived at different times in history, but were all already using these pron. suffixes is highly unlikely (see remarks in the preceding paragraph). We may not know where these suffixes originated, but we do know that they spread among this group with its heterogeneous background that currently exists in southern Sinai. Perhaps these suffixes were imported into the area by one of the tribes who arrived there, or perhaps these suffixes even came into being locally as ‘interdialect forms’ (see Trudgill 1986:62).

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55 For processes of ‘Konvergenz’ leading to ‘Nivellierung’, bringing various dialects closer together, see Diem 1978.
e. What Informants Say

In the course of this research several claims were heard made by informants concerning the relationships between the different tribes of Sinai. Although I have chosen not to use these comments for the typological classification and grouping, I consider them interesting enough to be mentioned here. Below is a list of these claims and in comments I have indicated how the results of the MDS plots and the dendrogram (in the appendix) might relate to these claims (the question of whether or not these statements are true is not investigated here).

Remark: the Dbūr are said to be related to (i.e. they originally split off as a family from) the Ḥwētāt.
Comment: when we look at the MDS plots, we see that their dialects (DbA and ḤwA resp.) are indeed plotted closely together inside group I. The dendrogram shows the same.

Remark: the Ǧarāǧrah are said to be related to the Masāʿīd (in the northwest), who are in turn said to be related to the Aḥaywāt (living around Nixl and Ṭāba).
Comment: the dialects of the Aḥaywāt and Masāʿīd (AḥA and MA resp.) are indeed plotted closely together inside group I. The dialect of the Ǧarāǧrah (ǦrA), however, is not plotted very near to AḥA and MA (resp.). The dendrogram shows the same.

Remark: the ʿLēgāt are said to be descendents of the neigbouring Ṣawālḥah.
Comment: the MDS plots position their dialects relatively near each other.
In the dendrogram these two dialects do not appear very near each other.

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56 There is of course also the chance that informants conclude a relationship based on features perceived to be similar in the dialects spoken by these tribes.
57 One could even imagine that people ‘invent’ a genealogical relationship based on their perception of linguistic similarities with the dialect of another tribe, or simply because they for some reason like to be associated with another tribe or certain other tribes.
58 Much of the claims listed here can be checked against the information given in Introduction I. d. and in the relevant sources mentioned there.
58 See also De Jong 2000c.
Conclusions

Remark: The Garāršah are said to be a section of the Ṣawālḥah (see also Bailey 1985:33).
Comment: the MDS plots and the dendrogram indeed cluster these two dialects relatively near each other.

Remark: the Taṛābīn are said to be related to Biliy (in the north), but this is quite remote in the past.59
Comment: a relationship between (any branch of) the Taṛābīn and Biliy—other than that they have been grouped together60—is not evident from the MDS plots or the dendrogram.

Remark: the dialect of the Baniy Wāṣil was more like the dialect–type spoken by group I tribes, but it has changed under influence of dialects of ‘other’ (not further specified) tribes.
Comment: the MDS plots indeed show that Wāṣliy (BWA), as one of the dialects of the southern groups VI, VII and VIII, is typologically nearest to the group I-type dialects. The dendrogram does not show a direct connection.

In general, one could conclude that remarks made by informants are often on the mark, or quite near it. G.W. Murray’s (1935:256–257) remark on Bedouin in southern Sinai that “among themselves, they can distinguish each tribe and subtribe by their looks and dialects...” is true for the entire region.

V. A Comparison of the Dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt of Southern Jordan and the Ḥwēṭāt of Sinai

Prompted by some additional remarks made by Professor Heikki Palva on the dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt, which were partly in reaction to my own remarks on his description of their dialect as spoken by this tribe in southern Jordan, I feel encouraged to once again add a few of my observations.

59 Stewart (1991:106) reports that the Taṛābīn were part of the Baniy ʿAṭīyya.
60 See also De Jong 2000:57–58, fn 3 on the special position of BaA inside group I.
In this research it is assumed that members of the same tribe who live in the same dirah and are in regular contact with each other will also speak the same dialect.\(^61\)

When members of the same tribe have been living in different locations, and have been relatively isolated from each other for longer periods of time, their dialects are bound to show differences, and one may expect that the longer the isolation has lasted, the more differences will have developed.\(^62\)

The majority of those who identify themselves as Ḥwēṭāt are actually found in southern Jordan and in the adjacent far northwestern corner (the northern Ḥiǧāz) of Saudi Arabia. In older times many of the Ḥwēṭāt settled on the Egyptian mainland, a large group of whom were found around Bilbēs in the eastern Nile Delta. The Ḥwēṭāt in Sinai are not very numerous, and a small settlement inhabited by them is Ġidy\(^63\) in the north of Sinai. The Ḥwēṭāt of southern Jordan are said to be an amalgam of different groups of (semi-)sedentary population, many of whom are originally not of Bedouin stock.\(^64\)

My earlier remarks concerned the typological status of the dialect of Ḥwēṭāt in Jordan,\(^65\) and whether perhaps their dialect formed part of a transition to a more Naǧdiy type of dialect. The following is a comparison of Ḥwēṭiy spoken in Jordan (referred to here as ḤwJ) as described in Palva 1984–1986 (in this comparison the structure of this article is largely followed).

\(^{61}\) This is a sociolinguistically inspired approach that has proven to be a very workable principle in the case of (sometimes still (semi-) nomadic) Bedouin tribes. There are exceptions, of course. See also remarks in De Jong 2000:239.

\(^{62}\) Either as a result from autonomous developments inside the dialect itself, or as a result of change induced by contacts with speakers of other dialects.

\(^{63}\) Since the area was said to be teeming with military (for the very strategic Ġidy pass about 20 km north of the Mīlā pass), I had interviews there conducted for me by others. The approximate position of the village would be 30.12 North, 33.04 East, just to the northwest of Ḡabāl alǦidy, and to the north of Ṣadr alḤayṭān, see Google Earth (where it is indicated as Gebel Heitan).

\(^{64}\) Oral communication from a Ḥwēṭiy šēx from al-Ǧafr interviewed in 2008 in al-Ḥusayniyyah in southern Jordan. He told me that several families or clans had joined the tribe as duxula (Classical Arabic duxulāʾ), i.e. “people seeking refuge and protection”. See also remarks in Palva 2008:402 “[the Ḥwēṭāt] probably are descendants of an old local population (ahl ad-dīre) (Musil 1926:20), whose culture for centuries has fluctuated between seminomadism and semisedentarism”.

\(^{65}\) See De Jong 2000:627–630.
I have added notes referring to Ḥwēṭiy poetry as recorded in Holes and Abu Athera 2009 when forms appearing there are different from Palva’s description or from my own findings. These poems will be referred to as ‘Barrāk’. The abbreviation ḤwA is used here to refer to may own findings for the dialect of Ḥwēṭāt in Sinai. For the sake of brevity, the emphasis in this comparison is on highlighting differences between ḤwA and ḤwJ, while briefly mentioning some similarities.

The texts of the poet Barrāk in Holes and Abu Athera 2009 are essentially the interpretation of the authors of written texts, and are not based on audio recordings. Apart from that, it is known that for poetry not every day spoken dialect is used, but a (higher) register considered to be more appropriate for this purpose. I shall therefore merely mention details of interest without drawing any conclusions from the Barrāk material.

Phonetics
The inventory of phonemes is almost identical (see Palva 1984–1986:296). One difference is that the affricate ǧ has a highly regular allophone (fricative) ž in ḤwA. In Barrāk transcription is with ǧ throughout and is reported as “always realised as an alveolar affricate” (i.e. I.P.A. [dʒ]).

A glottal stop often follows final stressed -a in a pause (Barrāk:296): e.g. ǧa’ “he came”.

A similar situation in ḤwA, but ’ is also often heard following unstressed final -a, e.g. áfdâ “I sacrifice”, taġádda “he had lunch”, biyrîdha “he wants (i.e. loves) her” and ál’aša “the dinner”.

Such glottalization is not indicated in Barrāk.

Lack of affrication in reflexes of *k and *q in ḤwJ: same in ḤwA.

Three short vowel phonemes: /i/, /u/ and /a/ in ḤwJ: same in ḤwA.
Five long vowel phonemes: /ī/, /ū/ and /ā/, and /ē/ (*ay) and /ō/ (*aw) in ḤwJ: same in ḤwA. No real overlap (or fluctuation) of /ē/ with /ī/ or /ō/ with /ū/. In ḤwA very high /ē/ was heard in the lexical items zēt, sēf and bēt, but such high realisations (near I.P.A. [iː]) of /ē/ were the exception, rather than the rule.

Palva (ibid.) reports /ē/ and /ō/ in all positions in ḤwJ, including those preceded by velarized consonants or X. In ḤwA, however, diphthongs have remained in such positions, e.g. ʚyin “eye”, xaymih “tent”, nuṣṣayn “two halves”, șayf “summer”, ạwawyt “I went home before sunset”, ʰawly “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, gawṭar “he went”. The diphthong in ’yś “bread” was often realised lengthened: ʚyś in ḤwA.

In Barrāk only a few diphthongs occur, e.g. ʰawl (p. 93, l. 5), at-ṭubayg, (p. 96, l. 37), taw’in (p. 101, l. 4) but more regularly monophthongs are found following back spirants and velarized consonants, e.g.: hēl and xēl (p. 94, ll. 14 and 16) (but here perhaps to rhyme with sēl and mēl), hēt (p. 95, l. 30), ʰēn (p. 96, l. 43), tēr (p. 100, l. 29), ĝēr (p. 100, l. 32), bağētah (p. 101, l. 4) (here rhyming with nagētah and lagētah), sēf (p. 101, l. 5), a’þētah and na’þētah (p. 102, ll. 20 and 21).

In terms of stress, the only diffence between ḤwJ and ḤwA appears to be that the former stresses CáCaC(v) (provided it is not CaXaCv),69 while the latter clearly prefers stress CaCáC(v).

Examples for CaCaC from ḤwA are malág “hard soil/rock (i.e. where no foot prints will be visible)”, libán “milk” and a gahawah-form ạdahár “back”. ḤwA examples for CaCaCv are sibágah “race”, zalámah “man”, gaḥawah “coffee”, hanákak “your mouth”, afámak “your mouth”, taḥârid (ʚala) “you go up (to)”, na’ārif “we know”.

In ḤwJ we see forms like (following numbers refer to pages in Palva 2004) ritam “retam (firewood)” (203) and sīgār “trees” (203) (stressed, according

69 This is how I interpret Palva’s remarks, see 1984–1986:297. These remarks seem to be contradicted, however, by (verbal) forms listed on p. 299: k(i)tábat, k(i)tábow/-u and k(i)tábin. Although Palva (2004:197,198) repairs the error of listing the forms ɣa dat, ɣa dow/-u and ɣa din by replacing them with the forms ɣa adat, ɣa adow/-u and ɣa adin, we are now faced with a new question: why is *katab + at stressed k(i)tábat, whereas ɣa ad + at is stressed, I assume, ɣa adat? This assumption is not without ground: the form ɣa dat could not have been listed if the proper form is ɣa adat, since I find it hard to believe that a stressed vowel would have been heard as having been elided. The error of listing the form ɣa dat could therefore only be made because the proper form is ɣa adat.

When gahawah-forms are involved, we do find a CaCaCv stress-type, e.g. ba’áda (Palva 2004:201).
to Palva’s remarks, rítam and síğar)," which prompt the question whether these are perhaps relics of an older CaCáC stress-type (in which the vowel a of the first syllable in neutral environments is often raised > CiCáC). In other words: are we dealing with a stress shift in Ḥwēṭiy, and is its older stress-type then more like the present situation in ḤwA of Sinai? (for further remarks, see ‘the verb’ below)

Apart from stress in sequences mentioned above, stress in both ḤwA and ḤwJ can be characterized by the forms: álbil “the camels”, ábwalad “the boy”, ángaḷab/yíngilib (imperfect in ḤwJ would be yángalib) “be overturned”, áttafağı/yíttifig (imperfect in ḤwJ would be yáttafiği) “agree”, bintī “my daughter”, darabatnī “she hit me”. As for forms in Barrāk, no conclusions can be drawn with regard to stress.

As for the Naǧdiy type of resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences (> CCICV, or (gahawah-sequences) CaXaCV > CxaCV), it is not a feature of ḤwA. As for ḤwJ, however, there are several instances of forms that have been subject to this rule. Palva appears to report free variation with respect to the application of this rule.72 Notice the following forms in Palva 2004. (Following bracketed numbers refer to the pages, the form in square brackets would be the ḤwA equivalent, which are not affected by the Naǧdiy resyllabication rule). First of all, gahawah-forms appearing in ḤwJ which are also resyllabificied in conformity with the Naǧdiy resyllabication rule are (forms listed in square brackets are proper ḤwA forms):

ghawah (1984–1986:303) [gaháwah], yḡazu “they raid” (201) [yaḡázuw], 3 instances of nxabiz “we bake” (202) [naxábiz], 3 instances of nὰğin “we knead” (202) [na’aḵin], 2 instances of nḡazil “we spin”, nḡázila “we spin it” (203) [naḡázil and naḡázlah] and nḥaṣid “we harvest” (204) [nahāṣid].

In Barrāk instances of CaCaCV were not found.

gahawah-forms in Barrāk are: ar-raʾad (p. 86, l. 11), wa l-waʿad (p. 88, l. 4), and verb forms tahamdūh (p. 91, l. 25), but there are also many forms which are not affected by the gahawah-syndrome (perhaps for metric reasons), e.g. šaʾbah (p. 91, l. 27), šaʾb (p. 91, l. 28) and šaʾb (p. 93, l. 8), an-naxlāt (p. 99, l. 25) and verb forms yahfaḍōh (p. 91, l. 20), yahkum (p. 91, l. 28) and yaxša (p. 95, l. 23).

Morphology
Independent pronouns in ḤwA are aná, int(a), intiy, hū, hi, aḥna, intuw, intin, hum(ma) and hin(na). For ḤwJ Palva reports ana, int, inti, hū, hi, iḥna (~ḥinna), intu, intin, hum and hin.73

Also in Barrāk we find ḥinna (p. 95, l. 31).

Pronominal sufffixes
C-ī / V-y (poss.) and -nī (obj.), C-ak / V-k, -kiy, C-ah or C-ih / V-(h), -ha(‘), -kuw / -kin, -na(‘). In ḤwJ the same sufffixes are current, except the allomorph -ih of the 3rd p. sg. masc.74

In Barrāk we find singular forms like (3rd p. sg. masc. -ah or -ih) šaʾbah “his people” (p. 91, l. 27) and annās kullih “all people” (p. 85, l. 3) and (v + -h) yiʿtiḥ “they give him” (p. 89, l. 22); (3rd p. sg. fem. -ha) gaṣdha “her intent” or a long vowel at the end of a hemistich as in warāhā “behind her” (p. 86, l. 7); (2nd p. sg. masc. -ak) ḡēšak “your army” (p. 86, l. 6) or (v + -k) as in malfāk “your destination” (p. 93, l. 6); a short final vowel in (1st p. sg. com. -i) rizgi “my sustenance” (p. 101, l. 9), (v + -y) mabdāy “my principle” (p. 101, l. 6) and (obj. suff. -ni) talabni “he asked me” (p. 98, l. 5). Plural

73 See Palva 1984–1986:297 and 2004:308. Palva also mentions that in pause, ana, hū and hi sometimes have an audible glottal stop following. In ḤwA I have only noticed this in the case of ana *a, but then not only in pause.
74 I follow a slightly different system of transcription in forms like -kuw and -kiy (Palva writes -ku and -ki). I have not recorded (unstressed and short) -i or -ni for the 1st p. com. sg. in ḤwA, which Palva 1984–1986:397 gives for ḤwJ.
forms are (3rd p. pl. masc.) ahalhum “their people” (p. 100, l. 33); (3rd p. pl. fem. -hin) la buddhin “they must”; (2nd p. pl. masc. -kum; -ku(w) was not recorded) gihädkum “your fight” (p. 86, l. 15); the 2nd p. pl. fem. was not found; (1st p. pl. com. -na) baladna “our land” (p. 89, l. 17).

Demonstrative pronouns in ḤwA are
Near deixis: hāda, hādiy (~ fewer hēdiy), hadāl (-lah),
Far deixis: hadāk, hadik (-ih) (~ fewer hēdik (-ih)), hadallāk(-ah)
In ḤwJ the same forms were recorded.75

A feature considered very typical of ḤwA by other tribes is the postpositional demonstrative ha, e.g. álwalad ha... “this boy”. This feature was not reported for ḤwJ, nor were instances found in Barrāk.

Interrogatives
min is used for “who?” in both ḤwA and ḤwJ.76
For the interrogative “what?” ēh, much less regularly ēš and sometimes wiš were heard in ḤwA. For ḤwJ Palva77 gives wuš, co-occurring with ēš and K-form šū (with proclitic variants ’iš and šu).

“Which” is yāt in ḤwA, but ayy / ayya in ḤwJ.78

The b-imperfect
For ḤwJ Palva reports that the b-imperfect is not current in ḤwJ.79 Barrāk shows no instances of the b-imperfect either. In ḤwA, however, it is as current as in other dialects of Sinai (except in that of the Dawāğrah).

Indefinite pronouns and the article80
ḤwJ wāḥad—ḤwA wāḥid “someone”, both variants have šiy “something”, kam “some”, “all, every, whole” is kill in ḤwJ—kull in ḤwA, the article is al- in both variants, and also often (’konkretisierendes’)81 hal.82 The relative pronoun is alli(y) in both, while halli is also reported for ḤwJ (the latter was not heard in ḤwA).

78 See Palva 1984–1986:298
80 For remarks on ḤwJ, see Palva 1984–1986:298
82 For postpositioned ha in ḤwA, see remark in III, 3.1.9.1.
The verb in ḤwA and ḤwJ

Perfect verb forms listed for ḤwJ reflect the a-type as CaCaC or CaCaC (< *CaCaC) and the i-type as CiCiC or CaCiC (< *CaCiC). Palva83 concludes that the vowel of the first syllable in both types depends on the phonetic surroundings. To summarize his point: if a of the first syllable in *CaCaC was realized with a back allophone, it has remained a (e.g. gaˈad), but if it was realized with a front allophone, it has become i (e.g. kitāb). In the older i-type (*CaCiC) the same development is concluded, but an additional factor of vowel harmony is held responsible for this change. Examples cited are ‘arif (< *CaCiC, in which a is concluded to have been realized with a back allophone) and širīb (< *CaCiC, where a is concluded to have been realized with a front allophone).

Apart from the fact that it is difficult to imagine a back allophone for a in ‘arif (which would then have to be more or less like (the vowel in the first syllable) a in e.g. ḍarāb, i.e. near I.P.A. [a]),84 there is a more plausible explanation.

A historically more plausible development to account for raising a > i in these patterns is to postulate a stress shift from CvCvC to CvCvc (see also Grotzfeld 1969); patterns that are now stressed on the first syllable must have been stressed on the second syllable to allow the vowel a in neutral surroundings to be raised to i. The scenario in which raising of short vowel a > i in open syllable preceding a stressed syllable takes place is not unique in the area (see paragraphs 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.1.1.6. of preceding descriptive chapters), nor is stress of the CaCaC- or CiCiC-type (see paragraphs 2.1.1.2.1. of preceding descriptive chapters; ḤwA also has CaCaC and CiCiC, e.g. kitāb and širīb).

The implication is that Palva’s suggestion of raising of a in *CaCiC (> CiCiC) in ḤwJ as the result of vowel harmony85 appears to be off the mark. After all, why would a in *CaCaC be raised (> CiCaC) if a mechanism of vowel harmony were operative?86

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84 In fact, preceding ḍ or ḫ more typically result in an open front allophone near I.P.A. [a].
85 As was assumed in Palva 1984–1986:298.
86 Palva ibid. recognizes this, but does not elaborate. Also the fact that the vowel of the imperfect preformative does not harmonize with the stem vowel is an indication that vowel harmony (present in almost all dialects of Sinai, including ḤwA) is at least not a very productive rule in ḤwJ (see ibid.:299–301). Some examples of such lack of vowel harmony cited for ḤwJ are yag ud, yaktīb, yamšī, yadri, etc.
The more likely historical development is that after such raising (a > i) in neutral surroundings had become stable, resulting in CiCáC and CiCiC, stress shifted onto the first syllable, resulting in the forms that were recorded (e.g. kitab and širib).

The question remains then, why did stress shift? There is no easy answer, but chances are that ḤwJ has been influenced by a dialect-type which stresses CVCvC. The dialect-type could be a sedentary (rural or urban) type in southern Jordan, or perhaps even contact with speakers of a Naǧdiy (i.e. a Bedouin type, but non-NWA) type of dialect; after all, the very same vowelling and stress-type are current in Naǧdiy (e.g. the active (a-type) perfect forms kitab “he wrote”, dibaḥ “he slaughtered”, but—due to lowering influences of contiguous ḥ and ‘—no raising in e.g. (a-type perfect) hálab “he milked” and ga’ad “he sat” and also (i-type perfect) ’āṣiḡ “he loved”).

The confusing differences in stressing in forms like ga’adat, but ki(i) ṭabat and (gahawah-forms) y(a)’ar and ghuwah are already an indication that dialect contact may be have taken place (or is still operative); two systems for stressing sequences of the type CaCaCv(C) appear to be in use and exist side by side as parallel systems. And parallel forms, or parallel systems in this case, are often an indication of dialect contact.

In any case, the topic of stress shift deserves more attention than it can receive here.

Like in ḤwA, a of the i-type perfect (underlying |CaCiC|) in ḤwJ ‘reappears’ in closed syllables, e.g. šarbin “they (fem.) drank”. A difference is the vowel of the 3rd p. sg. fem. ending: šarbit in ḤwA, but šarbat in ḤwJ.
The vowel of in the 3rd p. pl. fem. perfect ending in ḤwA colours with the base vowel: -an in the a-type perfect (e.g. katāban) and -in in the i-type perfect (e.g. šarbin). In ḤwJ the situation is not clear, but Palva—with some hesitation—lists the forms with a fixed i in this morpheme (k(i)tābin and šarbin).93

Similar hesitation is apparent in the endings listed for the 3rd p. pl. masc., for which Palva lists -ow/-u for both vowel-types of the perfect in ḤwJ (k(i)tābow/-u and šarbow/-u). In ḤwA vowel harmony produces -aw in the a-type (katābow or kitābow). The ending in the i-type (and also in the u-type) is -uw (šarbuw).

Endings used in the imperfect for the 3rd p. pl. masc. and fem. show the same differences. Examples for the fem. are byathanan iw biyğāriblin “they (fem.) grind and sieve” in ḤwA, but in ḤwJ tākitbin / taktibin and tašrabin. Examples for the masc. are yikitbuw and yašrabaw in ḤwA, but in ḤwJ forms are yákitbu / yaktibu and yašrabu, and fem. pl. forms are yákitbin / yaktibin and yašrabin.94

Barrāk lists some forms with the (more Naḏdiy-like) pl. masc. ending -ūn, e.g. yisfūn (p. 86, l. 6) and yirmūn (p. 86, l. 7), but there can be little doubt that this is due to the high register chosen for this poem.95 Other forms in Barrāk more strongly suggest a situation like in ḤwA, e.g. (perfect) ihtāǧaw (p. 95, l. 21) and (imperfect) yadḥakaw (p. 91, l. 21) and there are many instances where suffixation results in monophthongized -aw or -ow > -ō, as in (perfect) sawwōh (p. 90, l. 2) and (imperfect) yahfādōh (p. 91, l. 20), while suffixation of -uw results in -ū, as in (perfect) and (imperfect) ysammūh (p. 90, l. 1) and tahamdūh (p. 91, l. 25).

In poetry (Barrāk, pp. 93–97) many instances may be found of vowel harmony in the pl. fem. endings of perfect and imperfect: -an for the a-types and -in for the i-types, e.g. (perfect) bayyananni (p. 95, l. 22) and imperfect (a-type) yarḥalanni (p. 94, l. 18) and (i-type) yihtifinni (p. 94, l. 11).96

In ḤwA the vowel of the imperfect preformative colours with the stem vowel through vowel harmony, e.g. yiktib, yuḏrub and yarğa‘, while in ḤwJ

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94 Ibid.:299–300.
95 The poem was actually recited by the poet to king Ḥusayn of Jordan, see ibid.:84–85.
96 Endings there are actually -anni and -inni, instead of -an and -in; the additional -ni being a poetic device.
the preformative is with fixed a, e.g. yaktīb, yaḍrub and yarḡa.\(^\text{97}\) In Barrāk the system is basically like in ḤwA, e.g. yisfik (p. 86, l. 10), yiḥyi (p. 89, l. 25), yimši (p. 88, l. 8), yibnūh (p. 90, l. 4), tunkus (p. 89, l. 15), yunḍur (p. 89, l. 26), yuḍkur (p. 100, l. 34), tunsur (p. 91, ll. 15, 16), yuṭlub (p. 91, l. 23), nuḍukraḥt (p. 101, l. 9), yurzurg (p. 101, l. 9) and also yasrax (p. 86, l. 14) and tarkab (p. 94, ll. 16, 17), but also (exceptions) yaʿizzhum (p. 89, l. 26) and tafriq (p. 96, l. 43).

Imperatives in ḤwA have initial vowels coloured by vowel harmony: uḡud, iktib and aṣrab. In ḤwJ such colouring is absent from the a-type: uḡud, iktib, but iṣrab.\(^\text{98}\)

Some weak verbs

Primae wāw verbs in ḤwA have incorporated wāw in the preformative, often monophthongal ō in the i-type, as in yōrid, and diphthongal aw in the a-type, as in yawṣal. For some verbs another paradigm without incorporated wāw is also available, as in yiḡif and yirid.

In ḤwJ the preformative contains long ā, as in yāgaf and yāṣal. A shorter form la ṭigaʿ was also recorded in ḤwJ.\(^\text{99}\) Barrāk gives a form yāgafanni (for the -ni ending, see remark above) (p. 96, l. 33).

In tertiae yāʿ a-type imperfects in ḤwA the base vowel is not dropped when vowel-initial endings are appended, e.g. tansay, yansaw. In ḤwJ however the base vowel is dropped, e.g. tansi, yansu.\(^\text{100}\) In Barrāk we find forms like in ḤwA: yarḍaw (p. 88, l. 10) and yiṭnāsōh (suffixed -aw or -ow > -ō) (p. 90, l. 9).

The imperfect vowel in the primae hamzah verbs is i in ḤwA, ḤwJ and Barrāk: yākil (p. 99, l. 25) and yāxīḍ (p. 88, l. 11; p. 96, l. 39).

The perfect forms are with initial a- in both ḤwA and ḤwJ: akal, akalt, etc.

The verb “come”

In forms in ḤwA the vowel of consonant-initial imperfect preformatives has been dropped (and the final syllable is stressed): yḡiɣ, tḡiɣ, nḡiɣ, tḡw, tḡw, tḡw.
tǧin, yǧuw and yǧin, but (1st p. com. sg.) aǧjy. In ḤwJ the vowel has not been dropped and is stressed (leaving the ending unstressed): yǧj, tǧj, etc.

Derived measures
In perfect and imperfect of measures ta-2 and ta-3, the ta- prefix is only rarely reduced to (i)t- in ḤwA. Examples are taǧadda, ytaǧadda and tasālam, ytasālam.

In ḤwJ reduction of ta or tə > t in the imperfect (but not in the perfect) is indicated to be current, as in the examples taǧadda, yat(ə)ǧadda/yt(ə)ǧada and tasālam, yat(ə)sālam/ yt(ə)sālam.101 In Barrāk we find forms like iytaraǧǧāh (p. 91, l. 13), tabāšaw (p. 91, l. 21), tasallam (p. 98, l. 8).

In measures n-1 and 1-t the first syllable in the perfect and imperfect is stressable in ḤwA and ḤwJ, but vowelling in the imperfect differs. Examples are ánfaṭah, yínfīth and ástawa, yístiwī in ḤwA, but ánfaṭah, yánfath and ástawa, yástawi in ḤwJ.102 In Barrāk we find forms like iḍa nkasār (perhaps stressed iḍ-d̑-nkasār) (p. 88, l. 15), but also infaqār (p. 91, l. 22), îngalâb (p. 95, l. 27) yîhtasîlîhā (with a in the stem, but not in the preformative) (p. 89, l. 21), yîmtaṭîlîhā (ibid.) (p. 89, l. 21), yihtîfînî103 (p. 94, l. 11).

Nominal morphology
The degree of raising of the fem. morpheme differs slightly: in ḤwA up to [ıh] in neutral surroundings, but in ḤwJ mostly [ɛ].104 In Barrāk we see many examples where final -ih is transcribed, e.g. the poem on pp. 98–100.

Tanwīn
Tanwīn is not a feature of ḤwA or ḤwJ, but in Barrāk’s poems quite a number of instances of are found. The use of tanwin (i.e. appending final -în) is however restricted to poetry and sayings and the like and is not current in every day speech.

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102 Ibid.:303.
103 The final syllable is a poetic device; the poem rhymes in -ni.
Particles

Some differences between adverbs in ḤwA and ḤwJ<sup>105</sup> are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ḤwA</th>
<th>ḤwJ</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hniyy(yih)</td>
<td>hān</td>
<td>“here”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnuh</td>
<td>hināk</td>
<td>“there”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kidīy(yih)</td>
<td>hēk</td>
<td>“thus, this way”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēh</td>
<td>lēš</td>
<td>“why?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata</td>
<td>matān/mitān, wagtēh</td>
<td>“when?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>kam/katrayh</td>
<td>“how many?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaddēh</td>
<td>gaddēš</td>
<td>“how much?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāyman</td>
<td>daym</td>
<td>“always”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’a(la) tāl</td>
<td>duğri</td>
<td>“straight”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some differences in conjunctions

yōm is current for “when” in ḤwA and ḤwJ, but nhār was not recorded in ḤwA in the same meaning.

inkān is current for “if” in ḤwA and ḤwJ (and also Barrāk, e.g. p. 103, ll. 25 and 29), but (’)ila was not recorded in ḤwA for “if” (but instances in Barrāk are, e.g., on p. 103, ll. 22 and 28), nor was suffixed kann- or känn-. In Barrāk an instance of suffixed kann is kannak tidakkar “if you remember” (p. 102, l. 15).<sup>106</sup>

For “until” lamma is current in both ḤwA and ḤwJ, but lamman and yāma were not recorded for “when” in ḤwA.

lākin and mār are used for “but, but then” in ḤwJ, but only bass was heard in ḤwA for “but”.

Some differences in (suffixed) prepositions

Prepositions ma’ “with” and l “to” suffixed with the 1st p. sg. com. pronominal are ma’āy and lay in ḤwA. In ḤwJ forms are ma’i and li.

The shorter form ‘a for ‘ala “on” may in ḤwA also be used in positions not directly followed by the article, e.g. ‘a ġāl “aside” and ‘a ḍahār ḍalğimal “on the back of the camel”. In ḤwJ ‘a is only used when the article directly follows.<sup>107</sup>

mitl for “as, like” is used in ḤwJ, but in ḤwA zayy is current. mitl also appears in Barrāk (p. 86, l. 11).

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid.:304–305.

<sup>106</sup> A footnote explains tidakkar < titdakkar, but reduction of the initial geminate tt as in ‘ttidakkar is very well possible, see remark in fn 80, p. 176.

Differences between some irregular high-frequency nouns

Similarities in ḤwA and ḤwJ are for “father” (ʼaḥḥ) and (ʼaḥū- in construct state; for “mother” (ʼaṃḥ; for “brother” (ʼaḫḫ and (ʼaḫū- in construct state. A difference is (ʼaḫt in ḤwA, but (ʼaḫt in ḤwJ.

In ḤwA the pl. for “hand” ((ʼiḏ) is (ʼiḏān, in ḤwJ it is (ʼadēn. “Hands” suffixed in ḤwA is idān- (e.g. idānī “my hands”), but in ḤwJ it is (ʼadē- (e.g. (ʼadēk “your hands”).

A similarity is (ʼaḵām for “mouth”, e.g. (ʼaḵāmī “my mouth” and (ʼaḵā- mak “your mouth”.

A difference is “water”: (ʼáḥm (with incorporated article!) in ḤwJ, but miy in ḤwA.

The analytical genitive

The analytical genitive is not frequent in ḤwJ. In ḤwA the analytical genitive with šuḡḷ is current. I have not come across instances in Barrāk.

Negated pronominals

In ḤwA mūḥū~māḥū and mūhī in ḤwA, ḤwJ has mū~muhū and mī~mūḥī 108 and in Barrāk we find ma hu (p. 98, l. 3) and ma hi (p. 89, l. 22).

The comparison above shows that between these different branches of the same tribe (or tribal confederation) there are already many differences. The differences found—if there ever was a common starting point—must have arisen not only as a result of dialect contact with other tribes (or they are perhaps ‘internally motivated’), but the development of differences may also have been facilitated by the very lack of contact between the different branches due to their geographical separation over a longer period of time109 (the Ḥwēṭāt of Sinai are estimated to have arrived there in the 17th century at the latest, see Introduction, I. c.); as the crow flies the distance between the dīrahs of the Ḥwēṭāt of Sinai and southern Jordan is approximately 200 km. Apart from that, regular contact between the two branches must have been severely hampered by the presence of new borders that came with the creation of the state of Israel in 1948.

Of the two varieties ḤwA is clearly of the group I type found in Sinai and the Negev (see also MDS plots and dendrogram in the appendix), while ḤwJ shows characteristics that are best attributed to contact with dialects which are more of the Naḡdiy-type (see also remarks made in Palva 2008b:406).

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108 Ibid. 307.
109 Due to the lack of contact, changes that appear in one variety cannot (any longer) be ‘corrected’ by speakers in another location of originally the same dialect.
VI. Final Conclusions

a. The Position of Sinai Dialects in Northwest Arabian Arabic
   (the NWA-group)

The larger typological dialect group of Northwest Arabian dialects of
Arabic (as was proposed in Palva 1991) was shown in De Jong 2000 to be
present in northern Sinai (groups I, II and III), along the Mediterranean
coast.

When we now check features of groups VI, VII and VIII against fea-
tures listed as characteristic for NWA dialects in Palva 1991:154–165, we
notice the following (only dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII are discussed
here\textsuperscript{110}):\textsuperscript{111}

i Absence of \textit{tanwīn} and its residues: groups VI, VII and VIII conform
   (cf. 4.1.).

\hspace{1em} ii Absence of affricated variants of /g/ (*q) and /k/ (*k):
   groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 1.1.1., 1.1.3.).

\hspace{1em} iii Absence of final /n/ in the imperfect, 2nd p. sg. fem., 2nd p. pl. masc.
   and 3rd p. pl. masc.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.2.1.2.).

\hspace{1em} iv Pronominal suffix -\textit{ku} (-\textit{kūw} in my own transcription) in the 2nd p.
   pl. masc.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (\textasciitilde -\textit{kum} in VII and VIII)
   (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

\hspace{1em} v Use of locative preposition \textit{fi}: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf.
   3.1.16.).

\hspace{1em} vi Interrogative \textit{kēf}: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.14.).

\hspace{1em} vii Voiced reflex of \textit{qāf}: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 1.1.1., 1.1.3.).

\hspace{1em} viii The \textit{gahawah}-syndrome and the \textit{CVCaCV - CCVCV-} syllable
   structure\textsuperscript{112}: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 2.2.1.1., 2.1.1.2.1.6.
   in De Jong 2000 and 2.1.1.2.2. in the vol. in hand).

\textsuperscript{110} Since dialects of group I discussed in this volume are grouped together with other
   group I dialects described in De Jong 2000, whose NWA status has already been estab-
   lished there, the same NWA status of the group I dialects discussed in the volume in hand
   logically follows.

\textsuperscript{111} The features are cited here as they were listed in Palva 1991. In a number of instances
   additional data have become available and appeared in De Jong 2000. The reader is referred
   to relevant paragraphs by the numbers following in brackets.

\textsuperscript{112} This was rephrased as two separate criteria in De Jong 2000:48–50. The conclusion
   there was that resyllabication of \textit{CaCaCV} sequences (\textit{CCVCV}) is not a feature of NWA.
Gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. in personal pronouns, pronominal suffixes and finite verb forms: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.12.1., 3.1.12.2., 3.2.1.1., 3.2.1.2.).

The definite article (ʾ)al- and the relative pronoun (ʾ)alī/ahlī: groups VI, VII and VIII conform only in part: al- ~ il- and alīy ~ ĥlīy (cf. 3.1.9.1.).

A number of typical Bedouin lexical items (gōṭar, sōlaf, ṭabb etc.): groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf., e.g., 3.2.3.9.).

Occurrence of stressed variants -ī and -nī of the pronominal suffix in 1st p. sg. com.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.12.2.)

Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable in verbal forms VII–X in the perfect, and the stability of this vowel, shown by stress on the initial syllable when in stressable position: group VI conforms, groups VII and VIII do not conform (cf. 3.2.3.1., 3.2.3.3., 3.2.3.4.).

Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable in a number of irregular nouns (ʾamm, ʾaxt, ʾaxwān, ʾadēn, ʾafām): MzA of group VI and ĞbA of group VII conform in part. Other dialects do not conform (cf. 3.1.9.2.).

The invariable pronominal suffix -ki of the 2nd p. sg. fem.: groups VI, VII and VIII do not conform (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

On characteristics listed in Palva 1991, which are not shared by all NWA dialects, the following remarks are to be added:

The use of b-imperfect: present in groups VI, VII and VIII (cf. 4.3.).

Vowel harmony in the active imperfect of verbal form I: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.2.1.2.).

Well-established monophthongs /ō/ and /ē/ vs. partial monophthongization of the older diphthongs, and /ō/ ~ /ū/, /ē/ ~ /ī/ fluctuation: in group VI older diphthongs remain in certain environments, in groups VII and VIII monophthongization is not phonetically conditioned (cf. 1.2.4.).

The phonetically conditioned sg. fem. status absolitus marker allomorphs /-a/ and /-i/ in Sinai and the Negev, vs. a less strong ʾimāla in the front allomorph in the dialects of the Ḥwēṭāt and BaniyʿAṭīye dialects, whereas sequences of the type CICV(C) (where I = i or u) have as a rule been resyllabified in NWA dialects, e.g. *ʾināb > ʾnāb "grapes", *tūrāb > trúb "dust".
(/-a/ and /-e/): group VI has [i^h] in neutral environments, groups VII and VIII tend to have slightly lower ’imālah, between [e^h] and [i^h] (cf. 1.2.3.4; 3.3). The pronominal suffixes of the 3rd p. sg. masc. C-ih, fem. -hiy in the Negev, masc. C-ah, fem. -ha in Sinai, the Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ‘Atiye, masc. -ah/-ih, fem. -ha the Bdül, masc. C-o, fem. -ha the Nʿēmāt; groups VI, VII and VIII have masc. -uh and fem. -ha/-hi(ʾ) (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

xxi Occurrence of several different plural forms of the demonstrative pronoun: most dialects in groups VI, VII and VIII show doubling of the l (or l) in the pl. com. demonstrative, e.g. (hā)dill(-ih), dillēlīh (cf. 3.1.13.).

In addition to these features discussed with regard to NWA dialects in Palva 1991, it is important to note that all dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII (as well as southern dialects of group I) are ‘différentiels’ in terms of elision of short vowels; short high vowels i and u are dropped in eligible positions, while (underlying) short low vowel a is not elided in comparable positions, e.g. širīb ([šarīb]) + -it > šīrībit, šərībit or šarbat, but katab + -at > kātabat or katabat ~ kitābat (i.e. not katbat).

Notwithstanding some differences between the dialects spoken in the central and southern regions of Sinai, there can be little doubt that these dialects are indeed a continuation of the NWA-group. There are some features of the southern Sinai dialects, however, that do not conform to the more typically NWA-type. The hypothesis of the presence of NWA Bedouin dialects throughout Sinai (with the exception of the dialect of the Dawāḡrah and that of the town of al-ʿĀrīš, see De Jong chapters IV and V) is nevertheless corroborated.

At the same time the conclusion to be drawn with regard to the question how far the Negev-type stretches into Sinai is that this type is represented by the group I dialects identified, which then border on the southern dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII. For a large part the escarpment of the Tīh plateau is the geophysical obstacle where isoglosses accumulate to form the border between the Negev-type and the southern Sinai-type.

113 This is characterized as “one of the most important peculiarities of the whole NWA group” (cf. Palva 1991:165). Some of the group I dialects (like TAṢ and TAN) may have forms without doubling for near deixis (e.g. hāḍōlō, hāḍōl or hōḍal) as current for near deixis, but all have doubling in forms for forms used for far deixis (e.g. hōḍallāk(-ah) or hāḍollāk(-ah)).
An earlier hypothesis of the presence of a transitional area in Jordan, where a number of dialect characteristics reported for the Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ʿAṭiyye (see Palva 1984–86) suggest influences from non-NWA dialects, was contradicted by Palva. The hypothesis was for the presence of a transition area between NWA and a more Naḡdi-type of dialect(s) (see also the discussion above in Conclusions, V.).¹¹⁴

The question of whether or not dialects are “différentiels” or “non-différentiels”—with NWA dialects being “différentiels”—was not the only indication that the dialects of the Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ʿAṭiyye have had influences from non-NWA (possibly Naḡdi) type of dialects.¹¹⁵

Another important indication was the Naḡdi-type of resyllabication (CaCaCV > CCvCV), that seems to be current in the dialects of the Bani ʿAṭiyye and Ḥwēṭāt in Jordan.¹¹⁶

In addition, it should be noted that the Ḥwēṭāt are much more a relatively recent amalgam of social entities of different backgrounds¹¹⁷ than other tribes—such as most tribes in Sinai—who usually have a more homogeneous background, at least in relatively recent history. Chances that (again, relatively) recent additions to this collective known as ‘the Ḥwēṭāt’ have until today preserved some of the features of their original dialects should not be excluded; it may also account for some of the contradictory findings reported for Jordanian ‘Ḥwēṭiy’ in the available literature. Clearly, more research into the dialect situation in southern Jordan and its surroundings is needed to untangle this (seemingly?) contradictory information.

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¹¹⁴ Palva 2008b:407 erroneously quotes the conclusion in De Jong 2000:630 as (quoting from Palva 2008b) “[that] the existence of such a group [i.e. NWA] is questionable and deserves reconsideration”. The passage referred to in De Jong 2000 actually reads: “Palva’s conclusion that Ḥwēṭiy is part of his proposed NWA group deserves [therefore] reconsideration”. In other words: the position of the dialects of the Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ʿAṭiyye as NWA-type of dialects deserved such reconsideration; the presence of an NWA-group is nowhere questioned in De Jong 2000, nor is it questioned here.

¹¹⁵ Interestingly, at-Ṭayyib 1993:222 relates stories told by older tribesmen of the Bani ʿAṭiyye of their origin in the eastern Naḡd, from where they (then still known as Maʿażah) migrated westward in the beginning of the fifth century Hiǧrah (beginning of the eleventh century CE) to Taymāʾ, after which they continued farther westward two centuries later (i.e. the beginning of the thirteenth century CE) to arrive near Tabūk (in present day Saudi Arabia, some 180 kilometres southeast of ʿAqabah). The Maʿażah—or part of this collective—are today found in the eastern desert of Egypt (see map on p. 4 or p. 372).

¹¹⁶ These and a number of other differences between Ḥwēṭiy as described by Palva and the Negev-type are listed in De Jong 2000:627–630.

¹¹⁷ See remark *¹⁵ in Introduction, I, d.
Another answer to one of our earlier research questions is that the vowelless pronominal suffixes -\(\text{-uḳ}\) for the 2nd p. sg. masc. and -\(\text{-k}\) for the sg. fem. are indeed a characteristic feature of the dialects spoken in the south of Sinai; these pron. suffixes are in regular use in groups VI, VII and VIII. The remark of the older speaker of the Samāʿnah in the north, that his tribe had until the turn of the century (i.e. around 1900 CE) had their home in the region of at-Ṭūr, may very well be true. If we combine the presence of the -\(\text{-uḳ}\) suffix in his speech (SaA) with the presence of the pronominal suffix -\(\text{kum (~-kuw)}\),\(^{118}\) and also the verbal suffixes ending in -\(\text{-m}\) of the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. masc. in the perfect and imperfect,\(^{119}\) and see that the combination of these characteristics is also found in ḲA and ḤmA, his remark acquires special significance. If linguistic evidence is anything to go by for conclusions on geographical origins of speakers, one would conclude that the Samāʿnah (and perhaps also the ʿAgāylah) must have had their earlier abode in the region north of the lower end (not too far from the Gulf of Suez) of Wādiy Féran (i.e. the area around Wādiy Ġarandal and Wādiy Liḥyān). Unfortunately, I could not find other indications that would support this conclusion.

Apart from the necessity of more research into the hypothesized border area between the NWA- and Naḏdiy-groups of dialects, a remaining desideratum is a systematic survey of the dialects of the Hiḏāz to establish how far—if at all—the North West Arabian dialect group reaches south along the Red Sea coast of western Saudi Arabia.

In the eastern desert of Egypt the dialect of the Maʿāzah (which is hypothesized here to be part of the NWA group) borders on the dialect of the ʿAbābdah (which can be seen as the northern extension of the Sudanese type of Arabic dialects,\(^{120}\) like that of the Šukriyyah\(^{121}\). Research into the dialect of the Maʿāzah is needed to establish whether it is indeed the southwestern extremity of the NWA group on the Egyptian mainland.\(^{122}\)

\(^{118}\) See De Jong 2000:283–288.
\(^{120}\) As described in De Jong 2002, and see remarks in Woidich and Behnstedt 1980:176 (fn 1).
\(^{121}\) As described in Reichmuth 1983.
\(^{122}\) Although Hobbs 1989 is an excellent anthropological study on the Maʿāzah, the transcription used there for Arabic is less suitable for linguistic interpretation of the features of their dialect.
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In terms of alphabetical order, indices in transcription are treated as if they were without diacritics. *ayn precedes 'a', and *hamzah precedes *ayn. Forms with word-initial *hamzah are listed under the following vowel. Where reference is to two or more of the descriptive chapters (multiple references), the Roman numbering (of the chapters) does not precede the numbering of the paragraphs referred to. Where reference is to only one of the descriptive chapters, the Roman numbering does precede the paragraph numbers. Such single references are listed following the multiple references. E.g., a multiple reference 1.2.3/4. refers to chapters I, II and III, paragraphs 1.2.3. and 1.2.4.

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velarization in *kbār* and *ktār*:

- *kbār* and *ktār*
- *kbār* and *ktār*
- *kbār* and *ktār*

(for secondary velarization in northern Sinai, cf. Map 4 in De Jong 2000)

cf. 1.1.7.

Red Sea

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-īy
-α(h) (~-i(h)), -i(h) #
-α(h), -i(h) #
-ā′('), -i′ #
-α(h), -e(h) #
-īy (*-ā'); -i′ (*-ā)

cf. 1.2.4.4.
APPENDIX

MAP 10

reflexes of final *-ā(‘):

M-ā'

M-ā (often -ā' in pause)

M-a(h)

cf. 1.2.4.4.

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 ARTICLE AND RELATIVE PRONOUN:

 al-, allyy

 il-, illiy

 cf. 3.1.9.1.
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* T-vowel elision:

* I in eligible position is elided, a is never elided

* I and a are elided in eligible position

(Eligible positions in *DA* / *Ba.4* and *Mz.4* differ)

cf. 3.1.10.
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ð-h, (C)C-ah / (C)C-ih
ð-h, (C)C-u(h)

cf. 3.1.122.

Map 34. 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix
Map 35. 3rd p. sg. fem. pron. suffix

3rd p. sg. fem. pron. suffix:

-<i>hiy</i> (but-<i>ūha</i>)
-<i>ha</i> /<i>-hiʾ</i>
-<i>ha</i>

cf. 3.1.12.2
Map 36. 2nd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix
For remarks on the absence of MAP 38 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
Map 39. sg. masc. demonstrative
For remarks on the absence of MAP 41 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
Map 42. Interrogative “who?”

For remarks on the absence of MAPS 43 and 44 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
Map 45. Shape of the adverb “there”
Map 46. Shape of the adverb "here"
Map 47. The preposition "to" + 3rd p. sg. masc. pron
Map 48. The preposition “with” + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix
Map 49. Numeral "one (fem.)"
Map 50. 3rd p. pl. masc. perfect ending

For remarks on the absence of MAP 51 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
For remarks on the absence of MAP 53 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
Map 54. 3rd p. pl. masc. imperf. ending
For remarks on the absence of MAP 56 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
Map 57. Perfect of primae hamzah verbs
Map 58. Imperfect vowel prāmae hamzah verbs

For remarks on the absence of MAP 59 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
Map 60. Perfect forms of the verb “come”
Map 61. 3rd p. sg. masc. and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect of "come"
Map 62. Stress in anCaCaC / aCtaCaC (measures $n-1 / 1-t$)

For remarks on the absence of MAPS 63, 64, 65, 66 and 67 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
Map 68. Negation (predominantly)

For remarks on the absence of MAPS 69 and 70 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
Map 71. Occurrence of yōm, lōm for conjunction “when”
Map 72. Marker of consequent action (unconjugated) *gām*
For remarks on the absence of MAP 74 see Conclusions II. a. Criteria for comparison from De Jong 2000 producing differences/similarities in central and southern Sinai.
Map 75. Raising of a preceding $CC\check{e}$
Map 76. Raising of a preceding Ćē
Map 77. Mutual influence of hissing sounds š, z and š, ž/ğ.
Map 78. The pl. masc. personal pronominal “they”
Map 79. Negated personal pronominals

negated pers. pronominals:

māḥī, māḥī, manta, māntī

māḥū, māḥū, min(a), mānī

māḥūs, māḥūs, måntis, måntīs

māḥī, māḥī, minta, måntī
Map 80. 2nd p. pl. masc. pronominal suffix
Map 81. Pl. com. demonstrative "these"
Map 82. Interrogative “when?”
Map 83. Suffixed preposition "on him"
Map 84. 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect of mediae geminatae
Map 85. Sg. masc. imperative of mediae geminatae verbs
Map 86. 3rd p. sg. masc. perfect of tertiae yāʾ verbs:
Map 87. The apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. of tertiae infirmae imperfect
Map 88. Dialect groups in Sinai