A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects
of Central and Southern Sinai
Handbook of Oriental Studies
Handbuch der Orientalistik

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Edited by
M. Şükrü-Hanioğlu
C.H.M. Versteegh

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A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of Central and Southern Sinai

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

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

The list below shows abbreviations used for tribal varieties of Arabic (the asterisk ‘*’ following the abbreviation indicates that the dialect has been described or partially treated in De Jong 2000). The tribes/non-tribal dialect communities are listed here more or less from north (-east) to west and then south (see map in Appendix ‘Approximate distribution of Bedouin tribes in Sinai and surrounding regions’). Roman numbers indicate to which typological group the dialects have been concluded to belong. In brackets the names of the tribes follow in a classicized transcription:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dialect</th>
<th>group</th>
<th>name of tribe/social entity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḌA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>the dialect of the Ẓulām (of the Negev Desert, not in Sinai), as described in Blanc 1970 (Ẓulām)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rmāliy, the dialect of the Rmālāt (Rumaylāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Swērkīy, the dialect of the Sawārkāh (Sawārika)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Mallāḥiy, the dialect of the Malālḥah (Malāliha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AA*</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>‘Arāyšiy, the dialect of al-‘Arīş (not a tribe, but a town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nTA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Northern Turbāniy, the dialect of the northern Tarābīn (Tarābīn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BaA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Balawiy, the dialect of Baliy (or Biliy) (Bali)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA*</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Dwēğriy, the dialect of the Dawāġrah (Dawāġira)</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 (’Axārīsa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SaA*</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Smēniy, the dialect of the Samānah (Samā ina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AgA*</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>‘Gēliy, the dialect of the ‘Agāylah (’Agāyila)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Masūdiy, the dialect of the Masā‘īd (Masā‘īd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘AyA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>‘Ayādiy, the dialect of the ‘Ayāyda (’Ayāyida)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eŠA*</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>eastern Šarqāwiyya, 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>Ḥwētiy, the dialect of the Ḥwētāt (Huwayyāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HwJ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ḥwētiy, the dialect of the Ḥwētāt (Huwayyāt) in Jordan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AhA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ɻAḥaywiyya, the dialect of the ɻAḥaywāt (‘Uḥaywāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TyA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Tihīy, the dialect of the Tayāhā (Tayāhā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DbA</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ɻDbīriy, the dialect of the ɻDbūr (ɻDubūr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAṢ</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Turbāniy of ɻṢadr, the dialect of the Tarābīn of ɻṢadr (Tarābīn 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>Turbāniy of Nwēbī, the dialect of the Tarābīn of Nwēbī (Tarābīn of Nuwaybī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Volume</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| BdA          | I      | *Badriy, the dialect of the Badārah (Badāra or Badārā)*
| 'LA          | VIII   | *'Lēgīy, the dialect of the 'Lēgāt (‘Ulāyqāt)*
| HmA          | VII    | *Ḥmēdiy, the dialect of the Ḥamāḏah (Ḥamāda)*
| SwA          | VII    | *Ṣālhiy, the dialect of the Ṣawālḥah (Ṣawāliha)*
| GrA          | VII    | *Garrāšiy, the dialect of the Garāršah (Qarārīša)*
| ĜbA          | VII    | *Ĝbāliy, the dialect of the Ĝbāliyyah (Ĝibāliya)*
| ASA          | VII    | *Ṣālḥiy, the dialect of the Awlād Saʿīd (‘Awlād Saʿīd)*
| HnA          | VII    | *Hindiy, the dialect of the Hanādwah (a non-Bedouin family in Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr) (Hanādiwa)*
| TwA          | VII    | *Ṭawara Arabic: in collective reference to the dialects of the Ĝbāliyyah, Awlād Saʿīd, Ṣawālḥah, Garāršah and Ḥamāḏah (Ṭawara)*
| MzA          | VI     | *Mzēniy, the dialect of the Mzēnah (Muzayna)*
| BWA          | VI     | *Wāṣliy, the dialect of the Banī Wāṣil (Banū Wāṣil)*

* See remark *3 in Introduction I.d.
PREFACE

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

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

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

To gather linguistic data I spent 8 periods of between 4 and 7 weeks in the area. I usually rented an apartment in Ḍahab 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 ‘Alīy Mḥammad al-‘Āyiš, who is the owner and general manager of Mirage Village in Ḍahab 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 ʿĪd ‘Awdīh al-ʿAṭrāš, known by many as ‘Īd at-Tuṛbāniy. He is a member of the Tařābin of Rās Šadr (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 ʿĪd is of the Gṣār clan, for a tribal genealogy of the Tařābin 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 Ḩiḡāz, 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…”.

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

5 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 No61 of 30 January 2007, International Crisis Group, see www.crisisgroup.org (accessed 10-18-2010).

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 and 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)—Rafaḥ (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-‘Arīš.

Bailey 1985:23 and 2009:xvi show maps of the distribution of tribal confederations in Sinai in the early twentieth century. Interestingly, some...
tribes\(^6\) 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 Ḫwēṭāt (on Bailey’s map spelled as Ḫuwayṭāt), 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) Bili. These tribes are also found in Sinai today: the Masāʾīd live in and around the village of Ġilbānah in the northwest, Bili (transcribed as Bāliy on the map below) are found not far south from the main road al-Gantārah—al-ʾĀriš, in an area named Ġarīf al-Ǧizlān near ar-Rawdah in the central northeast, and the Ḫwēṭāt 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 Nixl, 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 origin\(^8\) living in Wādiy at-Ṭūr inside the territory of the Awlād Saʾīd.

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 Ġbāliyyah 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

\(^6\) 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 Turḇāniy informant Eid told me that the name for the Mitla pass is actually derived from Uṃṃ Iṭlāh "(the region) with the tamarisk tree". Bailey (1991:344) gives the same etymology.

\(^8\) The town of Naxl in central Sinai is referred to among Sinai Bedouin as Nixl.

\(^9\) Literally their name means “Indians, i.e. (originally) from India”, but this could not be verified.

\(^10\) 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.
INTRODUCTION

Approximate distribution of Bedouin tribes in Sinai and surrounding regions
in the land of the Wallachians\(^a\) (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.\(^b\)

The estimated times of arrival of Bedouin tribes in central and southern Sinai appearing in this study are (as reported in Bailey 1985;\(^c\) tribal names are given in my own transcription;\(^d\) 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(^e), Ḥamādah(^f)</td>
<td>pre-islamic period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badāraḥ(^g), Tayāḥa(^h), Banī Wāṣil(^i)</td>
<td>10th (perhaps earlier) through 13th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣawālḥah(^j), Āwlād Saʿīd(^k)</td>
<td>14th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Awārmah(^l), 'Lēgāt(^m)</td>
<td>16th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taṛābīn(^n), Garārshāh(^o)</td>
<td>17th c. (at the latest)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) For further information on the Ğbāliyyah, see also at-Tayyib 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.

\(^b\) For more background information on the history and origin of the Ḥamādah, see also at-Tayyib 1993:620. They are today a small tribe who are involved in mining activities in their mineral-rich area east of Abūw Znēmah, like in Wādiy aṣ-Ṣahaw.\(^n\) (see also remarks under \(^g\)). Šuqayr 1916:107 writes that before the arrival of the Ṣawālḥah they were in control of the region. After the Ṣawālḥah had arrived, the 'Lēgāt became their protectors.

\(^c\) In present-day Romania the larger region around Bucharest, between the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube river.

\(^d\) 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.

\(^e\) See however Stewart 1991, where caution with regard to Bailey’s conclusions is advised.

\(^f\) 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.

\(^g\) 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.
Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:620 actually spells their name as al-Badārah (אֶל-בָּדָּרָה, with final ‘ālif maqṣūrah, but it is spelled as ʿal-ṭayyib in Šuqayr 1916:107). They are a very small tribe, who are reported to have moved from their earlier abode on Gabal Ḯīmah (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 Saʿāyāh (a sub-tribe of the Aḥaywāt). Šuqayr (ibid.) suggests that perhaps the name ‘ Ḯīmah is derived from the word (from the same root ḥ-m-g) describing their speech as “improper Arabic”: luğah ʾa-gormiyyah.

The Tayāha are a relatively large tribe. Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:566 reports that they came to Sinai with the Banū Hilāl (of ʿAdnānī origin) 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. Sawārhah, Biliy, Rmēlāt, Samānah 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), 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 Sawālah.

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 Slēmān, Ḥamādah and Baniy Wāṣil]. Not long after the Arab conquest of Egypt, the Sawalha and the ‘Aleiqat [in my own transcription: Sawalhah and ‘Legät] 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, of some whom fled while others were absorbed into the conquerors […] [T]he two tribes quarrelled and victory was inclining towards the Sawalha 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 Sawalha to share their grazing. But this the Sawalha refused, unless the Muzeina paid them tribute. So the proud Muzeina went off to join the ‘Aleiqat and both tribes together overcame the Sawalha in a battle fought in the Watia Pass [in my own transcription: Wāṭyah. 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 Sawalḥah 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 ‘Awārmah (see also the quote from G.W. Murray 1935 in the previous remark).

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At-Ṭayyib 1993:620 adds a footnote reporting that some Aḥaywāt claim that the Badārah are originally of Aḥaywy origin. See also Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:290–291. Today they are found in ar-Ramlah near Gabal Ḯmayer, which is part of the ‘Dividing Valleys’ between the Tīh Plateau and the Sinai Massif, see Greenwood 1997:27 (figure 3-1), The geomorphic regions of Sinai.

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

Their origin is reported to be Qaḥṭānīy, through Ǧu/dmacronbelowām and Banū ‘Uqbah.

At-Ṭayyib 1993:642 actually mentions the ‘Awārmah as one of the four sub-tribes of the Sawalḥah: al-‘Awārmah, al-Mrāṣīnah, ar-Raḏāwnah and an-Nawāṣirah (in my transcription: ‘Awārmah, Maḥāsnah, Ra/dmacronbeloẉāwnah and Nawāṣrah). For the history and origin
At-Ṭayyib 1993:681–682 (see also 1997:360–367) relates a story describing how the Awlād Saʿīd 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 Saʿīd are originally Masāʾid.

For a short history of the origin, present location(s) and activities of the ‘Lēgāt in Sinai, see also at-Ṭayyib 1993:701–711 and 1997:475–489. At-Ṭayyib (1993:710 and 1997:487) however quotes Ahmad Luṭfī as-Sayyid in his book qabāʾ il-arab fi miṣr on the date of arrival of the ‘Lēgāt in Sinai as being in the tenth century Hiǧrah (i.e. appr. in the sixteenth century CE) (see also quote from G.W. Murray 1935 in remark *5 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.

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 Saʿīd and Garāršah are ‘jointly known as the Ṣawālḥah’.

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, 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 Huwayṭ had recovered from his illness, he stayed in Aqabah, and managed to guile the Baniy Aṭiyyah out of their profitable business of the Ẓawālḥah see at-Ṭayyib 1993:623–644. See also Maiberger 1984:441 (paraphrased), where he mentions the ‘Awāreme (who are said to be the sub-section of the Ẓawālḥah who originally conquered the area), the Qarāreše (Garāršah in my transcription) (who—as owners of the best palm orchards in Wādiy Fēṛān—were the richest among the other- wise destitute Tawara), and the Awlād Saʿīd as sub-sections of the Ẓawālḥah. The name Ẓawālḥah derives from the prophet (an-nabiy) Ṣāliḥ, from whom they claim descent. Together with the ‘Lēgāt the Ẓawālḥah 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 Ḥamādāh and to have been in territorial disputes with the Ẓawālḥah.

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 at-Taʾīif in present day Saudi Arabia. Today sections of this tribe are also present in the Gaza area and the Negev Desert, see also at-Ṭayyib 1993:554–564. Stewart 1994:106 also mentions that the Taṛābīn were part of the Baniy Aṭiyya.

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 Ḥwāyḍāt, 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 at-Ṭayyib 1993:554–570 and at-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.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{26} 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 Qaḥṭānī (southern Arabian) Harb. For a description of their origins, history, presence in Sinai and other locations, see also at-Ṭayyib 1993:687–700 and 1997:368–474. (See also the quote from G.W. Murray 1935 in remark \textsuperscript{5} 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{intifāḍah}\textsuperscript{28} many of the tourists from or via Israel that would come to this area have stayed away.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{26} 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.

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

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

\textsuperscript{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,\(^\text{30}\) transporting fresh water from the mountains to hotels and also smuggling.\(^\text{31}\) 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.\(^\text{32}\)

\[\text{\textit{f}. Research Questions and Purpose of this Study}\]

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.\(^\text{33}\)

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

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

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

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

\[\text{\textsuperscript{33} There are publications, however, which partially fill this gap: Nishio 1992 gives a basic vocabulary of the speech of the Gbāliyyah, Stewart 1990 is a very valuable collection of texts (in transcription, and with translation in Stewart 1988) on customary law recorded mainly among the Ahaywat, but also some of the other tribes. Stewart 1987 gives some texts and provides a sketch of the dialect of the Ahaywat. Material presented by Stewart was incorporated into De Jong 2000. Material presented by Nishio will be referred to in descriptive chapter I below.}\]
which exist between the NWA dialects in this area. A similar related question is how far the Negev-type (the dialect of the ฎullām) can be concluded 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 Ḍullām 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 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 dialects of group III.

In De Jong 2000:283 the pronominal suffixes -"ḳ for the 2nd p. sg. masculine and -"ḳ 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 generating 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. 36 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 Badāṛah in the area of ar-Ṛamlah 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. 37

Recordings were made with digital recorders (2 Apple iPods and an Archos recorder) 38 in MP-3 or WAVE format. To make sure speech was recorded properly, I always used extra cassette recorders making simultaneous recordings. 39 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

36 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.

37 Most of the recordings were however conducted in situ.

38 These were about the size of a pack of cigarettes.

39 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.
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 Ġbāliy who live near the monastery tend to say e.g. “with him” $im’uh$ (where $i$ is an anaptyctic vowel), while speakers of Ġbāliy in Mrēr (in Wādiy aš-Šēx) will more regularly stress the anaptyctic as in $im’uh$ (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 $šuḍl$, while speakers of Mzēniy living more inland will more regularly use $ḥagg$ (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

40 If one passes through a road block three times a week, every time claiming a different purpose of the journey, such as Ġabal 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 Badāṛah, 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 (أقصاص الغرفي in Arabic).

There were a few exceptions: of the Tayāḥa 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

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.\textsuperscript{43} I have also often spoken to the mother of my main informant Eid, a Tuṟbāniyyih of appr. 65 years old.

Below the persons who were more or less formally interviewed\textsuperscript{44} during this research\textsuperscript{45} (their ages at times of recording follow in brackets) are listed. These interviewees are referred to by their first names only:

\textit{Group I}

\textit{Taṛābīn Nwēbi} Šēx Šēš (47) (Nwēbi’ + several Tuṟbāniy visitors from around Nwēbi’ and Wādiy Watīr in his mag’ad. The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TAN.

\textit{Taṛābīn Rās Ṣadr} ‘Īd (33) (Rās Ṣadr) (+ 4 or 5 of his friends of appr. the same age in Rās Ṣadr/Aḇuw Ṣwayrah, his mother, appr. 60). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TAṢ.

\textit{Ǧarāǧrah} Ṭalāl (29) (born al-Bāġah/Wādiy as-Sīg); Swēlim (35) (born in Rās as-Sig); Ğamāl (appr. 32) (born in Wādiy as-Sig); Mḥammad (appr. 32) (born in Wādiy as-Sig); Šilmiy (53) (born in al-Malbad/Wādiy as-Sig). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ĞrA.

\textit{Tayāha} Mḥammad (34) (recorded in Aḵw al-Mawā蘇); Slēm (49) (Rās aš-Šēṭān, from Rās ‘Bēd appr. 105 km south of al-‘Ariš); Aṃṃ Xiḍ (appr. 65) (recorded near (northeast of) aṯ-Ṭarfa); Xiḍ (32) (northeast of aṯ-Ṭarfa). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TyA.

\textsuperscript{43} Many Bedouin men have spent time in prisons, often even without official charges.

\textsuperscript{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 ’Ayn Ḥuḏrah, a couple of Ḥwēṭāt on the main road through the Mīṭla pass, Ḥamāḏah on the way from the Ġabal Ḥmayyir area to Wādiy Liḥyān, several Lēgāt near the area where I had interviewed Badāṛah (in the Ġabal Ḥmayyir area), Awlād Sa’īd near al-Buwayb, just south of Wādiy Fēṛān, Taṛābīn in Ḍahab, etc.

\textsuperscript{45} Since I used to rent an apartment in Ḍahab 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.

\textsuperscript{46} Appr. coordinates are 28.44.15 North and 33.58.48 East.
**Malālḥah**  Xīdr (80); Salmān (appr. 30); Zāyid (67); all three from al-Madfnūnih/Nag' Šabānih, 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); ʿĪd (28) (born and living in al-Ǧidy). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ḤwA.

**Dbūr**  al-Ḥagg Farāġ (62); ʿAwdi (appr. 45, though claims to be 60); Slēmān (appr. 35); Mḥammad (appr. 40, born in Tṛayfîjih). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is DbA.

**Badāṛah**  ‘Aṭiyyih (60) (born on the Tīh plateau); Sīlmān (55) (born on the Tīh plateau). Both from ar-ṛ-Ramlah, near Ḏabal Ḥmayyîr, some 10 to 12 kilometres almost due west from Ḏabal Fōgah. The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is BdA.

**Group VI**

**Mzēnah**  Ḥasan (54) (from ʿAḥab); Mḥammad (from ʿAḥab/ʿAṣalah) (appr. 28); ʿĀyid (25) (from ʿAḥab/ʿAṣalah); ʿAbdallāḥ (appr. 34) (from ʿAḥab); Frayğ (appr. 40) (on main road St Catherine’s police post and appr. 30 km west of the police post at the intersection of the Nwebi/ʿAḥab 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 Wādiy ʿAt-Ṭūr, about 30 km from the main road to Šarm); Sālim (25) (born in the mountains east southeast of ʿAt-Ṭūr, near Wādiy Sliy). 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 Badāṛah, 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 Wādiy Islah, Wādiy ʿAshā or Wādiy Sli. 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 \(\text{لايسل} \).
Group VII

Hanādwah  Ġim’ih (29) (born in Wādiy Fērān); Ḥamd (also known by his nickname Muniy) (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); ‘Īd (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 Ba’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-Ṛāḥah, appr. 3 km north of the monastery); ‘Āṭwah (30) (Wādiy iṛ-Ṛāḥah); Sīlēmān (27) (St Catherine village); Sīlēmān (36) (Mrēr, appr. 30 km into Wādiy aš-Šēx from the police post at St. Catherine’s); Aбуw Ḥmēd (38) (Mrēr). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ĞbA.

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

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50 Hiswah 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 Aбуw Rdēs and just to the northwest of Wādiy Māǧārah. Coordinates are appr. 28.54 North and 33.15 East on Google Earth. The area of Um Buqmah is well known among geologists for its manganese deposits. Already in pharaonic times, in the general area around Sarābīṭ alXādim and in Wādiy Māǧārah 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.
Ṣawālḥah Ḥsēn (38) (born in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fērān); Ğim‘īḥ (18) (born in Aḥuw Rdēs, lives in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fērān); ‘Âtwah (36) (born in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fērān). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ṢwA.

**Group VIII**

‘Lēgāt Sa‘ād (appr. 40) (born in Sarābīṭ al-Xādim); Xiḏr (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 Nwēbi54 / Ṭās aš-Šayṭān had been targeted, which in turn came more than a year after on the 23rd

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53 See also remarks in De Jong 2000:18.
54 Although I transcribe Nwēbi, as a transliteration for Arabic on road signs, Dr Frank Stewart (in personal communication) advised me to correct this to read Nwēb‘ī (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-Ḥayţān (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 road blocks 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.55 A selection of features which show up as dif-

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 SA‘ĪD, ȘAWĀLḤAH, GARĀRŠAH AND ḤAMĀD with remarks on the Dialects of the Hanādwaḥ and ʿLēgāṭ

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 ġūl-stories recorded from Ğbāliy 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 ĞbA 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 j, d for ð, etc., except where differences—mainly in representations for vowels—between Nishio’s transcription and my own may be relevant for a variety, 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, Șawālḥah and Garāršah. With some reservation, I have also added the dialect of the Ḥamādah 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 Hanādwaḥ, who are one of the families said to be of non-Bedouin origin living in Wādiy at-Ṭūr (just to the northeast of the town of at-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.\(^1\)

For the sake of brevity, the dialects of the Ğbāliyyah, Awlād Sa‘īd, Șawālhah, Garāṛshah and Ḥamādah 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).\(^3\)

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 Ḥamādah. Their neighbours to the north are the Taṛābīn of Ṭās Ṣadr.\(^4\)

In a dialect-typological sense, their dialect takes up a middle position between the dialects of ṬwA and ḤnA 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).\(^5\)

\(^1\) 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 Șawālhah, ‘Lēgāt, Ğbāliyyah and Mzēnah as parts of the Ṭuwara. For a brief summary of their history, see Von Oppenheim 1942:156–156. 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 ‘Ugbah of the Ḥiḡāz and as one of the oldest tribes of the Tūr area, having arrived there after the Ḥamādah.

\(^4\) Although the dirah of the Taṛābīn of Ṣadr borders directly on that of the ‘Lēgāt to their south, the majority of Taṛābīn live in the northern part in and around Ṣās Ṣadr and Ḥuww Șwawrah leaving the southern part of Tūrāniy 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labdent.</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>intdent.</th>
<th>postalv.</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvul.</th>
<th>phar.</th>
<th>laryng.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>(q)</td>
<td>(‘)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emph.</td>
<td>ŧ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ŧ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>ġ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŧ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>r</td>
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<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vl = voiced, vd = 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 bētuḳ—bētik (i.e. a strictly phonological representation being /bētḳ/—/bētk/) “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 *t and *d are interdents /t/ and /d/ (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð] respectively). Examples listed below can be heard in all dialects discussed here.

Examples of /t/ for *t are: kṭār “many (pl.)”, ṭalāṭīn “thirty”,ṯūm “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. wālad + k > wālādk “your (sg. masc.) son” and wālad + k > wālādk “your (sg. fem.) son” (see 2.1.1.1. and NOTE in 3.1.12.2.). This is in contrast to the pron. suffix -k for the sg. masc. in the Naḏly dialect of the Dawāṛah of the north, where a final cluster -Ck will not attract stress onto the directly preceding vowel, e.g. wāladk “your son”, ṭrabba yikrimk “may our Lord have mercy on you” (see De Jong 2000:434–435 and 450–451).
Examples of /d/ for *ḏ are: tāxḍīn “you (pl. fem.) take”, bdār “seeds” (but see remark below) and ḡān “ear”.

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

The reflex for *ṯ 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”, ḥādsīh “accident”, mērūs “inherited” (see also remark in 1.2.4.1.), yisīy bēhunū “he trusts them”, sāḇta “fixed (sg. fem.)” and for z for *ḏ, as in bīzr “seed” and bīzrīh “seed (n.u.)” (though pl. bdār! and budrāh “seeds (like powder) from a palm tree” (the latter in HnA) and kaza “such and so”.

Emphatic interdental ḏ (I.P.A. velarized [ð]) is the reflex of both *ḏ and *ḏ, e.g. (as the reflex of *ḏ in) Ramaḏān “Ramadan”, itnaḍdīfīḥi # “you clean it (sg. fem.)”, ḏāf “guest” and ‘ūridh “its (sg. fem.) width” and (as a reflex for *ḏ in) thāfīṯ ‘īlēḥ “you protect it” (but mahuʃū!), xuḍriy “type of green tobacco”, ‘awaḏ “compensation”.

Like in group VI, ẓ is the current reflex in lexemes like mwaẓẓaf “civil servant”, zabīt “officer”, b-iẓẓabṭ “precisely”, binẓabbiṭ “we do a proper job”, niẓām “system”. Some other examples are: btihar “she becomes lucky”, nazārīytaḵ “your (critical) vision”, biybawwizha “he ruins it (sg. fem.)”, maẓbūṭ “precise(ly)” and maḥafūẓ “well-kept”.9

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

1.1.3. Velar stops /k/ and /g/

Like in all other dialects of Sinai, *k and *q have unaffricated 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 bēt k “your (sg. masc.) house”—bēt k “your (sg. fem.) house”.

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

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7 For “freezer” I recorded flēzaṛ in SwA.
8 For the following examples in Cairene Arabic, see Hinds and Badawi 1986.
9 For ḠA Nishio 1992 reports ḏ for *ḏ in bīḏr (p. 18 (III-16)), ḏ in m(u)waḏdar (p. 58 (VIII-40) and ḡaḏ, yahafṣ (p. 96 (XIV-26)). The emphatic plosive ḏ (pp. 5–6 (I-42)) is reported in ḏēḏ, dyūḏ “breast” and in ǧaḏbān “angry” (p. 116 (XVI-22)).
phonology, consonants

(ſg. fem.)”,  ficken “in you (ſg. fem.)” and ’i’lēkiy “on you (ſg. fem)” (the latter ~ ’i’lik). In ’LA too this allomorph -kiy varies with -k when v precedes.

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

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

1.1.5. Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/
Glottalization of the emphatic t was not noticed as a characteristic of TwA, HnA or ’LA.

1.1.6. Glottal stop (hamzah)
The reflex for * in the verb ask is ’ in TwA, HnA and ’LA sa’al, yas’al.”

In *ra’s “head”, loss of ’ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel ṭās in all dialects. The pl. is ṭās in ĞbA, ŠwA, HnA and ’LA, but pl. ryās in GrA, ASA and ḤmA.

Reflexes of the pl. pattern CiCaC (or CuCaC) are often ğCCaC in ŠwA, GrA, ASA and HnA (e.g. ḡgan “injections”, āšnāṭ “suitcases”, ārkāb “knees”, ānxār “noses”). The hamzah that precedes this initial a- (e.g. # ’anxār) is dropped when it directly follows a consonant, e.g. (i)lāšnāṭ “the suitcases”.

In ĞbA I have only recorded śnāṭ as in ḥāt iššnāṭ “get the suitcases!”, (i)li’nāb “the grapes”, (i)li’hgān “the injections”.12 Similar forms are current in ’LA.

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10 Bernabela 2009 transcribes ž throughout his texts for ĞbA.
11 Also reported for ĞbA in Nishio 1992:73–74 (X-9).
12 For ĞbA Nishio 1992:38 (V-35) recorded (šanṭāt ~) śonāṭ as pl. for šanṭa. Similarly (p. 36 (V-25)) plurals are (šōkāt ~) šowak, (p. 34 (V-9)) (pl. of golle) golal “water jars”, (pl. of ḥōṣa) (ḥōṣāt ~) ḥoyaṣ, (p. 34 (V-9)) (known in other parts of Sinai as xūṣah) “knife”, (pl. of ḥallə) (ḥallāt ~) ḥelal (p. 143 (XX-11)) “point, dot” etc., but loṣda “room” (with (originally) the article incorporated in the stem as a first radical) and the pl. form coined on the pattern aCCaC alwaḍ (p. 26 (IV-6)). Of these pl. forms only the last strikes me as proper ĞbA. 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, ṢwA, GrA and HnA forms rikbih, árkab (pl. rkb in ḤmA and ĠbA) “knee(s)”. All dialects discussed in this chapter have a pl. demonstrative dill (-ih) “these” (although ~ duṃ for pl. masc.) and also the sg. masc. demonstrative is without velarization: (ḥa-) ḏa ~ ḏi “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 kīṯūr “much, many” and kibīr “big; old” both lack velarization: forms are ktār and kbār (ā is just below I.P.A. [ɛ]) and also kāmn “also” is not velarized. In ‘LA, however, the pl. for kibīr is velarized, while the pl. for kīṯūr is not: ‘LA forms are kbār (I.P.A. [kbː]) and ktār (I.P.A. [kθːr]).

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-

Imperfect forms vary (per dialect) in degree of velarization, but all dialects (though in ASA yākul ~ yākil) have u as a base vowel: yāxud, yākul. In ‘LA velarization is clear in yākul and yāxud (but also yākil and yāxīd were recorded there).

The other forms listed for group VI may also be heard in ṬwA and HnA. Some additional examples for ṬwA and HnA are: ištāğal “he worked”, yištāğḷuw “they work”, saḷaxnāh “we slaughtered it”, gāl “say”, ramlah “sand”, ḡaḷbān “poor, wretched”, burdugāl “orange[s]” and xāli “my uncle”. In ‘LA there are forms like gāl, ygūḷ “say”, xaḷḷāha “he let her”, txaḷḷhin “you let them (fem.)”, arRamlah “the Sands (area south of the Tīh escarpment)”, gabiḷ “before”, naxāḷ “palm trees”, ḡaḷṭah “thick (sg. fem.)”, šuṅl “genitive marker”.

1.1.8. Liquids ḧ and r

Generally, like in group I, the sequence ār will be velarized (I.P.A. [arː]), unless i follows within morpheme boundaries (see also De Jong 2000:65–67). An exception is the pl. forms for kīṯūr “many” and kibīr “big; old” which are unvelarized ktār and kbār in ṬwA and HnA (i.e. ending in I.P.A. [arː]), but (unvelarized) ktār and (velarized) kbār in ‘LA.

Examples with velarized ār listed for group VI may also be heard in ṬwA and HnA. Some additional examples are: fār “dust”, zwāṛah “(annual) visit to the tomb of a wiliy”, zyāṛah “visit”, dāṛuh “his house”, fār “rats; mice” and ḡizzāṛ “butcher”, sgāṛah “cigarette”. Some ‘LA examples are fār, dār,
Badārah “name of a neighbouring tribe”, `amār “enough (said to politely refuse tea or coffee)”, nār “fire”, nahār “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.)”, bikāriǧ “coffee pots”. Examples in ‘LA are: sāriḥ “having taken the small cattle out to graze, ārif “knowing”, hārit “ploughing”, šārib “lip” and tağārib “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 TwA and HnA. More examples are: farāšīḥ “loaves of bread baked on the šāz (= šār)”, zrā ah “agriculture”, darāhim “money”, drā‘ (< *dirā‘) “arm”, mifṭirǟt or mifitiṭr ǟt “having eaten breakfast (pl. fem.)” and also (in ASA) zērān, pl. of zōr “throat”. Examples in ‘LA are: iǧrān “feet”, rā iy “herdsman”, Garārśih “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 TwA, HnA and ‘LA.

1.2. Vowels

1.2.1. Inventory of vowel phonemes

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

short: \( i \) \( u \)  
long: \( \ddot{i} \) \( \ddot{u} \)  
\( \ddot{e} \) \( \ddot{o} \)  
\( a \) \( \ddot{a} \)

\( ^{13} \) iǧr, pl. iǧrān “foot”. The root ‘-y-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 ē and ĩ
Unlike in group I dialects, and like in group VI, phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ĩ/ is rare in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA.

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

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

The risk of homophonic clash of low reflexes of *ay and high realizations of /ā/ is largely avoided; low realizations of /ē/ occur after emphatics or back spirants and are then near I.P.A. [ɛː] (indicated here as ā, e.g. xār “good”, ḥāṭ “walls”), but realizations of /ā/ following emphatics tend to be near [aː] and /ā/ following back spirants (if not velarized, like in e.g. xāf [xːf] “he feared” and ǧāb [yxːb] “he was absent”) are nearer to [aː], e.g. ḥāl “state” and ām “he floated”.

1.2.2.2. Allophones of long vowels ō and ū
Like diphthong *ay, 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. [ɔː], 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 ɛɔl “year”.

In verbs with wāw as C 1 the diphthong aw has usually been monophthongized, as is illustrated in e.g. nōgaf “we stand” and also tō gid “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 [ɛː]. This occurs in neutral positions and is not dependent on following by ī or ĩ in the next syllable (but within morpheme boundaries), e.g. firsāḥah “loaf of bread from a sāg” and also the realization of /ā/ in zimān “in the past”, ḫyyām “days”, ḫayāh “life” and sīyāl (raised a in

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* 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 rāsī “my head”, dāṛī “my house” and ḡāṛī “my neighbour”.

The difference in realizations of ā in rāsī and rāsīy may be explained by recognizing either /ā/ and velarized /ā ̣/ 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. ['færɪs]) “knight”—fāṛ (I.P.A. [fə:r]) “mouse; rat”.

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 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>minimal pair</th>
<th>phoneme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xiẁr “male given name”</td>
<td>xuṯr “green (pl. com.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xirm “long species of fish”</td>
<td>xurm “hole”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurp “nearness”</td>
<td>girp “watersack”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡipp “kiss!”</td>
<td>ḡubb “love”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīf “zero”</td>
<td>sāf “yellow (pl. com.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīghug “his guest section of the tent”</td>
<td>šāghah “fishing net”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>minimal pair</th>
<th>phoneme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡabb “grain”</td>
<td>ḡubb “love”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡatt “he placed”</td>
<td>ḡutt “place!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šadd “he pulled”</td>
<td>šidd! “pull!”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An additional minimal pair is (verbal measure 4) yin’ım “bestow favours”—(verbal measure 1) yun’ım “become soft”.

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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 C₁uC₂C₃ as the pattern, i.e. like in MzA of group VI. Only in ǦbA both ‘ímy and ‘ímy were recorded for “blind”.

All dialects of group VII (except ASA and ḤmA, see 3.2.2.3.) have only u as imperfect vowel of primae hamzah verbs: yāxuẓ and yākul “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: kul and xuḍ “eat!” and “take!” (resp.) and clear velarization, caused by the ‘vanished’ u: xdiy and kliy (sg. fem.), xdiw and kliw (pl. masc.) and xdin and klin (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) yruṣṣ “pile up”, yṛugg “flatten”, ybuwx “spit”, yxurr “leak water”, yhukk “rub” and (i in) ydiẓ “push”, yhiẓ “run away”, ygiẓ “shear (wool of sheep)”, ygiṣ “test”, yizẓ ‘ala “hurt”, yšinn “sizzle (in hot oil)”, yhiil “be ḥalāl”, ygiṣ “become dry” and yšiẓ “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 yhumṭuk “don’t let it bother you!”, (colouring of the suffixed fem. morpheme -it-) nuxrůtik “your nose”, sguļuṭ tink “yours (sg. fem.)”, and (colouring of i in the act. participle of measure 3) ana mkāwūṭ “I’m fighting you”.

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16 Nishio 1992:2 (I-9) reports ‘mū (which must be a misprint for m‘ū) for ǦbA.


18 It is not clear why ydugg “punch”, yluugg “hit” is usually with u, while yšiẓ is with i, but similar variation was noticed for the high vowel in the contiguity of k (e.g. yfikk and yfikk “untie”, but in different dialects) see De Jong 2000:73–74. Cf. also the verb katt, and the imperfect is then ykktt or ykutt “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—from 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 Cī: ǧirīd “palm leaves”, midīnih “town”, digīg “dough”, xīfīf “light”, ʿirīs “bridegroom”, ḥirīd “parrot fish”, and also ʿlīy “male given name *ʿAlī” and verb forms nīsīt “I forgot”, ligīt “I found” and even 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae yā’ verbs iṣīl “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. kāṭīr “much, many”, kābīr “big; old”, taxīn “thick”, ṭawīl “long, tall”, dagīg “dough”, xamīs “Thursday”, ḥadīd “iron”.

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

- (preceding stressed Cē): ʿilēkum “on you (pl. masc.)”, ligēnāh “we found him”, miṣēt “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 ʿilāh, see remark *4 in 3.1.16.).

- (preceding CCē) middēt “I stretched”, suwwēt “I made” and istamīrēna “we continued”, istaʿiddēt “I prepared”.19

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19 Such raising is not consistently reported for ĜbA in Nishio 1992. Among isolated examples there, however, is: sawwēt “I made” (p. 99 XIV-37).
(preceding stressed Čā): midāris “schools”, misāfih “distance”, filāyik ʾissēd “(small) fishing boats (with sails)”, biḥāyim “cattle (pl.)”, ʾḏibāyih “animals for slaughter”, ḏigāyig “minutes”. In ʿLA such raising also takes place (but is less frequent than in ṬwA and HnA): ʾḏibāyīl “tribes”, but manāṭig “regions”, mašāyīx “sheikhs” and ʾḏawālīq “carpets”.

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

(preceding stressed ū): buxūr “incense”, xurūf “lamb”, ţinūb ~ ţunūb “south” and (with initial *hamzah) ʾuḥīy “my father” and uvxīy “my brother”, and also 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae wāw verbs ugūm “I get up”, uġīl “I say” (see remark * below). Similar examples in ʿLA are guʿūd “young male camel”, ʾuṭṭur “breakfast”, lugūḥ “pregnant (of a camel)”, ʾuḥūh “his father”. Like raising of a preceding i, raising of a preceding ū is optional; forms like ʾaǧūz “old lady”, ʾganūb “south”, yahūd “Jews” may also be heard. In ʿLA: rasūl “Prophet”, ūmūlah “animal led to a party for slaughter as a present”.

(preceding stressed a): ma tiḥatkūṃš “not under you”, ma tiḥāthiš “not under her”, ilāy “on me”, ʾgīmālʾk, “your camel” and in ‘LA ʾgīmāl “camel”.

(preceding stressed u): uxušš “I enter”, uguṣṣ “I follow tracks” and in ‘LA ilāh “on him” (see remark *4 in 3.1.16.).

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

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

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 wuxxān “dirty” (p. 152 (XI-30)), but no raising in hallāg “barber”, nadjār “carpenter”, ḥaddād “smith” (p. 58 (VIII-37, 38, 39)), ṭayyāra “aeroplane”, barrād “teapot” (p. 99 (XIV-37)), ʾḏaḥbān “angry” (with d!) (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 TwA and HnA: inwákal, ittáfaq, but in 'LA the article—like in groups I and VI—is stressable in a sequence alCvCv(+), e.g. álğimal “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 TwA, HnA and 'LA, as in imperfects of measures n-1 and 1-t: yínḍirib “he is beaten”, yítítfig “he agrees”.21

* Forms like axušš, aḫußṭ, aṣıdd, alifff etc. may also be heard in TwA, HnA and 'LA, but it is not possible to conclude here whether raising of a (> uḫußṭ, išıdd, 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. [ı].22

Such raising is basically a pausal phenomenon. Examples are: . ilká’akah diy bya’ağinha ’ağın mażbišt xǎlis “(for) this ka’akah he kneads the dough extremely well”, tislüh šwayyah nihā w šwayyah nihā bitkùn 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 hilwah hilwah bitna’dīf ilmi’dih “…good, good, it (sg. fem.) cleans the stomach” and lamma btínhišiy tamir … bīngūl ‘alēha šannih “when it is stuffed with dates … we call it a basket”. Examples in 'LA: hǎda kamān gabīt ʾLēgāt … bardūk faḏākīh “this is also the ‘Lēgāt tribe … there too” and ʾirf aḍḍef min bi’d, ǧāy min iblād /t/iḏyih “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. ḥlāṭah # “on the wall”, nḡārah # “carpentry”. txaḻha ʾalīḍah # “you make (lit. let be) it (sg. fem.) thick”, nafs ilgīṣṣah # “the same story”.

21 And like in group VI, in the verb forms yínḍirib and yítítfig, the raised a will again ‘surface’ as a when in closed syllables, e.g. yínḍárbuw and yítítfiw, see also 3.2.3.1.1.
22 Nishio 1992:XV reports 'imālah up to I.P.A. [ɛ] in GbA. My impression was that it could reach up to [i] in GbA, and often with a following glottal stop when final [ɛ] represented final -a or –ā.
In ṬwA and HnA raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ŋ and h, e.g. wāṣiḥ # “wide (sg. fem.)”, sabiḥ # “seven”, ilFāṭihih # “the Fāṭihah surah”, ḍibīḥih “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 یṣallūḥ ʻala nnāṛ kidiy lamma: yanṣaf “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 /eː/ for *ay are: ṭānīn “two”, bēn “between”, lēlī “evening”, sēl “flood”, ḡwēl (dim. of ġāl) “little side” and examples for ō for *aw are móṭ “death”, yōm “day”, fōg “above”, sōdíy “black (sg. fem.)”, ṣōmā “(manner of) standing up”.

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

Examples are (for /eː/) ʻān “eye, ḍāfīn “little children”, ḥātah “wall”, xār “good”, sād “hunting”, ḏāf “guest”, ṭār “birds”, and verbs ḥāṭṭāna “we placed” and ḡisṭānā “we bought” and (for /oː/) ḥāːl “year”, ṭā:dah “male given name ʻŌdah”, ẓōf “fear”, ṣoːt “sound; voice”, though when h precedes, /eː/ or /oː/, it is near I.P.A. [eː] and [oː] (resp.), as in ʻAbu Ḥēb “name of a snake charmer (of the Awlād Sashalfringleftīd)” and ḥōdaǧ “camel litter (formerly used for the bride in a wedding procession)”.

In a few cases the diphthong *aw has a /eː/ reflex: mēḡūd (though ~ mawḡūd, root w-g-d) “present”, mērūs “inherited” (root w-r-, see remark in 1.1.2.) and also mērakah (root w-r-k) “leather riding cushion supporting the lower leg”.

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

23 In ŠwA, ASA and HnA aw’a is conjugated: aw’a tans!, aw’iṭ 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”.

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

In ‘LA the form zraygān “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:

\[
\begin{align*}
dēr & \text{ “monastery”}\quad -\text{dir “turn (trans.)!”}\quad -\text{dür “turn (intrans.)!”}\quad -\text{dør “floor (in a building)”}\quad -\text{dar “house”} \\
gēbuh & \text{ “bring it!”}\quad -\text{gēbuh “his pocket”}\quad -\text{gābuh “he brought it”} \\
gōm & \text{ “enemy tribe”}\quad -\text{gūm “get up!”}
\end{align*}
\]

Suffixed prepositions lay “to me”, ‘alay “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. kātār “many (pl. com.)”, šgāg “compartments of the tent”, ḥbāl “ropes”, šāsāh “screen” and also wāḥid “one”, sārhīh “out grazing (goats and sheep)”, nāghtī “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 -i’. 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 anaptytics 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 CaCa(C) in VII. Examples of such differences in stress are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group VI and ‘LA</th>
<th>Group VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šṭī, šalāt ʾlīšī</td>
<td>ʾišī, šalāt ʾlīšī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“winter”

“the evening prayer”

Group VI ʾišī, Group VII and ‘LA ʾāšī* “dinner”

* When a directly precedes the reflex of final *-āʾ(’) in open syllable, it is usually not raised. More often, forms are like ʾlāśāʾ, ʾlğáda’. Forms with raising ʾāšī, ʾğađe′ were recorded in pause and only in GrA and ŠWA. Unraised forms ʾğađa’ and ʾāśa’ were heard in sandhi.

Other recorded examples with raised reflexes of final -āʾ(’) are: ʾfīʾ “viper”, Wādiy ʾĪsli’ (stressed on initial I-) “Wādiy Isla” ǧi “he came”, ʾlbnun ʾdi “these coffeebeans”, tižībhi “you get it (sg. fem.)”, ṣalāt ʾlīši “as much as we can afford”, ʾftarni “we had breakfast”. Comparable examples in ‘LA are: ǧi, (i)līfʾih and also (i)līf’iy “the viper”, ʾlβωlād ṭi “this boy”, ʾgambhi “next to her”, ʾbiddni “we want” and ʾlōkriḥ “the wages”.

Reflexes of final *-āʾ(’) 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/dμrāʾ(’) “green”, bē/dμrāʾ(’) “white” and (optionally) raised a in syllable preceding final ā in the examples zirgāʾ(’) “black (lit. blue)”, ḩimrāʾ(’) “red” and sifrāʾ(’) “yellow”. Similarly, sg. fem. forms of physical defects are ḫamgāʾ(’) “stupid”, ṭarmāʾ(’) “gap-toothed”. Such examples are also available for ‘LA.

When no phonetic factors interfere, raising of final *-āʾ(’) in sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects will reach (stressed) -īy, as in e.g. (colours) sōdíy “black; bad”, šaḥābōy “sand-coloured”, ǧabşōy “dark” and (physical defects) ḥōlíy “cross-eyed”, ḥabīlīy “dim-witted”, ʾaržiyl “limping (sg. fem.)”, ʾamyiyl “blind” and šōlíy “left-handed”. Such examples are also found in ‘LA.

N.B. “here” is nihāʾ(’) or nihāniy in ṬwA, ḤnA and ‘LA, but also ʾhīniy was recorded in ŠWA, ASA, ḤnA, (only once in) ḤmA and K-form hīna or hīnih in all dialects.

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25 In group I raising of final -āʾ(’) is also prevented by a directly preceding in open syllable, see Blanc 1970:124 (13) and De Jong 2000:82.
In dialects of group I raising (there to final -íy) is inhibited by (underlying) a preceding in open syllable. In group VII raising to -iʾ tends to be prevented by a preceding in open syllable (see remark * above in 1.2.4.4.). Examples are: iddáwa “the medicine”, issámaʾ “the sky”, (verb forms) fádaʾ “he sacrificed”, mášaʾ “he walked”, sáwaʾ “together”, istáwaʾ “it became cooked” and also ánaʾ “I”.

In ‘LA some examples are: áddawa “the medicine”, ál’aša “the dinner”, mášaʾ and ána.

The forms with raised final *-ā (> -iʾ) 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 ittasalni buh “we contacted him”, ḥatta lífʾi ma tagdarš tuktulhiʾ “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 ǧiʾ “he came” will be absent, e.g. law ǧāuḳ dixīl “if somebody comes to you as a daxīl”. Similarly, when krī is suffixed, final -iʾ will be -ā+, e.g. krāh “his wages” and krā uḳ “your wages” (example from ‘LA).

1.2.4.5. Allophones of long vowels ĕ, ĭ, ō, and ū

1.2.4.5.1. Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on ĭ and ū
Primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following ĭ and ū towards (resp.) I.P.A. [ɛ:] and [ɔː] and like in group VI such lowering is clearer in the case of following ū; with following ĭ 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 /ē/ and /ō/, but their realizations tend to be lower: nearer to I.P.A. [ɛ:] and [ɔː].

1.2.4.5.2. Off-glide in ĕ and ĭ
The same type of off-glides in /ē/ and /ī/, as described for group VI, may also be heard in TwA, HnA and ‘LA.

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26 See Blanc 1970:124 (13) and De Jong 2000:82.
27 A daxīl 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 daxīl for three days (and one third of a day) and seek legal assistance to have the problem of his daxīl 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: mašiyy # “walking” and # iyyāf “he fears” and hašuw # “filling, stuffing”, xaṭuwtēn “two steps” and # uwwād “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 yāʾ verbs with an ī-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”), nāsā and nāsat (but also nisyit) and also lágiy ~ lagā “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 ī-type paradigm.
Final -iy may also reflect older final *-ā’ in the pattern *CaCCā’ for physical defects: ‘arǧīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, hablīy “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, ‘amyīy “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCā’) sōdīy “black”, šaḥabīy “sand-coloured”.\(^{28}\)

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

Final -iy reflects final *-ī in bīriy “innocent”, final *-īy in šābiy “boy”, gāwiy “strong” and nibīy “prophet”, *-ay’ in šiy “thing” and also the nisbah-ending for the sg. masc., e.g. Sū’ūdiy “Saudi”.

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs
Examples of long vowels being lengthened: (expressing great surprise) yā salā:m “my goodness!”, (expressing an extreme degree) ḥayāh ṣi’bah xā:liš “a very difficult life” and in ‘LA ḥalla nā:yim “he remained asleep (for a long time)”.

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 yāḥartuw “they plough”, receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

The rules for ṬwA and HnA are (for ĞBA there are exceptions like īššṭi’ “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 infix is not stressable.

\(^{28}\) Also in ĞBA 1992, see ?arji (sic.) (a misprint for—in my own transcription—‘arǧīy) on p. 7 (I-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 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. In the absence of a heavy syllable, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left.

The exception made for resyllabification of CaCaCaCv(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, náxal, kátambah, rágabah, náxalh, yáharit, yáharțuw, álwalad, ál’aša’, ál’si’, šnaț, ášsnat, ánğasal, yínģisil, inģásaluw, áștágal, yištígil, ištágaluw, kátabatuw, rágabatuw and yá’āraqw.

In ‘LA the article is a stressable unit (e.g. ál’dágamal, but forms like ál’dágamal 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 t-1.

2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences

Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are in ṬwA and HnA: išt’i “the winter” (ǦB), il’aša “the dinner, il’f’i “the viper” (second i is originally anaptyctic), šalāt il’iši “evening prayer”, il’lab “the tins”, mādrasah “school”, ištágal “he worked”, ittáfag “he agreed”, inģásal “he was washed”, ilbásal “the onions”, ilwálad “the boy/son”, ittáfaguw “they agreed”, inģásaluw “they were washed”, hšiy “rocks”,29 šólly “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and šahabīy “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

29 In ‘LA the form il’hši “the rocks” was also recorded.
be stressed (being the vowel in the ‘underlying’ heavy sequence vlCC), 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_{i}CaC > C_{m}CaC > vl + C_{m}CaC > vlC_{m}CaC > vlvC_{m}CaC
vlvC_{m}CaC or vlvC_{s}CaC

scenario 2:
\*C_{i}CaC > C_{s}CaC > vl + C_{s}CaC > vlC_{s}CaC > vlC_{s}CaC

C_{i} = ‘sunletter’ consonant
vl = article il- or al-

C_{m} = ‘moonletter’ consonant
vl = ‘stressed short v: i or á

vs = originally anaptyctic vowel, after having become stable and part of the morphophonemic base, and is therefore stressable

When anaptyctics preceding forms with initial C_{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 # CC or C CC needs to be resolved, so that an anaptyctic will be inserted preceding the last CC 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>*d ráh</td>
<td>d ráh</td>
<td>C + d ráh</td>
<td>C v d ráh</td>
<td>ád ráh (v d ráh)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the article is then prefixed, the resulting form will be alád ráh “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 alángar “the potholes”.

---

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 (’)v-; there is a phonotactic constraint barring initial CC.
Forms in ‘LA are: īššti, ál’asā’, ilīf’ih, ilīṣṭi – ilīṣti, álgrab “the water-sacks” (but alángar “the potholes”), álabar “the needles” and also aládrab “the sorghum”.

Other forms with heavy sequences in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA: tiléna “we rose”, wálädḵ “your (sg. masc.) son”, wálädḵ “your (sg. fem.) son”, ümmuḵ “your mother”, štī “winter”, zēn “good”, zēnih “good (sg. fem.)”, zēnin “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)v(CvCvC): álabaṛ “the needles” (“I come” is ʾāṣā). The same forms are found in ‘LA.

CvCvC: ʾāṣa “dinner”, máša “he walked”, dāwa “medicine” (“stick” was recorded as ʾaṣā). The same forms are found in ‘LA.

Cv1Cv(C): īǧiy “eat!”, úḳul “stand up!”, úgum “go to sleep!”, ábar “needles” (“I come” is ʾāṣā). The latter two not in ‘LA, and gahawah-forms áḥamaṛ “red”, ná ʾaǧih “ewe”, á’arag “I sweat”, áḥari/tmacronbelow “I plough”, gáhawah “coffee”.34

(C)v(CvCvCvC): dáraḥabu “they hit (perfect)”, báladuh “his country”, násatuš “she did not forget him” (the latter two not in ‘LA), and gahawah-forms áḥamar “red”, náʾaǧih “ewe”, á’arag “I sweat”, áḥarit “I plough”, gáhawah “coffee”.34

(C)v(Cv(C))v(C): ilxášabah “the piece of firewood”, ilbádawiy “the Bedouin (sg.)”, (gahawah-form) innáxaḷah “the palm tree”, ibtáḥafruw “they dig”, istáğaḷat “she worked”, inbásaṭuš “they rejoiced”, ittáfaqat “she agreed”, taǧáwwazat “she got married”, takállamuw “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 / úguṃ were checked, but were rejected as not proper ‘LA.
34 Stress reported for ḠbA in Nishio 1992 is the same, see p. 146 (XX-30 and 33). However, ibid. p. 7 (I-61) reports (in my transcription) a’rag “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(’) “green (sg. fem.),” šīfāʾ(’) “yellow (sg. fem.),” bēḍāʾ(’) “white (sg. fem.),” ḡirāʾ(’) “bald (sg. fem.),” īwārāʾ(’) “one-eyed (sg. fem.).” Such stressing is regular in ŢwA, 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.),” šādīy “left-handed (sg. fem.),” ḥawliy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.).” Notice however stress in hīniy “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: (šāhāʾ >) šahābīy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.).” These forms are current in ŢwA, HnA and ‘LA.

Reflexes of final *-āʾ(’) 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 ŢwA and HnA) (i)lʾāšaʾ “(the) dinner”, (i)gādāʾ “(the) lunch”, (i)sāmaʾ “the sky”,36 but with heavy sequences available: išṣṭi “the winter”, šalāt ilʾiši (base form is išši) “evening prayer”, ilifʾi “the viper” and Wādiy ʿIsliʾ (stress on initial I) “Wadi Islah”.

Note: there is variation, however: (only) in ǦbA and ḤmA forms with stress on the final vowel like šalāt iliši “evening prayer”, ilifʾi “the viper”, waqt išṣṭi “the winter time” and Ġabal ʿGniʾ37 “the mountain of canals/ water ducts (situated in the Maġārāh area)” were also heard.

Since heavy sequences always precede within word boundaries, raised reflexes of pronominal suffixes will not be stressed, e.g. mnākūlhi “we eat it (sg. fem.),” šuftti ( < šuʃt + ha) “I saw her”. Verbal endings that developed from *-ā also remain unstressed, e.g. šufni “we saw” and māša “he walked”. The reflex of final *-āʾ(’) will only be stressed if it is the only vowel available, e.g. ilwālad ʾi “this boy”, ʾi “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 sūdī.
36 Nishio 1992 reports the same type of stress in ĠbA, see e.g. p. 119 (XVII-1) sāma, but does not indicate stress in ǧāde and ʾaše.
37 In Ṭurḥāniy dialect this mountain is referred to as Ġibāl ʾiGniy; ʾgni is a pl. form < *qināʾ.
2.1.2.2. *Stress on final nominal *-iy 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. innibiy or innábiy “the Prophet” and issábiy “the boy”. In ḤmA áníni láyibiy was recorded and in ĠbA inni láyibiy.

šäbiy (pl. šibyān) “boy” with suffixes: šäbíyyuk “your boy”, šäbíyyi “my boy”, šäbíyyhuṃ “their boy”.

2.1.2.4. *Stress in suffixed gahawah-forms
In ṬwA, HnA and ŠwA stress in gahawah-forms is like in group VI (naxáḷha “her date palms”, gáhawatuh “his coffee” and (i- and u-type gahawah-imperfect verb forms) yá’agˇnuh “he kneads it” and táxabṭin “you (pl. fem.) knock”).

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

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

An example in ŠwA 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 míntahat “from below”, míndikü “from this” and mínińhiy “from here” (the latter BWA).

In negated pronominals stress is as follows (recorded in HnA, ŠwA, 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)) faham “charcoal” and verbs: (p. 101–102 (XIV-54)) yaxalat “mix”, (p. 102 (XIV-55)) yahafer “dig” and (p. 115 (XVI-19) yahan “be sad”, etc.
Negated pronominals recorded in ḤmA are: māhū, māhī, mintih, mintiy, mānī, māhna, mintuw, mintin, māhuṃ, māhin.

In GrA direct elicitation yielded the following forms:\textsuperscript{39} māhū, māhī, mintih, mintiy, mānī, māhin, mantum, mantīn, māhna.

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

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 occurs regularly. Examples are: yugʿūd-luh šaharān talātīh “it stays (for itself) two or three months“ (GrA). ibyāxūd-luh bāʿ sāʿ tēn “he spends about two hours“ (ḠbA), biyṛūḥū-luh “they go to him“ (ṢwA), aṛawwīh-luh giddām ĭlmī ād 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.: ibyiḥbā-luh mūsīm “there is a season for it“ (HnA), ĭnnās bitginn tāhāsā-luh . . . ĥāsīy “people then stuff it (properly)“ (HnA), ĭmwaẓẓaf byāxud-luh tālātmiṭī ĭgēnēh “a civil servant gets (for himself) three hundred pounds“ (HnA).

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

2.1.3.2.2. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition b

Enclisis of suffixed preposition b is less current than that of suffixed l, but does take place, e.g. mistaḥīr-buh “making fun of him“ (ASA), w inḡammīs-buh “and we dip (food) with it“, timṣī-buh “you go with him“ (HnA), ibyiḥtimmū-buh htīmām ǧāmīd “they attach great importance to it“ (HnA). In ‘LA it was not recorded.

\textsuperscript{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 TwA and HnA. Some of many examples are: šāḥar “month”, salāt ilmağarib “prayer at sunset”, bā’ad “after”, byaxatibha “he gets engaged to her”, aha-bal “stupid”, aḥawal “cross-eyed”, šahabīy “sand-coloured”, taḥat “under”.

In ‘LA we see similar forms, but stress may be on the vowel of the second syllable, e.g. naxál “palm trees”, Sa’ād “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 C₁ = X: maXC₂UČ₃) like maḥafūr “dug”, maxaṛūm “pierced”, maḥabūs “imprisoned”, maḥaṭūṭ “placed” and maṣģul “reasonable”, maṣdūd “few, countable” and mağaṣūb “forced, compelled”, but also maxzūn “stored”, Maḥmūd “male given name” and maṭūbah “engaged (sg. fem.)”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC₂VČ₃(ah): maģarib “time of sunset”, máxazan “storage place, but also maģrib, maxzan and maḥgār “stone quarry”.

Examples in ‘LA: ma’arūfīn “known (pl. masc.)”, maxaṛūm “pierced”, maxaṭūbah “engaged (sg. fem.)”, maġarib “time of sunset”, but also maḥṭūṭ “placed”.

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

In TwA, 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”, ahla “more/more beautiful, sweeter/sweetest”, aġlab “more/most” (and also aġlabiyyah “majority”), aḡla “more/most expensive” and the name Aḥmad.

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Nishio 1992 cites numerous instances of the gahawah-syndrome for ĠBa too, but there are also exceptions, such as a’raḡ “lame” (p. 7 (I-61)), ta’bān “tired” (p. 41 (VI-9)), laġwe “language” (p. 72 (X-1)), raḡwe “bubble, foam” (p. 125 (XVII-48)), wahla “mud” (p. 127 (XVII-64)) and verbs like awaḡ, ya’waḡ “bend” (p. 99 (XIV-41)) and xiliṣ, yaḥlaṣ “end” (p. 103 (XV-4)) and other forms. N.B. the imperfect of a (there measure 1) verb like a’taḥ, ya’ti “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 ʚ (in my own transcription this would be yi’ṭiy). A similar example is (also measure 1) azażam, ya’zim “invite” (p. 90 (XIII-21)), which in my own transcription would be ʚażam, yi’żim.
The gahawah-syndrome also usually remains absent in loans from Standard Arabic like ya’nīy “that is, it means”, yahṣal “it happens” and another measure 1 verb ya’ma’t “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 naxāfati “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 bukara-syndrome

Examples of bukara-vowels are (underlined): azraq “dark brown”, tagara lFāṭihah “you recite the Fātiḥah”, duḡiriy “straight ahead, right away”, tzagirīt “she ululates”, ygūṭirin “they (fem.) go”, xuḡirīy “type of cheap green tobacco (smoked in rolled cigarettes)”.

Examples of the bukara-syndrome inhibiting the elision of a preceding high vowel are l āxīr innahār “until the end of the day” and īndawwīr ilḡamal “we look for the camel”.

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukara-syndrome creating vowels: fi lgaṣir“in the storage you store it for yourself” and fi lqīdir it ḫāluh “all of it in the pot” and in ‘LA Ṣadir ilḤēṭān “name of a mountain range, south of Umm ʾĪṭlah” 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”, ḥādīy btākil ilġarbū “this one (fem.) eats jerboa” (though also ibtākl ihtwēr “it (fem.) eats small birds”) and f-awwil ilwagt “in the beginning”. An example in ‘LA is gāl yā raḡīl ilmasal dī “he said ‘oh man, this saying . . .’ ”.

Examples of ‘expanded’ or ‘greater’ bukara-vowels preceding l in s-ndhi (where the vowel is not a cluster-resolving anaptyctic as described in

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41 Much more current for “make, do” is the measure 2 verb sawwa, ysawwiy.
42 gaṣr, pl. ġṣūr: 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 ‘Umām ʾĪṭlah pass, on the main road from the Ahmad Ḥamdi tunnel near Suez to Nīxl, is usually indicated on maps as ‘Mīṭla pass’, see fn 7, p. 3.
2.3.2.) are (‘greater’ bukara-vowels underlined): w ʾilʾakīl ʾiyyāmah ākān šiʾīb “food was also difficult (to get) in those days” and ʾithūṭṭuh fī ssiʾīn ʾīw ʾyūqʿūd-luḥ yūm “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 *raġil
The form bil or ibil was not recorded.
raġil for “man” was only recorded once in HmA and once in ‘LA, but there were numerous instances of yā raġil. riġgāl or rağıgāl (pl. rįgāl) 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) yōmin iygassim “when he allots” and iygyūnn anniswān yāḥalibn adduwābb (i.e. not *iygyūm anniswān yāḥalibn 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 aššīḥiy “the wormwood ghee”, and ibyanfaʾ l albaṭīn ʾīw fīḥ šiḡār l assadīr ʾīw fīḥ šiḡār 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”.

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”.

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

2.3. Anaptyxis

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

44
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\(^{45}\)—resolved by inserting an anaptyctic vowel preceding the last two consonants of the cluster, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
yiktib + uw & \rightarrow ^*yikthuw & \rightarrow yikthuw \text{ “they write”} 
yug’ud + uw & \rightarrow ^*yug’duw & \rightarrow yug’duw \text{ “they sit”}\(^{46}\)
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
tisg" + ha & \rightarrow ^*tisgha & \rightarrow tisgha \text{ “you water it”}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{45}\) 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):

\[
sab’ snin" > sab’ isnin “seven years”.
\]
\[
# byasrah w byidwiy mi’ ġamaluḥ > # iḥyasrah w iḥyidwiy mi’ ġamaluḥ “he goes away and comes back at sunset with his camel”.
\]

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 (anaptyctics underlined), e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\#CC & \rightarrow \# iCC: 
\# byasrah & \rightarrow \# iḥyasrah 
\text{and} 
CC# & \rightarrow CjC #: 
\text{b irrigil} & \rightarrow \text{b irrigil #}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{45}\) 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.) iktriben (p. 76 (X-27)), imperfect forms (pl. masc.) yoḍrobu, (pl. fem.) yoḍroben, 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 ĩ assimilates to the first consonant), e.g.: ḫṣgayyir, īSwēs and also īsnin (not ĩlṣgayyir, īlSwēs or īlōsnin).
An example in ‘LA is: maṭrah ma timis, irdis “wherever you are in the evening, spend the night there (lit. throw out your anchor)” (a saying advising not to travel by night); timis is an apocopated imperfect (root *m-s-y), irdis 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)
sāmnt il anz >
(after elision of unstressed high vowel, cluster in bold print)
*sāmnt il anz >
(after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)
sámint il anz “the ghee of the goats”

Another example is:

(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined, stress has already been placed)
nīlhig iššāz >
(after elision of unstressed high vowel, cluster in bold print)
*nīlhg iššāz >
(after anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)
nīliḥg iššāz “we put the šāğ (on the fire)”

A similar example heard in ‘LA is úḍrb ilmi’zih > * úḍrb ilmi’zih > úḍrb ilmi’zih “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. yikīthuww) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVCCIC VC > CVCICC VC (e.g. nīlhg 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”, fihimt? # “did you understand?”

48 For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:123–128.
Clusters may be left unresolved in sandhi as well, e.g. *gult hēhū ʾdiʾ* “I said ‘there he is!’” and *ʾind 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 bāluʾ* “you see?”.

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

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 ṬLA as well.

2.3.3.3.2. Preposition *ʾind + C*
The suffixed preposition *ʾind* takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʾindaha* (*indīhi*) “with her”, *ʾinduk* “with you (sg. masc.)”, *ʾindik* “with you (sg. fem.)”, *ʾinduhuw* “with them (pl. masc.)”, *ʾindihin* “with them (pl. fem.)”, *ʾindukum* (←uḵuww) “with you (pl. masc.)”, *ʾindikin* “with you (pl. fem.)” and *ʾinda* “with us”. The same forms are heard in ṬLA.

Clusters in sandhi are left intact, however, e.g.: *ʾind wāḥid* “with someone” and in ṬLA *ʾind ŵarbānuḥ* “with his family”.

2.3.3.3.3. The 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. pronominal suffixes in consonant clusters
In ṬwA, HnA and ṬLA (like in group VI) the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. -ḵ 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 ḵ (in sandhi), there may be a voiceless anaptyctic or none at all.

Examples are *arkābʾḵ ibyōḡʾinnuk* “your knees hurt you (sg. masc.)”, *arkābʾḵ ibyōḡʾinnik* “your knees hurt you (sg. fem.)”. In ṬLA *law arwāḵʾḵ ibyunguz min ʾinduh* “if he smells you he jumps from his place”.

When more than one consonant precedes the personal- pronominal suffixes take allomorphic shapes -uk (for sg. masc.) and -ik (for sg. fem.) e.g. *xalluḵ gāʾid* “remain seated”, *ʾinduk* “with you”.49

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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.

2.3.4.1.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyxis in clusters form “colliding” base forms

The situation in ṬwA, 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 ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA is like in group VI.

2.3.4.1.3. Anaptyctics in clusters resulting from elision of ı from T

The situation in ṬwA, 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 ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA.

In ṬwA, HnA imperatives of the verbs xá/d “take” and ká/d “eat” are úḳuḷ, #uḳḷíy, #uḳḷúw, #uḳḷín and úxu/d, #ux/díy, #ux/díw, #ux/dín.51

In ‘LA the sg. masc. is kúl and (velarized) xu’d, but the other imperatives are the same.

2.3.4.2.2. Phonetic quality of word-fijinal anaptyctics

Anaptyctics resolving word-fijinal 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 ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA.

50 This is the same as described for group I in De Jong 2000:128.
51 Nishio 1992:91 (XIV-2) lists oxos ~ xos, oxos ~ xođ, oxos ~ xođ, oxos ~ xođ, oxos ~ xođ, but okul ~ kul, okli and oklen for ḍB. In the majority of cases Nishio indicates non-elision of the short high vowel reflexes of CiCaC, e.g. zubab “penises” (p. 7 (I-54)), kusas “vulvas” (p. 7 (I-56)), šowak “ploughs” (p. 36 (V-25)), šonaṭ “bags” (p. 38 (V-35)), turab “graves” (p. 44 (VI-29)), šik “roads” (p. 69–70 (IX-24)), geṣaṣ “stories” (p. 74 (X-14)), nogaṭ “points” (p. 143 (XX-11)), ūk “places” (p. 154 (XXII-1)), nimar “numbers” (p. 173 (XXIV-48)) and also dora (p. 17 (III-11)), gora “villages” (p. 55 VIII-1)).
2.3.5. Stressed original anaptyctics

In the reflex of the pattern CICaC (i.e. CuCaC or GiCaC) in ṬwA (except ĠbA) 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-) ářkab “knees”, ášnaṭ “suitcases, bags”, áštal “seedlings”, áḥgan “injections”, ánxaṛ “noses”, áwṛaš “workshops”, ánṛga “pits, álma/dmacronbeloẉ “lamps (sg. lamḅah), ágrař “water skins”, álab “tins; packets”, áṣwar “pictures”, áxṣa “testicles” and (with initial i-) íšti “winter”, ífjí “viper”, šalāt íš “evening prayer”.

Forms recorded in ĠbA are more like those heard in group I (apart from the fact that the article is not stressed in ĠbA) e.g. hāt iligráb “bring the waterskins”, (i)líḥgán “the injections”, íššnáṭ “the suitcases, bags” and comparable stressing in the form šalāt íš “the evening prayer” (though also íliš was heard).

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

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 Samānah 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 (’)ábař “needles” and (’)áwa/dmacronbeloẉ “rooms”.

Plurals ending in *-īy have reflexes -īy like in: gnīy “bunches of dates”, ḥṣiy “rocks”, ḥṣiy “hand mills” and ṣiy “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 iGnī / Bīr iGnīy / Bīr Ignah (the latter stressed on I) (located at appr. 28.51.51 North and 33.43.35 East). Compare this to the different pronunciations of Wādīy Sli, Wādīy Slyy, or Wādīy Islah / Aslah (cf. 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5.).
55 In ‘LA a form ilišī was recorded, which must reflect the coll. ḥasan (root ḥ-ṣ-y). I do not have an explanation for the raising of final -ā preceded by the emphatic sād.
In ṬwA (however, for remarks on ĢbA see 3.1.16.) and HnA the preposition $m(i)$ 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 $má-m uš$, $ma mí'kuš$, $ma mí'kiš$ and (more predictably) $ma m'iš$.

In 'LA the suffixed preposition $m'$ will be stressed on the vowel of a vowel-initial suffix, e.g. $m'ūk "with you"$ and $m'ūh "with him"$ (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) \( \text{bitṭalli} + \text{yūn} > \text{bitṭalli} \text{̣yūn} > \text{bitṭallī'i'yuŋ} > \text{bitṭallī'i'yuŋ} \) “it (sg. fem.) grows flower buds”.

In this first example the cluster ‘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: \( \text{urbut ḥzāmuḳ} > \text{urbut ihzāmuḳ} > \text{urbut ihzāmuḳ} > \text{úrubṭ ihzāmuḳ} \) “fasten your seat belt”.

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$^5$ See Cantineau 1936:49.
In this second example the cluster ṭḥz 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 rbṭ, 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 Cₐ and Cₕ in CₐCₜICₕ are phonetically close or identical, I is not dropped. An example is bitgázzizuh “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 ṢwA, ḤmA and HnA with the act. participles (sg. fem.) mtaʾakninih, (pl. masc.) mtaʾaknínīn and (pl. fem.) mtaʾaknināt “irritated”. In ASA the i-elision does take place (with immediate subsequent anaptyxis) mtaʾakinnih, -ín, -āt and in ḠbA and ‘LA both mtaʾakninih and mtaʾakinnih (and mitʾaknínīn / mitʾakinnīn, mitʾaknināt / mitʾakinnāt) 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”, iǧǧizzāř “the butcher”, iǧǧism “the body” and iǧǧamr “the live embers” and iǧǧim ah ġgāyih “the next Friday”. This type of assimilation may be regularly heard in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA. Assimilation of l to initial k was not recorded.

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

- Regressive total:
  \[ t + s > ss \] ssūg “you drive”
  \[ t + ș > șș \] șșall “you pray”
  \[ t + ā > ąą \] ąądall “you stay/keep on”

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”, mašlahatta “her department”, taslaixa “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 šāğ (or šāž) > šāz “iron baking sheet”, sīǧih (or sīžih) > sīzih “game of sīġah”. In Ġbā I heard both šīzn and sīzn “prison” and bitsaģǧil and bitšazzīl “you record”, but in ASA I heard only basaģǧīl “I record”.

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

3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of *a in C安全事故I{C (ah)

Raising of a in the nominal pattern C安全事故I{C (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 ~ kiriş “many; much”, kabir ~ kidir “big; old”, garib ~ giriib “relative (related person)”, gadim ~ gidim “old”, daqīq ~ digīq “flour”, arīs ~ irīs “bridegroom”, qūnin “dough”, ba‘id ~ bid “far”, taxīn ~ tixīn “thick, fat”, xaʃf ~ xif “light (in weight)”, xamīs ~ xīmīs “Thursday”, ʤalīd ~ ɡilīd “fat”, naʃf ~ niʃf “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. tgil “heavy” (p. 176 (XXIV-74), ktri “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 līgy in 3.2.2.5.1.
Some forms recorded only without raising are: ḥadīd “iron”, dalīl “list (of persons)”, ṭarīg “road”, gaṭīrah “boat”, ṣaḥīḥ “correct”, raxīṣ “cheap”, laʾim “mean person”, (ʾ)akīd “certain”.

Some forms recorded only with raising are: midīnih “town”, yimīn “right (direction)”, miʿīz “goat”, sirīr “bed”, fijīṣ “salted fijish”.

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: bíriy “innocent”, gūwiy “strong”, ūriy “moist; soft”, wīliy ~ wāliy “saint”, ḫīliy ~ ḫaliy “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”, kabri “matches”, barmīl “drum”, Katrīn “(St.) Catherine”, zamīl “bask for sand”, sakkīnah “knife” and garnīṭ “octopus”. Also verbal nouns of measure 2 do not show such raising, e.g. taḡlīb “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 ĞbA and GrA is almost without exception when it concerns patterns C₁C₂C₃ and C₁C₃C₄. These patterns have been morphologically restructured as C₁C₂C₃ and C₁C₃C₄.

Examples in ĞbA and HnA: šiġġāl59 “busy, functioning”, riǧǧāl “man”, siyyāl “acacia tree”, millāḥ “salty type of herb”, niğiğār “carpenter”, tillāḡah “fridge”, willāḥ “lighter”, ḥïsīs “sensitive”, ḥiğiğāriy “pickaxe”, miyān “full”, siyyārī “car”, ǧiltān “mistaken”, ǧibtān “wrinkled (of skin of fruit)”, although also ǧaltān and raǧǧāl were recorded.60

In LA comparable forms show that morphological restructuring has not taken place, but that raising is optional: šabān “satiated”, raḍḍāḥah “roast pit”, raqqāsah “dancer (fem.)”, ʾatšān “thirsty”, ǧaltān “mistaken”, ḥisās “sensitive”, ḥiǧǧāriy “pickaxe”, millāḥ “salty type of herb”, niğiğār “carpenter”, tillāḡah “fridge”, willāḥ “lighter”, ḥïsīs “sensitive”, ḥiğiğāriy “pickaxe”, miyān “full”, siyyārī “car”, ǧiltān “mistaken”, ǧibtān “wrinkled (of skin of fruit)”, although also ǧaltān and raǧǧāl were recorded.60

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59 In ĞbA ǧāj in șaġġāl was several times pronounced with very little friction, and sounded more like velarized ǧg.

60 Nishio 1992 also lists several instances of such raising in ĞbA, but mainly in neutral environments, e.g. tilfān “thin, lean” (p. 41 (VI-8)), wuǧšān “ill” (p. 41 (VI-11)), riǧǧāl “(adult) man” (p. 48 (VII-11)), but also naǧǧār “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. baṭṭānī “blanket” (p. 29 (IV-35)), naḍḏāra “glasses” (p. 33 (V-3)), ʾarīy “naked” (p. 13 (II-4)), ǧamīyān and ʾatšān “thirsty” (p. 23 (III-3)), ǧaggār “servant” (p. 53 (VII-43)) and also ǧaʾān “hungry” (root ǧ-w-’) (p. 23 (III-53)).

Also in other patterns a is often raised in ṬwA and HnA when it precedes CCā, e.g.: ḥibbāyāt “corns, seeds”, miṛṛāt “times” and also in the pattern for sg. fem. adjectives of colours and physical defects (*CaCCāʾ), as in tirmā “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)“, gir’ā “bald (sg. fem.)“, iwrā “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, gilbā “stupid (sg. fem.)” and ḥimṛā “red (sg. fem.)”. Though forms like xaḍrā, ḥamrā, samrā, but also zirgā, tirmā “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 -ā(’) has not been raised to -íy, e.g. arjīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, and also the gahawah-form šahabī “light coloured (sg. fem.)”.

In ASA, ṢwA, 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”, raġgāl ~ riġgāl “man”, niġgār “carpenter”, Silmān “male given name”, šiyyād “fisherman (but šayyādiyyah “dish with fish”), bittāniyyah “blanket”, kislān “lazy”, wiǧ’ān “suffering pain”, šib’ān “sated, full”, zihgānīn “fed up (pl. masc.)”.

Variation or no raising in ġalṭān “mistaken”, ġalbān “poor, wretched”, ‘ayyān “ill”, ta’bān “tired”, matlān “full”, ʿtšān ~ ʿaṭšān “thirsty” and in sg. fem. adjectives for colours and physical defects: zirgā ~ zarā “black (lit. blue, sg. fem.)”, ḥimṛā ~ hamrā “red (sg. fem.)”, raddāḥah ~ riddāḥah “trap net (used to catch birds)”, safrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, ḥamgā “stupid, silly (sg. fem.)”, marra “times”, ḥabbāt “corns, bits” and mi’nāt “the meaning of”.

The conclusion for ḤmA, ṢwA, 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.

Some of many examples are: gināyāt “small water courses”, ġināyin “gardens”, zimān “in the past”, gizāz “glass”, tīmān “eighty”, midāris “schools”, misāfīn “distance”, misākīl “problems”, šiyyāk “(small) fishing boats (with sails)”, biḥāyim “cattle (pl.)”, ḥībāyīn “animals for slaughter”, digāyīg
“minutes”, šimāl “north”, kimān “also”, dirāhim “money”, ma mišāš “he did not go”, ilifā Ɂy “the vipers”. 66

In labial environments, raising of a may als be towards [u], as in šuwārib “lips”, muwāin “receptacles”, fiwākīh “(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”, ūtamātim “tomatoes”.

Here too, raising occurs less when l or r follows a, or X precedes, e.g. malāyin “millions”, salāh “prayer”, тālātah “three”, xalāš “ready”, salām “peace”, Garāşah “name of tribe”, farāših “thin loaves of bread baked on а saź (i.e. a şāq)”, mareshib “boats”, fara’nah “Faraos”, and ‘ašān “because”, ḥasāh “rock”, xawāqīh “foreigner”, Ḥamādah “name of tribe”, Ḥayāh “life”, ɡazāl “gazelle”. Also when ʾ precedes, raising is not regular, e.g. (ʾ)amakin “places”, (ʾ)asābi “fingers; toes”. Such examples may also be heard in LA.

This raising of a in open syllable directly preceding stressed a was found to be much less current in the dialect of the Ṣawālḥah (ṢwA) than in the other ṬwA 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. ʾilāy “on me”, ġimāl “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.: ġabāhtuh “I slaughtered it”, ragabātk “your neck”, katáb “I wrote” and also gahawātkum “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: ġimāl “camel”, ǧibál “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 Că is current, but similar raising of a preceding stressed Că is not regular in ṬwA 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 Ći, a in open syllable is also often raised—usually towards I.P.A. [v]—when it precedes Ću. Examples are: buxūr “incense”, xurūf “lamb”, ġinūb ~ ġunūb “south”, ġunūs “food dip”, ārūs “bridegroom”, fuṭūr “breakfast”, yuḥūd “Jews” and (with initial hamzah) uḥūy “my father” and uṣūy “my brother”, and also 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae wāw verbs ugūm “I get up”, ugūl “I say”. These forms may be heard in ṬwA, HnA and also in ‘LA. Some additional ‘LA examples are lugūḥ “pregnant (of a she-camel)” and guʿūd “young male camel”.

Like raising of a preceding ī, raising of a preceding ā is optional; forms like āğūz “old lady”, ġanūb “south”, ārūsah “bride”, hamūlih “animal led to a party to be slaughtered”, yahūd “Jews” may also be heard. Such forms were recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA.

Notice also the form (in HnA) ābūr in the name madrasat il ābūr “the Crossing School”. Since u of the first syllable in the MSA loan āubūr is not dropped in pronunciation, which would result in ābūr (compare e.g. āyn < āyūn 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 ābūr. Since raising of a in such positions is however only optional, one may also hear a form like ābūr. 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 māʿūn (māʿūn) “container”, nāmūsiyyih (namūsiyyih) “mosquito net”.

A gahawah-vowel in open syllable preceding Ću is not raised, e.g. maxaṭūb “engaged”, māʿarūf “known”, maḥafūḍ “well-kept”, maʿadīs “lentil soup” (such forms were recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA).

3.1.1.9. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed u
a in open syllable preceding stressed ā 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 HnA as opposed to Cv CvC), such ‘LA forms (which also stresses CvCvC) are few.

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62 The ‘crossing’, C.A. ābūr, 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 $\text{جالعت}$ “I grew fat”, $\text{جالعتين}$ “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 $\text{الله},$ which also appears without raising as $\text{الله}” on him” (see remark *3 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & > \text{I} / \text{C}_a \text{IC} \\
\text{I} & = \text{long vowel ū or ī} \\
\text{I} & = \text{short high vowel i if ū is ī; short high vowel i if ī is ī} \\
\text{C}_b & = \text{consonant capable of carrying velarization in case of raising to ū}
\end{align*}
\]

Notice the difference with the rule formulated in De Jong 2000:150; the provision of $C_a \neq *$ 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 $^*C_1aC_2C_3(\text{ah})$

For reflexes of $CaCC(-ah)$ the following forms were recorded in Twa: $\text{بادو}”Bedouin”, \text{تَحَت}”under” (also ‘LA), $\text{فَهَام}”coal”, \text{وَهْدَاه}”(\sim \text{وَهْدِه}) in ĠbA, ḤmA and ‘LA”) “one (sg. fem.)”, $\text{ناْهَيْح}”direction”, $\text{سْاْب}”difficult”, $\text{سُكْل}”shape”, $\text{سَهان}”dish, plate” (also ‘LA), $\text{جَدَي}”kid goat” (also ‘LA), $\text{شَدَر}”chest”, $\text{وَكِل}”food” (also ‘LA), $\text{كَرْس}”(fat) belly”, $\text{كَلْب}”dog” and $\text{جَيْد}”grandfather” (also ‘LA) and $\text{جِيْن}”eyelid”$.

3.1.3. Reflexes of $^*CaCIC(\text{ah})$

$\text{ويرك}”thigh”, $\text{كيت}”shoulder”, $\text{كْيلْمِهُ}”word”, $\text{شيرك}”company”$.

3.1.4. Reflexes of $C_1uC_2C_3(\text{ah})$

Some reflexes of $C_1uC_2C_3(\text{ah})$ are: $\text{بَنْن}”coffee beans”, $\text{رَيْز}”rice”, $\text{كْلِل}”all; every” (also ‘LA), $\text{عَمْنَّا}”mother” (also ‘LA), $\text{عَتْ}”sister” (also ‘LA), $\text{جِمْح}”male given name” (also ‘LA), $\text{مُدْدِهَ}”period”, $\text{حَرْمَة}”woman” (also

\footnote{For ĠbA $\text{وَلِك}$, $\text{وَلَك}$ is reported in Nishio 1992:7 (I-58).}
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", yūn “eyes” and ǧnēh “pound (money)”, ġbāl “mountains”, gṣayyir “short”. Such forms are regular in ṬwA, 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”, ifʾiy “viper”, ʾisti “winter”. Such forms are regular in ṬwA and HnA, but in ‘LA forms like ḡgan, šnaṭ “suitcases” and ʿnab “grapes” are predominant, although also forms ifʾiy ~ ifʾih are heard.

Exceptions to such elisions are often found in MSA loans, e.g.: niẓām (all dialects) “system”, bidāyithiʾ “its (sg. fem.) beginning”, xumūl “tiredness” (ǦbA), nihāʾiy “final” (ǦbA), siyāḥah “tourism” (ḤmA), ʾibārakah “an “consisting of” (ṢwA) and gīsāz “glass” (although perhaps better interpreted as underlying |gazāz|) (‘LA).

Verb forms listed for group VI are also current in ṬwA and HnA. The verb “come” however has imperfect forms with a long base vowel i, e.g. yiği “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.).

Diminutive patterns

The usual diminutives expressing ‘littleness’, ‘shortness’, ‘narrowness’ etc. were recorded as e.g. ġrayyib “near”, ṣġayyir “small; young”, rfayyi “narrow”, ḍayyiḥ “weak (sg. fem.)”, ḡlayyil “few; little”, kwayyi “good”, šwayyi “a bit” and (as a common dim. used to euphemistically refer to women) hrayyi “women”.

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 (îlîf’î) was also referred to as swêd îllêl, lit. “the (little) blackness of night”. Other diminutives are: rišrês maṭar⁶⁵ “a few drops of rain”, ibtâkl îtwèr “it (sg. fem.) eats small birds”, zrēgân “dark-coloured thoroughbred camel”, yā-ḥuw šhayyîbî “my little friend (as a form of address)”. 

Except in the form zrēgân, the hypochoristic -ān suffix, which was recorded in some of the dialects of group I,⁶⁶ was not heard in ṬwA 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. abyâd) and aC₁aC₂aC₃ (e.g. áḥamař, 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. bēdā`')[omite], there is an additional a following C₂ when it is X and final -ā is raised to -iy when C₃ is neutral (e.g. šahâbiy'). Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

In the pl. com. forms for colours and physical defects all dialects (including 'LA) show C₁uC₃ as the pattern, i.e. like in MzA of group VI. Only in GbA both 'imy and 'uny for “blind” were heard.

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

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. agall “less; least” and aC₁C₂a (without gahawah-vowel), e.g. aḥla “sweeter; sweetest”.

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 *ālʾašī* ~ *ilʾaša* “the dinner”, *ālġada* ~ *ilġada* “the lunch”, *ālġanam* ~ *ilġanam* “the sheep”.

Examples in other dialects of TwA are: *ilġámal* “the camel”, *tāʾaḡn* *ilʾaḡīnah* “you knead this dough”.

The relative pronoun is *illiy*. Examples are: *fīh amākin ǧaṭs ḥilwah nihā fi Dāhab.w illiy biyrawwh Uḥuw lHōl⁶⁷* “there are beautiful dive sites here in Dahab. And there are those (lit. sg.) who go to the Blue Hole” and *ḥasab kimmīṭt illaban illiy ʿinduḳ ʿad “depending on how much milk you have, of course”.

An example of how *il*- and *al*- may appear side by side in ḤmA: *nasrāḥ b ilġánam w iḥna ṣġayyrīn. ingōṭir ilbārr yā salām iyṭubb álμuṭar… “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 *štī*’, as in *f-īšštī* “in (the) winter”. In other dialects one will hear *fi līštī*. Similarly (in ḤmA) *hāt áššnaṭ “go get the bags!”*, where the other dialects have *ilāšnaṭ*.⁶⁸ An example from ASA is *hatīǧib ilāṣwar walla tánam ʾilēhin “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 *haḥhin “now”, e.g. *fīh buʿrān bitxāf haḥhin law nizilt iššāri*, bitxāf mi lʾaḍabīyyih “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”, ilkri(’) “the wages”, but also *ālfaras ~ ilfāras “the horse”. When the article is stressed, the vowel is usually *a* (e.g. *ālġada* ‘lunch’, *ālʾaša* ‘dinner’,

⁶⁷ Aḥuw lHōl—literally “the Sfinx”—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 at-Ṭarfa) see remarks below in 3.1.16.
álgrab “the watersacks”), but sometimes colours with the vowel of the noun, as in ṣalāt ʾ|i|ši “evening prayer” and ʾi|i|h|ši “the rocks”.

3.1.9.2. Other instances of initial a
Forms in ṬwA and HnA are: ʾum|m|n “mother”, ʾu|x|t “sister”, ʾi|i|h|na “we”, (’)ába|r “needles” and (’)áwa|d “rooms”. Forms recorded in LA are ʾum|m|n, ʾu|x|t, álaba|r and álawa|d.

For a-initial plurals for the *CICaC pattern (e.g. ágrab “water skins” and áṣwar “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 Samānah 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:

\[ T > at \ / \ldots C_a C \_ + gen. \]

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

Nishio 1992:XV, however, describes a situation for ǦbA in which the phonetic quality of the T-vowel is basically phonetically conditioned: “[t]he reflex of the Classical Arabic feminine ending -ah (tāʾ 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 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 rāgabatuh “his neck”.

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

3.1.10.2. The rule for T not directly preceded by aC or ʾ
Like in group VI when not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme -ah becomes -it (or -t when a long vowel ʾ 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: gahawati “my coffee”, gahawatuhs “his coffee”, gahawat’k “your coffee” and naxalati “my date palm”, naxaláthum “their date palm” and naxalátk “your (sg. fem.) date palm”, etc.

3.1.10.4. **T following ā**

T preceded by ā yields -āh, e.g. salāh “prayer” and when in construction, T > -t, as in salāt il’ši “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 šuğl, but in ĠbA also hagg was recorded in spontaneous text. Informants who claimed (when asked) that hagg was used in their dialects too were speakers of ASA and HnA. hagg does not appear to be current in GrA, SwA and HmA.

Apart from šuğl and hagg, K-form btā’ is often used.71

The paradigms for šuğl and hagg 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 2000:358–160.
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 šoglat + C and hággat + C (e.g. šoglatne and hággatne “our”) and at for T in open syllables: (with T-vowel not elided!) šuğlati and haggati “my” (though elision of the a is given as an option in e.g. mar(a)tēn “twice” (p. 173 (XXIV-49)), but e in e.g. bt(a)etne “ours” and the T-vowel elided in open syllables, e.g. in bt(a)ti “my”.
3.1.12. **Personal pronouns**

3.1.12.1. **Independent pronouns**

In ṬwA and HnA the following independent pronouns are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hū / huwwa</td>
<td>hum(ṃa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hī / hiyya</td>
<td>hin(ṇa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>intah / intih</td>
<td>intum / intuww</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>intiy / intiyya</td>
<td>intin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>ḏana / ḏiyya</td>
<td>ihna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>mahīš</td>
<td>mahūṃš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mahūš</td>
<td>mahīnš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>mántiš</td>
<td>mantūš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mantīš</td>
<td>mantinš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>manīš</td>
<td>máḥniš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In GrA direct elicitation yielded: māhū, māhī, mantih, mantīy, mana, māhum, māhin, mantum, mantin and māhna.

In ḤmA and (additional forms in) ǦbA the forms recorded are: māni, mintih, mintiy, māhū, māhī, miḥna, mintuw / mintum, mintin, māhum, māhin.

3.1.12.2. **Pronominal suffixes**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>(C)C-u(h), Ṗ-(h)</td>
<td>-hum*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>-ha / -ḥi(h)</td>
<td>-hin*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

73 Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-13) gives "hū (~ hūwa cf. < CLA or Cairene Ar.)."
74 Nishio 1992:180 (XXV-17) gives "hummo (~ humma cf. < Cairene Ar. Young people prefer this form.)" for ǦBA.
75 Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-15) gives "hī (~ hiyya < CLA or Cairene Ar.)" for ǦBA.
76 Nishio 1992:180 (XXV-19) gives "henne" for ǦBA.
77 Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-3) only gives inta for ǦBA.
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 ǦBA.
80 Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-11) gives inten for ǦBA.
81 Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-1) also gives ana for ǦBA.
82 Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-3) also gives ihna for ǦBA.
2. masc.  C\(^{-i}\kern0.15em\), CC-\(u\kern0.15em\), \(\bar{\nu}\kern0.2em-\(u\kern0.15em\)\(^{\ast}\)  -\(k\kern0.1em\)u\(n\kern0.2em\)\(^{\ast}\) - \(k\kern0.1em\)u\(w\)
   fem.  C\(-k\), CC-\(i\kern0.15em\), \(\bar{\nu}\)-\(k\kern0.1em\)\(^{\ast}\)  -\(k\kern0.1em\)i\n   1. com.  (C)C-i, \(\bar{\nu}\)-y (poss.)  -\(n\kern0.1em\) (obj.)\(^{\ast}\)

Initial \(h\) of the suffixes (in 3rd sg. fem and 3rd pl. masc. and fem.) often assimilates to a voiceless preceding consonant, e.g. \(b\ddot{e}tt\ddot{u}m\) “their house”\(^{83}\)

For allomorphs used with the preposition ‘\(i\)nd\’, see below 3.1.16.

\(^{81}\) Like in group VI, T\(\ddot{w}\)A, HnA and ‘\(l\)A have the -\(u\)\((h)\) suffix for the 3rd p. sg. masc. (contrast with -\(a\h\)/-\(i\h\) in group I, see De Jong 2000:164–165).

Some examples are: \(t\ddot{a}\’\ddot{a}m\ddot{u}\ k\ddot{u}\l u\ddot{w}\) “its taste is sweet”, ud\(\ddot{u}\)gg\(u\ddot{u}\) “I pound it”, sa\(l\)ax\(n\ddot{a}\h) “we skinned it”\(^{84}\)

\(^{82}\) Endings in -\(i\) ‘\(i\) occur mainly in pause and in neutral environments\(^{85}\).

\(^{83}\) For remarks on the use of superscript \(u\), see remark \(^{82}\) of 3.1.12.2. of group VI in chapter II. For a likely development of these suffixes see the note below these remarks.

\(^{84}\) Suffixes -\(i\) and -\(n\ddot{i}\) for the 1st p. sg. com. are stressed. Unstressed -\(i\) and -\(n\ddot{i}\) also occur\(^{86}\).

\(^{85}\) 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)\(^{87}\).

\(^{86}\) Like in the speech of older men of the Sam\(\ddot{a}\)’nah 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:

\(^{83}\) Such assimilations are also reported for \(G\ddot{b}\A, see Nishio 1992:180.

\(^{84}\) For \(G\ddot{b}\A Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-14) gives consonant + o and long vowel \(\bar{\nu}\) + (h).

\(^{85}\) Nishio 1992:178–179 (XXV-4 and 16) only gives he for the 3rd p. sg. fem. And ne for the 1st p. pl.com. in \(G\ddot{b}\A.

\(^{86}\) These stressed and unstressed forms are also reported in Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-2) for \(G\ddot{b}\A.


\(^{88}\) Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-10) for \(G\ddot{b}\A 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 -uw and -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.)
y-ikitb-uw and y-ikitb-in and (perf.) katab-uw and katab-in, and (for the second p. pl.) (imperf.) t-ikitb-uw and t-ikitb-in and (perf.) katab-t-uw and 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 -uw signals ‘pl. masc.’ and -in signals ‘pl. fem.’. Logically then, the -t- preceding these pl. morphemes, just like in sg. forms, signals ‘second person’ (apart from the fact that sg. com. also has -t).

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

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

In dialects of group VI this reasoning by analogy (though presumably not a conscious process) was taken a step further; since -h- signals ‘third’ person, adding pl. suffixes -uw and -in resulted in the pronominal suffixes for the pl. (masc.) -h-uw and (fem.) -h-in.89

Since the reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries resulted in a pronominal system that is internally quite logical,90 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 -hum and -hin and verbal second person pl. suffixes -tum and -tin (if these are indeed ‘original’ verbal endings of the second p. pl.) comparable

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89 See also De Jong 2000: 169, remark *3).
90 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.
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-ıkīt-b-um and (fem.) y-ıkīt-b-in. One of my Lēgīy 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>Negated</th>
<th>Form with Suffix</th>
<th>Form without Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“want need”⁹¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc. bidduh biddhum</td>
<td>ma bidduš*</td>
<td>ma biddhumš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. biddhi biddhin</td>
<td>ma biddhiš*</td>
<td>ma biddhinš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc. bidduku biddkun /-kuw</td>
<td>ma biddūkš</td>
<td>ma biddkumš /-kūš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. biddik biddkin</td>
<td>ma biddikš</td>
<td>ma biddkinš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com. biddi biddni</td>
<td>ma biddiš</td>
<td>ma biddniš*</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 -kūš) 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 bidduš.

Some examples of negated verb forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negated</th>
<th>Form with Suffix</th>
<th>Form without Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>katabatuḥ</td>
<td>“she wrote it (sg. masc.)”</td>
<td>ma katabatuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katabátti</td>
<td>“she wrote it (sg. fem.)”</td>
<td>ma katabáttiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katabtuḥ</td>
<td>“I wrote it (sg. masc.)”</td>
<td>ma katábtuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katábbtuḥ</td>
<td>“I wrote it (sg. fem.)”</td>
<td>ma katabbttiš</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 ḞbA, it seems, e.g. Nishio 1992:196 (XIV-27) ydawwəru, ydawwəren “they (masc., fem.) search”, etc. Such forms were not heard in my recordings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Negative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>īṭnīyyāh</td>
<td>give (sg. masc.) to me</td>
<td>ma tiʿṭnīṣ iyāḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īṭnīyyāh</td>
<td>give (pl. masc.) to me</td>
<td>ma tiʿṭnīṣ iyāḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īṭīyyāh</td>
<td>give (sg. fem.) to me</td>
<td>ma tiʿṭīṣ iyāḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īṭūṇīyyāh</td>
<td>give (pl. masc.) to me</td>
<td>ma tiʿṭūnīṣ iyāḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īṭīhiyyāh</td>
<td>give (sg. fem.) to her</td>
<td>ma tiʿṭīhiṣ iyāḥ*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īṭūnīyyāh</td>
<td>give (pl. masc.) to her</td>
<td>ma tiʿṭūnīṣ iyāḥ*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īṭīnuh</td>
<td>give (pl. fem.) to him</td>
<td>ma tiʿṭīnuṣ iyāḥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Other such examples are: ukúlhiʾ “eat (sg. masc.) it (sg. gem.)”, (negated) ma tākúlhiṣ “don’t eat (sg. masc.) it (sg. fem.)”, ukḷīhiʾ “eat (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)” is negated as ma tāḳḷīhiṣ “don’t eat (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)”, but ukḷūha “eat (pl. masc.) it (sg. fem.)” is negated as ma tākḷūhaṣ “don’t (pl. masc.) eat it (sg. fem.)”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Negative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>išílhiʾ</td>
<td>take it (sg. fem.) away</td>
<td>ma tišīlhiṣ / ma tšīlhiṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išīluh</td>
<td>take it (sg. masc.) away</td>
<td>ma tišīluṣ / ma tšīluṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)išūha</td>
<td>take (pl. masc.) it (sg. fem.) away</td>
<td>ma tišūluhaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)išūnuh</td>
<td>take (pl. fem.) it away</td>
<td>ma tišūnnuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)išūh</td>
<td>take (pl. masc.) it (sg. masc.) away</td>
<td>ma tšīlūš*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(i)išūw “take (pl. masc.) away” | negated as ma tšīlūš |

Other such examples are:

uxḍīh “take (sg. fem.) it” | both negated as ma táxḍīš |
uxḍiy “take (sg. fem.)” |

and

uxḍūḥ “take (pl. masc.) it” | both negated as ma táxḍūḥ |
uxḍuw “take (pl. masc.)” |

Similarly, the vowel in the pronominal suffix -na is not lengthened when it is in turn suffixed with -š, e.g. šāfnīʾ “he saw us”, (negated) ma šāfnīṣ “he did not see us” and šālūniʾ “they carried us”, (negated) ma šālūniṣ “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 byahašūh “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*:1

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

*1 Forms without initial ḥā- are much more regular than in group I. In dialects other than ḤmA, the forms with initial ḥā- occur mainly in the sg.

*2 In pause, and at times also sentence-medially often ʾdi or ʾdih.

*3 In HnA the pl. forms (masc.) innās ḏuw and (fem.) ʾilḥrayyim ḏinn(-ih) were also recorded.

*4 In ḤmA also ḥādōl(-ah) can be heard. Forms with prefixed ḥā- (also in far deixis) are more regular in ḤmA.92

In ‘LA the form ḏum (~ ʿdillih) was also elicited (but a conceivable ʿdīn for the pl. fem. was rejected when suggested).

Nishio 1992:181 (XXV-24) gives ʾdēl ~ ḏōl (the latter being more used among younger speakers) and ḏēlet 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*:1

<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>dāllāk(-ah)*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>dīk(-ih)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

92 Bernabela 2009:27 reports several instances of ḏōl for the pl. masc. and one instance of ʾdillah for the pl. fem.

Like in near deixis, also in far deixis ḤmA tends to have forms with initial ḥā-:
ḥā/dmacronbelowāḳ(-ah), ḥāḍīk(-ih) and ḥāḍallāḳ(-ah).

For ĠbA Nishio 1992:181–182 (XV-V-25 and 26) lists ḏāka ~ ḥāḍāka for sg. masc., ḏike ~ ḥāḍike 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 ḵ.

Like in group VI, “there he/she is (lit.: has come)” or “there they are (masc./fem.) (lit. have come)” is ḥēhū ǧiʾ, ṣēhī ḡāt, ḥēhūṁ(ma) ḡuww and ṣēhǐn(ma) ḡīn.

In ĠbA also the following forms were elicited:

iliḥrummah hikîn(nih) “those women (there)”
innās hukûm(ma) “those people (there)”
ibwālad hukûw(wah) “that boy (there)”
ilbint hikîy(yih) “that girl (there)”

The ḵ may also be doubled. Forms recorded in ĠbA and ASA are:

ḥukkū ǧiʾ “there he has come”, ḥikkī ḡāt “there she has come”, ḥukkûm(mah) ḡuww “there they have come”, ḥikkin(nah) ḡīn “there they (fem.) have come”.

The origin of these presentatives is probably ḥāk + ḥū or ḥuwwa, after which ḵ + ḵ was assimilated to ḵk and ā of ḥāk was shortened and harmonized with the vowel of the suffixed pronominal.

3.1.13.2. Specifying ḥa-
Specifying ḥa- was heard only in halḥin “now”.

3.1.14. Interrogatives


1) mīn, 2) ēš / ēh, 3) lēš / lēh, 4) (i)mtēh (mtēn in ḤmA and ASA and (i)mtēn ~ mitēn in ĠbA) and waqtēs (less regular waqtēh), 5) wēn, 6) īyyāt + sg., 7) kēf*, 8) kam + sg. “how many?”, kuṭrās / kuṭrēs “how much?”, 9) gaddēš / giddēš.

Nishio 1992 lists the following forms for ĠbA: 1) mīn (p. 183 (XXV-30)), 2) ēš ~ ē (p. 183–184 (XXV-31)), 3) lēš ~ lē (p. 184 (XXV35)), 4) mitēn (~ inta 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)), g) 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 kīf) 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 niḥāʾ(’) or niḥāniy*1 (fi ē is also used) K-form hīnih also appears and perhaps the original form is hīniy, “there” is hnūtiy or hnōtyy*2 (fī dāk(-ah) is also used, hnuh occurs less), ġād, sometimes ġadiy (both with open ā) is used for “over there (far away)” (the opposite being ġāy “nearby”). “Thus” is kīdiy or kidiyyih, “now” is halḥān, “still” is līssā’ (and K-form lissa) and “afterwards, after that” is baʿadēn.

*1 niḥāniy was not heard in ĠbA. Like in group VI, when the preposition min precedes niḥā’, one syllable is haplologically dropped, e.g. mi-nhāʾ(’) or mi-nḥāniy “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 niḥā, one could think of *hīnā or *hunā followed by the (postpositioned, see 3.1.9.1. of chapter III) deictic element hā, producing *hīnāhā or *hunāhā (stressed on final syllable), after which ā of the second syllable was shortened (> *hīnahā or *hunahā, see 1.2.24.), the resulting short a was raised (> *hinihā or *hunihā, 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 allāḥ) or k-w-d (e.g. kūd) were recorded, but only yīmkin “maybe, possibly”.


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’ mašiy ’ana. bass b ilğamal ma tišt ’iš. b išṣarāḥah, miš b ilḥēl ilbu rān 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 *rawwaḥt iddēr, īw fataḥna ṣṣubiḥ. issuwwāḥ māš ilǧim ’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 ܄wA, 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: *bissawwha, mumkin itxallha ġalī/dmacronbeloẉah, bass in tabga ṛfayy Ąah tabga Ąh? aḥsan ibtístiwiy “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 ܄wA, 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 -an varies with final -um)

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>i.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>luḥ</td>
<td>luḥum</td>
<td>ilēḥ</td>
<td>ilēḥum</td>
<td>im ’uh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. fem.</td>
<td>leḥa</td>
<td>leḥin</td>
<td>ilēḥa</td>
<td>ilēhin</td>
<td>miḥḥa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>luƙ</td>
<td>luƙum</td>
<td>ilēƙ</td>
<td>ilēƙum</td>
<td>iμ ’uk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. fem.</td>
<td>lik</td>
<td>leķin</td>
<td>ilēk</td>
<td>ilēkin</td>
<td>miƙ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>lēna</td>
<td>alāy(y)</td>
<td>ilēna</td>
<td>iμ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The preposition l + suffix may in turn again be enclitically suffixed, e.g. *biyṭallī-luh “he takes out for himself”. This was however only observed with a suffix -uh.*

*2 In ḤmA *leccion* .lazy and *lēk* or *lēkiy.*

*4 In forms like *gāḷ luƙ* or *gāḷ 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-luh “I brought it for him” or ‘alīt-.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.) 'luh, 'lēha, 'luḳ, 'lik, 'lay and (pl.) 'lēhum, 'lēhin, 'lēkuṃ / -uw, 'lékin, 'léna but in spontaneous texts only forms like 'alāḥ ~ 'ilūḥ (and also 'alēḥ), 'alēḥa, 'alēkuṃ / -uṃ etc. occurred. In ḤmA both 'alēḥ ~ 'ilēḥ and less regularly 'alāḥ ~ 'ilūḥ can be heard.

In 'ĜbA both 'alāy and 'iley (compare idēy “my hands”) were recorded.

In GrA full paradigmatic levelling has produced variant forms (for consonant-initial suffices) īmī'ha, īmī'huṃ, īmi'hin, īmī'kuṃ, īmī'kin and īmī'na, leading to the conclusion that the underlying morphological base is [im'] in this case.

In ḤmA both īmī'ha and īmī'huṃ and less regularly īmī'luh ~ īmī'iluḥ can be heard.

In 'ĜbA near the monastery and in 'LA forms without stressed original anaptyctic are current: (sg.) m'uh, m'uk, m'ik and m'ī. In Mrēr (in Wādiy aš-Šēx) 'ĜbA forms are like those listed in the paradigm above (im'uh, etc.).

In ḤmA 3rd p. sg. masc. was recorded as m'uh, and 2nd p. sg. masc. and fem. as mī′k and mī′k resp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>fi+</th>
<th>fōg+ *3</th>
<th>min+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>fīh</td>
<td>fōguh</td>
<td>minnuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>fīhuṃ</td>
<td>fōghuṃ</td>
<td>minhuṃ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>fōg+ *3</th>
<th>min+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>fīk</td>
<td>minnik*5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>fōgkuṃ</td>
<td>minkin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 ḠbA warahiʾ and (negated ma warāhiš).
*2 Negated forms in SwA were recorded as (sg. masc.) ma warāʾš and (sg. fem.) ma warāš. Other dialects have negated forms (sg. masc.) ma warāšš and (sg. fem.) ma warāšš (compare negated ‘ala+ below).
*3 Negated ma warāyš.
*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):

negated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēhūmš</td>
<td>ma fōguš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēhiš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēhins</td>
<td>ma fōghiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēšš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēškš</td>
<td>ma fōgkšš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēhiš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēšš</td>
<td>ma fōgkšš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ma ‘alāyiš</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 ḡamb “aside”.
*2 In SwA negated forms are ma ‘alēšš and ma ‘alēšš.
*3 In ḠbA ma ‘ileyš was also recorded.
*4 On the status of high vowels i and u in these forms, see remark *4 to paradigm fōg+ above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>má-m ‘uš</td>
<td>ma mihēhūmš</td>
<td>ma mínnuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma mihiš</td>
<td>ma mihēhins</td>
<td>ma minniš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ma m ‘uš</td>
<td>ma m ‘kūmš</td>
<td>ma mínkūmš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma m ‘ikš</td>
<td>ma m ‘kīnš</td>
<td>ma mínkš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ma m ‘iš</td>
<td>ma m ‘nēš</td>
<td>ma mínniš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.17. Numerals and counted plurals

3.1.17.1. Cardinal numbers 1–10

Independent cardinal numbers in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are (forms that precede counted nouns follow in brackets):[^95] wāḥid / wiḥdih[^*1], /tiḥn / tintendent[^*2], ṭalāṭih (ṭalat), arba’ah (arba’), xamsih (xams), sittih (sitt), sab’ih (sab’), ṭamānīyih (ṭaman), tis’ih (tis’), ’ašārah (’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] /tiḥn and /tintendent may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. waladēn i/tintendent “two boys” and idēy i/tintendent or idēy tintendent “my two hands”.

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic t- (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. ertility ṭalat t-iyyām “three days”.

3.1.17.2. Ordinal numbers 1–10

Only three ordinals were recorded in TwA, HnA and ‘LA: awwil, ṭāniy, ṭáltitu.

3.1.17.3. Numerals: n and up

Numerals recorded in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are:

ihdāsir[^*1], ṭalatṭāsir, arba’ṭāsir, xamistṭāsir, sittṭāsir, sabṭāsir, ṭamānṭṭāsir, tisaṭṭāsir[^*2], ṭalat t-ālāf, xamis t-ušhur, sabṭālāf, ṭalat t-ālāf, tisṭālāf, ertility t-ālāf, mit alf, mīyytēn alf, milyōn[^*3] (and ṭalat malayin).

[^*1] In ‘LA ḥidāsiran

[^*2] Forms recorded in HnA have endings in -aṣir. In SwA also shorter forms like sittṭa’iṣ, sabṭa’iṣ and ṭamānṭa’iṣ were recorded in allegro speech. Informants for ASA claimed endings in -a’iṣ are more current than those ending in -aṣir or -aṣar.

[^*3] In HnA and ‘LA malyōn.

Some plurals recorded with proclitic t- are: ṭalat t-iṣkāl “three shapes”, ṭalat t-ālāf “three thousand”, ertility t-iyyām “ten days”, xamis t-uṣhur “six

[^95] For numerals recorded in GbA in Nishio 1992 see pp. 169–175 (XXIV-2 to XXIV-71).
months”, *aṛba’ t-īrbi* “four descent groups (of a tribe)”, *ṭaman t-infār* “eight persons”.

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

### 3.1.8. The dual

Suffixing *-ēn* (or *-ān*) to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. *nuṣṣān* “two halves”, *šaharān* “two months”, *marrtēn* “two times”, *xaṭiwtēn* “two steps”.

Older forms of the dual are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. *riǧlēy* “my (two) legs”, *riǧlē uḳ* “my (two) hands” and *īdēy* “my (two) hands” and *īdēuḳ* “your (two) hands”.*

* In ĠbA forms with initial *a*- were recorded: *adēy* and *adēuḳ* and also *adēhuṃ* “their hands” (pl. *adēn*).96

### 3.2. Verbal Morphology

In the dialects of the Ḥamādah (ḤmA) and ʿLēgāt (ʿLA) 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 ʿLA 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 Samāʿnah of group II in the north.97

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

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96 Nishio 1992:5 (I-36) gives sg. *yid* and pl. *yīdēn/yidēn*, e.g. xamsɛ *yidēn*.
co-occurring with *intuw* and *-kuv*—in surrounding dialects of group VII GrA, ŠwA, ĠbA, 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 infirmæ). 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).

Perfec*ts 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. pl.</td>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>kátab</td>
<td>kátabuw*⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kátabat</td>
<td>kátabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>katáb</td>
<td>katábttuw*⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>katábtiy</td>
<td>katábtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>katáb</td>
<td>katábna</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 širibt, širibtíy, etc.).

Nishio 1992, however, almost invariably indicates instances of such high vowel elision from the unstressed first syllable in ĠbA, e.g. smí’t “I heard” (p. 11 (I-76)), lbíst “I got dressed” (p. 13 (II-2)), širibt “I drank” (p. 21 (III-46)) and also ĝřít “I ran” (p. 67 (IX-17)) as a form used by younger speakers, ĝîgt “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 *širibtum*. 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. haṭṭum “they placed”, ištárum “they bought”, lâgum “they found”. Notice that also in the dialect of Cairo both *katabu* ~ *katabum* and *katabtu* ~

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⁸ The same verbal endings were recorded in the speech of older members of the Samānah of group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:296–301. In this dialect of group II, older speakers also used the ending *-um* for 2nd and 3rd p. masc. forms in the imperfect, see remarks in 3.2.1.2. below.
*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 yiC1C2CiC3. 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”, yḥiṣṭirum “they buy”, yafḍum “they sacrifice”, yridum “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 ‘Lēgiy informant explained that -uw endings were used in ‘faster’ speech, while -um endings would be used in more formal speech, e.g. by a gāḍiy “judge”.

Notice that similar forms were also recorded in the dialect of the Šamā‘nah in the Gatyah oasis in the north (cf. De Jong 2000:296–309 and map 54 in the appendix). See also NOTE in 3.1.12.2.

### 3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *C1aC2uC3, *yaC1C2uC3

**u-type perfect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3. masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>guluḏ</td>
<td>guluḏit</td>
<td>guluḏ</td>
<td>guluḏuwa</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 ḤbA too, e.g. aḏrob ~ oḏrob “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 \( C_1uC_2uC_3, yuC_1C_2uC_3 \) reflexes (imperfect paradigm is like that of \( yú/jrúb \) 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 \( C_1iC_2iC_3 \) and the imperfect then \( yaC_1C_2aC_3 \).

A paradigm elicited in ASA is: (sg.) \( túxun, túxnit, tuxínt, tuxíntiy, tuxínt \) and (pl.) \( tuxnuw, tuxnín, tuxíntuw, tuxíntin, tuxíina \). The imperfect is \( yutxun \).

In ĠbA, ṢwA, ḤmA, GrA and HnA also \( ġulu/dmacronbeloẉ \) (and imperf. \( yuġlu/dmacronbeloẉ \), in ‘LA \( gili/dmacronbeloẉ \), \( yuġlu/dmacronbeloẉ \)), but \( tixin \) (imperfect \( yatxan \)) and \( kibir \) (imperfect \( yakbaṛ \)).

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

### 3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles

Like in group VI, active participles in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are formed with the patterns \( C_1āC_2iC_3, C_1āC_2C_3ah/-ih \) (sg. fem.), \( C_1āC_2C_3īn \) (pl. masc.), \( C_1āC_2C_3āt \) (pl. fem.).

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

### 3.2.1.5. Regular verbs imperatives

Imperatives of regular verbs in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are like in group VI, e.g. \( áftaḥ, áftahiyy, áftahu, áftahin “open!”\), \( úg/ud, úgu/diy, úgu/diw, úgu/din “sit down!” \) and \( înzil, înzliy, înzluw, înzlin “come down!” \).

### 3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs

#### 3.2.2.1. Verbs \( C_1 = w \) (primae wāw)

Imperfect, perfect, and imperative paradigms for measure 1 verbs \( C_1 = w \) are like in group VI, e.g. \( yórid \) and \( yógf \).

In ḤmA “stand” was recorded with an ‘\( i \)-type imperfect: \( yógif “he stands” \), \( yógfıw “they stand” \), etc.

In two instances in ASA verbs without the \( wāw \), i.e. with an initial short vowel, were recorded: \( tálid “she gives birth” \) and \( yísíg bēḥum “he trusts \)
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 tansiy, 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’iy rāsik, aw’aw ryūskum, and aw’in ryūskin (although the pl. of rās in HnA and ‘LA is rūs). In ĞbA: aw’a rāsuk, aw’a rāsik, aw’a rūskum, aw’a rūskin.

In ŠwA a particle aw’ was also recorded with pronominal suffixes for the person addressed: aw’uḵ tans, aw’ik tansiy, áwu’kuḵ tansuw, áwi’kin tansin (notice also the insertion of anaptyctics in the last two examples).100

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 ĞbA and ŠwA the form mēǧūd was also heard, and in ĞbA also the form mērūs “inherited” (see remark on root w-r- above).101

3.2.2.2. Verbs C₁ = y (primae yā’i)
Like in group VI, the only verb recorded with C₁ = y is yībis, 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 luḵ “for you” followed, as in (several

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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 ā. 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) yākul Ṽuk “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 ū- in all dialects except ḤmA and ‘LA as in ūkul and ūxuḏ, but was also recorded as kul and xuḏ in all dialects, except in ṢwA and ASA (compare with the sg. masc. imperatives of mediae geminatae in 3.2.2.4.2.).

The sg. fem. appears with initial stressed ū- (ūkliy) in ṢwA, GrA, ASA and HnA. In ĞbA it is kliy or ūkliy and in ḤmA it is kliy.

Similarly, plural forms are ūkluw (masc.) and ūklin (fem.) in ṢwA, GrA, ASA and HnA. In ĞbA co-occurring forms are klw, klīn and ūkluw and ūklin102 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 xḍin.

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-: māxīḏ, māxdih, māxdīn, māxḍāt and mākīl, māklih, māklīn and māklāt.

The verbal noun in ṬwA and HnA is waḵl “eating” (also “food”) and the passive verb “be eaten” is inwākal, yinwikil, but in ĞbA also intākal, yintikil 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 tgūm heard in group VI, in ṬwA and HnA we hear tūgūm / tgūm and also tīšil / tšil and tānām / tnām.

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

102 Nishio 1992:91 (XIV-2) lists oxo ~ xoḍ, oxoḍi ~ xoḍi, oxoḍu ~ xoḍu, oxoḍen ~ xoḍen, but (p. 20–21 (III-43)) okul ~ kul. okli, oklu and oklen for ĞbA.
túgul, túgum were produced spontaneously, e.g. túgum 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. tísīluh “you carry it (sg. masc.)”, ma tísīluš “don’t carry it!”, ma tísīlhiš “don’t carry it (sg. fem.)”, bitğībha “you bring her” and btu 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, tgūḷ and (imperative) šīl, nām, gūḷ. Sg. fem. and pl. masc. and fem. forms are like those described for ṬwA and HnA, e.g. šīliy, šīluw, šīlin; gūly, gūluw, gūlin and also nāmiy, nāmuw, namin.

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

The perfect of the verb šāf, yšūf was recorded in ṬwA and HnA 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 šīlt) (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 ĠbA) šīl ~ īšīl “carry!”, guḷ ~ úguḷ “say!” and also nam ~ ānam “go to sleep!”.

In ĠbA 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 ĠbA, 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, namin.

When the forms for the sg. masc. are suffixed, resulting forms are like: šīluh (ḠbA), īšluh and (i)šīlhi’. Dialects that have initial u- in imperative
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 paradigm (paradigmatic levelling): in SwA, for instance īšl īšswāl “carry the sacks!”, īšīlīḥi ~ śīlīḥi “carry (sg. fem.) them (sg. fem.)!” īšīlūḥa ~ śīlūḥa’ “carry (pl. masc.) them (sg. fem.)!” and īšīlīnнуḥ ~ śīlīnнуḥ “carry (pl. fem.) it (sg. masc.)”. In GrA, ASA and HnA imperative forms recorded were ūgum or ĝum, ūgūmий, ūgūmuv, ūgūmin for “stand up!”. In these dialects (i.e. GrA, SwA, ASA and HnA) a short base vowel does not appear after an initial vowel (compare this to sg. masc. imperatives in SwA 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 ĝum.

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 C₁āyC₃ḥ, C₁āyC₃īn and C₁āyC₃āt.

A passive participle recorded for gāḷ, ygūl is magyūḷ “said, spoken” (in ASA and SwA) and for rād, yrīd is maryūḍ “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></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>“walk” (ĢbA)*₁</th>
<th>“find” (ĢbA)*₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>māša’</td>
<td>māšuw</td>
<td>līgīṭy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>māšat</td>
<td>māšīn</td>
<td>līgīṭīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mīšēt</td>
<td>mīšētuw</td>
<td>līgīṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mīšētiy</td>
<td>mīšētīn</td>
<td>līgīṭīṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>mīšēt</td>
<td>mīšēna</td>
<td>līgīṭ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ The same paradigms were recorded in SwA 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, nīśiy “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></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nāsa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nāsat/nisyit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nīsīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nīsītīy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nīsīt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nisyuwy</td>
<td>nisyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nisītuw</td>
<td>nisītin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nisīna</td>
<td></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, mišētīy, mišēt and (pl.) mīšyuw / mášuw, mášyn / mášin, mišētuw, mišētin, mišēna. He also produced a mixed paradigm for līgiy “find” (forms were: (sg.) līgiy, līgyit, līgit, līgitīy, līgit and (pl.) līgyuw, līgyin, līgituwy / līgituwo, līgitin, līgēna).

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 nīsiy / 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 ḠbA (above).\(^{106}\) Also nīsiy and mīšiy are clearly i-types in ḤmA.

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\(^{105}\) Nishio 1992:66 (IX-16) gives final -ɛ (as in mašɛ) in the 3rd p. sg. masc., does not indicate glottalization of final -a in this position nor raising of ē 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 ĠbA, see remark *2 in 3.2.1.1. above. This was not observed in ĠbA by myself (cf. also remark in fn to 3.1.1.1. 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 3.2.4.1.), 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 (Tuṛbāniy of Rās Ṣadr) (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>&quot;find&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;walk&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</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>taly*$^2$</td>
<td>talguw</td>
<td>tim*$^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talyiy</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. yans$^i$) 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: algā$^i$k “I find you”, (apocopated) talgni “you find me”, hayalgūn “they will find you”, hayalgūn “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 sufffijix, i.e. yalgunnu “they (fem.) find you”. Forms with measure 1: (apocopated) hatalgi “you (sg. masc.) will find

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107 Bernabela 2009 heard ligēt “I found” (p. 66), ligīhum “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 ĠbA in Nishio 1992, e.g. tagr “you read” (p. 76 (X-28)), tiǧr “you run” (p. 66–67 (IX-17)).
her", *hatilgāhi* (with prefix vowel *a* raised > *i*) “she will find her”, *hatalgihi* “you (sg. fem.) will find her” (for suffixed measure 3 forms, see 3.2.3.6.1).

3.2.2.5.3. Verbs C₃ = *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.⁹⁹

3.2.2.5.4. Verbs C₃ = *y* (tertiae infirmae) participles
Active participles have the patterns *C₃C₂iy*, *C₃C₂yih*, *C₃C₂yīn* and *C₃C₂yāt*. Examples are fādiy, fādyih, fādyīn, fādyāt “having sacrificed”.

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 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>ġi<em>₁</em></td>
<td>ġum<em>₂</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ġāt</td>
<td>ġīn<em>₃</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ġūt</td>
<td>ġūtum<em>₂</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ġūty</td>
<td>ġūtin<em>₃</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ġūt</td>
<td>ġīna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ When suffixes follow, final *-i* will be *ā* as in ġā*₁₃* “he came to you" and *ma gāš* “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*: ġu₉w and ġūt₉w (which are also parallel forms in ḤmA).

In ‘LA only ġu₉w 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 ġum will also be heard in ‘LA, just as ġūt₉w co-occurs with ġūtum (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 ġum is also current in Cairene Arabic.

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⁹⁹ Also reported in ĞbA 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” egré (p. 67–67 (IX-17)).
When suffixed with consonant-initial suffixes, the final -n is doubled, e.g. ǧitinnuh “you (pl. fem.) came to him”, (and examples for TwA and ‘LA) ma ǧinnuš “they (fem.) did not come to him” and ma tiǧinnuš “don’t (pl. fem.) go to him!”.

Notice the long vowel i in the imperfect paradigm. In ĞbA both long vowel i and short vowel i were recorded in this verb: yiǧiy ~ yïġiy, niğiy ~ niği, üğiy ~ üği, but only tiġ as the apocopated form for the 2nd p. sg. masc.

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

3.2.2.6.2. The verb “come” imperatives
Imperatives used with the verb “come” are: taʾāl, taʾāliy, taʾāluw and taʾālin. In one instance in ḤmA taʾāluw īǧuw “come (pl. masc.)” was recorded.

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

3.2.2.6.3. The verb “come” participles
Participles of the verb “come” are: ǧāy, ǧāyih, ǧāyin, ǧāyat in ḤwA, 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 ḤwA, HnA and ‘LA have 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>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>xiššēty</td>
<td>xiššētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>xiššēt</td>
<td>xiššēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ Raising of a preceding ē is regular in ḤwA, HnA and ‘LA (like in group VI and in the dialect of Biliy in the north, see De Jong 2000:205) and is not
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 \( e \) of the ending is lowered (indicated here as \( ä \), near I.P.A. \([ëz]\))\(^{112}\), but not diphthongal \( ay \). E.g. \( haṭṭät \) “I placed” and in ḤmA \( haṭṭām \) “they placed” and \( haṭṭātum \) “you (pl. masc.) placed” (notice that \( a \) is not raised, so not \( ḥiṭṭät \) or \( ḥuṭṭät \), or something similar). In ‘LA \( haṭṭātum \) was elicited.

*Forms elicited in ḤmA are (pl. masc.) \( yhuṭṭum \) and \( thuṭṭum \). In ‘LA \( thuṭṭum \) was elicited.

3.2.2.7.2. *Verbs \( C_2 = C_3 \) (mediae geminatae) imperatives*

Imperatives of mediae geminatae verbs in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are like in group VI, e.g. limm, limmiy, limmuw, limmin “gather!” and with base vowel u: xuṣṣ, xuṣšiy, xuṣšuw, xuṣšin “enter!”.

3.2.2.7.3. *Verbs \( C_2 = C_3 \) (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 \( C_1 = X \), e.g. \( maḥaṭūṭ \) “placed”, \( maxaṛūm \) “pierced”, \( ma \( ʚ \) aṛūfah \) “known (sg. fem.)”, etc.

3.2.3. *Derived measures*

3.2.3.1. *Measure n-1*

3.2.3.1.1. *Measure n-1 sound roots*

In ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA the vowel in the preformative of measure n-1 is not stressable in the perfect, but may be stressed in the imperfect. The underlying patterns are: (i)nCₐ,Cₐ,Cₖₐ,yinCₐ,Cₐ,iCₖₐ. 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>3. masc.</td>
<td>(i)ndārab</td>
<td>(i)ndārabuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(i)ndārabat</td>
<td>(i)ndārabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>(i)ndarābt</td>
<td>(i)ndarābtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(i)ndarābtiy</td>
<td>(i)ndarābtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>(i)ndarābt</td>
<td>(i)ndarabna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( i \) in imperfect is raised to i in open syllables, but ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. Paradigms are:

“be beaten”

\(^{112}\) Nishio 1992 does not report comparable raising for ĠbA, e.g. laffēt “I turned around” (p. 65 (IX-10)), addēt “I gave” (p. 82 (XII-1)), zaggēt “I pushed” (p. 94 (XIV-13)), lammēt “I gathered” (p. 98 (XIV-36)), etc.
Participles are: minḍirīb, minḍārībīn, minḍārbīn, minḍārbāt.

3.2.3.1.2. Measure n-1 $C_1 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial geminate verbs in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are: (i)$nC_1\alpha C_2 C_2$ and $yinC_1\alpha C_2 C_2$, e.g. inḥāṭt, yinḥāṭṭ “be placed”.

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: $iC_1\alpha C_3$ and $yinC_1\alpha C_3$. Paradigms in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are like those listed for group VI, e.g. inšāl, yinšāl “be carried (away)”.

3.2.3.1.4. Measure n-1 $C_2 = y$ or $w$ (mediae infirmae) participles
Participles are shaped on the pattern $\min C_1\alpha C_3$ and are like those listed for group VI.

3.2.3.2. Measure t-1
Only one instance of measure t-1 was recorded in ǦwA: tîthirig “it (sg. fem.) is burnt”.

3.2.3.3. Measure 1-t
3.2.3.3.1. Measure 1-t sound roots
Underlying patterns for measure 1-t are: (i)$C_1\tau C_2 aC_3 \ yiC_1\tau C_2 iC_3$, with a of the imperfect being raised to i in open syllables (e.g. nīṭtimi “we gather”), but ‘reappearing’ as a in closed syllables (e.g. yiğtamuw “they gather”).[^113]
Like in measure n-1, raised a is found in the unstressed syllables of the surface form for the imperfect, e.g.: (i)štāgal, yīštīgil “work”, (i)ttāfag, yīttīfīg “agree” and (i)štāwa, yīštīwyi “ripen; be cooked (of food)”. Paradigms in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are:

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<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>yīštirīy</td>
<td>yīštiruw*2</td>
<td>ištāra</td>
<td>ištāraw*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
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<td>ištārāt</td>
<td>ištāran</td>
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<tr>
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<td>tīštiruw*2</td>
<td>ištārāt</td>
<td>ištārātuw*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tīštirīy</td>
<td>tīštirin</td>
<td>ištārātiy</td>
<td>ištārātin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ĭštirīy</td>
<td>nīštirīy</td>
<td>ĭštirāt</td>
<td>ĭštirāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

[^1]: Notice again the apocopated form, also reported for ḞbA in Nishio 1992:83–84 (XII-4).

[^113]: Nishio 1992 does not report such ‘reappearing’ a in closed syllables in ḞbA, e.g. (p. 105 (XV-11) yiğtimiu “they gather”.

[^2]: Notice the apocopated form, also reported for ḞbA in Nishio 1992:83–84 (XII-4).
In ḤmA also forms (imperfect) yištīrum and tištīrum and (perfect) ištārum and ištārātum were recorded.

Participles are: mištiriy, mištaryih, mištaryin, mištaryāt.
Imperatives are: ištir (apocopated),¹¹⁴ ištiruw, ištirin

3.2.3.3.2. Measure 1-t C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae)
An example of a medial weak measure 1-t verb is ištāg, yištāg (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 miC₁tiC₂iC₃ (underlying miC₁taC₂iC₃) miC₁taC₂ah/ih, miC₁taC₂iC₃, miC₁taC₂iC₃āt.

Examples are: mištigil “working”, miftarsih “predatory (of animals)”, mištiriy “having bought (sg. masc.)”, mištaryih “having bought (sg. fem.)”, miţtiţig “agreed (sg. masc.).” mittaţgāt “agreed (pl. fem.).”

Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are: mištāg lēha “longing for her”, miltammin “having gathered (pl. masc.)”, mimtaddih “stretching out (in surface) (sg. fem.)”.

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 in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are like those listed for group VI.¹¹⁶

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

¹¹⁴ Also reported for ĠbA in Nishio 1992:83–84 (XII-4) (there: eštir).
¹¹⁵ Nishio 1992:109 (XV-24) reports e.g. xtāt (sic.), yixtār “choose, select”.
¹¹⁶ Alternating vowels are also reported for ĠbA 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) stafraḡ, yistafrag “vomit”.

*² In ḤmA also forms (imperfect) yištīrum and tištīrum and (perfect) ištārum and ištārātum were recorded.
94 ĠBĀLIYYAH, AWLĀD SA‘ĪD, ȘAWĀLḤAH, GARĀRṢAH, ḤAMĀḌAH

3.2.3.4.3. Measure ista-1 $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae)
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 ista-1 verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for medial geminate measure ista-1 verbs are: istaC₁aC₂C₃, yistaCᵰᵱC₂C₃, e.g. (i)sta add, yista’idd “prepare oneself”. Forms (reflecting optional raising of a preceding stressed $e$) recorded in ‘LA are: (sg.) ista’add, ista’iddēt, ista’iddētiy, ista’iddēt and (pl.) ista’adduwp, ista’addin, ista’iddētuw, ista’iddētin isti’iddēne’, see also remark in 3.2.2.7.1.

3.2.3.4.5. Measure ista-1 participles
Participles of measure ista-1 verbs have the pattern mistaC₁CᵰᵱC₃, e.g. mistaţgrib “finding strange”.

For measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots the pattern is mistaCᵰᵱCᵰᵱC₃: mistahīl “impossible, absurd” and (a clear MSA loan) mistaqīmih “straight”.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mistaCᵰᵱCᵰᵱC₃: mista’idd “having prepared oneself, ready”.

3.2.3.5. Measures 2 and t-2
In ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA the patterns for measure 2 are: (perfect) C₁aC₂C₃C₄, (imperfect) yC₁aC₂C₃C₄.
Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed $a$. The patterns are (perfect) taC₁aC₂C₃C₄, (imperfect) ytaC₁aC₂C₃C₄.

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”, biyḥammsuwa nāṛ “he roasts it on the fire”, txazznuw “you store it”.

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

Following the high vowel $i$ may inhibit its morphophonemic elision, e.g. inwa$xrix$ “pushing back (sg. fem.)” and an example in sandhi biyka$-\text{bir il‘adim}$ “the bones grow”. Examples with $l$ in a similar elision-inhibiting role were not recorded.

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

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via free access
When $C_3 = C_4$, 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 *biyballilūha* “they moisten it (sg. fem.)”.

3.2.3.5.2. Measure 2 tertiae infirmae

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>sawwaw</td>
<td>ysawwiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>sawwat</td>
<td>sawwin</td>
<td>tsawwiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>suwwēt</td>
<td>suwwētuw*1</td>
<td>tsaww*1/-iy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>suwwētiy</td>
<td>suwwētin</td>
<td>tsawwiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>suwwēt</td>
<td>suwwēna</td>
<td>asawwiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*2 An example of sufffixation of an apocopated form is *twarrha-yyāh* “you show it (sg. fem.) to her”. For ĠbA Nishio 1992 also reports apocapation, 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 ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are $taC_1aC_2C_3aC_1$, $ytaC_1aC_2C_3aC_1$.

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-* > *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 ĠbA, e.g. p. 105 (XV-8) ṭḥarrak, yitḥarrak “move, be in motion”, p. 72 (X-3) ṭḥarraf, yitḥarraf (ma’) “speak with” and tblalal, yibtballal “be(come) wet”.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect sg.</th>
<th>imperfect sg.</th>
<th>perfect pl.</th>
<th>imperfect pl.</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>ta ašša</td>
<td>yta ašša</td>
<td>ta aššaw</td>
<td>yta aššuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ta aššat</td>
<td>yta aššin</td>
<td>ta aššin</td>
<td>yta aššin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ta aššēt</td>
<td>ta aššētuw</td>
<td>ta ašš</td>
<td>ta aššuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ta aššētiy</td>
<td>ta aššētīn</td>
<td>ta aššiy</td>
<td>ta aššin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ta aššēt</td>
<td>ta aššēna</td>
<td>ata ašša</td>
<td>nta 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 taC1C2 iC3 pattern, e.g. (MSA loan) ta'gīl “postponement”, ta'līg “hanging up” and a gahawah-form ta'awīr “wounding” and a form tašnin “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 mC₁aC₂ aC₃ 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 mtaC₁aC₂ iC₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt) and mitC₁aC₂ iC₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt) occur, e.g. mtaḡawwiz ~ mitḡawwiz “married” and for C₃ = y) mtaḡaddiy ~ mitḡaddiy “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: Cᵢ₃ aC₂ aC₁, yCᵢ₃ aC₂ aC₁.

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: taC₁aC₂ aC₃, ytaC₁aC₂ aC₃. Like in measure t-2, initial 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 verb are like those listed for group VI.

120 Nishio 1992:3 (I-23) lists tasmacronbelowāwab, ytastmacronbelowāwab “yawn” without reduction of the ta- preformative.
Examples of apocopated imperfects of tertiae infirmae verbs are: b il’arabiyyah twāt ‘ilēh “with the car you go down on it (to crush it, i.e. a snake)”. Another example is: tlāg ilwalad, itlāguh “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: hanlägīhi or hanilgāhi “we’ll find her” and hatlāghin or hatalghin “you (sg. masc.) will find them (fem.)”. Other forms recorded through direct elicitation are: (measure 3) hatlägīh “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”, tạqāyag “he became angry”, tanāwaš (< ttanāwaš) “you pick (of fruit from a tree)”, taṣāfa (< ttaṣāfa) lṃayyah 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 mCāC1iC3 (-ih / ah, -in, -āt), e.g. mwāfijig “agreeing”, mlāgiyih “having found (sg. fem.)”, mkāwnīn “fighting (pl. masc.)” and in ‘LA m’āwid “returning” and mlāgiyih “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 mtaCāC1iC3 or mitC1āC2iC3 (-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 TwA, HnA and ‘LA as well.

121 Similar apocopation in ḠbA.
In HnA, however, several originally measure 4 verbs have joined measure 1, or co-occur as measure 1 with measure 4, e.g. aṭa ~ ṣawāḥah, ṣawāḥah, ḥamāds minus below comboṭ ah.

In HnA, however, several originally measure 4 verbs have joined measure 1, or co-occur as measure 1 with measure 4, e.g. aṭa ~ ṣawāḥah, ṣawāḥah, ḥamāds minus below comboṭ ah.

In HnA, however, several originally measure 4 verbs have joined measure 1, or co-occur as measure 1 with measure 4, e.g. aṭa ~ ṣawāḥah, ṣawāḥah, ḥamāds minus below comboṭ ah. Examples of its use as measure 1 are aṭuw "they gave" and hinnih ṣawāḥah, ṣawāḥah, ḥamāds minus below comboṭ ah. The paradigm for the perfect aṭa is thus a measure 1 a-type, i.e. like maša in HnA: (sg.) aṭa, aṭat, aṭǟt, aṭǟtiy, aṭǟt, (pl.) ṣawāḥah, ṣawāḥah, ḥamāds minus below comboṭ ah. Other verbs are ṭaṭar, yifṭir "have breakfast" (paradigms like kātab, yiktib, see 3.2.1.1.) and ḍawā, yidwiy “return home before sunset with goats and sheep”. The measure 1 participles of these verbs co-occur with measure 4 participles: fāṭir ~ mifṭir and ḍawīwiy ~ mīdwiy. In 'LA these verbs are (measure 1) ḍawā, yidwiy with participle ḍawīwiy, and (measure 4) aftar, yifṭir and participle mifṭir.

The patterns are aC C aC for the perfect and yiC C iC. The paradigms are like those listed for group VI, including raising of unstressed initial a > i, e.g. ifṭārt “I had breakfast”. Such raising of unstressed initial a is also heard in ‘LA, e.g. iṭât “I gave”.

The imperfect paradigm for yifṭir is like that of yiktib, see 3.2.1.2.

3.2.3.7.1. Measure 4 C = 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: ṭiyid, ṭiydih, ṭiydīn, ṭiyāt and passive participles ṭiyūd, -ih, -īn and -āt, e.g. ‘ṭaṭāh ibtušrud ‘innuh “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): mġir “running fast”.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 C = 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: ṭiyid, ṭiydih, ṭiydīn, ṭiyāt and passive participles ṭiyūd, -ih, -īn and -āt, e.g. ‘ṭaṭāh ibtušrud ‘innuh “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): mġir “running fast”.

3.2.3.7.3. Measure 4 C = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect and imperfect
Like in group VI, aṭa, yiṭiy is a measure 4 verb in most dialects (in ASA, GrA, ṢwA and HmA). In HnA only measure 1 aṭa 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 tiddnī lmiftāḥ “you (sg. masc.) need to give me the key”.

The perfect and imperfect paradigms for aṭa, yiṭiy are:

122 In e.g. the dialect of the Taṛābin of group I, these verbs are all clearly measure 4: aṭa, yiṭiy, aftar, yifṭir and ḍawā, yidwiy with matching participles miṭiy, mifṭir and miḍwiy. Also in ḠbA, ḤmA: ḍawā, yidwiy and participles ḍawiy, ḍawiyih etc.
“give”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>áṭa</td>
<td>yīṭiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>áṭuw</td>
<td>yīṭuw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. masc.

fem. áṭät áṭïni

2. masc.

fem. áṭätá tyi áṭin

1. com. áṭät aṭana íti

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

3.2.3.7.4. Measure 4 $C_4 = w$ (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect

A measure 4 prima wāw (and also tertia yāʾ) 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 $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect

Verb forms of measure 4 $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) were not recorded, or not recognized as such.

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: (apocopated) $iṭ, iṭiy, iṭuw, iṭin$.

Suffixed examples are: $iṭīh-iyyāha “give it (sg. fem.) to her”, iṭuh luh “give it to him”.

3.2.3.7.7. Measure 4 participles

The participles for sound roots have a mi$C_1iC_3iC_4$ pattern, e.g. miftir, miftirih, miftirin, miftirāt “having eaten breakfast”.

For mediae infirmiae there are participles of the type m$C_1iC_3$, like mǧūr, -ih, -in, -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. [ɛː] in group VII, e.g. iḥmaṛṛātuw “you (pl. masc.) turned red”, participles are miḥmaṛṛ, -ah, -in, -āt.

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123 The verb awfa, yūfijiy was also recorded in group 1 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*, *yzağriṭ* "ululate" are the same in group VII. Other examples are: *biykarikmūh* "they add curcumin to it", *bitgāribluh* "she sieves it".

The typically Bedouin verb type with inserted *wāw* between *C*₁ and *C*₂: *C₁ōC₂aC₃*, *yC₁ōC₂iC₃* has the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect*</th>
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<td>sg.</td>
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<td>3. masc.</td>
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<td>fem.</td>
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<td>2. masc.</td>
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<td>fem.</td>
<td>gōṭartiy</td>
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<td>1. com.</td>
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* The superscript vowels in this paradigm are bukaṛa- vowels.

An example of such a verb recorded in ‘LA is (with diphthong!) *biyrawb*’uw *mnās* "people perform the *marbū*ah".

Quadriliteral verbs may also have a *ta*- preformative. The stem vowel of the perfect and imperfect is then fixed *a*.

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<td>1. com.</td>
<td>tā’aknant</td>
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Participles: *mta’aknin*, *mta’akninih*, *mta’akninin* / *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.

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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 (*marbū*ah) and improvise verse to each other.

126 See remark in Stewart 1990:8 (text 1), fn 55 on the form *tširriṭ* 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:

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* When in pause, *tagahw*. 

An apocopated imperative for the sg. masc. is *tagahw* “drink tea / coffee!”. Participles are *mtagahwiy*, *mtagahwiyyih*, *mtagahwiyyin*, *mtagahwiyyāt*.

### 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* “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* ʾiza *mā* *ligītiš* ʾarḡāʾ-uhūn “keep looking (for it), (and) if you don’t find any, go back to him”, *ma bingatțiš siyyāl* “we don’t cut down acacia trees”, *ma farašāttiš* (< *ma farašat* + ʾiš + ʾš) “she did not spread it out”, *ma naʿarāfhaš* “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 luḵš daʿāwah* “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
negation, often accompanied by xālis “at all”. Examples are w Aļlāh mā ġāni “By God, he did not come to us” and bidḍakkirna la ḥāġat mā nā’ariffa “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 prononimals, prepositions etc. are negated with preceding mā. Examples in ‘LA are: mā ţallágithe “I had not divorced her”, fih nās halḥin ibyākl-álbalaḥ iw hū tāsah mā byahašūh “there are people now who eat the dates while they’re fresh (and who) don’t stuff them”, iza mā ‘induh 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 TwA, HnA and ‘LA. Some examples in TwA are ãywah biyḥuṭṭūh f-ágraḥ “yes, they put it in goat skins”, ma bingaṭṭi’s siyyāl “we don’t cut down acacia trees”, innāgah biyṣibīha…ibtimāyy l wahadha fi ṣṣaḥara. iw kull šahaṛ aw šahreṇ wāḥid biṣṣīfī “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 ‘induh sanah biyṛūbaḥ…‘induh fi lbēt iw huwwa ēš? biyṭaab’uḥ. ya’niy biyrbūḥ “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 larrigāl…aḅuw lbint…iw biyxarrfuh “after that his father…goes to the man…the father of the girl…and speaks to him”, biyṣūf bint ibtí’iḥbuh “he sees a girl that he likes”.

4.4. Future Marker

To express “volition” or “need” bidd + pron. suffix may be used in TwA, 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 ṣala ḥāḥih […] ilgaṣalah diy…halḥin xallēt Maḥmūd iyɣawwiz binti… “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 btāgasluḥ…gāṣīl ġamid xaliṣ. hatlāghīthi ṭirīy “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 yizġatte… lamma yulguṯa’. mā yākilha lamma yḡibha la šāḥbuh. ʾygūm šāḥbuh ʾdāḇīḥhe’ “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 šāḥibna nihāniy mumkin nāxuḏ minnuḥ 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 biyšūfffa’ “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 faḏyah 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 ilǧim הם ah suwwāḥ bilḥēl “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’anza yōm taḥalibha kidiy w ithuṭṭuḥ fi ssī’in kimān…illaban “the goat, when you milk it like, and you put it in the goatskin128 also…the milk”, ʾṭab’an illaban yōm iykūn kīṯir bīnuṭṭuḥ fīh ēh? “of course, when there is a lot of milk we put it in what?”; ilmaṭar 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 ʾrawwāḥ ’ind ḥuṟumtuḥ bidduh ynām ġamḥi “when

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127 yizġatte > yizġat + 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 ṭawāyah byāṭla “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 ligihi “when he found her…” and (from ‘LA) aṣṣubih yōmin ma yiği l alfaxx iv lannha malgüṭah “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 ḥawwalthuṃ hiniy yōminnuh iṭṭarrēt iğiy wara lī’yāl ‘aṣān ilmidāris “after that I moved them here, when I was forced to come with (lit. after) the children because of the schools” (tt in iṭṭarrēt is assimilated < ḲI). 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 algasalah xalāṣ ‘irif hādiy hūruntuh, iḥ sinsnt 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 ʻaṣṣah tuṣḥād, maṛṛah marṭṭen ṭalāṭah xalāṣ lāzīm iyttallīgha… xalāṣ māhī ʻayīṣtuh “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”.

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 rasūl-aṭūh: rasūluh + aṭūh. The phrase b sinsnt 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”: tiǧb il’anz, iw tísigha ḥāgih, iw ba’ad ma tašārab. timsikhla, wāḥid ibyimsik-luk iw wāḥid ibyadbah. bitgul bismillāh Allāhū ’akbar iw taṣbah “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 ibyasimaʿw xabiṭ illibbah kidy, ilkull ibyā arf inn fīh wāḥid zi’i* . . . “when people hear such knocking on the loaf”, everybody knows that someone has come (as a visitor) . . .”. An example in ‘LA is (both in the meaning of “until” and “when”) *bitsawwiy zzibdeh, iw bitxu/dmacronbeloẉ/dmacronbeloẉ assi ʚ in . . . itxu/dmacronbeloẉ/dmacronbeloẉuh . . . lamma tṛawwbuh*. *lamma yṛūb bitṭall ăzzib-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 *budxulʿādʿind innās illiy baṛṛa,* [kisdmacronbelowiy] *fiji ḥmāyithuṃ . . . lamman inšūf ilmūškilih* sdmacronbelowiy, 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 laġāyit for “until”, e.g. bitduggha dagg fī lhōn . . . laġāyat lamma yunʿum kidiy “you crush it (sg. fem.) in the mortar . . . until it becomes soft” and biyǧīb miṣwāt kiḏiy xašab, iw byuṛrubha bēha baṛḍuḥ āḥ? laġāyat lamma taḡadiy . . . zayy izzibdah fī baʿaḥa “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”.

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 *tīgih ilḥaṭab dī*, *imm issiyāl*, *w itwall* *innār lamma ēh yāḥaġīm yāgadīy ġāmīr* “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 xammad-ṭawwil bālī lamma șṣabāḥ yaṭla’* … *w arawwih ilmag’ ad w anām fih* “(addressing himself) let me be patient until the morning comes … and let me go back to the mag’ad333 and sleep there”.

4.6.1.3. *lōm* (+ in)

An example of *min lōm* in the meaning of “from the moment that” (in ASA):

*bīyrawwi* ‘*ind*34 ḫāwāț bīyrawwi’ ‘*ind ilGi[rāršah] bīyrawwi* ‘*ind iliMzēnih*, *ana min lōm bīyrawwih* kidiy mā-garrib luḥ “he goes to the Aḥaywāt, 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 tiğ talqha lannha xādīt issī in, w imsawwyah libbah w fāttītta*35 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:36 *iw ḥāl* … *gām xallāha w ‘ugul* sanatēn … *zabbāt álḥaṭab, iw ǧāb addabāyiḥ, iw ǧāb ibyūt āsā’ar* “and in case … he has then left her and

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333 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.

34 ḥ + *‘ind* often assimilates to *‘ind*, also in sandhi: *bīyrawwih ‘*ind > bīyrawwi ‘*ind.

35 *fattītta* = (*fattah*) *fattīt* + *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 -it. 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 suffixation 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).

36 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 karṛarha winha manganīz [...] manganīz nimṛah wāhid... ǧī gāl ǧār itwaddīni ilmākān dī"... [...] ṛāḥ iywaddī*. species of ṛāḥ makānuh*" when he then (went and) analyzed it, lo it was (i.e. turned out to be) manganese [...] top quality manganese*. 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 HnA: *iw šūfuw-nkān talguw lēuḳuṃ buʿṛān ʿinduh "and look if you find camels of yours with him", w inguṣṣ inkān ǧuṛṛt ilbu ʿṛān fīhi "and we follow the tracks if the camel tracks are in it" and in ‘LA w alfuṭūr baʿadiytta* nkān ʿawz itsawwha 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. Suffixixed 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...ṣāḥbuh-lliy yǧībuh...ārif nimṛah-zkān nimṛit baṭāgtuh...w āʿarfuh bašs "if...its owner who brings him...you know the number, if

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* †ywaddī’a is assimilated < ywaddīh’a.
* In the area of Umn Buqmah manganese deposits have been found. A Google search on the internet with search criteria “Umm 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 Baba’ (“Wadi Baba”).

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See also Greenwood 1997:35 (figure 3-6) (there transcribed as Um Bogma).

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See remark in fn 135, p. 106.
the number of his I.D., I just want to know him (i.e. who he is)". A more coherent sentence is: iw ba’ad kidiy xamis ʿaṣṣār digāyig xamistāṣar digīṣh biṁṭallīḥa-z kān ṣamīr 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 ḥāḡah biyḡībūh luh “if someone is ill or something, they bring it to him.”

Instances of iz(a) + kān were not recorded in ʿLA. Instead, several instances of iza or iz, and even more regularly az(a) were heard as independent conditionals, e.g. izā mā ‘induh ḫalāl “if he does not have small cattle (for slaughter)”, iz fatt alfattah mazbūt xālis “if he has prepared the fattah very well…” and azā gāluw ‘la’ lāzim tuskun ʿindina “if they say ‘No, you have to live with us’…”, azā lugūḥ, bitxallhe’… imṣammalah “if she is pregnant (i.e. the she-camel), you make sure she gets a šamlah.”

4.7.3.5. kān as an independent conditional
kān used independently as conditional “if” was recorded often, but an example is: kān ʿimʿūḳ dirāhim “if you have money”. No such examples were recorded in ʿLA.

4.7.3.6. kān, inkān or ilkān introducing alternatives
kān may introduce alternatives: iddaxil kān Šarim, aw issyāḥah ʿāmmatan fi liblād diy “an income is (i.e. can be made in) Sharm, or (in) tourism in general in this land”. No such examples were recorded in ʿLA.

4.7.3.2. Absence of a conditional particle
Conditional sentences are often not introduced by a particle. An example is: huṃṃa kānuw. . . huṃṃa rrǧāl ʿāyzīn yūguḍuω sāwa, fīh makān. . . ilmağāma ʿbarra “they were… if they are men who want to sit together, there is a place… the meeting place is outside”. Another example from ʿLA is: māhī lugūḥ, bitbarrik ʿalēha tāniy “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 irʿ or arʿ were not recorded in ṬwA or HnA, nor in ʿLA.

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. hè + suffix

The presentative particle hè followed by a personal pronominal to draw the listeners attention to something or someone is current, e.g. hēhū ġī! “there he has come!”, hēhī ġāt “there she has come!”, hēhuwwa ġuw “there they (masc.) have come!”, hēhinna ġīn “there they (fem.) have come!”. In ‘LA an example is: w lin ġī hēhuwwih “and there he came”.

This presentative hè must have developed from hay, 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. hukkūwwa or hukkū “there you have him”, hikkiiyih “there you have her”, hukkuṃma “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 + huṃma or hāk + hiyya, after which the resulting short a (e.g. as in assumed intermediate forms *hakkuṃma and *hakkiyya) could assume the colour of the following vowel: > hukkuṃma and hikkiyya.

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 […] fī nnāṛ galiy galiy lamma tδāḥ fī ba’ad ikkiy bītḥuṭṭha w inna samīn 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 ġuṛṛit ġamāl hēhī giddāmna ḥumra’ “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 ġiṣṣat sā’āt ikkiy w linni b xēr. ana banabbit tanbit fi īblād “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 naṣfūh “and there he was himself” was also recorded (see remark in next paragraph).

\(^{141}\) For remarks on hay 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.
w lin / lan was also recorded in ‘LĀ, often in combination with hā- or hē- + pron. suffix and not necessarily with preceding w: lan ḥāhū ḫāras “there was the horse”, iw lan hēhū issēl ġāy “and there is the flood coming” and a suffixed example yōm yīği yuh linnuh, linnuh lagīṭha “when he comes to it, there it (i.e. the trap)…, there it has caught her (i.e. an animal)”.

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 ‘LĀ the presentative lan co-occurs with lin, of which the former is probably the result of the suffix fixed lā + in (see examples in 4.8.3.).

4.9. ġayr

ġār (< ġayr) may be used preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action,¹⁴³ e.g. háda ġār niğğār inğūbuh lēhin w Allāh…“this we have to get a carpenter for them (pl. fem.), by God…”.

Also in ‘LĀ several examples of ġēr were heard, e.g.: gāl hū ġēr iquíb issēf w agṭa ṣágabatuḥ “he said ‘I have to get the sword and decapitate him’. Instances of reduced ġayr were recorded as ir, e.g.: law kalāt’ık bidduk, ir kān daktūr walla bidduk, iza f-albaṛr kamān mā ḥāwālā’ık daktūr ir kān insān ħāwi “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 ibyīdīrsaw b álǧimal, iw ġār insān ‘ārif ỳsawī “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 ṬwA and HnA use suffixed bidd (~ suffixed badd in ġBA), but in ḤmA suffixed widd was also heard. Exam-

¹⁴³ See Hopkins 1990.
ples for “need” or “want” are: *biddna nkutt fi lwādiy* “we want to go down the wadi”, *bidduh yğōṭir* “he wants to go (away)“.

An example of *bidd* expressing futurity, rather than “want” or “need” is *iḥna zayy ibtā’ talaṭ marrāt biddna nḏi’ fi lbaḥar* “something like three times we were going to get lost at sea” (HnA).

*bidd* is also used in ‘LA, e.g. *iḥna biddni* . . . *nirsiy ‘ādy* “so we’ll anchor (here) (i.e. make camp for the night)” and *ana biddī-tagaddam . . . māšiy* “I shall / want to continue walking”.

4.12. ‘ād

The particle ‘ād is current to express ”so, thus, then”. Examples are: *bitmad-did fi lblād. iw btalha’ batṭixah . . . id ayfyah kidiy ssā’, ‘awwil ma yatla’, iw byakbar iw ba’ād-ma yakbar, tūkun ithāfīd ‘ilēh ‘ād intih . . . ‘an Ǧarb iṣṣāmš ilgwiyyūh.“ 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 biykaḍdib ‘ād “so this man is lying”.

An example of ‘ād in ‘LA is *iw ʿugūḥ kidiy ‘ād waddāha dārūh* “so after that he took her home”, but often the forms ‘ādiy or ‘ādiyit also occur: *hū ‘ādiyit ʾind addēf 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 ŢwA, HnA or ‘LA, but may be heard at times meaning “so, then”, as in *w īṭṭa’ ām illiy fiha bardagān. yabga sārat bitṭib 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 *grā’* (n.u. *garwah*) 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 2004:473 (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*. 
Characteristics of the Narrative Style

4.14.1. Imperative of narration

Instances of the narrative imperative were not recorded in ṬwA, HnA or 'LA.145

4.14.2. kān as a temporal marker

Unconjugated kān used as a marker to indicate the past is current in ṬwA and HnA, e.g. kān inǧīb ilMansiy min Aḅuw Rdēs “we used to get ilMansiy from Abuw Rdēs”, kān binḥuṭṭ ġēr izzēṭūn “we used to plant olive trees only”.

However, kān was more frequently used as a verb and conjugated as such, e.g. kānat iliǧnēnah /dmacron below iy kullha kānat milyānih. kān milyān ēh? baṭāṭis w ixḍār. innās kānat ēh? kānat ibtiɡiy 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 innār minnuh w iyṣīr luḳ tamām xāliṣ “and you light the fire with it (i.e. firewood) and it becomes perfect for you”, iw ba’ad kidiy bitgiḥ masfa ‘imāmah-w ayyi ḥāгиб, iw biṭṭall ilēh iw bitṣaff hina “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.

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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 ḥāريب—will ruin his special gift.
An example in ‘LA is: \textit{gāl luḳ hāda krāk ‘indi b xamistāšar sanah} “he says (lit. said) to you, here is your pay\textsuperscript{148} that I owe you for fifteen years (of work)”.

4.15. \textit{Pluralis paucitatis}

For limited or countable numbers often the healthy plural form is used, instead of the broken plural. Examples are: \textit{xiḍrawāt—xḍār} “vegetables” (HnA), \textit{nuxrāt—ánxar} “noses” (GrA), \textit{banāt—bnittih} “girls”, \textit{šuggāt—šgāg} “woven lengths of a tent”, \textit{ḥabbāt—ḥbūb} “grains; pills” (both ASA), \textit{šwālāt—šwilih} “sacks (for grain)” (ṢwA).

4.16. \textit{Concord}

Limited or countable numbers of things tend to be referred to in the pl. fem. Examples are: (A) \textit{‘awzīn iṛṛakkb iššabābīk w ilbibān} . . . (B) là là dīlīlī ēṣulāhīn dīl ālāwīlāh ‘iñe . . . (A) walla nāgī līna niḡūdār? (B) hāda gār niḡūdār āngūthū 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 \textit{illīy žāb luḥ sittīn ēṣulā wālla hāgāh biywaddihīn ilmāthānīhī, lākin ēṣulā wāhīd biywaddihī lībēt bywaddīhin ilmāthānīhī à 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 \textit{fīh amākin ēṣūr\textsuperscript{149} innās imsawwyīnhīn zamān, fā 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): \textit{w Allāh w ṭabbēna lGā ‘il’āsīr, w Allāh w īnā mnām luḥ ‘ilēhin . . . īṣrād īṣrād īṣrād īṣrād īṣrād lamma īnīn Bīr Mūs-Aḇūw ‘Aṭwa “By God, and we went to lGā\textsuperscript{150} in the afternoon, by God, while we lay flat on them (for you),\textsuperscript{151} fleeing, fleeing, fleeing, fleeing until we came to Bīr Mūsa Aḇūw ‘Aṭwa”.

Some examples in ‘LA are: \textit{fīh ēṣūr ilēgūr dīl bīyhuṭṭūw algirbah fīhin “there are storage caves. They put the girbah (a goat skin sack) in these

\textsuperscript{148} Root \textit{k-r-y}, I have also recorded \textit{ikrih} and \textit{krāh} “his pay”.
\textsuperscript{149} ēṣūr (sg. ēṣr), see fn 42, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{150} The (largely empty) sandy coastal plain near aṭ-Ṭūr. See also fn 1, Chapter Two below.
\textsuperscript{151} luḥ “for you” is an instance of the ethical dative, see 4.14.3.
storage caves”, (talking about animals) alğizlān ǧillah mā biyṭīhin fi twāṭiy, ġār fi ġğbāl, fi ġğbāl albi’ideh “these gazelles don’t come down in low areas, (you’ll find them) only in the mountains, in the far mountains” and ibtasraḥ ib bi rānuḳ, īw tiği’ a nayt álğada … itgayyidhin w itxaḷḥhin … fi ġāl ʿan 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 ŢwA or HnA, nor in ‘LA.
CHAPTER TWO

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE MZĒNAH AND BANIY WĀṢIL

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 Sa’īd and the Garāršah, 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. Wāṣliy 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 Sa’īd, 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 Ğbāliyyah. The coastal plain of the dīrah of the Awlād Sa’īd is in fact empty land (the sandy coastal plain al-Gā’ī), and hence the Baniy Wāṣil are—more or less—direct neighbours of the Mzēnah.

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1 Although the dīrah of Awlād Sa’īd 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 Gā’ asŠarm or simply alGā’), 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.
In the following chapter a description of the characteristics of both dialects is given, unless explicitly stated otherwise.

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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<th>Consonants</th>
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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 bāluk*—*x bālik* (though ~ *bālki* 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 *ṭ* and *ḍ* are interdentals ṭ and ḍ (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð] respectively).

Examples for *ṭ* are: *naharit* “we plough” (MzA), *ṭaniy* “second” (both), *tyāb* “clothes” (BWA), (’)*ṭarhuw* “their tracks” (BWA).

For *ḍ*: *nāxīd* “we take” (both), *migdāf* “oar” (MzA), *mnādbaḥuḥ* “we slaughter him” (MzA), *iqd* “ear” (MzA), *ḍikr* “mention” (BWA), *dimīmih* “ugly” (BWA), *xud bāluk* “pay attention, mind you” (BWA).

There are also exceptions: “refrigerator” and “ice; snow” are with τ in both dialects: *tillāḡah* and *talḡ*.
In some loans from MSA (presumably via speakers of Cairene) the reflex for *ṭ 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  (I.P.A. velarized [ð]) is the interdental reflex of *ḍ and *ḏ, e.g. (as reflex of *ḍ in) ṭawḍ (pl. ṭiḍān) “small wadi between low mountains” (BWA), ṭudfûr, pl. ṭadāfûr “finger” (MzA), ṣayf “guest” (both) and (as a reflex for *ḏ in) ṭyḍall “he remains” (both) and ḏāharuḥ “his back” (BWA) and álğaḍa “(the) inferior type of firewood” (BWA).

In a number of lexemes ṣ (usually loans from MSA or Egyptian Arabic) is the current reflex, like in mwazzafīn “civil servants”, ṣubbāṭ “officers” (both BWA), b-iẓzaḥāt “precisely” (both), binẓabbiṭ “we do a proper job”, niẓām “system” (both MzA), etc.

In both dialects the sg. masc. demonstrative (ḥa-)ḍa “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 forms 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 /k/; 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 sigārx (not like in many other dialects siğārah).

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3 A sibilant s for interdental t in the verb ḥarat, yaḥarīt “plough” is usually (i.e. in other dialects of Sinai) not one of the exceptions.
4 Compare MSA ka-dālīk, of which morpheme boundaries were reinterpreted as kaḍālīk, after which l-ik “to you (sg. fem.)” was adapted as l-uḳ (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 ž (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 ţ, is not very clear. What is clear, is the lack of aspiration in the release of ţ, 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 ʿ: saʿāl, yaʿāl. In *raʿs* “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 Tarābin (who are their neighbours to the north), he mentioned kibbāyih “(drinking) glass”, pl. kibbābiy, where a Turḅāniy would say kubbāyih and kubbābiy. MzA rikbīh (pl. rıkáb) “knee” is pronounced rukbāh (pl. rıkáb) in TAN, and MzA siwwāg “driver” is sawwāg in TAN.

The imperfects of “eat” and “take” are not (or at best only minimally) velarized, whereas the imperatives are: (imperfects) yāʿīd and yākil, but velarization is heard in (imperative forms) kūl and xuḍ.

Compared to TAN, long ā in MzA is also noticeably higher in positions not influenced by velarization, e.g. siyyād “fisherman”, riγgāl “man”, kiššāf “flashlight”, iṭšān “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]): siyyād, raγgāl, kaššāf, ʿaṭšān.

Another difference with TAN is MzA and BWA demonstrative ḥāḍa (~ ḏah / ḏi’ #), where TAN has ḥāḍa, and the pl. form (ḥā-) dīl (-iḥ) or dillēl (-iḥ) (~ ḥāḍol 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 xāṣif “afraid” in MzA), ḡāb “he was absent”, ruṣṭān “loaves (of bread)”, (in the first syllable of) xāṣyyif “light”, nār “fire”, xāṭ “gherkins” and (i)nḱār “persons” and hūmā “red (sg. fem.)”, ḫwā “one eyed (sg. fem.)”, bīrān “camels” and rās “head” (but no velarization in ḥras “blanket”).

Uvulars followed by l or r are especially prone to become velarized as an accompanying phonetic feature, e.g. aġḷabiyyah “majority”, šuġl “genitive exponent”, naxal “palm trees”, xahl “let! (imperative)”, nuxrah (pl. nxar) “nose”, baxarrif“I speak”, nugar (pl. ngar) “pit, pothole”, bagra “I read (i.e. study)”, garār “decision”, grayyib “near”, galḥ “heart”, gālāt “she said”, gāyyil “few, little” (gāḷ “few (pl.)” and agāl “less”) and Rās Aḥw Gaḷlūm “name of a cape between ḤDmacronbelowahab and Nwēbiḥhalfringleft”.

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 kitār “many”, which is ktār in MzA and BWA (with a long ā almost as high up as I.P.A. [ɛ]), but velarized kṭār in TAN, whereas groups I and VI both have velarized kḥār as the pl. for kībū “old, big”. There are many examples of velarized ār, of which some are: mitmāraḥ “(cylindrically shaped) grain silo”, xyär “gherkins” (BWA), sinnāraḥ “fishing hook”, nār “fire”, nahār “day (–light)”. Also: sigāraḥ “cigarette”, 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. mızārī “lands for cultivation”, midāris “schools”, šārī “street” and ārif “knowing (sg. masc.)”.

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8 Combinations of a velar (ɡ, 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 Ḥabal Maṭāmīr.
Also sequences ṛa 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 firaš), Garāršah “name of tribe” (compare with MSA Qarārišah) and ṛākib “riding (sg. masc.)”, but there is velarization in forms like ṛās “head”, baṛṛād “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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.2. Long vowels

1.2.2.1. Allophones of long vowels ē and ī

Unlike in group I dialects, phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ is rare in group VI dialects.

The phonemic status of /ē/ and /ī/ 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 (min) šān “because of”.

In MzA imperfect forms of the verb “dry” (root y-b-s) monophthongization takes place, e.g. yēbas (< *yaybas) “he dries (intrans.)”.

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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 ū and ō. As long vowels, the phonemic status of /ū/ and /ō/ can be established through minimal pairs like:

- rūḥ “go! (imperative sg. masc.)”—rōḥ “soul”
- gūl “say! (imperative sg. masc.)”—gōl “speaking”.

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 tōgid “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. [i]).

The pl. com. of aṣdaf “left-handed” was recorded as šidf in BWA, but as šudf in MzA. Similarly, the pl. com. of a’arağ “lame, limping” has the high

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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 rāšk! (instead of aw’aw and aw’iy respectively). Apocopated imperative forms of this verb have not been recorded, thus e.g. aw’a tans! “don’t you forget!”.
vowel i in 'ṣr in BWA, but u in 'ṣr in MzA and that of aʿama “blind” is 'my in BWA, but 'my in MzA. Other pl. com. forms of the pattern aC1C2C3 used for colours and physical defects, recorded in both dialects have a C1uC2C3 pattern (most have some degree of velarization), e.g. (sg. masc. aḥṭamār) h럼 “red”, (sg. masc. azṛag) zurg “black”, (sg. masc. axaḍar) xuḍr “green”, (sg. masc. asfar) šufr “yellow” and (sg. masc. aḥabal) hubl “dim-witted” (where labialization of the b triggers the appearance of u), (sg. masc. agra’) gur “bald”, tūrm (sg. masc. aṭram) “gap-toothed”.

Both dialects have i in the imperfect of primae hamzah verbs: yāxīḍ and yākil “he takes” and “he eats”, but u in the sg. masc. imperative: kūl and xuḍ “eat!” and “take!” (resp.) and clear velarization, caused by the ‘vanished’ i: xuḍiya and klīy (sg. fem.), xḍuw and klūw (pl. masc.) and xḍīn 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 yC1aC2C3 (measure 2), yC1aC2C3 (measure 3), yC1aC2C3 (measure 4),
yinC₁C₂iC₃ (measure n-1) and yiC₆iC₇ (measure 1-t) and yistaC₃C₄C₅ (measure ista-1). Other examples are the active participles of the measures: C₅āC₁C₂C₃ (measure 1), mC₅aC₁C₂C₃ (measure 2), mC₅āC₁C₂C₃ (measure 3) and miC₅C₁C₂C₃ (measure 4), mtaC₂C₃C₄ (measure ta-2), mtaC₅aC₁C₂C₃ (measure ta-3), minC₁C₂C₃ (measure n-1), miC₁C₂C₃ (measure 1-t) and mistaC₃C₄C₅ (measure ista-1).

An exception to such morphological conditioning is found in forms coloured by the strong velarization caused by the pronominal suffix -ḳ or -uḳ, as in tušġúḷḳ “she occupies you/keeps you busy” and also the vowel of the fem. morpheme in construct state may be affected, as in nuxṛúṭ“ḳ your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nuxṛīṭ“ḳ 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. [ı] and slightly higher nearer to [i] when it precedes y, e.g. židd [ʒıdḍ “grandfather”, nirmiy [ˈnirmiː] “we throw” and dıšbih [ˈdɪʃbɪh] “cold (disease)”.

When in velarized positions, backing and centralizing takes place, resulting in [ı], e.g. tibb “(practicing) medicine” [ˈtɪbː].

When laryngeals precede, they usually have a lowering effect on /i/, resulting in [e] or slightly higher, e.g. hılaw [ˈhelʊw] “beautiful, sweet”, xirm [ˈxɜrm] “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. [ʊ], and slightly higher [u] when it precedes w, e.g. yuskuṇ [ˈustʊkən] “he lives (inhabits)”, nāmuw “they slept” [ˈnæmuw].

When velarized consonants or laryngeals precede, lowering tends to take place, resulting in a realization near I.P.A. [o], e.g. ɣumsih [ˈɣomsɪh] “food dip”, ḥurmah [ˈhʊrmah] “woman”, xutwah [ˈxʊtwah] “step”.  

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[17] See following fn.
[18] When in closed syllable, the vowel preceding C₁ will be a in measures n-1 and 1-t (or VII and VIII resp.), e.g. yingdarbāw “they are beaten” and minfarbāh “having been beaten (sg. fem.)” and yišṭaqlin “they (fem.) work” and mištaqlin “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. tānəm [tənəm] “you sleep”, maddat [medːət] “she stretched out”.

Where pharyngeals precede, /a/ has a realization near open and front I.P.A. [a], e.g. harīm [haːrim] “womenfolk”, ʿarīgy [ar’dʒiy] “lame, limping (sg. fem.)” and also with h preceding, as in ʿahabīy [əhaːbiy] “gray-coloured (sg. fem.)”.

In velarized environments, /a/ is realized near I.P.A. [a], e.g. bahār [bəhər] “sea” and nughtah [nuqtah] “police post” and ḥabsah [ḥabsah] “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”, ḥilīd “fat, thick”, xīfī “light”, ʿirīs “bridegroom”, ḥirīd “parrot fish”, and also ʿIlīy “male given name *ʿAlī” and verb forms nisīt “I forgot”, ligīt “I found”. Instances of ṣ preceding stressed CCī were not recorded: baṭṭīx “watermelon”, sabʿin “seventy”.

- (preceding stressed Cē): ʿilēh “on him”, ligēna “we found”, mišēt “I walked”, bidēna “we started”, (preceding CCē) middēt “I stretched”, suwwēt “I did/made” and istinnēniʾ(#) “we waited” (but istanna “he waited”).

- (preceding stressed Cā): ʿisākir “soldiers”, zimān “in the old days (used as adverb)”, timānyih “eight”; (preceding stressed CCā): riǧǧāl “man”, šiyād “fisherman”, kiššāf “search light”, biṭṭāriyyih “flashlight”, zirgā “blue (sg. fem.)”. miṛṛāt “times”, miʿnāt (ḥāǧih) “the meaning (of sth)”.  

- (preceding stressed ā): ʿurūs “groom”, isSuʿūdityyih “Saudi Arabia”, šuʿūr “emperor (fish species)”.20

- (preceding stressed a): ḡimāl “camels”, giʿadna “we sat down”, xuḥār “information”, nihāb “he plundered you”.

- (preceding stressed u): kubūr “he grew”, ḡulūd “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”, áttifag “he agreed”, hawǧisat “she improvised song”, ánnixaḷ “the palmtrees”, álhiwi “the wind”, álisi “the dinner” and ádduwa “the medicine”.

Also when a follows stressed i in closed syllable, it is raised, as in yínḍirib “he is beaten”, yítitifig “he agrees”.²¹

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 wāḥid ʾinduh xuṟṟāfah hilwih biyğibhi “everyone has a nice story which he tells”, lamma llēlih gōṭarat “until the evening has passed”, tāllā ʾgiṣīdhī fī wiḥdīh ráyidhi “he recited a poem on a girl with whom he was in love”.

In velarized environments such raising does not take place, e.g. gāmat ḥuṛmāh # “a woman stood up”, (a mock rhyme) biŋib lēna farxah simīnih, iw liḥiy simīnih bi ṭamārah “we get for ourselves a fat chicken, but it is not fat at all”. Other examples are: biṣīṭah “simple”, ǧiliḏah “fat”, xuṭwah “step”, ʾiṣāmah “snake-like species of sea fish”, ramlḥ “sand”.

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ʿ and h, e.g. ṭfayyʿih “thin”, sāmʿih “hearing (sg. fem.)”, Šuwālḥih “name of a tribe”, mirǧēḥih “swing”, ṣaʃiḥih “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 btiʫ ġluh ʾala lṃayyih “you boil it (for a long time) in water”, iw biŋaṭṭiy lḥaṭab buh ku<llːtuh “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 ō.

²¹ In verb forms like hawǧisat and yínḍirib and yítitifig, the raised a will again surface as a when it is in closed syllables, e.g. hawǧast “I improvised song”, yínḍiribuw “they are beaten” and yítitifigw “they agree” (see also 3.2.3.1.1. and 3.2.3.3.1.).
Examples for *"ay are: *"itnēn “two”, *"bēn “between”, *"lēlih “evening”, *"sēl “flood”, *"gēwel (dim. to *"gāl) “little side” and examples for *"ōrō: *"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, *"mawğūd “present (adj.)”, *"aw’a “watch out!” and also *"taybīs “drying”.

In forms like *"b’ayṭarān velarization has also spread backwards, preserving *"qay 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 Ḥuḍrah and of a family in Wādiy ‘Arādah) forms like *"mēǧūd “present” and *"mēlūd “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.)!”—* dūr “turn (intrans.)!”—* dōr “floor (in a building)”—* dūr “house”
* ḡībih “bringing”—* ḡēbūh “his pocket”—* ḡābūh “he brought it”
* gōm “enemy tribe”—* gūm “get up!”

Suffixed prepositions *lay “to me”, * álāy “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 Taṛābin of group I, ā in neutral surroundings is realized as near I.P.A. [ɛ]. 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 [ɛ:] for ā is reached also when āC is morpheme-final, e.g. *ktār “many (pl. com.)”, *ṣgāg “compartments of the tent”, *ḥbāl “ropes”, *ṣāḥih “screen” and also *wāḥid “one”, *sārḥih “out grazing (goats and sheep) (sg. fem.)”, *nāqṭī “my she-camel”.

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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 Ḥuḍrah as *Lēgiy territory (in his transcription: *Olēḳāt). Today this oasis is inhabited by members of the Mzēnah.
1.2.4.4. Reflexes of final *-āʾ(ʼ)

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”, štī “winter” and verb form ġīʾ (< *ġāʾ) “he came”.

Final -ʾ will be unstressed when a heavy sequence precedes. The vowel of the heavy sequence is then stressed. E.g. āššīfī “the curing”, (wāḥid) mīnmī “(one) of us”, tāfdī “you sacrifice” and yānsī “he forgets”.

However, in sg. fem. forms (cf. MSA CaCCā) 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) īwrā “one-eyed”, gīrā “bald” and dorā “absent minded”. The final stressed -ā may be cut off in pause by a flottal stop, e.g. xaḍrāʾ #.

N.B. “here” is nīhāʾ(ʼ) in MzA and BWA.

In dialects of group I raising (there to final -īy) is inhibited by (underlying) a preceding in open syllable. Such is not the case in MzA and BWA, e.g. hiwī “wind”, īṣī “dinner”, diwī “medicine” (in MzA), simī “heaven” and also verb forms like mišī (< *mašā) “he went”, ligī (< *lagā) “he found” and tawaffī “he died”.

When (secondary) emphatics precede, final *-āʾ(ʼ) is not raised, while reflexes of *-ā have remained long and reflexes of *-ā are short. Examples are: ġtā “covers”, āṣā “stick”, fīdā “free time”, rḥā “hand mill”, Wādiy ʾṬarfā “name of a wadi”, bēḍā “white (sg. fem.)”, hamrā “red (sg. fem.)”, xaḍrā “green (sg. fem.)”, ġawā “flirting”, duwā “medicine” (in BWA, but in MzA diwī), ragṭā “speckled (sg. fem.)”, zargā “black; blue; dark coloured (sg. fem.)”, samrā “brown (sg. fem.)”.

In BWA álma(ʼ) “the water” and in MzA álmi were recorded for “the water” (~ in both with much more frequent mayyih).

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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 *ahlā “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. duwāʾ or diwāʾ and verb forms like mišā 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 ǧānī “he came to me” were heard, but also forms with lengthened [ı], as in ḥū ḡi:k “he came to you (sg. masc.)”: not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [i: [dʒi:k]] “he came to you (sg. masc.)” and also ḥū ḡi:k (IPA [dʒi:k]) “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 ē and ū

Like in group I (see De Jong 2000:85), primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following ē and ū towards (resp.) I.P.A. [e:] and [o:]. Such lowering is clearer in the case of following ū; with following ē 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 ē 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) gēḏ (I.P.A. [ge:“d] “chain”, (a less clearly audible off-glide in) Fērān [fe:“ɾ:ːn] “Wadi Fērān”, būd (I.P.A. [bi:“d]) “white (pl. com.)”, zīlīṭ (I.P.A. [zi:li:“t]) “young goat or gazelle” and mšēṭah [# ḥglottaləmḥvlineʃeḥlengthfullḥalphaLatinḥvlinetḥbarcombḥalphaLatinh “type of herb”.

Comparable off-glides, but then towards I.P.A. [a], are heard when h or ‘ follow ē or ī, e.g. ġinnēḥih I.P.A. [dʒi:nē:“heb] “brown surgeonfish”, bē’ I.P.A. [be:“i] “selling”, tasrīḥ I.P.A. [teṣːrī:“h] “permission”, šīḥ [ji:“h] “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. Acanthus nigrofuscus.
wormwood\(^{31}\) and \textit{itbi} I.P.A. [\#ʔatˈbiːʕ] “you sell”, but less clearly audible in \textit{Nfē āt} [\#ʔənfeːʕeːt] “name of a family of Baniy Wāṣil”.

1.2.4.5.3. **Off-glide in \(ō\) and \(ū\)**

Like in group I off-glides towards I.P.A. \(\alpha\) are audible in \(ō\) and \(ū\) when these are followed by emphatics, e.g. \textit{gōṭarat} [ˈɡoːˈtərət] “she went”.

Off-glides in \(ō\) and \(ū\) towards I.P.A. \(\alpha\) are clear when ‘ or \(h\) follow, e.g. \textit{nō} [ˈnoː] “type, sort”, \textit{ǧū} I.P.A. [ˈdʒuː] “famine”, \textit{misūḥ} [ˈmaːsɯːˈh] “milk camel” (there were no instances recorded with \(ō\) followed by \(h\), but e.g. \(lōh\) “(wooden) board, panel” would thus be [loːˈh]).

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 \(ō\) and \(ē\).

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. \(x\), \(gı\), ‘ and \(h\)). For the latter, see remark below). In some instances, a diphthong is audible without being attributable to phonetic conditioning, as in \textit{sanatayn} “two years” (MzA).

Examples with \(X\) preceding \(*ay\) are: \textit{xayṭ} “thread”, \(\dot{ği}vrı́ “(someone) other than I”, \(b\) il⁠\(h⁠\)ayl “very”, \(‘⁠a⁠y⁠n “eye”, but the only form with preceding \(h\) recorded is \textit{nḥēdir} “a type of herb (used to treat kidney disease)”.\(^{32}\)

Examples with \(X\) preceding \(*aw\) are: \textit{xawf} “fear”, \(ḥawl “year”, \(‘⁠A⁠d⁠i⁠h “male given name” and a Bedouin verb\(^{33}\) \textit{hwaĵaŝ}, \(ywaĵis “improvise singing”, \(ḥawmal, \(y⁠w⁠m⁠i⁠l “bring a ḥamūlah”\(^{34}\) for a feast”.

\(^{31}\) Lat. Artemisia herba-alba, used to prepare \textit{samn šīḥy} “ghee”.

\(^{32}\) Perhaps the reference was to the Egyptian desert weed Cymbopogon proximus.

\(^{33}\) Verbs of the type \textit{CawCaC}, \(yCawCiC“(with inserted \(wāw\)) are considered to be typi-

\(^{34}\) 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”, ihmarayt “I turned red”, taharraynāk “we waited for you”, kitrayš “how much?”, dallaxna “we remained” and also šannayt “I kept quiet”, ḍawały “I returned home at sunset (with goats and sheep)” and tarāḥayzih “table”.

Examples of *aw with a velarized consonant preceding are fewer: šawm “fasting”, ṭawr (pl. ṭīrān) “overhanging cliff” and rawd (pl. ṭiḏān) “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 ṣannaxal, mā fīh izrāʾah zamān “only palm trees, there was no agriculture in the past” and ‘āsān law ḍaggat wāḥid minnī, ḡār kān iyrawwih l iittaktūl “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. taybūs “drying (measure 2 verbal noun)” (but not in the imperfect form of measure 1 yēbas “it (masc.) dries”), šawły “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and mawǧūd “present (adj.)”. Another instance may be awa “beware, watch out!” (other imperatives of primae wāw verbs are with initial ō: ōgaf! “stand still”, ōrid! “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)

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 ḍawā, yidžwiy is a measure 1 verb in MzA and BWA. In several group I dialects it is measure 4 ʾaqwa, yidžwiy.

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 tarabēzah.

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 ḏaftar, see Hinds and Badawi 1986).
katab-uw “they wrote”, katabt-uw “you (pl. masc.) wrote”, (verbal imperfect) yikitb-uw “they (pl. masc.) write”, tikib-uw “you (pl. masc.) write” and in pronominal suffixes bēth-uw “their (pl. masc.) house” and bētk-uw “your (pl. masc.) house”.

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) tikib-iy “you (sg. fem.) write”. In verbs where C₃ = y (imperfect) yimšiy “he walks”, ysawwiy “he makes”, yiqiy “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”. Final -iy may also reflect older final *-ā, as in (MzA) miy “water”, (reflecting the sg. fem. pattern *CaCCā’ for physical defects) arrijy “limping (sg. fem.)”, hably “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, anyly “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCā’) sawdly “black”, šaḥably “sand-coloured”. Although a regular reflex for final *-ā in hny “here” (in BWA only; “here” is nihā(-niy) in MzA). Final -iy reflects final *-ī in biriy “innocent”, final *-iy in sibiy “boy”, *-ay in šiy “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 ǧidiy # “billy goat” (morphological base ǧidy).

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs

The first element of the diphthong ay is often lengthened, e.g. ʚaʫyš “bread”, ʚaʫyb “disgraceful act”, xa:yṭniʾ “our (fishing) line”. Such lengthening of diphthongs is also heard in some of the dialects of group I (TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, ǦrA and BdA, see chapter III) and also takes place without an apparent intention to express extra emphasis.

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 yáḥarṭuw “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-infixed 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 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) 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. CaCaCaCv(C).

In that case the sequence maybe resyllabified as CaCCiCv(C) and is stressed on the first syllable: CáCCiCv(C), e.g. ḍárbituh “she hit him” and rágbituh “his neck”. This type of resyllabification was recorded in MzA, but not in BWA.

Also if resyllabification is absent, the first syllable is stressed: CáCaCaCv(C), e.g. ḍarábatuh and rágabatuh.

2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences

Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are: mádrasih “school”, áṣṭaḍal “he worked”, áṭtífag “he agreed”, án gàsal “he was washed”, álbusal
“the onions”, álwāl “the boy/son”, iššī “the winter”, il’išī “the dinner”,”ārkab “the knees”, álgbal “the Moray eels”, álhbš “the jerrycans”, álhsy “the rocks” (in the latter two examples anaptyctics are underlined) and šawl “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, šhaby “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, šalna “we rose”, waladk “your (sg. masc.) son”, waladk “your (sg. fem.) son”, ammu “your mother” (MzA), št “winter”, zén “good”, zēnī “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)\textsuperscript{46} is placed thus: (’vCvC: akál “he ate”, axād “he took”, ugūm “stand up!”, iǧīy “I come” Cv’Cv(’): ʾasā “stick”, iši “dinner”, miši “he walked”, duwá “medicine” (~ dīwā). Cv CvC: ǧimál “camels”, šiǧár “trees”, ǧiṭās “he dived”; wugáf “he stood up”, warāq “paper” and yiǧiy “he goes”, sībī “boy”, birīy “innocent”, tirīy “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”, xāšabī “piece of firewood”, dārabu “they hit (perfect)”, báladuh “his country”, násatuh “she forgot him” and gahawah-forms gāhawah “coffee”, nāʿāgih “ewe”, áharī “I plough” and yāgaṭis “he dives”.

(C)vCvCvCv(C): ákalatuh “she ate it” (or MzA áklituh), dārabatuh “she hit him” (or MzA dārbituh), fārāsatuh “she spread it (sg. masc.) out” (or MzA fārṣituh), rāgabatuh “his neck” (or MzA rābituh) and gahawah-forms gāhawatuh “his coffee” (or MzA gāwituh), láhamatuh “his (piece of) meat” (or MzA láhmituh), táāragin “you (pl. fem.) sweat”, yā’āragu “they sweat”.

alxāšabī “the piece of firewood”, albādawī “the Bedouin (sg.)”, (gahawah-form) annaxīlah “the palm tree”, (gahawah-form) ibtāhafraw “they dig”, ištāqalat “she worked”, inbāṣatuw “they rejoiced”, ittāfagat “she agreed”, tiqāwwazat “she got married”, takāllamuw “they spoke”.

\textsuperscript{44} But notice a in the article in āššifi “the healing”.
\textsuperscript{45} The word bukla (pl. bkal) is used for a plastic jerrycan in MzA.
\textsuperscript{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 *-āʾ and *

Reflexes of *-āʾ, 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.)”, ṣifrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, bēḍā “white (sg. fem.)”, girā “bald (sg. fem.)”, ʿiwṛā “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”.

In positions not influenced by velarization, -āʾ is raised to -iy (see 1.2.4.4.) Such raised -iy reflexes are then stressed, even if (other) heavy sequences precede, e.g. sōdiy “black (sg. fem.)”, šadfiy “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 -āʾ receives stress: (šaḥbāʾ) šaḥabīy “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 šti “winter; rain”, mi “water”, wādiy Sli “wadi Isla”, simi “sky”, diwī “medicine”, ʿiṣi “lunch”, šifī “healing”, màšti “winter”.

Examples of pronominal suffixes *-hā and *-nā are tanshi’il “forget her!”, gīṭah minhi “a piece of it (sg. fem.)”, ġūdīni “our forefathers”, baʿadni “(we) each other” and of the sg. masc. demonstrative álwalad dī “this boy”.

Examples of such raising in verb forms in which C = y are (perfect) miṣi “he walked”, ligi “he found”, sawwi “he did” and yī “he came”. Examples of imperfect forms are yansì “he forgets”, ytaḡaddi “he has lunch”.

Examples of reflexes of *-ā preceded by velarized consonants are áḷa da’a “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 *-i̱y reflexes in *CaCiŷ

In MzA and BWA, reflexes of the pattern CaCiŷ are CaCiŷ or (after raising the short vowel a) CiCiŷ 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 + *CaCiŷ

When the article precedes a reflex of CaCiŷ, the resulting cluster will draw stress onto its directly preceding vowel, e.g. inniyy “the Prophet” and ʾiṣṣiyy “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”, *táʾaṅnuh* “you knead it (sg. masc.)”, *yáxabṭuw* “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. *xášbituh*\(^{48}\) “his piece of wood” (contrast e.g. *wákiltuh* “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. *ṭḥálliluh* “you analyze it”, *ǧidditī* “my grandmother”.

2.1.3. **Stress units**

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

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).

For stress in negated personal pronouns, 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 *ǧā-luḳ* “he came to you”, *gult-ilhi* “I said to...

\(^{47}\) I hear sīn, rather than șād.

\(^{48}\) Notice also that the high vowel elision rule is not applied after stress placement, hence *xāšbituh*, not *xāšibtuh* (contrasting with a form like * ámbtuh* “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-луk “it is best for you” (assimilated aḥsan-луk) and aˈmɪl-луk “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, ʾ, 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) naxáḷ “palm trees”, (*saḥl) saḥál “easy”, (*axḍar) axḍar “green”, (*aḥtal) aḥtalal “stupid”, (*ṣāhbā’) ṣāhbáy “sand coloured (sg. fem.)”, (*āḥlahān) ḥahalān “ignorant”, (*mahmūḍ) mahmūḍ “neglected”, (*maxrūm) maxrūm “pierced”, (*maḥṭūṭ) maḥṭūṭ “placed”, (*maxfī) máxfī “hidden” and verb forms (*yaxṭib) yaxṭib “he proposes (for marriage)”, (*yāḥšūh) yāḥšūh “they fill it”, (*taʾraḡuw) taʾraḡuw “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 C₁ = X: maXC₂_uC₃) like maxrūm “pierced”, mahmūḍ “neglected” and maʾagū “reasonable”, it was not recorded in mašṣūs “specialized” and maḥsūb ḡala “reckoned with”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC₂_uC₃(ah): maʾraḥah “battle”, maḥkamaḥ “court of justice”, maḡrib “time of sunset”.

from a form gult+luh, since stress does not shift (as in e.g. gāfāṭ-luh) and no vowel is lengthened (as in e.g. gāfūluh “they said to him”).

The verb form must be a loan (an indication is also the initial vowel: aˈmɪl instead of iˈmɪl), 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) *a*ṭa “he gave”, (measure ista-1) istahmal, yistahmil “bear, endure”, istagrab, yistagriś “wonder, be amazed”, istaˈmal, yistaˈmil “use”. Quadriliteral verbs gahwa, yigahwiy “serve coffee or tea to”, zaqraṭ, yzaqrib “ululate” and a passive participle mgaˈṭal “handicapped in the legs” and ta-quadriliteral tagahwa, ytagahwa “be served coffee or tea”.

Examples of elatives are aḥsan “better”, aḥla “more beautiful, sweetest”, axtar “most dangerous”, but áḡalaḏ “thicker”.

In loans from Standard Arabic (or Cairene Arabic) like mahkamah (see above) the syndrome is not active. Other examples are: raḡma ʾann “although”, aḡlabiyyaa “majority”, tahliyyih “analysis”, māyāḥ maˈdanyyiy “mineral water”, yā niy “that is, it means”, yaḥṣal “it happens” and another measure 1 verb yaˈmal51 “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 dāxanatuh “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:

\[ \emptyset > v_b / -C-Rv_a \]

\[ v_b = v_a \text{ or } v_b = v_a \]

\[ R = r \text{ or } r \]

C = any consonant

---

51 Much more current for “make, do” is sawwa, ysawwiy.
52 See also EALL 2006 (Vol. II):320–322.
Examples of bukara-vowels are (underlined): zağaraṭat “she ululated”, tzağiriṭ “she ululates”, tuṣūrur “she flees”, gaṭaṛah “drop (noun)”, kuburuw “they grew old”, tufuṛukha “you rub it (sg. fem.)”.

Examples of the bukara-syndrome inhibiting the elision of a preceding high vowel are: tkassir isnūnuḳ “it (sg. fem.) breaks your teeth”, miš gāḍīr iyḡīb “he is not able to bring”.

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukara-syndrome creating vowels: mitīr iw nuṣṣ “a meter and a half”, ġamir 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 išwayyiḥ “it comes down a little”, ‘ayyil iṣgayyir “a young child”, bıyḥawmil alḥamāyil “he brings the animals to be slaughtered (to a wedding party)”.

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): šuḡul iḡdūndna “of our forefathers”, āṣil ana ǧibit “because I brought”, gaḅiḷ ir ṭū ṭu ṭu ṭu ṭu ṭu ṭu ṭu ṭu ṭu “before I please myself”, gaḅiḷ il ṭū ṭū ṭū ṭū “before the Ottomans”.

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *ibil and *raġil
One of the forms for she-camels is bil, and with article álbil (BWA, not recorded in MzA). raġil for “man” was only recorded once in BWA (and numerous instances of yā raġil). In MzA riḡgāl (pl. rḡāl) 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”, ittafaqəna “we agreed”, axādəni “we took”, yibnəh “he builds it”. An instance in sandhi is in e.g. (vowel underlined) biṭuṭṭuṭu fi ssi’in iw bitxuḍḍuḥ “you put it in the goat skin and you churn it”.

2.2.3. Articulatory delay of ‘ayn following geminates
In isolated instances an articulatory delay of ‘ayn following a geminate can be heard, e.g. biḥuṭṭə’alēh “we put on it”.
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:

$$\emptyset > I \ (C_a)C_b__C_cC_d$$

$I =$ 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.

$yurbtu$ + $uw$ $> *yurbtuw$ $> yúrbtnw$ “they tie”

$tu\bar{d}rub + uh$ $> *tu\bar{d}rbuh$ $> tū\bar{d}rbuh$ “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):

$’ind \ R\ddot{g}ūm \ Z\dot{w}ayyid^{53} > ’ind \ R\ddot{g}ūm \ Z\dot{w}ayyid$ “near Zwayyid’s rock piles”.

---

$^{53}$ $r\ddot{g}ūm$, sg. $r\ddot{g}m$ 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:

\[
\text{\# } bti\text{ṭw + } ha w btiḥs + ha tamr \text{\# > \# } bti\text{ṭwha w btiḥšha tamr \# > \# } \text{i}bti\text{ṭgwha w i}bti\text{ḥšha tamir \# "you fold it (sg. fem.) and stuff it (sg. fem.) with dates" (both verb forms are apocopated imperfects).}
\]

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):

\[
\text{\# + } h\text{ḡār kirīmah > \# } h\text{ḡār kirīmah > \# } i\text{ḥḡār kirīmah "precious stones" and Maṣr + \# > * } \text{Maṣr > } \# \text{Maṣr "Egypt (the mainland), Cairo".}
\]

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 *):

- \(w \ bti\text{ḥlig iddagīg w bta} \text{āḡnuh} > \)
- \(* w \ bti\text{ḥlig iddagīg w bta} \text{āḡnuh} > \)
- \(w \ ibti\text{ḥlig iddagīg w ibtā} \text{āḡnuh} "and you take the dough and knead it".\)

Another example is:

- \(yimsik alfanāḡīl > \)
- \(* yimsk alfanāḡīl > \)
- \(yımisk alfanāḡīl "he takes the cups"\)

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

The resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV > CVCICCV (e.g. \(yik\text{ttbw}\)) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVCIC VC > CVCICC VC (e.g. \(yımisk alfanāḡīl\)) 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”, alGlāʾyyih “location where water from šarafat ilGāʾ flows into Wādiy Fēṛān”, ʿamaltha “I did it (sg. fem.)”, ḏgrab “the water skins”, tuṣğáłk #55 “it (sg. fem.) occupies you”, tanshi “forget her!”, fihimt lay kêh? “do you understand what I mean?” and (with semi vowels) mōyt kiluh “a hundred kilometres”, iṣtaraytha “I bought it (sg. fem.).” But in some cases, also when the second consonant is voiced, the cluster is left intact, as in ġildha “her skin” (where d is homorganic with l) and yinzluw “they go down”.

Examples of other sandhi clusters left intact are: int ʿārif “you know”, yā bint! # “hey, girl!” and ʿind Biniy Wāṣil “with the Baniy Wāṣil” (see 2.3.3.3.2.) 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. (axadtha >) 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”, nmiddhin “we stretch them (fem.) out”, thuṭṭha “you place it (fem.)” ithammṣ ilbunn “you roast the coffeebeans”, tḥammr iṣwayyih “it (sg. fem.) becomes glowing embers a little”. Sandhi examples are: nxušš fi “we enter into”, nuṣṣ kiluh “half a kilo”, biḍḍall# ţūl yōmuḳ “you stay the (lit. your) whole day”, sīn # “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 “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.)”, ʿindik “with you (sg. fem.)”, ʿinduhuw “with them (pl. masc.)”, ʿindihin “with them (pl. fem.)”, ʿindukuw “with you (pl. masc.)”, ʿindikin “with you (pl. fem.)” and ʿindina “with us”.

54 For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:123–128.
55 Velarization spread through the whole word, colouring the vowels i (of measure 4, as in yišgil) to u.
56 biḍḍall: assimilated biṭḍall.
Clusters in sandhi are left unresolved, e.g. (underlined): ‘ind Biniy Wāsil “with the Baniy Wāsil”, la ‘ind sulbuƙ “(submerged in water) up to your waist”, ‘ind ǧidditi rḥā “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 -ḳ (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 ḳ (in sandhi), there may be a vowelless anaptyctic, or none at all, as in e.g. ilλy yatla’ min dimmīṭ ik ḫīnī yyah “whatever comes out of your goodness, give it to me”. Other examples are: ḥurmtimeḳ # “your wife”, awṣūf ṛḳ # “I’ll describe to you”. nāqītḳ “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”, maṭrāḥuḳ # “your place” and nxūrtuḳ # “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nxūrtik # “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

When assimilation takes place, an anaptyctic is absent, e.g. sarāḳḳ (< sarāg+ḳ) “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. xalluḳ gā’id “remain seated”, ‘induḳ “with you”, ṣadruḳ “your chest”, nafsuk “yourself”, ‘umruḳ “your age” and (doubling of n in he preposition min) minnuḳ “from you”. The latter example is actually a strong indication that we are dealing with a vowel-initial allomorph; n of the preposition min is only doubled in such cases (i.e. the suffixed form is not *mink or *mīnk).

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.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 > ūrīmha “throw it (sg. fem.)”
šuġl + ha > *šuḡlha > šūḡlha “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>*yisriguw</td>
<td>*yisrguw &gt; yisrguw “they steal”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example with u:

tuktuluw > *tuktuluw > *tuktlou > tuktlou “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): xīligtuh “his ugly mug”, īltbuh “his packet” and (examples of u) ḥūrmtuh “his wife” and šuḡuḷti “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): # ītkān īrāyīh “it (sg. fem.) will be thin”, zīlit īsɡāyyir “a young goat or gazelle”, # īymūs īsвуyyīh “it becomes a little soft/moist”, aḥād īmn īšābuḳ # “one of your friends”.

Imperatives of the verbs axād “take” and akāl “eat” are kul, # ukhlīy, # ukhlou, # ukhlīn and xuḍ, # uxḍīy, # uxḍiow, # uxḍīn (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. [ʋ] in labial and/or velarized environments.

Examples are: badaw # “Bedouin”, ḥilaw # “sweet, beautiful”, dalaw # “pail”, šuḡuḷ # “of (genitive exponent)”, ṭuhur # “circumcision”, ĥumur “red (pl. com.)”, zurug “black (pl. com.; lit. “blue”), iduḳ # “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. ši’ib # “difficult”, mitir # “metre”, giriš # “shark”, Ṭadir # “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 īṛḳab or āṛḳab “knees”, 倒塌 “here” etc.58—were not recorded in MzA and BWA.59

In BWA stress in the preposition l with a consonant-initial suffix will be on the vowel of the suffix, e.g.; # ilhā or # ilhī “to her”, # ĭlkūw “to you (pl. masc.)”, # ĭlkīn “to you (pl. fem.)”, etc. Forms in MzA are lēha or lēhi’, lēḳuw and lēkin.

In MzA and BWA the preposition m(i)’ followed by a vowel-initial suffix will be stressed on the vowel of that suffix, e.g. m’ūh, m’ūk, m’īk and also m’ī (contrast with forms in some dialects of group VII of the type ĭm’ūh, where the original anaptyctic is stressed). However, forms of the type ma’āh, ma’ūk and ma’īk (~ ma’kiy) 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:

\[ I > \emptyset / (V)C_a (C_b)C_C V \]

\[ I = \text{short high vowel } i \text{ or } u \]

\[ C = \text{any consonant} \]

\[ V = \text{any vowel} \]

The morphophonemic elision rules are compulsory.

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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:

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_aC_bV \]

Examples are (high vowel eligible for elision in bold print): \text{nižil} + \text{uw} > *\text{nižluw} \to \text{nizluw} “they descended”, \text{simī} + \text{at} > *\text{simi’at} > \text{sim’at} “she heard”, \text{kubur} + \text{at} > *\text{kuburat} > \text{kubrat} “she grew older”, \text{tāxīd} + \text{in} > *\text{tāxidin} > \text{tāxdin} “you (pl. fem.) take”, \text{mištīgil} (= underlying \text{|mištāgil|}) + ah > *\text{mištāgilh} > \text{mištāglih} “working (sg. fem.)” and \text{taḥarīt} + \text{uw} > *\text{taḥarītow} > \text{tāhartow} “you (pl. masc.) plough”.

The rule for elision of unstressed I in open syllable preceded by two consonants is:

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_aC_bC_cV \]

Examples of immediate elimination of a cluster resulting from high vowel elision: \text{tufruš} + iy > *\text{tufrušiy} > \text{tūfuršiy} “you (sg. fem.) spread out”, \text{yiktit} + \text{in} > *\text{yiktitbin} > \text{yiktitin} “they (pl. fem.) write”.

When an unstressed high vowel follows a geminate, it is dropped and the geminate is reduced. The rule is:

\[ I > \emptyset / VC_aC_bC_cV \quad \text{where} \quad VC_aC_b = \text{geminate} \]

Examples are: \text{ynaḍḍif} + \text{uw} > # \text{inyaḍḍfiw} “they clean”, \text{tṛdayif} + \text{uw} + ni > # \text{tiḍḍayfūnī} (< \text{itiḍḍayfūnī}) “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): \text{btūlīh} \text{iddāqīg} > \text{btūlīh iddaqīg} > # \text{ibtūlīh igdāqīg} “you take the dough”, \text{byūmsik} \text{issi’īn} > \text{byūmsk issīn} > # \text{ibyūmsik issī’n} > # “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 + ʿyāḻk > twakkil ʿyāḻk > twakkil Ḥhalfringleft ʿyāḻk > (including word-initial and word-final anaptyxis) # twakkil Ḥyāḻuk # “you feed your children”.

In this first example the cluster Ḥyāḻ 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) nīlbis + ḡlūdniʾ > nīlbis ḡlūdniʾ > nīlbis ḡlūdniʾ > nīlbis ḡlūdniʾ > nīlbis ḡlūdniʾ “we put on our diving suits (lit. our skins)”.

In this second example the cluster sḡl 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 Cₐ and Cₐ in CₐCₐICₐ are phonetically close or identical, I (underline in the examples below) is not dropped, and the geminate may be reduced. Examples are: ḡiddiṭi “my grandmother”, ṭḥālliluh “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 ḡ or k, as in ḡğibneh “the cheese”. alxayṭ b āḡḻab “the line with the hooks (used for fishing)” and also ʾikkīs “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:

- \( n + r \rightarrow rr \) birraǧǧid “we pile”
- \( t + š \rightarrow tš \) ššilīy “you carry”
- \( t + z \rightarrow zz \) zźūd “it (sg. fem.) increases”
- \( t + d \rightarrow dd \) ddīr “you turn (fem.)”
- \( d + t \rightarrow tt \) axatt “I took”
- \( t + š \rightarrow šš \) ššidd “you pull”

Instances of regressive partial assimilation are:

- \( t + z \rightarrow dz \) dzīd “it (sg. fem.) increases”
- \( t + ġ \rightarrow dġ \) dġīb “you bring”
- \( b + n \rightarrow mn \) mnaḍbahūh “we slaughter him”
- \( n + g \rightarrow ŋg \) mangad “fireplace”

**Progressive Total:**
Initial \( h- \) of pronominal suffixes often totally assimilates to preceding voiceless consonants, e.g.

- aġlabīyyit + hin \( \rightarrow aġlabīyyittin \) “the majority of them (fem.)”
- ġīmā’āt + huw \( \rightarrow ġīmā’āttuw \) “their group of people”
- tuṭbux + ha \( \rightarrow tuṭbūxxa \) “you cook it (sg. fem.)”
- naftaḥ + ha \( \rightarrow naftāḥha \) “we open it (sg. fem.)”

Other instances of progressive total assimilation are:

- zaḏrāṭ + tiy \( \rightarrow zaḏrāṭtiy \) “you (sg. fem.) ululated”

Instances of reciprocal total assimilations are:

- baraǧǧi’ + ha \( \rightarrow baraḡīḥhe \) “I return it (sg. fem.)”
- mablāq + hin \( \rightarrow mīblaḥxa \) “their (fem.) price”

In a number of instances the mutual influence of hissing sounds has resulted in a metathesis. An example in both dialects is sīḏih (or sīzih) \( \rightarrow šīzih \) “game of sīḏah”, in MzA sāz (\(< ṣāḏ/sāḏ or ṣāḏ/sāž\)), but in BWA šāḏ “iron baking sheet”. Additional examples in MzA are šīzn (\(< siḏn or sišn\) “prison”, mṣazzil (\(> saḏḏil or sažžil\)) “recorder” and našz (\(> nasḏ or nasž\)) “weaving”, but in BWA siḏn and tasḏil “recording”. Another example of the mutual influence of hissing sounds is MzA is šamš (\(> šams\) “sun”, but BWA šams, and in both dialects šaḏar “trees” is current.
3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of a in $C_aC\_iC\_\{ah\}$
Raising of a in the nominal pattern $C_aC\_iC\_\{ah\}$ occurs regularly, but is optional. Such raising is not inhibited by phonetic factors.

Examples are: šidād “intense, strong”, kitīr “many, much”, kibīr “large, old”, ġilāf “fat, thick”, īfīg, īris “groom”, xifsīf “light”. But also forms without raising have been recorded: kaťīr, kabīr, 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 CaCCic(-ah)
Raising of a in CaCCiC(-ah) was not recorded, e.g. baṭṭīx “water melon”, xamsīn “fifty”, sab in “seventy” and a verbal noun tağiib “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”, šiyād “fisherman”, šiyāf “acacia tree”, kiššāf “search light”, biṭṭāriyyih “flash-light”, zirgā “blue (sg. fem.)”, śifrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, himrā “red (sg. fem.)”, girā “bald (sg. fem.)”, miṛṛāt “times”, miṇāt (ḥājih) “the meaning (of sth)”, Wādiy Wirdān “Wadi Wardān”.

3.1.1.5. Raising of a in ...CaCāC...
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), gībāyil “tribes”, tikātrih “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 *ǧ is g and where the English [dʒ] was replaced by [g]. Compare this to an opposite development of g in Egyptian ginēh (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 sīgāṛah “cigarette” and ġrām “gram”, which became sīǧāṛah and ġṛām in many ġim-speaking dialects (though in MzA sīgāṛah 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”, ʿAzāzmih “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 ytāālaǧ “he receives medical treatment”.

When a is followed by l or r or preceded by ʾ or X, this type of raising is much less regular, e.g.: ṭalāṭih “three”, Taṛābīn “name of a tribe”, warāʾk “behind you”, marākib “boats” and (with ’ preceding) ʾasāsāthuw “their origins”. ʾažānib “foreigners”, ’aṣābi “fingers” and ʾašābi “your (sg. fem.) nails”. Examples in which X precedes a are: ʾašān “because”, ḥawāly “about, approximately”, ḥarārah “heat”, xalāš “that’s it!”, ḣazāl “gazelle” and hawāʾk “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”, šiǧār “trees”, libán “milk”, ġimāl “camel”, fidá’ “free time”, Dihāb “name of the town Dahab”, a gahawah-form šihāṛ “month” and verb forms ligát “she found”, kitáb “he wrote”.

Raising towards [u] is heard in the examples: mà m’uš duwā’ “medicine”, wurāq “paper” (though more regularly warāq).

Such raising is (usually) absent when ’ or X precedes, e.g.: (ʾ)ahād “anyone” and verb forms (ʾ)akāl “he ate” and (ʾ)axād “he took” and (with X preceding) ḥaṭáb “firewood”, ġanám “small cattle”, ʾadād “number”, arāq “sweat” and xalāq “He created”, but also ġiṭās “he dived” and mà m’uš 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):

\[
\begin{align*}
a &> I / C_a\neq C_b A \\
C_a &\neq * \text{ or } X \\
C_b &\neq l. \\
A &= \text{stressed a or ā} \\
I &= \text{high short vowel i or u}
\end{align*}
\]

64 See the rule in De Jong 2000:145 is: a > I / C_a>C_b ā, 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 muwālid Dīḥāb “born in Dahab”, mikānī “my place” and ánwikal “it was eaten”, ḥāwğisat “she improvised song”, ánnixaḷ “the palms” and also in forms with final raised reflexes of -ā(ʾ), such as áddiwi “the medicine” and ássimi “the sky”.

3.1.1.8. Raising of a in CaCūC(ah)

Like in the pattern CaCīC(ah), a is often raised to I in the pattern CaCūC(ah), but instances of absence of such raising were also recorded. Examples arelugūnih “a child with keen intelligence”,65 yuhūd “Jews”, Su’ūdīyyih ~ Sa’ūdīyyih “Saudi Arabia”, gu’ūd “young male camel”, ǧumūs “food dip”, xurūf “lamb”, but also ǧanūb “south”, ʿaġūz “old woman”, arūs ~ ʿurūs “bridegroom”, ʿaḏūr ~ ʿurūs “emperor (fish species)” and also hakūmah “government”.66

Also when (ʾ) precedes, such raising often takes place: (ʾ)ubūy “my father”, (ʾ)uxūh “his brother” and also in verb forms (ʾ)ugūm “I get up, (ʾ)ušūf “I see”.67

3.1.1.9. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed u

Like raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed Í, a in similar positions preceding stressed ú is also raised, e.g.: kubūr “he grew”, ǧulū/dmacronbelow “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:

\[
a > \text{I} / \text{C}_-\text{Cl}(\text{C})
\]

\[
\text{I} = \text{short high vowel } u \text{ if } \text{I} = \acute{u} \text{ or } \ddot{u}, \ i \text{ if } \text{I} = \acute{i} \text{ or } \ddot{i}
\]

\[
\text{C} = \text{any consonant}
\]

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.

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 ḥāwğ “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 ʾ is not current in group I (see De Jong 2000:147–149).
3.1.2. Reflexes of \(*C_1aC_2C_3(\text{ah})\)

Examples of reflexes of \(*C_1aC_2C_3(\text{ah})\) are: \textit{badw} “Bedouin (pl.)”, \textit{ǧady} (BWA) “kid goat”, \textit{ṭahāt} – \textit{ṭḥāt} “under”, \textit{faḥām} “coal”, \textit{ṣikl} “shape”, \textit{ṣahān} – \textit{ṣīḥān} “dish”, \textit{kahl} “dog”.

Also: \textit{wiğh} “face”, \textit{wiḥdih} “one (fem.)”, \textit{naḥyiḥ} “direction”, \textit{ṣi b} – \textit{ṣa b} (the latter perhaps a K-form; notice the absence of a gahawah-vowel), \textit{ṣadr} “chest”, \textit{wakl} “food” and \textit{ǧidd} “grandfather”.

3.1.3. Reflexes of \(*CaCiC(\text{ah})\)

Examples of reflexes of \(*CaCiC(\text{ah})\) are: \textit{kilmih} “word”, \textit{ṣirkiḥ} “company”, \textit{kitf} “shoulder”.

3.1.4. Reflexes of \(*C_1uC_2C_3(\text{ah})\)

Examples of reflexes of \(*C_1uC_2C_3(\text{ah})\) are: \textit{bunn} “coffee beans”, \textit{rizz} (“ruzz in MzA) “rice”, \textit{kull} “all; every”, \textit{āmm} “mother” (“\textit{ummm} in BWA), \textit{uxt} “sister”.

Also: \textit{Ǧim} “male given name”, \textit{ṣinnih} “usage” (BWA), \textit{middih} “period”, \textit{hinnih} “they (pl. fem.)”, \textit{zibdih} “butter”.

Forms with sufficient backing show \textit{u}, as in \textit{šuggah} “fishing net” (MzA), \textit{xuṭwah} “step”, \textit{nugṭah} “police checkpoint”, \textit{ḡumsih} “food dip”, \textit{ṛukbah} “knee” (BWA) (but \textit{rikbih} (MzA)), \textit{ḥuṛmah} “woman”.

3.1.5. Absence of I in open syllables preceding stress

Like in all dialects of Sinai, a high vowel \textit{i} or \textit{u} in open initial syllables of the type \textit{CIC(V)} preceding stress (on \textit{V}) is dropped, resulting in initial \textit{CC} clusters. Examples are: \textit{ḡlūd} “skins”, \textit{ȳūnī} “my eyes”, \textit{xšēšāt} “little huts”, \textit{Ḥmēd} “male given name”, \textit{ḥyēt} “a little tent”, \textit{blād} “land”, \textit{ḡbāl} “mountains”, \textit{snīn} “years”, \textit{gḷayyil} “little; few”, \textit{gḷāḷ} “few (pl.)” and \textit{štiy} “winter”. Examples with stressed short vowels are: \textit{gmam} “Morray eels”, \textit{rkab} “knees” (MzA).

Exceptions to such elisions are (loans from MSA) \textit{šuʿun iǧtimāʾīyyih} “social affairs”, \textit{nīzām} “system”. Another exception is \textit{ṣayd furūsiyyih} “hunting on horseback” (in BWA), where the influence of \textit{r} may have prevented elision of \textit{u} in \textit{furūsiyyih} (if it is not a loan from MSA altogether). For other ‘surface’ forms with initial sequences of the type \textit{CiCā}… or

\[\text{\textsuperscript{68}}\text{ Notice also} \textit{z} \text{here instead of more regularly expected emphatic interdental} \textit{d}.\]
CuCā . . ., CiGī . . . or CuCi . . . and CuCū . . . or CiCū . . . see 3.1.7.–3.1.10. above.

Also in verb forms a short high vowel in open unstressed syllable is not found, e.g. ygūl “he says”, tšīl “you carry”, tnām “you sleep”, nḥutta “we place”, tšiddiy “you (sg. fem.) pull tight”, ygōttruw “they go”. Notice, however, that in the verb “come” the vowel of the first syllable is not dropped, e.g. tiḡy “you come”, yiḡy “he comes” (contrast with forms tḡiy and yḡiy heard in group I).

3.1.6. Diminutive patterns

A number of diminutive forms were recorded in MzA and BWA. Apart from the usual forms such as gḷayyil “few”, gṣayyir “short”, ṣgayyir “thin”, ṣḥayyir “small; young”, kwayyis “good” and ṣwayyih “a bit”, etc., other recorded examples are: sṛaybih “small group (of people)”, byēt šā’ār “little tent”, xšēšāt “little huts”, bnayyih “little girl”, wlēd “little boy” and also a very regular (i.e. in Sinai) hrāyyim “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 aC1C2aC3 (stressed on the first syllable) where C1 = X. Examples are: aıyba/dmacronbeloẉ “white”, azṛag (euphemistically; the word aswad is avoided) “black; dark coloured”, așḥab “light coloured, pale” (and with C1 = X) áḥamaṛ “red”, áxa/dmacronbeloẉ ar “green”, áḥawal “cross-eyed”, áhabal “stupid”, áʚama “blind” and áxaraǧ “mute”, áʚaraǧ “limping”.

The sg. fem. forms have a CaCCā pattern, with a final -ā that has remained long and which is often in pause followed by an unreleased glottal stop, e.g. bēḍā’, ḥamra’. There is an added a following C1 when it is X and final ā is raised (to -īy) when C1 is neutral, e.g. ‘arīfy and šahabīy.

Most pl. com. forms have a C1iC2C3 pattern, e.g. zuṛg, sumr, xuṭr, ḥumr and hubl, but some forms that lack velarization were recorded with a C1C2C3 pattern, e.g. ‘irǧ, šihb. Plural forms for “black” and “white” are sūd (C2 = wāw) and bīḏ (C2 = yā).
3.1.8. The elative patterns aC₁C₂aC₃ aC₁aC₂C₃ and aC₁C₂a

The elative pattern is aC₁C₂aC₃, e.g. aktar “more/most”, akbar “bigger/biggest; older/oldest”, ashal “easier/easiest”, aṣ’ab “more difficult/most difficult”.

In MzA forms aḥla “sweeter/sweetest; better/best” and aḥsan “better/best” were recorded several times without a gahawah-vowel (similarly aḡlabiyih “majority”), but a gahawah-vowel was heard in axatār “more dangerous/most dangerous” (though also axṭar). aḡalaḍ “thicker” and also aḥala in BWA.

Elatives of geminate roots have a pattern aC₁aC₂C₃ (where C₂ = C₃), e.g. agaḷḷ “less/least” and aḥamm “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 il- when other sequences follow. Examples with (underlying) Ca following are: álbaḥaṛ “the sea”, álǧimal “the camel”, áddiwi “the medicine”, ássimi “the sky”, ássahan “the plate”, but (when preceding sequences other than Ca) ilīḥṣiy “the rocks” and ilf i “the viper”, išsti “the winter”, but išṣibiy “the boy” (underlying form is |ṣabiy|). With CCaC following: árrkab “the knees”, ánnxar “the noses”, állaf “the bait (pl.)”, áššnaṭ “the suitcases”.

When i or iy precedes the article al-, it is dropped, as in, e.g. f-atṬūr “in at-Ṭūr” and f-awwalha w ḥatta 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. widdī 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-ugūm “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-iṣīl “I want to carry”.

The relative pronoun is iliyy, e.g. iliyy ʾāyiz luh kilu, w iliyy ʾāyiz luh nuṣṣ kilu “(there are) those who want a kilo and others who want half a kilo.” ‘Specifying’ ha- was heard used only in adverbial halḥin (often halḥīnit in MzA) “now”.

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3.1.9.2. **Other instances of initial a**

Another instance of initial a is *aṃṃ* “mother” (in MzA, in BWA *uṃṃ*), “we” is *iḥna*, “sister” is *uxt*.

Like in group I, plural forms reflecting older *CICaC have a CCaC pattern, e.g. *gmāṃ* “Morray eels”, *rkab* “knees” (MzA), *rxaṣ* “licences”, *nab* “grapes” (BWA), *ḥgan* “injections”, *šnaṭ* “suitcases”, *lʾaf* “bait (pl.)”, although the pl. for *(ʾ)ibrīh* is *(ʾ)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”, *sānaturuh* “his year”, *xašbatuḳ* “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 CaCCItv), T is no longer directly preceded by aC, but by CC. Therefore T > it, resulting in a sequence CaCCItv. Since the rule for short vowel elision has already been executed (and this rule is not cyclic!), such CaCCItv 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 *rāḥbituh* “his neck”, *xašbituh* “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 > CaCCItv, e.g. *(farašat + uh >) fāršituh* “she spread it out” and *(katabat + uh >) kābbituh* “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 perfects 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 ā
When not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme -ah becomes -it (or -t when a long vowel ā 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.: ’ilibtuh “his packet”, ’ilbīt’k “your packet”, fātrī tārba’ snīn (with sandhi elision and anaptyxis >) fātīr tārba’ snīn “a period of four years”, nāgtuh “his she-camel”, nāgīt’k “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”. In strongly velarized environments T may be realized as -ut, as in nuxrūt’k “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nuxrūt’k “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 gāhwitu (and similar forms like lahmitī and láhmituh) 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. ḥamātuḥ “his mother-in-law”,

In one instance *ma’īnā (spelled in Arabic with ‘alif maqṣūrah: ﻣﻌﻨٰ) was interpreted as T-final (as occurs more often in other dialects as well): mi’īnāt ilkīmih “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. nāgtuh “his she-camel”, ġaṭṭāytuḥ “its (sg. masc.) cover”.

The low vowel a in verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. perf. is not dropped, e.g. šāfatuḥ “she saw him” and lāgatuḥ “she found him”, kāwanatuḥ “she fought him”.
3.1.11. Genitive marker

The genitive marker is šuġl, but in more isolated areas (away from the coast) ḡagg is more current in MzA. In BWA šuġl is the current form, although ḡagg may also be heard. Though not as regularly as šuġl, the K-form bta’ may also be heard. The form taba’ was heard only once in MzA.

The paradigms for suffixed šuġl(ah) and ḡagg(ah) are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>.sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šuġluḥ</td>
<td>šuġluḥw</td>
<td>šuġluṭḥuḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuģlḥa</td>
<td>šuģluḥin</td>
<td>šuģlḥitha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šuģluḥ</td>
<td>šuģluḥw</td>
<td>šuģluṭḥuḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuģlḥik</td>
<td>šuģluḥkin</td>
<td>šuģlḥik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šuģlī</td>
<td>šuģluḥna</td>
<td>šuģluṭi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pl. forms used for humans are šuģlīn and šuģlāt: e.g. ilīwład šuģlīn ilmádrasih “the boys of the school” and ilbanāt šuģlāt ilmádrasih “the girls of the school”. Also for smaller or numbers the pl. fem. is used: iṯṭalāṭah ġinēḥāt dillīḥ šuģlāṭʷk “these three pounds are yours”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>.sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ḡaggūḥ</td>
<td>ḡaggūḥw</td>
<td>ḡaggūṭḥuḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ḡaggha</td>
<td>ḡagghin</td>
<td>ḡaggīṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ḡagguk</td>
<td>ḡaggkuw</td>
<td>ḡaggīṭk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ḡaggik</td>
<td>ḡaggkin</td>
<td>ḡaggīṭk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ḡaggi</td>
<td>ḡaggna</td>
<td>ḡaggī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pl. forms for humans are ḡaggīn and ḡaggāt: e.g. ilīwład ḡaggīn ilmádrasih and ilbanāt ḡaggāt ilmádrasih. Like in the case of šuģlāt, the pl. fem. ḡaggāt is often used for smaller numbers: iṯṭalāṭah ġinēḥāt dillīḥ ḡaggāṭʷk.

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, mānī*, māhuṃma, māhinnah, mintuw, mintin, miḥna.

* 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)*, ṣi(h)</td>
<td>-huu*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>C-ʔk, CC-uk, ṣiʔk*2</td>
<td>-kuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>C-ʔk, CC-ik, ṣiʔk*2</td>
<td>-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>(C)C-i, ṣi-y (poss.)</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ni (obj.)*3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For allomorphs used with the preposition ‘ind, 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 'u' 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 hurmūţ‘k “your (sg. masc.) wife” and nāgīt‘k “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”. Contrast this with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: ‘ilbiţ‘k “your (sg. fem.) pack”, nāgīt‘k.
When -ʔk is suffixed to ʔ, the long vowel colours strongly towards [u] before k is released, e.g.: ‘ilē‘k “on you”, fī‘k “in you”, gifā‘k “your neck”. Contrast these with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: ‘ilēk, fīk and gifāk.
When lip-rounding is already present, there appears to be a slight difference in the pronunciation of ubūk “your (sg. masc.) father” and ubûk
“your (sg. fem.) father”; the long vowel ū preceding ḫ is more tense than ū preceding ḫ.\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 -ī and -nī 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 3.1.12.2. 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)daḥ\textsuperscript{*1}</td>
<td>(hā)dill(ih)\textsuperscript{*2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(hā)diy</td>
<td>(hā)dillh / 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)dālak(ah)\textsuperscript{*2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(hā)dīk(ah)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{*1} In pause often diḥ or di’.

\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 hādollah. For presence / absence of velarization in these forms, see remarks \textsuperscript{*2} and \textsuperscript{*4} in chapter I, 3.1.13.1.

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 ġi! “there he is!”, hēhī ġāt “there she is!”, hēhuwwa ġuw “there they (masc.) are!”, hēhinnaḥ ġīn “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 halḥin (~ halḥinit in MzA) “now” and once in halyōm “today” (the latter only recorded in BWA).

3.1.14. Interrogatives


=\l_{
min}\text{ is used independently for “who?”}, but another possibility to enquire after someone’s identity is \text{mīn (with a short vowel)} in combination with a pron. suff., as in \text{mīn hū-h-intih? “who are you?”}.

“What?” is \text{ēš? (~ much less often ēh)}; “why?” is \text{lēh? (both in sentence-initial, as well as sentence-final position)}; “where?” is \text{wēn?; “when?” is mitēh? or waqtēš?, “how?” is kēf?, “how much?” is gaddēš?, kam + sg. is “how many?”}, \text{yāt bēt “which house?”} and \text{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 \text{nihā(')} or \text{nihānīy}* in MzA and \text{hnīy} in BWA (fi hāda is also used), “there” is \text{hnuh or hnūtiy (fi hādāk is also used), gād (with open ā) is used for “over there (far away)”}. “Thus” is \text{kidīy or often kidīyyih (and less often kidīyyāniy)}, “now” is halḥin (~ halḥinit in MzA), “still” is l issā’ and “afterwards, after that” is ba’āden.

* When \text{mīn precedes nihā}, one syllable is haplographically dropped, e.g. \text{ímšin mi-nhā’} or \text{mī-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 \text{yīmkīn}.

3.1.15.3. \text{bilḥayl “very, extremely”}

\text{b ilḥayl “very, extremely”} is often used in BWA to qualify an adjective, e.g. \text{iw hāliyyan fi liyyām hādiy fi Sinah māhuw katīrin […] miš katīrin b ilḥayl}…”And now, these days, they are not many in Sinai […] They are not very many…”. Another example is […] iw zavy kidīy b īdē’k, bitgaṭṭī’…alkā’akih w tuf “rukha w bitḥuṭṭ ‘ālēha lēha…issamin 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. biśwēš “slowly, carefully”
The adverb biśwēš was not recorded in MzA or BWA. Instead, a construction like šwayyih šwayyih is current.

3.1.16. Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes

In BWA the pron. suffix for the 2nd p. sg. fem. -k co-occurs with -kiy, e.g. fīk ~ fīkiy “in you (sg. fem)”. and also lik ~ lkiy “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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
   lī + & ˈala + & m(i) + & *1 \\
   luh & ˈiḷēh & ˈiḷēhuw & *2 \\
   lēha & ˈiḷēha & ˈiḷēhin & m(uh) \\
   luk & ˈiḷēkw & ˈiḷēkw & m(uh) \\
   lik & ˈiḷēk & ˈiḷēkin & m(ik) \\
   lay(y) & ˈiḷēna & ˈiḷay(y) & *4 \\
\end{array}
\]

*1 The paradigm is mixed; forms like ˈiḷēkw and ˈiḷēha are much less frequently used than ˈiḷēkuw and ˈiḷēhuw. A similar paradigm is used for b +. The suffixed proposition l+ may be enclitically suffixed, e.g. gāluw “he came to you”, gultilhi “I said to her” (notice that the form is not ˈiḷēha), aḥsāl-luk “it is best for you” (assimilated aḥsan + luk), but this is not always the case, as may be concluded from stress in e.g. gāḷat luw “she said to him”, tfakkīr luw “you look at him” (i.e. these examples are not stressed gāḷāt-luw and tfakkīr-luw, which would be the forms in case of enclitic suffixing).

In BWA the short base instead of the forms with ĕ is more current: lha, lhuw, thin, lkw, lkin and lna.

*2 Raising of short a to i in open syllables preceding stressed ĕ (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 ˈala and ˈa (not only when preceding the article) are current.

*3 The short vowel i is dropped when vowel-initial suffixes follow (including -uk and -ik), but stressed when consonant-initial suffixes are involved and ˈ and h reciprocally assimilate to become hh.

*4 For a remark on lay and ˈalay, see 1.2.4.1.
In BWA forms are the same.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{fi +} & \text{fög +*1} & \text{min +*2} \\
\text{fīh} & \text{fīhw} & \text{fōgh} & \text{fōghuw} & \text{minnuh} & \text{minhuw} \\
\text{fīha} & \text{fīhin} & \text{fōgha} & \text{fōghin} & \text{minha} & \text{minhin} \\
\text{fī‘k} & \text{fī‘kw} & \text{fōg‘k} & \text{fōg‘kw} & \text{minnuk} & \text{minkuw} \\
\text{fīk} & \text{fīkin} & \text{fōg‘k} & \text{fōg‘kin} & \text{minkik} & \text{minkin} \\
\text{fay(y)*3} & \text{fīna} & \text{fōgi} & \text{fōgna} & \text{minnī} & \text{minna} \\
\end{array}
\]

*1 Alternatively one can say min hardī “above me” min ḥardūk “above you (sg. masc.)”, etc. 73

*2 Notice here that the n is doubled preceding the short vowels in the suffixes -uk and —ik, which indicates that the vowels of these allomorphs are not merely anaptyctic vowels.

*3 fry must have developed in analogy to lay and ‘aláy, see remark above.

The preposition min is usually stressed in the compounds mín-tahat “from below”, mín-kidīy “from this”.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{wara +} & '\text{ind} + & '\text{induhuw}\text{*2} \\
\text{warāh} & \text{warāhuw} & '\text{induh} & '\text{induhuw}\text{*2} \\
\text{warāhā} & \text{warāhin} & '\text{indahā}\text{*2} & '\text{indihin}\text{*2} \\
\text{warā‘k} & \text{warākw} & '\text{induk} & '\text{indukuw}\text{*2} \\
\text{warāk*1} & \text{warākin*1} & '\text{indik} & '\text{indikin}\text{*2} \\
\text{warāy} & \text{warāna} & '\text{indi} & '\text{indina}\text{*2} \\
\end{array}
\]

*1 In the forms for the 2nd p. fem. the velarization created by the preceding r is gradually lost during articulation of the following ā. Thus an opposition between warā‘k and 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): wāhid / wihdih*, tnēn / tintēn*, talātih (tālat or talāt), arba‘ah (arba‘), xamsih (xams), sittih (sitt), sab‘ih (sab‘), ṭamānyih (ṭāman or ṭamān), tis‘ih (tis‘), ’ašārah (’ašar).

73 Šuqayr (1916:341), however, lists hard in the meaning of bi ǧānib “beside”.
*1 wāḥid and wihdih may follow the counted noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. walad wāḥid “one boy” and bint wihdih “one girl”.

*2 tūnēn and tintēn may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. waladēn tūnēn “two boys” and īdēy ītīntēn or īdēy tintēnhin “my two hands”.

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic t- (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. ʻašar t-infār “ten people”, talaṭ t-īyyām “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, ḫnāṣir, ṭalāṭṭāṣir, arbaʼtāṣir, xamīštāṣir, sittāṣir, sabaʼtāṣir, ṭamanṭāṣir, tisiʼtāṣir, īsīn, ṭalāṭīn, arbiʼin, xamsin, sittin, sabʼin, ṭamanin, tisiʼin, miyyīn, miyytēn, ṭulṭmīyyīn, ṭubīmiyyīn, xumīsniyyīn, sutṭmīyyīn, subīmīyyīn, ṭumīnmiyyīnī, tisiʼmiyyīn, alf, alfiʼin, ṭalat t-ālāf, xamis t-ālāf, arbaʼ t-ālāf, sitt t-ālāf, sabiʼ t-ālāf, ṭaman t-ālāf, tisiʼ t-ālāf, ʻašar t-ālāf, miyyit alf, miyytēn alf, malyūn.

3.1.18. The dual
Sufffixing -ēn or -ayn to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. šahaṛayn "two months", sbūʼayn “two weeks”, nūʼayn “two kinds” and -ēn (in neutral environments) ʻarabīyytēn “two cars”, miyytēn “two hundred”, rikibtēn “two knees”, sanatēn “two years”, bintēn “two girls”.

Older forms of the dual are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. riǧlēy “my (two) legs” and riǧlē uḳ “my (two) hands” and īdēy “my (two) hands” and īdēḥk “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 infirmiae) 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.)
Perfekts of measure 1 verbs come in three types: $C_aC_2C_3$, $C_1iC_2iC_3$ and $C_1uC_2uC_3$. The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$a$-type perfect*¹</th>
<th></th>
<th>$i$-type perfect*³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>kitāb</td>
<td>kātabuw</td>
<td>šīrīb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kātabin</td>
<td>šīribin*⁴</td>
<td>šīrībtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>kitābtiy</td>
<td>kitābtin</td>
<td>šīribtiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kitābna</td>
<td>šīribna</td>
<td></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 wāgāft “she stopped” and wāgāfin “they (pl. fem.) stopped”.

*² When suffixed with a vowel-initial suffix forms are: kātbitu 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’ šīribtnum: 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 $wāw$⁷⁵ (see also remarks on the situation in ḤmA (of group VII) and ḤalfringleftLA (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

---

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: *yaC*C*C*C*₂₃, *yuC*C*C*C*₂₃, and *yiC*C*C*C*₂₃, all of which are characterized by vowel harmony in the prefixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a-type imperfect</th>
<th>i-type imperfect</th>
<th>u-type imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yášrab</td>
<td>yášrabuw</td>
<td>yiktib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tášrab</td>
<td>tášrabin</td>
<td>tiktitb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tášrab</td>
<td>tášrabuw</td>
<td>tiktiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tášrabiy</td>
<td>tášrabin</td>
<td>tiktitbiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ášrab</td>
<td>nášrab</td>
<td>iktib</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). 76

*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* ʚ*duw* as well as *túgi* ʚ*duw* 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</th>
<th>a-type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yáḥarit</td>
<td>yáḥarituw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>táḥarit</td>
<td>táḥaritin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>táḥarit</td>
<td>táḥarituw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>táḥaritiy</td>
<td>táḥaritin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>áḥarit</td>
<td>náḥarit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Notice that the lack of vowel harmony in *i*-type imperfects like *yaharit* 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. *yiḥrit* are not heard in these dialects).
Active participles are: ḥārît, ḥārtih, ḥārtīn, ḥārtāt.

Active participles of the type CāC2C3 (etc.) for the verb ‘irīq, 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*1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>kubur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kubrat*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>kubruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kuburtiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>kuburt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kuburtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>kuburt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Classical Arabic ‘Eigenschafts’ verb-type (which expresses a certain characteristic) C1aC2uC3, yaC1C2uC3 has C1uC2uC3, yuC1C2uC3 reflexes (imperfect paradigm like yuḍrub, 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. ḱkburt for “I grew”). We may conclude therefore that also in the case of C1uC2uC3, *2 perfects, the u of the first syllable is actually underlying i (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 ḡul/dmacronbelow “she became fat”, hinnih ḡul/dmacronbelow “they (fem.) became fat”, iddīnyah suṣxunat “the weather became hot” (for superscript “, see 2.2.2.3.) and innās ku/tmacronbelow “people became many”.

*2 Notice the ending -at here, cf. remark *4 in 3.2.1.1. above.

*3 Notice that the vowel of the ending -in colours with the preceding vowels (> -un).77

3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles

Active participles are formed with the patterns CāC2C3 (sg. masc.) C1aC2C3 ah/-ih (sg. fem.), C1aC2C3 in (pl. masc.) C1aC2C3 āt (pl. fem.).

77 Similar colouring was noticed in the imperfect form yuṣxunāt, 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 ʿayiztuh “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. ásmaʿ, ásmaʿiy, ásmaʿuw, ásmaʿin “listen!”, ūḍrub, ūḍurbīy, ūḍurbuw, ūḍurbin “hit!” and īktib, īkitbiy, īkitbuw, īkitbin “write!”.

3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs

3.2.2.1. Verbs C₁ = w (primaسؤ 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>sg.</td>
<td>yɔrid</td>
<td>yɔgaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>yɔrduw</td>
<td>yɔgafuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tɔrid</td>
<td>tɔgaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tɔrid</td>
<td>tɔgaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tɔrdiy</td>
<td>tɔgafy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ŏrid</td>
<td>ŏgaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nɔrid</td>
<td>nɔgaʃ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The ŏ in this paradigm reflects older ɑ 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 yɔgid.

The perfects of primaسؤ wāw verbs are C₁iC₂iC₃ 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>ŏrid</td>
<td>ŏrduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ŏrdiy</td>
<td>ŏrdin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperative ɑwʿa 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>ɑwʿa rɑsʿk</td>
<td>ɑwʿa rûskuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ɑwʿa rɑsʿk</td>
<td>ɑwʿa rûskin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles:

Active participles have a C₃aC₁iC₂ pattern, e.g. (with velarized first syllables) wãgif, wãgifh, wãgifiν, wãgifat “standing”.
The passive participle for the root \( w-ṯ-d \) was recorded as \textit{mawḏūd} (see 1.2.4.1).

3.2.2.2. \textit{Verbs} \( C_{1} = y \) (\textit{primae} yā’)

The only verb recorded with \( C_{1} = y \) is \textit{yibis}, \textit{yēbas} “dry (intrans.).”

3.2.2.3. \textit{Verbs} \( C_{3} = ʾ \) (\textit{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>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>akāl</td>
<td>yākūl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ḥkālat</td>
<td>ḥkālin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>akalt</td>
<td>tākit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>akaltīy</td>
<td>tākūlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>akalt</td>
<td>ākil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles are: \textit{mākil}, \textit{māklīh}, \textit{māklīn}, \textit{mākklāt}. Past participles are \textit{māxūd}, -\textit{ah}, -\textit{āt}, -\textit{in}, which is also used meaning “daft”.

Imperatives are (these forms are considerably velarized): \textit{xūd}, \textit{xdiy}, \textit{xduw} and \textit{xdin}. Also \textit{kul}, \textit{kliy}, \textit{kluw}, \textit{klīn}. Notice the absence of stressed initial \( u \)- in these forms; an unstressed \( u \)- may precede in forms like (here in superscript) “\textit{xdiy} and “\textit{kluw}, but is then—as should be concluded from its lack of stress—a mere anaptyctic vowel.

The verbal nominal is \textit{waḳl} “eating” and the passive verb “be eaten” is \textit{ánwikal}, \textit{yínwikil}.

3.2.2.4. \textit{Verbs} \( C_{2} = w \) or \( y \) (\textit{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:

\[
C_{2} = w
\]

“get up”

<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>gām</td>
<td>gāmuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gāmat</td>
<td>gāmin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>gūmt</td>
<td>gūmtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gūmtiy</td>
<td>gūmtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>gūmt</td>
<td>gūmma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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via free access
Participles are: gāyım, gāymih, gāymīn, gāymāt (no velarization).

The verb šāf, yšūf 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>nām</td>
<td>nāmuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nādot</td>
<td>nādoow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nāmot</td>
<td>nāmoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nīmt</td>
<td>nīmtow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nīmtiy</td>
<td>nīmtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nīmt</td>
<td>nīmne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: nāyım, nāymih, nāymīn, nāymāt.

C₂ = y

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“carry”</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>šāl</td>
<td>yšīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šālat</td>
<td>šālin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šīlt</td>
<td>šīltow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šīltiy</td>
<td>šīltin</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 C₂ = 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!”, ugūṁ “get up!”. Examples are: nām, nāmiy, nāmuw, nāmin, gūṁ / ugūṁ, gūmiy, gūmuw, gūmīn.

Imperatives used with the verb ḡāb, yḡāb are: hāt, hātiy, hātuw, hātin.

3.2.2.4.3. Verbs C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae) participles
Active participles of measure 1 are formed with the patterns C₁āyiC₃, C₁āyC₃ih, C₁āyC₃ in and C₁āyC₃ āt.
A passive particle is mašyūl etc.
3.2.2.5. Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae)

3.2.2.5.1. Verbs C₃ = 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>&quot;forget&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;go, walk&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-type perfect</td>
<td>a-type perfect*²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>nīṣī</td>
<td>miṣī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>nisyuw</td>
<td>miṣyuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nīṣīt</td>
<td>miṣēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nisyat*¹</td>
<td>miṣyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nīṣīt</td>
<td>miṣēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nisīty</td>
<td>miṣēty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nīṣīt</td>
<td>miṣēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisīna</td>
<td>miṣēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ Another informant, however, claimed that forms like ligyuy and ligyin are not MzA. According to him, proper MzA forms are ligūw (< *laguw) (a suffixed example is ligūh) and ligīn (< *lagin) (a suffixed example is ligīn-nuh) and by analogy one would then also expect ligât for the 3rd p. sg. fem. (< *lagat). The 3rd p. sg. masc. form nīṣī (< *nasā)—instead of nisīy—must then have crossed over from the a-type perfect (compare miṣī, 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 miṣī 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.: nisītuh “I forgot him” and nisīnāh “we forgot him”, which are quite straight forward i-type, but forms like nisāh “he forgot him” and ligāh “he found him” point to the a-type. Similarly: hī nisīyituh or nāsatuḥ “she forgot him” and ligyituh or (less current) lāgatuḥ “she found him”. Other examples (with doubling of n) in nīsīnunnuh “you (pl. fem.) forgot him” and nisyinnuḥ or (alternatively) nisinnuḥ “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 yimṣiy:
When followed by a pause or a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel appears, e.g. (underlined): írím #! “throw!” and írímha “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).

"forget"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>írm* / ímš</td>
<td>írmuw / ímšuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>írmity / ímšiy</td>
<td>írmín / ímšin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Verb forms are listed here in their unsuffixed shapes; when suffixed, i′ > ā, as in e.g. yansāhî “he forgets her” (contrast with remark in * 2 on treatment of final -i′ in gî “he came” in 3.2.2.6.1.).

N.B. i in the first syllable of these verbs is not elided.

3.2.2.5.2. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) imperfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-type imperfect*</td>
<td>yansiʾy</td>
<td>yansuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-type imperfect</td>
<td>yansyt</td>
<td>yansuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yimšiy</td>
<td>yimšuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>yimšin</td>
<td>yimšuw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Verb forms are listed here in their unsuffixed shapes; when suffixed, i′ > ā, as in e.g. yansāhî “he forgets her” (contrast with remark in * 2 on treatment of final -i′ in gî “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 aġlābīyah lliy btalghuw sakanuw fi wīğh 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 bītī:ghluh “and you boil it (a long time)”.

3.2.2.5.3. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) imperatives

Like apocopated imperative forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc., apocopated imperative forms for sg. masc. are current, e.g. írimhiʾ “throw it (sg. fem.) away!”, ansuh “forget him!”. 
3.2.2.5.4. **Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) participles**
Active participles have the patterns C₁₄C₂ᵢ₃y, C₁₄C₂ᵢ₃yih, C₁₄C₂ᵢ₃yin and C₁₄C₂ᵢ₃yat. E.g. lāgyī, lāgyih, lāgyin, lāgyāt “having found”.

3.2.2.5.5. **Verbs C₃ = 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>imperfect*₁</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ğī*²⁺</td>
<td>ğūw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ğāt</td>
<td>ğın*³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ğīt</td>
<td>ğītuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ğītiy</td>
<td>ğītitn*⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ğīt</td>
<td>ğīne⁺</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 ğānī “he came to me”, but both hū ğāʾk and hū ğīʾk (i.e. not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [i]: [dʒiʾːk]) were heard for “he came to you (sg. masc.)” and also hū ğīʾk (IPA [dʒiʾːk]) “he came to you (sg. fem.)”.

*³ n is doubled when followed by a vowel-initial pronominal suffix, as in tiğīnnu fi dārūh and ğitīnnu fi dārūh, and also doubling of the n when followed by a consonant-initial suffix, including those of the 2nd p. sg.: ğīnuka / ğīnik “they (fem.) came to you sg. masc. / sg. fem.”.

*⁴ In rapid speech byiğy may be realized as biğy, making it homophonous with the form for 1st p. sg. com., e.g. fi šṣayf biğy rih kīṭūr, iw fih fi lmaṣṭī’ byiğy rih kīṭūr “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 yaʿ verbs.

*⁶ The form ağıy came out through direct elicitation in MzA, but the form iğy 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: taʾāl, taʾāliy, taʾāluw, taʾālin.
3.2.2.6.3. *The verb “come” participles*
Participles of the verb “come” are: ğāy, ğāyih, ğāyīn, ğāyāt.

3.2.2.7. *Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)*

3.2.2.7.1. *Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“stretch”</th>
<th>perfect*</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>madd</td>
<td>ymidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>madduw</td>
<td>ymidduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mas.</td>
<td>muddat</td>
<td>tmidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>maddin</td>
<td>tmiddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. mas.</td>
<td>middēt</td>
<td>tmidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>middētiy</td>
<td>tmiddiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>middēt</td>
<td>tmiddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>middēna</td>
<td>tmiddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imidd</td>
<td>nmidd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Raising of a in closed syllable preceding stressed ē is regular (like in the dialect of Biliy of group I in the north and also in groups II^78 and VII. See also remark to the perfect paradigm in 3.2.3.5.2.

When the geminate is velarized, the ē of the ending is diphthongal ay, as in e.g. ḫaṭṭayt “I placed”. a in closed syllable preceding ay is not raised. When the geminate is velarized, the imperfect usually has u as a base vowel, e.g. yḥuṭṭ “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: ḥuṭṭ, ḥuṭṭiy, ḥutṭṭuw, ḥuṭṭin “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. maḥṭūṭ “placed”, but this was not heard in maxṣūṣ “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

---

^78 For the dialect of Biliy, 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</th>
<th>imperfect*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ánbiṣat</td>
<td>inbāṣatuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yínbiṣiṭ</td>
<td>yínbāṣtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbāṣatāt</td>
<td>inbāṣatin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tínbiṣiṭ</td>
<td>tínbāṣtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭt</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tínbiṣiṭ</td>
<td>tínbāṣtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭtīy</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tínbaṣiṭy</td>
<td>tínbāṣtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭt</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inbiṣiṭ</td>
<td>nínbiṣiṭ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In the imperfect forms the underlying |a| `reappears’ in syllables closed by C₂ (here ş) after elision of i preceding C₃ (here ã). The fact that the i preceding ş is actually underlying |a| can also be concluded from the fact that it is not elided from forms like yínbiṣiṭ (i.e. the form is not yín(i)bṣiṭ; a form which would be analogous in terms of elision and anaptyxis to a form like yíkitbuw). In a similar manner, the participles are formed using the underlying pattern minC₁aC₂iC₃, e.g. mínbiṣiṭ, 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: inC₁aC₂C₃ and yinC₁aC₂C₃, e.g. inḥaṭṭ, yinḥaṭṭ “be placed” and inṣabb, yinṣabb “be poured”.

3.2.3.1.3. Measure n-1 C₂ = y or w (mediae infrimae)

The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial weak verbs are: inC₁āC₃ and yinC₁āC₃, e.g.

<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>inšāl</td>
<td>inšāluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yinšāl</td>
<td>yinšāluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšālat</td>
<td>inšālin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tínšāl</td>
<td>tínšālin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inšīlt</td>
<td>inšīltuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tínšīl</td>
<td>tínšīluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšīltiy</td>
<td>inšīltin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tínšīliy</td>
<td>tínšīlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inšīlt</td>
<td>inšīlne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inšāl*</td>
<td>ninšāl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Notice the absence of vowel harmony, and the paradigmatically fixed intital i-.

79 It is unsure whether the initial vowel of the perfect is a- (i.e. anḥaṭṭ) or i-.
3.2.3.4. Measure n-1 $C_3 = \gamma$ or w (mediae infirmae) participles
Participles are shaped on the pattern min$C_1 \alpha C_3^1$: 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: a$C_1 \alpha C_3 \alpha C$, yi$C_1 \alpha C_3 \alpha C$. Like in measure n-1, raised $\alpha$ is found in unstressed syllables of the surface forms, e.g.: á̱štiġal, yíštiriy “work”, áttifag, yíttifijig “agree” and áståwa, yístiwiy “ripen; be cooked (of food)”. Paradigms for $C_3 = \gamma$ 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>áštarā</td>
<td>yištiriy</td>
<td>áštaruw</td>
<td>yištiruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áštarat</td>
<td>tištiriy</td>
<td>áštarin</td>
<td>tištirin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ištārayt</td>
<td>tištiruw</td>
<td>ištāraytuw</td>
<td>tištirin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ištāraytīy</td>
<td>tištirin</td>
<td>ištāraytin</td>
<td>tištirin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ištārayt</td>
<td>níštiriy</td>
<td>ištārayna</td>
<td>níštiriy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 is iḥtāǧ, yiḥtāǧ “need”.

3.2.3.3.3. Measure 1-t $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminate)
An example of a medial geminate measure 1-t verb is i’ťazz, yi’tazz (bi) “be proud (of)”.

3.2.3.3.4. Measure 1-t participles
Patterns for measure 1-t participles are mi$C_1 \alpha C_3 \alpha C$, mi$C_1 \alpha C_3 \alpha C_3^{ah/ih}$, mi$C_1 \alpha C_3 \alpha C_3^{ih}$, mi$C_1 \alpha C_3 \alpha C_3^{in}$, mi$C_1 \alpha C_3 \alpha C_3^{āt}$.

Examples are: místigil “working”, mīťārsih “predatory (of animals)”, místīwiy “ripe, cooked (sg. masc.)”, mīştāwyih “ripe cooked (sg. fem.)”. mīttifijig “agreed (sg. masc.)”, mīttāfğāt “agreed (pl. fem.)” and mītīniy “taking care of, providing for”.

Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are: miḥtāǧ “in need”, mīltammīn “having gathered (pl. masc.)”.

One example of a passive 1-t participle is mittahāmīn “accused (pl. masc.)” (cf. C.A. root w-h-m).
3.2.3.4. Measure ista-1

3.2.3.4.1. Measure ista-1 sound roots

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>“ask for information”</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>istafham</td>
<td>istafhamuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>istafhamat</td>
<td>istafhamin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>istafhamt</td>
<td>istafhamtuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>istafhamtiy</td>
<td>istafhamtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>istafhamt</td>
<td>istafhamna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.4.2. Measure ista-1 C₂ = y (mediae infirmae)

Measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.3. Measure ista-1 C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae)

Measure ista-1 verbs of final weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.4. Measure ista-1 verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)

Patterns for medial geminate measure ista-1 verbs are: istaC₁aC₂C₃, yistaC₁iC₂C₃, an example is (i)sta‘add, yista‘idd “prepare oneself”.

Short a in the perfect preceding stressed ā may be raised (e.g. ista‘addēt > ista‘iddēt), see also remarks in 3.2.2.7.1. and 3.2.3.5.2.

3.2.3.4.5. Measure ista-1 participles

Participles of measure ista-1 verbs have the pattern mistaC₁C₂iC₃, e.g. mista‘gil “in a hurry”.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mistaC₁iC₂C₃; 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: CₐC₁C₂C₃, yCₐC₁C₂C₃.

Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed a. The patterns are taC₁ₐC₂C₃, ytaC₁C₂C₃.

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: yʕabbtuwa “they do a proper job”, bittalluwa ʕisayid “you (pl. masc.) recite (lit. bring up) poems", biybarrakuwa ‘aṣīl “they let a thoroughbred cover”, the latter in I.P.A. [bi’barkow ʔa’si’il].
Similar elisions may take place in sandhi, as in tḥammṣ ilbunn “you roast the coffee beans” and w itxalliy tǧammr išwayyih “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. itfassiruh “you explain it” and biy’assirin im’ūk išwayyih “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. thāllīluḥ “you analyze it” (I.P.A. [aθ’ahlal]).

3.2.3.5.2. Measure 2 tertiae infirmae
Paradigms for measure 2 tertiae infirmae verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*₁</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>sawwi*₂</td>
<td>ysawwiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sawwuw</td>
<td>ysawwwuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>sawwat</td>
<td>tsawwiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sawwin</td>
<td>tsawwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>sawwēt</td>
<td>tsaww/-iy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>suwwētiy</td>
<td>tsawwiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>suwwētuw</td>
<td>tsawwwuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>suwwēti</td>
<td>suwwētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>suwwēt</td>
<td>asawwiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>suwwēni</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 -ī > -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 mā ywakkāné # “so that they wouldn’t give us food”, ǧī’adna šaharāyn, fi ǧībāl hādiy bīnhūm. ḵinās kānat bitxāf itwakkīlne “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 taC₃aC₄C₂aC₃, ytaC₃aC₄C₂aC₃.

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>
<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>taġaddi’</td>
<td>taģadduw</td>
<td>ytaģaddi’</td>
<td>ytaģadduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taġaddat</td>
<td>taģaddin</td>
<td>taģadd’</td>
<td>ytaģaddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>taģaddēt</td>
<td>taģaddētuw</td>
<td>taģadd’</td>
<td>taģadduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taģaddētiy</td>
<td>taģaddētin</td>
<td>taģaddiy</td>
<td>taģaddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>taġaddēt</td>
<td>taģaddēni’</td>
<td>ataģaddi’</td>
<td>ntaģaddi’</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 apocopeation.

3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns

Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a taC iC1 pattern, e.g. taḡlib “throwing out (of a fish line)”, taybīs “drying (trans.)”, tadrīb “training (trans.)” and a gahawah-form taḥadīr “coming down”.

A C3 = 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’aḵnan, yta’aḵnan “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 mC aC C iC123 (-ih/-ah, -ān, -āt) pattern, e.g. m’aggid “travelling”, m’allīq “keeping suspended”, for C3 = y msawwiy, msawwyih etc., “making, doing” and for C3 = C, mḡaddid, mḡaddidih (without elision of the short vowel i), etc. “renewing”.

The pattern for the passive measure 2 participle is mC aC C aC23 (-ih/-ah, -ān, -āt), e.g.: mla’wwan “coloured”, mnaššaf “dried, hardened” and mtallal “piled up”, for C3 = y msawwa, msawwayih etc., “made, done” and for C3 = C, mḡaddad, mḡaddadih 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 \( mtaC_1aC_2iC_3 \) (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt), but in participles often the \( ta \)- prefix has been reduced to \( t \) (pattern \( mitC_1aC_2iC_3 \) (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt), e.g. \( mit’assil \) “deep-rooted”, \( mithaddir \) (\( min \)) “originating (from)”, \( mitgawiz \) “married” and for \( C_3 = y \) \( mta\)gaddiy, \( mta\)gaddyih etc. “having eaten lunch” and also \( mitharry \), \( mitharryih \) 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: \( C_1\bar{a}C_2aC_3 \), \( yC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3 \).

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: \( taC_1\bar{a}C_2aC_3 \), \( ytaC_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3 \)

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: kāwanatuh (stressed on first syllable) “she quarrelled with him”, kāwannāh “we quarrelled with him”, kāwantinnū “you (pl. fem.) quarrelled with him” and (imperfect) tkāwnīh “you (sg. fem.) quarrel with him”, ykāwninnūh “they (fem.) quarrel with him”, ykāwnīh “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>lāgēt</td>
<td>lāgētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lāgētīy</td>
<td>lāgētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>lāgēt</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.

Apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms also occur in measure 3.

Some examples of suffixed forms are: hū lāgāh “he met/found him”, hī lāgātēk “she met/found you (sg. masc.)”, hī lāgatuḥ “she met/found him” (cf. 3.1.10.5.) and hinnah biylāginnuḥ /-innik “they meet/find you (sg. masc./fem.)”.

Examples for measure t-3 are: [kān] bintarāfaq iw bintasābag “we used to travel together and race together” and (for C₃ = y) bukrāh hantālāga “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 yti踊跃ālaǧ “he receives medical treatment” and the perfect tiḥālaʃuq “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 mC₁āC₂iC₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt), e.g. mḡāhān “fighting (pl. masc.) in a ǧihād”, mkāf ʾih “compensating (sg. fem.)”.

A passive participle (pattern mC₁āC₂aC₃) is mtāradān “having been pushed back (in a fight)”.

Active participles of measure t-3 have the pattern mtaC₁āC₂iC₃ or mitC₁āC₂iC₃ (-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 mtawāǧdih and mitwāǧdih “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 ǧihād “war against unbelievers” and another is msāʾadah “help, assistance”. 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, verbal measure 4 is found in group VI as well.

\(^*\) Such as they have been reported for the dialect of the Ahaywāt of group I, see Stewart 1990: 186 (text 69) and 118 (text 37).
The patterns are $aC_1C_2aC_3$ for the perfect and $yiC_1C_2iC_3$. The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></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>fem.</td>
<td>áfṭarat</td>
<td>áfṭarin*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ifṭart</td>
<td>ifṭartuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ifṭartiy</td>
<td>ifṭartin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ifṭart</td>
<td>ifṭarna</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 yifṭirun is voiceless and therefore barely audible.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 $C_2 = w$ or $y$ (mediae infinitae) perfect and imperfect
Patterns for measure 4 mediae infinitae are: $C_1C_3w$ or $C_1C_3y$, e.g., rād "he wanted", rīd (I.P.A. [rıt]) “I wanted”, yrīd “he wants”. The paradigms are like those of šāl, yšīl (see 3.2.2.4.).

Some examples of suffixed forms are: rādatih “she wanted him”, rīdnyāh “we wanted him”, intuw rīdtih “you (pl. masc.) wanted him”, intin rīdtin-nuh “you (pl. fem.) wanted him” and rādinnuh “they (fem.) wanted him”.

3.2.3.7.3. Measure 4 $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infinitae) perfect and imperfect
The patterns for measure 4 $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infinitae) are $aC_1C_2a$ (perfect) and $yiC_1C_2iy$ (imperfect). The 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>aṭa</td>
<td>aṭuw*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>aṭat</td>
<td>aṭin*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>aṭayt</td>
<td>aṭaytuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>aṭaytiy</td>
<td>aṭaytin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>aṭayt</td>
<td>aṭayna</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”.

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via free access
3.2.3.7.4. Measure 4 C₁ = w (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect
An example of a measure 4 C₁ = w (primae wāw) verb is awğa’, yuği’ “hurt, cause pain to”, e.g. ibtūğ’uh “it (sg. fem.) hurts him” and ‘iðnī awğa’atnī “my ear hurt me”.

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.

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 C₁ = y roots are: iṭ (apocopated), iṭiy, iṭuw, iṭin. Suffixed examples are: iṭh-yyāha “give it (sg. fem.) to her”, iṭuh 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, mifṭrīh, mifṭrīn, mifṭrāt “having eaten breakfast”.

For mediae infirmae there are participles of the type mrīd, -ih, -īn, -āt “wanting”. Another example is mġīr “running”.

3.2.3.8. Measure 9
Paradigms for measure 9 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>iḥmarṛ</td>
<td>iḥmarraw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>iḥmarrat</td>
<td>iḥmarrin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>iḥmarrayt</td>
<td>iḥmarraytuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>iḥmarraytty</td>
<td>iḥmarraytin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>iḥmarrayt</td>
<td>iḥmarrayne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles are: mihmarṛ, -ah, -ān, 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</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>zaġraṭ</td>
<td>yzaġriṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>zaġraṭin</td>
<td>yzaġiritin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>zaġraṭt</td>
<td>tzaġirṭuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>zaġraṭtin</td>
<td>tzaġirṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>zaġraṭt</td>
<td>azaġriṭ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 ṭṭ is assimilated to ṭṭ, e.g. zaġraṭṭiy.

*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>3. masc.</td>
<td>hawǧas</td>
<td>yhawǧis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hawǧasin</td>
<td>yhawǧisin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>hawǧast</td>
<td>thawǧisuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hawǧastin</td>
<td>thawǧisin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>hawǧast</td>
<td>thawǧis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Forms like hawǧisat and hawǧisuw show raising of a > i (see 3.1.1.7.).

The verbal noun is hǧēsiy or thīǧis. Similarly, the verb hawǧan, yhawǧin “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 *t (in a tā-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: tab’an “of course”, tagriban “approximately”, ʾašlan “in origin”, fīlan “indeed, actually” and hāliyyan “currently”.

4.2. Negation

Negating a verb is done with mā preceding the verb form, although bipartite mā + verb form + š is also used. Of my informants, one speaker
used mā + verb form for more emphatic negation (almost always in combination with xālis “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 bītaraǧǧuw lmašāyix illac kān ḥīnha mawǧūdīn mā ywaddūhuw Falašṭīn iywaddūhuw Maṣīr # “and they asked the sheikhs, who were there at that time, not to send them to Palestine, (but) to send them to Egypt…” and hād-illac ya’ni btākluh, law mā liḥāg daktūr aw hāwiy 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 biʾid ilhōn ingūl ȅlāh ʾid ilhōn, iw baʾad kidīyyih . . . ilbaarād ḥū ȋbyiḡliy binḥuṭṭ 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 ḥū mūhū fāhim kidīy, ḥū mūhū ʿārif . . . inna mā bitrīduh “he did not understand this, he did not know . . . that she did not want him” w Aḥlah btugʾid kidīyyih w bitgahwiy nnās84 iw btaxaṛraf iw bitǧīb . . . bithawǧis ilkalām illac šīmān “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 > bišīl.

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)

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83 It is current in all dialects of Sinai, except in that of the Dawāġrah, see De Jong 2000: 224–226, 318–319, 394, 478, 527 and 691 (map 69).
84 bitgahwiy nnās or bitgahw innās (the latter with apocopeation); these two sequences are homophonous.
85 The verb gahwa, ygahwiy is used for “serve a hot drink”, i.e. either coffee or tea.
86 In contrast, widd is current in group I, see De Jong 2000:238–239.
halḥīnit bidd-āx ḳišṣuggah w uxuṣ ... w unṣur “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 alwada il’āsil illiy hū ’inda nihā ‘...hatlāguh iblyasma’ kilām uḥā “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 istaqduw ‘a lḥikāyah diy, hayagt’a-‘āšşiɣar; hayagt’a’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 bukrāh hinih, aśšuluk wāḥid iygūlluk 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. fiḥ “there is / are”

fiḥ is used to express existence or availability of something, e.g. iw fiḥ išāb fi lbar ṣət dawiy ssukkar “and there are herbs in the desert which cure diabetes”.

The negation is usually mà fiḥ (or K-form ma fiṣ), e.g. ġār ānnaxal, mà fiḥ ızrā’ah zamān “there were only palm trees, in the old times there was no agriculture”.

Also màš may be used for negation (but was only heard in BWA): gabl ilfāṣil kān yā niy hwēl āfēn ittala ... ya niy màš kāfīr “before the separation there was, that is, around two thousand, three...that is, there was not much” and w Aḷḷāhiy màš ışdūd fihe ... 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”.

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87 hayagṭ’a’uw + aššiɣar.
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-ábil, šār ıkōn...yōm šār ıkōn gāmùw gasamuw mi’ izwayyid innuʃš “when they had caught up with the (tribe who had stolen their) camels, there was a fight. When the fight was over they then90 divided (the camels) equally with (Sheikh) Zwayyid”. Another example is ya’niy kilu ... itnēn kilu yōm ma fīš hawa xalīṣ “(we catch) like a kilo, two kilos when there is no wind at all” and fīh mayyih, halhīn ilğbāl yōm tīği, subhān Allāh rabba man tīniy kull 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: ya’niy kunna šabāb ‘ala zazāl w intasābag w insābig yōmin nṯ-ḏ-ARB,91 fīhīn 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. mín yōm

mín yōm(in) is often used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”, e.g. kunt fi Maṯariyyih sākin, bass baṣūf ilğbālāt ḥāḏūlah ‘ala ’yūnī w anā fī Maṯariyyih law-ddūnī mí mín yōmin fakkat Sīnih, law kull yōm alḵ iḏnēh máni gā’id “I was living in Maṯariyya,92 but I kept seeing these mountains on my retina (lit. my eyes) while I was in Maṯariyya. (even) If they, ever since Sinai was liberated, would have given me a thousand pounds for every day, I would not have stayed (in Maṯariyya)”.

Another example is mín yōm addā’ḵ gašalatha ḥurmut’ḵ “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 nṯiy + ḏ-ARB.
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 ṭūḥ intah min wēn? bitgūl ṭūḥ ana Mzēniy “now, when he says to you ‘Where are you from?’ You say to him I am a Mzēniy”, inhuṃ gōṭaruw hnūh aṣil lamma tfakkir Sīna zamān ablād hēdiy mahāl “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 lḥīn aḏāḏayf lumma biyǧīʾk, lumma byiǧīy aḏāḏayf, ta’mal ṭūḥ gahwah94 “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) laqāyit lumma ddaxanah btβgα bēḏā “until (when) the smoke becomes white”. But also without laqāyit, as in iw byinḥatt ṭūḥ šwayyih sāyy ma ṭgūl fi ššamis lumma yṛūb “and it is placed in the sun a bit, as you say, until it curdles” and bitḥuṭṭ . . . ġamir issiyyāl nār lamma tāḥaqām “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 ġīna Dīhāb niḥāniy lōmma midāris fāṭahin . . . “and we came to Dahab 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 gahwah, proper MzA would be more something like itsaww luḥ gahwah or tghahwīh.
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-ǧ-m is in some way related to the root ǧ-m-r, as in ġamārīyīh “glowing ember”.
4.6.2. ḡatta

4.6.2.1. ḡatta “until”, “so that”

ḡatta “until” was recorded in bitdugguh iw biti:ḡluh96 ‘ala ḡayyih aw mà ḡatta tiḡluh ‘a ḡayyih “you pound it and boil it in water or water until you boil it in water”.

ḡatta was also recorded meaning “so that”: ya’niy ḡahānit álwalad il’asıl illiy hū ‘inda nihā’… hatlāghu iblyasma’ kilām abūh. iblyarda’… ya’niy ḡatta ‘aḇūk ḡaryaḍa ‘alēk w ṣamūk ḡardaḍa ‘alēk “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) gāṃuw was used in a narration of events: yōm ṣār ilkōn gāṃuw yōm liḥguw waṛ-ābil, sār ilkōn… yōm ṣār ilkōn gāṃuw gasamuw mī’iZwayyid innuṣṣ “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

ṱāḥ 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 zilīṭ iṣḡayyir zayy zilīṭ ṣa:yəd aw zilīṭ ǧanām mā yḍurr bass inkān min zilīṭ ʾissa:yəd aḥala 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 ḡukkah”97

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96 Prosodic lengthening is here used to express long duration of time, see also 1.2.3.5.

97 A ḡukkah is like a watersack (ḡirbih) 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 intaw bīlīfīh ʿala miḥāyīh “and if you're going to be around here a hundred (counts)” and raʿāniḥ[yīḥ]…alimsimmih ʿiyyīh. ʿīy iz kān nilgāha fi ʿṣgānī‘…gār ʿagātɑ aṣṣuggah kidiyy ... w intuššshī “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 bēḥa ḥatta kān biyūlīw waddīw w ḥāṭīy “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 iddarāḥīm ʿiyyīh…masalan alḥīnit ʿaṣar t-ʿalāf…ixlāl ʿara ṭ-ūshur xamis ʿuṣhur…ilʿaṣar t-ʿalāf ʿiyyīh talghīn ʿiṣrīn 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 ʾilkān introducing alternatives
kān may introduce alternatives, like in ḥakamuw ḍelūw b sinīh Ŧārid…min Sinīh b ilmynāḥ ḥatta mā ywakklūne…kān wālīdītī w uxtī w uxtī yniy…ya niy 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 fiha. kān ḡiṭṭ ṣaw irfayyiʿ lāzm ʿykūn miš ya niy nōʾayn “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 sinnaḥa, hū yīff kidiyy f-īdu, iw yaxabaṭha kidiyy “the…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 liqatnāḥ fi lxeṭ. iw mnā…mnīmīy ṣwayyāh zayy ʿaṣaṣraḥ ʿittīr, iw bīnunṣūr 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".  

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 ği’! “there he is!”*, *hēhī ğāt “there she is!”*, *hēhuvwā ğuw “there they (masc.) are!”*, *hēhinnah ğin “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, but in the following example the development referred to is hardly unexpected or sudden: *ašār dagāyig īw tigibha ma fīš dig ... kam digīgih w tigibha ‘a lḡāl iṭṭānīy 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:*  
*waš ḫařṣafah dīyyih ... ilinnih īrkāb ġin* “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*):  
*waḥtahgha ‘a šṣāğ ġalībtēn ṭalāṭīḥ wlāha mistawyiḥ “and you put it on the šṣāğ 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. *šugah*, pl. *šgāg*) on a line (*xayt*; here *xēṭ*) while the fishermen stand on the edge of the coral reef by the deep water (*alā harf ilbāḥah*) and throw out their nets on the deep side.


100 *rkāb* is pl. (of small numbers) of *irkābih*. 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 īyxaddim ‘a ɗdayf “the host should serve the guest” and ērawwāhna luh, ana gult ēh? ġär ērawwiḥ luh. āwäddiḥ l ālḥurmah diy, yimkin āssifi ṣib-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. suffix

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 bid is common. Examples for “need” or “want” are: widdna nlaggiy Wādiy Sli’102 “we want to go to Wadiy Islah” (BWA), ēš bidduṭ? “what do you want?”, bidduḥ yāxid śiğiḥ mi-nhāniy iyḥālluluh “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. halḥīnit bidd-āx/dmacronbelow iššuggah w uxušš . . . w unšur “now I shall take the net and go in (i.e. into the water), and spread (it) out”.

4.12. ‘ād

The particle ‘ād is current to express "so, thus, then". Examples are: ‘ād yōm tišrif ʚ ala šarafat ilGā ʚ ibyinṣabb ġād 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 ‘ād wēn laga? “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 ta’amhin ḥilow “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 \( w \) asḥabuw syūf. zimān ḍār b isyūf. [...] \( iw \) ṭaxx ṭaxx ṭaxx w asla ṭw kitif wāḥid, \( iw \) hū yušurud, ʿišurduw ṭawwāw 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) \( innās \) ʿišw ‘išlēh dammuw kulluh fī ḏdaq’ah, nāzīl ... zayy ssēl. limmūh w ahānuw dammuw, \( iw \) huṭṭuw ‘a lbi ʿir \( iw \) yīmšuw “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 Suʿūdiyyah hnūtiy \( kān \) innās mā 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: \( kān \) ʿindin-ayw-marākib ... marākib bass isgāyyrāt ya niy ... isgāyyrāt ... tālāṭah mitir aw arbaʿah mitir ya niy timšiy bēhin min ʿaḍd ʿaḍ ṭiṣš luq ṭiṭnēn 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 itxuṣš luq taḷāṭ arbaʿ mitir baʿid ʿan iṣšaʿab ma biyīʿik xālis. lākin law miṣēt ʿaṣṣaʿab byimšiy warāʾik “when you go (for yourself) in (into the sea) three or four metres, far away from the reef, it (i.e. the Morray 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: *tamân faṭīrât ‘ašar faṭīrât* “eight loaves, ten loaves”. Another pl. form, used for greater or unspecified numbers is the broken pl. *faṭāyir*.

Similarly, a pl. is used in designations of quantity like *w ithuṭṭ ‘alēhin ēh? gadd ‘ašar iğrāmāt 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 *‘ašar kilāt (~ ‘ašarah 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 birrağğidhin f-áṣṣahān* “we bring the loaves of bread and we pile them up on a plate” and *il ‘ašar t-alāf dillih talghin ‘išrīn alf* “these ten thousand (pounds), you’ll find them (to have increased to) twenty thousand”. Other examples are: *halḥin ilwidyān...aǧlābiyytin la Biniy Wāṣil...ka milkīyah, tawǧad lēhin warāq fi ddēr, tawǧad lēhin warāq ḵidīy...ya ’niy...aǧlābiyy ilwidyān inNabig...išŠarim...*“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 fīh ḥūt ki/tmacronbelowīr f-ālbīḥa ḫ iw fīh iɣrūš, bass iɣrūş ḏiy mā-ḥadd ya ’niy mā-ḥadd ibyākilhin.bass ya ’niy ibnīštādhin barṯūh b ilxayt biyūn fī ilxayt barṯūh* “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, ǦARĀǦRAH, 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 Nwēbiī on the Gulf of ‘Aqabah, abbreviated as TAN), Ḥwēṭāt (of Ėdīy in Sinai,2 abbreviated as ḦwA), Ǧarāǧrah (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 Qal‘at al-Ǧīndiy,5 abbreviated as DbA) and Malālḥah (on the border with Israel, not far from al-Gṣaymah,6 abbreviated as MlA) 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, Masā‘īd, ‘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 Ḩullām in the Negev Desert, described in Blanc:1970. The same dialect type is spoken by branches of the Bedouin

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1 The Taṛābīn claim descent from the Bugūm of the southern Ḥiǧāz (see Holes and Abu Athera 2009:62 [fn 4] and 66 [fn 67]).
2 Geographical coordinates of Ėdīy al-Gīdī are appr. 30.10.00 North and 33.09.00 East, see Google Earth (there spelled Jabal al Jiddi).
3 Geographical coordinates of nearby Ėdīy 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 Ėdīy al-Fōghār or Fawga, coordinates appr. 29.01.26 North and 33.40.22 East. and 29.02.35 North and 33.34.18 East, see Google Earth.
5 Geographical coordinates of Qal‘at al-Ǧīndiy 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 ʾ in the word Qurʾān “Koran”. They are marginal as a phoneme, such as ž in zabbat, yżabbīt “do properly”, or are allophone, such as ż for ġ; in

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 AḥA) 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 ŋ is highly regular, while in other dialects it is rare. The phonemic status of ṛ is sometimes disputed, and therefore ṛ is bracketed in this inventory.\(^\text{11}\)

1.1.2. **Interdental fricatives */t̪/, */d̪/ and */d̪̠/**

Reflexes of \(^*\)t and \(^*\)d are interdentals t and d (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð]) respectively. Emphatic d̪ (I.P.A. velarized [ð]) is the interdental reflex of both \(^*\)d and \(^*\)t, e.g. (as reflex of \(^*\)d in) rawd̪ (pl. riḍān) “small watercourse between low mountains” (DbA), ḥāmiḍ “sour” (BdA), ḣayf “guest” (TyA) and (as a reflex for \(^*\)t in) ydall “he remains” (TAN) and ḍaharah “his back” and ḍimy “thirst” (both ŠrA).

In a number of lexemes ŋ (usually loans from MSA or Egyptian Arabic) is the current reflex, like in zābiṭ “officer”, b aẓẓabṭ “precisely”, mazbūṭ “correct”, muḥāfix “governor”, niṣām “system”, zurūf “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), nṭ ClassNotFoundException="text" xmlns="http://www.w3.org/2000/svg" xmlns:xlink="http://www.w3.org/1999/xlink"><use xlink:href="https://www.betterpdfviewer.com/static/media/micons/ball-copy.svg""></use> “organize”, ḥāwūẓ (pl. ḥawāwīẓ) “large storage tank for oil” (in ḤwA and TAṢ), ḥāğiřiẓī ʚ ah “a disgusting thing” (DbA), etc.\(^\text{12}\)

In all dialects both ḥā and velarized ḥā “this (sg. masc.)” may be heard, except in ḤwA, where such velarization as in the latter form is not current.

The reflexes for \(^*\)t and \(^*\)d are interdentals t and d. Examples for \(^*\)t are: nṭarar “we plough” (ṢrA), ṭillāgah “refrigerator” (BdA and ṭallāgah and ṭal “ice, snow” in TAṢ),\(^\text{13}\) biyṭannuw lḥa “they come back to her” (ḤwA).

For \(^*\)d: nubdūr “we sow” (ḤwA), kīdīb “lying” (BdA) and adbaḥah “I slaughter it (masc.)” and miḍrāḥ\(^\text{14}\) “winnowing fork” (both ṢrA).

There are also exceptions: in ḤwA \(^*\)t in “refrigerator” and “ice; snow” has a reflex t\(^\text{15}\) tillāgah, ṭal “and also ḥaddūṭīḥ “story; fairy tale” (BdA, TAṢ).

In some loans from MSA (presumably via speakers of Cairene) the reflex for \(^*\)t is s, e.g. taṣīr “influence” (TAN), bit “assir’alěh “it (fem.) has an

\(^\text{11}\) For remarks on the notation of r or ṛ, see De Jong 2000:65–67.

\(^\text{12}\) Additional examples may be found in De Jong 2000:60. In TAN mḥāfiḍ with emphatic interdental as final consonant was also recorded.

\(^\text{13}\) In winter temperatures below zero are not uncommon in the higher parts of the mountainous region of southern Sinai.

\(^\text{14}\) I was told that the ‘older’ word for “winnowing fork” in ŠrA is actually digrān, a term I also heard used by speakers of ḤwA.

\(^\text{15}\) t for \(^*\)t in lexemes ṭal “and also ḥaddūṭīḥ 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 *d it is z, as in zakālak “likewise” (DbA) or kazālak (TAṢ), bala mʾāxza “no offense intended” (DbA) and bizr “seed” and bizrih “seed (n.u.)”, but hū 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 phono-me /k/ (contrast groups II, VI, VII and VIII).

1.1.4.  Post alveolar affricate /ġ/  

A regular realisation of /ġ/ in southern group I dialects is [dʒ] (with varying degrees of the plosive onset [d] of this affricate; also [tʃ]). The fricative allophone ż (I.P.A. [ʒ]) for /ġ/ 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 realisa-tion 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: tiʾmih “bait”, which must be related to the root ṭ-l- (DbA). The form talʾah “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 *ʾ in the verb “ask” is : saʾal, yasʾal. Also the presentative arʾ or irʾ “behold!” shows Ṿ for *ʾ (< root *rʾ-y).†

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† 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 kizāluḵ in fn 4, p. 117.

† Also reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:418.
In *ra’s “head”, loss of ’ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel rās in all dialects. The pl. is rūs 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. ṭkaḥ “knees”, ṣnaṭ “suitcases”, ḡna “injections”, nxar “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 ḡ) 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.) xḷaḷ “screened off private section of a tent” (TAṢ), mxaḷḷaḷ “picked” (ḠrA), ánnaxaḷ “the palm tree” (ḠrA), ǧrāb “crow” (ḠrA), ǧaḷḷah “grain, cereals” (ḠrA), ḡuḷah “desert giant” (ḠrA), ṭuḷ “of the desert” (ḠrA), ɟugḅah “after him” (DbA), ḡaḷ “heart” (DbA), ǧābilit “before her” (ḠrA), xaḷḷah “he let them” and xaḷḷah yṭagall “let him go free” (both BdA), ǧlēy “little”, agaḷ “less; least” (both TAṢ).

Notice the phonemic difference in this respect between gullah, pl. glal “pitcher, jug” and gillih “lack, paucity”.

### 1.1.8. Liquids l and r

In ḤwA there is a phonemic opposition between /r/ 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 /r/ 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”, škāṛah “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 bittiyyih (pl. batātiyy) in TAṢ, while older people refer to the waterjug as zimzimiyyih (which reflects underlying a in the second syllable, hence not *zimzimiyyih), cf. the well Zamzam in Mecca. The word gullah is also used in metaphorical reference to a shell fired by a tank. karnifah (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), faxxr “pottery”, nār “fire”, nahār “day(-light)”, ǧrār “jar (pl.)” and ktār “many (pl. com.)”, kbār “old (pl. com.)”. Also: mixxār “large wooden fork used to stir food”, zwārāh “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.: albārīh “yesterday”, šārīb “lip; having drunk (sg. masc.)”, ʿagārīb “scorpions”, sārīh “taking the goats and sheep out to graze (sg. masc.)” and (elided) ʿārfīn “knowing (pl.)”, Bšāriyyah “of the tribe Bišāriyyah (referring to a type of camel)”, šārī “street, xarārīf “stories” and tārīx “history”.

Another illustration is the difference in velarization (i.e. its presence or absence) in bindārǧīh mdārąǧīh “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 xibāriy “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): Fēṛān # [n] “Wādiy Fērān”, kattā # [l] “killer”, Nṣayrāt # [t] “(a sub tribe) Nṣayrāt”, blā # [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  u  ē  ū  a  ā
long:  ī  ū  ē  ū  a  ā
1.2.2. Long vowels

1.2.2.1. Allophones of long vowels ē and ĭ
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, ǦrA 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).

Not withstanding 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, ǦrA, 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 è and ó. 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 ǦrA 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”, yīrīd “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 yīr(i)d and yīsil for TyA.
Notice that in the forms *tigif* 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 *ī* 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 *ǧārīy* “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 *rāsī* “my head”, *dāṛī* “my house” and *ǧāṛī* “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 /aː/ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xi’dr “male given name”</td>
<td>xu’dr “green (pl. com.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xirm “elongated species of fish”</td>
<td>xurm “hole”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’igb “offspring”</td>
<td>’ugb “after”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡirbih “watersack”</td>
<td>gurb “nearness”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥibb “kiss!”</td>
<td>ḫubb “love”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣifr “zero”</td>
<td>ṣufṛ “yellow (pl. com.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṱiggah “his guest section of the tent”</td>
<td>ṱuggah “fishing net”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/a/</th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡabb “grain”</td>
<td>ḡibb “love”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaṭṭ “he placed”</td>
<td>ḡuṭṭ “place!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṱadd “he pulled”</td>
<td>ṱidd! “pull!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šidf in ĠrA, TyA, ḤwA, BdA, DbA, but šudf in TAṢ “left-handed (pl. com.)”</td>
<td>šudf in TAṢ “left-handed (pl. com.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʼimy in ĠrA, ḤwA, BdA, DbA, but ʼumy in TyA and TAṢ “blind (pl. com.)”</td>
<td>ʼumy in TyA and TAṢ “blind (pl. com.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʼirḡ in ĠrA and BdA, but ʼurḡ in TyA, ḤwA and TAṢ “limping (pl. com.)”</td>
<td>ʼurḡ in TyA, ḤwA and TAṢ “limping (pl. com.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziṛg in ĠrA, TyA and ḤwA, but zuṛg in TAṢ, BdA and DbA “blue; black (pl. com.)”</td>
<td>zuṛg in TAṢ, BdA and DbA “blue; black (pl. com.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫibl in BdA, but hubl in DbA “dim-witted (pl. com.)”</td>
<td>ḫibl in BdA, but hubl in DbA “dim-witted (pl. com.)”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from such variation in different tribal dialects, u is regular in ḫumr “red (pl. com.)”, xu’dr “green (pl. com.)” and ṱufr “yellow (pl. com.)” in all dialects. Other recorded forms pl. com. are turš “deaf” (TyA), ḫumg “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/dmacronbelow. 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.) $x̄dīy$, $k̄liy$, (pl. masc.) $x̄ḍaw$, $k̄ḷaw$ and (pl. fem.) $x̄ḍin̄ k̄lin$. When such forms are preceded by a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel with a phonetic value near I.P.A. [v] is regular: yā nās $uk̄ḷw$ “eat, people!” and yā ḥṛayym $uk̄ḷın$ “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: $yḍugg$ “hit, pound”, $ȳḍurr$ “be harmful to”, $yx̄ụdd$ “churn”, $ȳk̄ụdd$ “bite”, $ȳmụss$ “suck”, $ȳṣubb$ “pour”, $ȳṭubb$ “find, encounter; go to”, $yx̄ụss$ “enter”, $ȳṭụss$ “throw”, $ȳḥụtt$ “place”, $ȳṛụdd$ “be related to; answer”, $ȳṭụx̣x$ “shoot, fire”, $ył̣ụx̣x$ “be soaked in”, $ȳṛụss$ “sprinkle”, $ȳg̣ụkk$ “churn, shake” and $ȳḳụṭt$ “go downstream in a wadi” (ḤwA, BdA, but ~ $ȳḳīṭt$ in TAṢ).

$i$ is heard in: $ȳṣidd$ “pull, tighten”, $ȳf̣īkk$ “loosen”, $ȳḷīff$ “go around, turn”, $ȳṃīḍd$ “stretch out”, $ȳṭīff$ “spit”, $ȳṣ̌īrr$ “let dry (of dates) in a maṣ̌ārrḥ”, $ȳṛīff$ “flutter (of tent cloth)”, $ȳg̣īff$ “dry”, $ȳt̄īmm$ “take place”, $ȳḥīmm$ “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) 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.

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22 A supra-segmental feature like velarization could also have been indicated in $x$ or $k$, e.g. $x̄ud$ and $kụl$, or throughout, e.g. $x̄ụd$ and $kụl$, 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.

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 CaCiC 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 HwA, 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 HwA and DbA): šarīmih ~ šīrīmih “bridle”, al’Ariš ~ al’Irīš “name of the town al-Arish”, xalīǧ ~ xilīǧ “gulf”, ‘arīs ~ ‘irīs “bridegroom”, rahīl “travelers”, daqīq ~ diqīq “flour”, raʃīq ~ rīʃīq “companion”, rahīf “thin”, gālīd ~ gīlīd “thick”, raʃīq “thin”, xalīǧ ~ xilīǧ “gulf” and also gāniy “rich”.

Forms only recorded with raised /a/ are: gībīlah “tribe”, kītīr “much, many”, gīmī “all”, bīr “camel”, kībūr “big; old”, sīğūr “small; young”, gidīm “old”, ‘irīs “bridegroom”, ‘īgūn “dough”, ḥīzīn “sad”, dīxīl “guest taking refuge”, sīqīg “brother”, sīrīf “honourable”, rīʃīf “loaf of flat round bread”, bīxīl “stingy”, ʿillīy “male given name ‘Aliy” and tīrīy “moist, soft”.

In most group I dialects of central and southern Sinai preceding hamzah blocks such raising, e.g. ʾaʃīl “thoroughbred” and ʾatīm “orphan” and also in verb forms (ʾ)añīb “I bring”, (ʾ)añī “I carry”, (ʾ)añīk “I come to you”, (ʾ)arīd “I want” and (ʾ)añīb “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. bābī, bārid (raising of /a/ in mediae yā’ verbs of the type (b)bībī or (b)bīrid 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 CCI, examples are: bāṭīx “watermelon”, bāddī “improvisor of rhyme”, xarrīg “alumnus”, sakkinah “knife”, gərnūt “octopus”, sabīn “seventy”, xamsīn “fifty”, Katrīn “(St.) Catherine”, kabrit “matches”, xanzīr “extra growth of twigs (to be removed) on lower stem of the grafted almond plant (lit. pig)”, gərgīrīh “watercress (n.u.) (?)” and many more.
- Instances of raising of /a/ preceding stressed Cē: in TyA, HwA and DbA one will hear e.g. ʿilēha ~ ‘alēha “on him”). Such raising in the suffixed
preposition ‘ala (e.g. ‘alēḥ > ‘ilēḥ) 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” (~ mišīt in ḤwA), lagēt ~ ligēt “I found” (~ ligīt in ḤwA, TyA), fadēt ~ fidēt “I sacrificed”, though in MlA, TAṢ and BdA such raising was absent; forms there are e.g. mašēt, fadēt (ligīt 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”, ḡawayt “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 Cā is regular in all dialects discussed here, but optional, e.g.: Tayāha ~ Tiyāha “name of tribe Tayāha”, Ğamāl ~ Ğimāl (“Abd anNāṣir”), ṛibā “camel in its sixth year”, gināh “small irrigation canal”, ġarādil ~ ġirādil “buckets”, bahāyim ~ biḥāyim “cattle (pl.)”, gazāzih ~ gizāzih “bottle”, Sawārkah ~ Suwārkah “name of tribe Sawārkah”.

- raising of a preceding stressed CCā is optional: fissāy “expert farter”, giṣṣāṣ “tracker”, billāṣ “thief; extortionist”, biṛṛād “teapot”, wiǧ ʚ ān “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 (’) (if not raised).

- raising of a preceding stressed ü 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): (’)aḥūy “my father” and (’)axūy “my brother”, and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae waw verbs (’)agūm “I get up”, (’)agūl “I say” (see remark * below).

- raising of a preceding stressed a: (all dialects have a CaCāC stress-type) ġīmāl “camel”, libān “milk”, šīğár “trees”, (a gahawah-form) šīhār “month”, sībāg “race”, mī’āh “with him” and verb forms mišā “he walked”, kitāb “he wrote” and (gahawah-form) yīxāzin “he stores”. Here

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too preceding hamzah prevents such raising, e.g. (ʾ)adáb “good manners”, a verb form (ʾ)axád “he took” (TyA) and gahawah-forms like (ʾ)ahál “people”, (ʾ)a’áma “blind”, (ʾ)a’árağ “limping, lame” and (ʾ)axaḍar “green”.

- raising of a preceding stressed u does not occur when *hamzah precedes the a: (ʾ)axušš “I enter”, (ʾ)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: (ʾ)ašidd “I pull tight”, (ʾ)amidd “I stretch out” (in contrast to such forms as išidd and imidd etc. heard in groups VI–VIII).

Stress in perfect forms of verbal measures n-1 and 1-t is ánwikal, áttífag, 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”, álhusál “the onions”.

Like in groups VI–VIII, when a follows stressed i in closed syllable, it is raised, as in yínḍirih “he is beaten”, yítíffiy “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. [iʰ].

Such raising is usually found in pausal positions, but also, though less regularly so, sentence-medially. Examples are: ǧibál alIǧmih ba’ád atTīh “The ēhalfringleftIǧmah mountain lies behind the Tīh”, (first word in) kilmih magyūḷah “a spoken word”, ba’ád kidiy aqagāṭṭiha b almallih xālis “after that I cover it completely with hot sand”27 títíl allibbih w tannha ēh? mistawiyih 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”, ǧiliṣṭah šwayyiḥ “a little thick”, (second word in) kilmih magyūḷah “a spoken word”, algīṣṣah “the story”, baxūrah “incense”, xūxah (velarized throughout) “peach”, ʿaḍmah “bone”, māsk alxūṣah f-īdī “holding the knife in my hand”.

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ʿ and ḥ, e.g. mā tukfurha ʿaṣān mà tī’affīn itxallha fāṭḥih “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 yítíffiy, the raised a will again ‘reappear’ as a when in closed syllables, e.g. yínḍaribw and yítíffiyaw, 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: *iw /miːnːiː/ “what? they carefully pour it into a bottle (through a funnel) when it (slowly) cools off in a clean container”, *mahːal /maːˈɣiːr/ “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: ḥamādih “flat barren stony land”. For further references, see ibid.

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 TAŠ, TAN, ĠrA and BdA. Examples are ‘ayš “food”, ‘ayn “eye”, ‘ayš “food”, xayːr “goodness”, xayːl “horses”, ḥayːl “walls”, sayːd “hunting”, ḥayːf “guest”, and examples of verbs are ḥaːṭṭayna “we placed”, xaddayna “we churned”, iṣṭaːrayna “we bought”, ḥaːlːayt “I stayed” and (for aw) ḥaːwːl “year”, Awdih “given name āwːdah”, xawːf “Fear”, xawːt “sound; voice”.29

Stewart 1990:232 (glossary) lists hamādih “flat barren stony land”. For further references, see ibid.

Shawarbah 2007:422–423 describes a situation for TyA of the Negev where monophthongization of *ay (as ɛ or ɨ) and *aw (as ɔ) is general and not conditioned by phonetic environment.

28

29
name Ḟrayŷ”. Similar lengthening of aw was heard in tĝawṭîr “you go” and byaːwṭuw “they travel (on foot?)”.

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, mawqūd “present (adj.)”, aw’ā “watch out!” and also ʔawlî “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and also verb forms like awrid “I water” and awgaf “I stand up” and ǧawma “they came to us”. The advantage is that the arrangement of root consonants in a morphological pattern like aC1C2aC3 (as in awgaf instead of Ḟogaf, compare e.g. ašrāb “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 (~ fiŋi in ŠrA).

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 sīf “sword”, šīx “sheikh”, bit “house”, ˒iṭnin “two”, sanatîn “two years”, Ḟīn “good”, ˒aʃayfin ifṭītāt (SSERT) “tiny children”. In such examples the ē is not quite full ī, but it is very near [iː].

A few instances of such overlapping were heard in MIA, TyA, HwA, DbA and ŠrA but none were heard in TAN, TAṢ and BdA.30 Possible minimal pairs to isolate the five long vowels are (see also De Jong 2000:79):

dēr “monastery”—dīr “turn (trans.)”—dûr “turn (intrans.)”—dōr “floor (in a building)”

˒gībih/-ah “bring it!”—˒gēbih/-ah “his pocket”—˒gābih/-ah “he brought it”, gōm “enemy tribe”—gûm “get up!”

1.2.4.3. Allophones of ā
In the dialect of the Taɾābīn of group I, ā in neutral surroundings is realized near I.P.A. [ɛ], but this is the case usually only when i follows (within morpheme boundaries) in the next syllable (like e.g. ˒ārīf “knowing” and mizārī “fields for agriculture”, but râyîb “curdled (of milk)”), or ‘vanished’ i disappeared from a preceding syllable, e.g. drās “threshing”. In other

30 In HwA, ASA and HnA aw’ā is conjugated: aw’ā tansī, aw’īy tansiyīl, etc. “don’t you forget!”. In the other dialects it was left unconjugated for number and gender, e.g. aw’ā tansin “don’t you (pl. fem.) forget”.

31 My Taɾābīn informant claimed such overlapping to be a feature of northeastern (of Sinai) dialects, e.g. Rmēlāt and Sawārkah. See also MAP 5 in De Jong 2000:659 (appendix).
(non-velarized) environments the phonetic value is slightly lower, nearer to [æː],\(^{32}\) 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 šāyil (nearer to I.P.A. [ɛː]) “carrying”.\(^{33}\)

When velarization is involved, /ā/ is backed as I.P.A. [ēalphaLatin] 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 dāṛi “my house” and dǟriy “knowing” (both with [ēalphaLatin] and [ɛ: ] resp.), but the question remains which phonemes are actually isolated.\(^{34}\)

\subsection{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.\(^{35}\) Some examples found in all dialects discussed here are: šṭiy / āšṭity “(the) winter”, šiy / álīšiy “(the) evening”, hniy “here”, ġriy “villages”,\(^{36}\) miy / álmiy “(the) water”. Colours are: sawdýy or sôdýy “black (sg. fem.)”, (a gahawah-form) šaḥabýy “sand-coloured”, ǧamšýy “a darker shade than šaḥabýy (sg. fem.)”. Physical defects: ġarqýy “limping (sg. fem.)”, ǧamqýy “stupid (sg. fem.)”, xaršýy “dumb, mute (sg. fem.)”, ġawlýy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)”, ǧadýy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, ǧamyýy “blind (sg. fem.)” and a diminutive form greyýy “little bald (dim., sg. fem.)”.

Raising was also heard in the forms ́īlşiy (compare CA ́ulýy) “upper grinding stone of a hand mill” and dinşiy “world”, ḥṬrayyiy “the Pleiades” (in TAŞ, but in BdA ḥṬrayyiy), ġawzýy “Gemini” in BdA and ġnîy “singing” in TyA.

In the perfect verb form ġa “he came” such raising is absent (contrast the DwA form ġiy, 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 im’aggíd ColumnsMode ñw aššāyib, ǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǟǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǞǟǞǟǞǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟǟ ofApp forms gråiy in the meaning of “proper food served to a respected guest”.

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\(^{32}\) Similar remarks on the phonetic quality of /ā/ were made for nTA in De Jong 2000:69 (there abbreviated as TA).

\(^{33}\) Shawarbah 2007:423–424 reports a high degree of imālah for medial ā in specified neutral environments in the speech of the Qdīṛāt sub-confederations of the Tiyāha of the Negev, e.g. wēdiy “wadi”, ūclerosis “‘alive’ and ḥēmiy “hot”, etc.

\(^{34}\) See also remarks in De Jong 2000:65–66.

\(^{35}\) Such extreme imālah is also reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:424.

\(^{*}\) ġriy (as a pl. of garyiy) was recorded in HwA. However, Blanc 1970:225 [14] gives ġriy as a pl. for garyiy and glosses ġriy as “hospitality”. If the ancestral form would be *qurā (i.e. like in Classical Arabic), the pl. reflex ġriy instead of ġriy makes better sense. See also fn 144, p. 111 for ġriy in the meaning of “proper food served to a respected guest”.  

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(and) we did not have a donkey, was carrying a small waterskin on his back to us” (TyA).

In MlA and TyA final *-ā of the pron. suffix of the 3rd p. sg. fem. is raised, e.g. rabbaytīy37 w māt ābāhīy w hī mā ḥābat, wala ḥatt-ādīrīy ġa’ ʿālēhiy. īw fī ʿāĪzīttiṇ ...ma’īt ...yamʿātāwīy mn ʾīnīy mn-hāda. w īyāwānūhiy là tājīy ‘īndī “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. snatching)...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 īṭṭa ʚʚ īmhiy 38 b xūxah ...īṭīgīb min ʾūṣn ālxūxah w ītrāggi-dhiy fīhiy... “you then go and graft it with a peach tree...you get one of the twigs of the peach tree and you tuck it (sg. fem.) into it (sg. fem.)” 39 (MlA). The form ykāwānūhiy in the former example also shows that preceding ū does not inhibit raising of the final a in -ha.40

In the other dialects (TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, ĞrA, 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 āddastah ʾāḥibha’ # “by the dozen I get it (sg. fem.)” (TAṢ), yāʾniy kān ʾānna mnaẓẓmīnha’...iṣfāq ā’talāt 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-īhniy bnxāṣṭīr 41 aššāṭṭ...āla zzami [...]. īw bīgīb ‘ālēhin idrā “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 ʾīndāk ʾṣafīra’...āṣṣafīra’ ḥēdīy mānī ārīfa biygūluw ‘ālēha ʾēs “if you have jaundice...this jaundice I don’t know (it) what they call it...”. Other examples are: bēdā’42 “white (sg. fem.)”,

37 Assimilated rabbayt + hiy, see 2.5. of this chapter.
38 Assimilated t + ta’ ĕnhīy, 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: biqā’.
zargá’ ~ zirgá’ “blue” (in all dialects)\(^{45}\) (often as a euphemism for “black”), xaהפֶרְתָּ “green (sg. fem.)”, ‘אפר “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, gar’á “bald (sg. fem.)” \(^{45}\) (but notice raising—since here further spread of velarization to the right is blocked by y—in the diminutive form gray’îy).\(^{44}\)

N.B. In MIA some instances of the sg. fem. were recorded with long final -ā, šafra, zargá, xaḥra and also ạḥa “morning”.


In a form like ṛaxá’ “abundance”, ṣaḥa “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.)”, kahalíy “variety of blueweed”.

In TAṢ a phonemic difference in stress was noticed in the pair of adjectives ḥawlíy and ḥálwîy: saxalḥu ḥawlíy “a cross-eyed (sg. fem.) lamb”— ǧídiy ḥálwîy “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 \(^{45}\) provided this a is not a gahawah-vowel, e.g. ạśa “dinner”, ạdá “lunch”, ạdíy ḥálwî “a one-year-old billy goat”.

Final -a in verb forms of the perfect of tertiae infirmae is not raised, e.g. ḥadá’ “he sacrificed”, ạmá “he walked” and also velarized forms like ṭaṭá’ “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.)”, kahalíy “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 zargy 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. bút “white (fem.)” and ọr “one-eyed (fem.)”, see Shawarah 2007:422, 425 and remark on p. 418.

\(^{45}\) The vowel ̣ in the forms ạdí and gifá’ is raised (underlying) a.
sōdīy or sawdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, ’arğīy “limping (sg. fem.)” and xaḏrā’ “green (sg. fem.).” ĳar “gap-toothed (sg. fem.).”

When the preceding heavy sequence contains the article, stress on the article is regular, e.g. āšštiy “the winter”, ālif ĳiy “the viper”, ālḡada “the lunch”, ānnida “the moisture, dew” and gillt ālḥaya’ “impudence”.

N.B. “here” is ĳniy in all dialects (although in MlA ~ hāna) and K-form hina may be heard in all dialects.

The forms with final -ĳiy 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) wāǧib al-ḥisnīy āla griy wa ḏriy (3 instances of raising) “he who’s received benefaction must feed and shelter”, but no raising in (two) suffixed forms in man ad’a ĳi ḥisnāh  yıxīd garāh “he who’s invited his benefactor will feed him.”

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 (but not completely) (resp.) I.P.A. [eː] and [oː].

1.2.4.5.2. Off-glide in ē and ķī

Off-glides in /ē/ and /i/ have been described for group I in De Jong 2000:85–86.

1.2.4.5.3. Off-glide in ŏ and ū

Off-glides in /ō/ and /ū/ have been described for group I in De Jong 2000:86.

1.2.4.6. Diphthongs

Dialects of group I have four diphthongs: ąy, āw, ĳy and uw. Although the transcription of poems recorded from the Tīhiy poet “Tayāhā” (Ḥusayn bin ĳīdīn ĳīdīn īd bin Ḥamad bin Miṣliḥ bin ĳīdīn ĳīdīn āmīr at-Tayāhā) and the Turbāniy poet “Īnayz” (Īnayz ĳīdīn ĳūs-lām Swawlim īd-īrdu) in Holes and Abu Athera 2009 does not reflect diphthongal reflexes of *ąy and *āw when preceded

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46 Such reappearance of ā in suffixed forms is also reported for TyA of the Negev, e.g. mı ʒiy, but mı ʒana “our goats”, see Shawarbah 2007:424.

47 See pp. 47–62 for “Īnayz” and pp. 67–81 for “Tayāhā”. Examples in “Īnayz’s” poetry are: ġer (p. 53, l. 6), ībin (p. 53, l. 8), raʃīn (p. 56, l. 10), īn (p. 57, l. 21), hōl (p. 60, l. 19), hē (p. 61, l. 4), ʒebat (p. 61, l. 9) though gaʃāynāhin (p. 54). In Tayāhā’s poetry: al-gusęp (p. 69, l. 5), fır ın (p. 69, l. 13), xeš (p. 72, l. 11), ın (p. 77, l. 5), īnān (p. 79, l. 3), ęf (p. 79, l. 1), xeř (ibid.), īnān (p. 80, l. 11), but also ʒallaw (p. 80, l. 21).
by X or in velarized environments,\textsuperscript{48} 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.\textsuperscript{49}

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 \(h, \, x, \, ġ\) or \(h\)) or velarized consonants *ay and *aw have usually become \(ě\) and \(ō\), 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 ğaw “they came”.\textsuperscript{50}

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 (\(ā \, sōdīy\)) “black (sg. fem.)”, mawḡūd “present”, and also initial sequences of prima \(wā\) 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 ēgaf 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”, ġay “rain”, Ahaywāt “name of tribe (dim.)”, ‘ayb “disgrace” and min yūm ūlīa īshayl, iyyall-attamīr hayl “when the rising of Canopus\textsuperscript{51} (is there), it causes the dates to fall” (recorded in BdA), (for aw) hawḡal “wooden threshing board”, ḥawlīy “cross-eyed”, ḥawl “year”, ‘awṛā “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, xawf “fear” (an

\textsuperscript{48} Also for TyA of the Negev unconditional monophthongization of *ay and *aw (> ē or i and ō resp.) is reported, see Shawarbah 2007:422–423.

\textsuperscript{49} One of my TAN informants is actually a son of the late ēhalfringleftNēz.

\textsuperscript{50} Although I recorded a few instances of endings -iy and -uw in TAN and TyA in a-type imperfects (as in e.g. tāšrābiy and yāšrābiw), in the majority of possible cases the endings are in conformity with the rule formulated for group I, e.g. tāšrābay and yāšrābow.

\textsuperscript{51} Canopus (Ar. Suhayl) is visible just above the horizon in the southern sky around mid-October. See also the proverb in Bailey 2004:75: suhayl iyyall ār-ruṭab hayl (in my own transcription this would be iShayl iyxall-ārrṭab hayl) “Canopus makes the ripe dates fall”. Dates are said to be ripe for harvest as early as July in Nwēbiēhalfringleft, then two months later in Fēṛān, another month later in Rās Ṣadr and again a month later in the Delta.
example of ǧ preceding aw was not recorded). Examples of verb forms are yadbahaw [yɔðbɛhau] “they slaughter”, tázr’a’aw [t’uzrɛau] “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) t’ayr IPA [t’eir] “birds”, dayf [dɛif] “guest”, sayf [sɛif] “summer” and (for aw) sawm [soum] “fasting”, tawr [t’our] “overhanging cliff”.

Other diphthongs were heard in tawr “bull” and tawf “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 ɣà verbs pattern 3rd p. sg. masc. CiCi (underlying |CaCiy|) commonly occur in group I. Examples are: ligíy “he found”, fihíy “he was surprised”, diríy (b) “he became aware (of)”, nísíy “he forgot”, ǧíly “it became expensive”. Final -iy may also reflect older final *-ā, as in miy “water”, in the saying alhisniy tnazzl algidir ʚ an algidir, lit. “benefaction removes one cooking pot (over a fire) (to make place) for another”,52 (reflecting the sg. fem. pattern *CaCCāʾ for physical defects) ʿargíy “limping (sg. fem.)”, hablíy “simple-minded (sg. fem.)” , amyíy “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCāʾ) sawdíy “black”, šahabíy “sand-coloured”. -iy may also reflect *-ā, as in hniy53 “here”, mižīy “goats”.54 In groups VI–VIII the reflex for *-ā(’) is often -i’, except in patterns for sg. fem. forms for colour or physical defects. The regular reflex then, like in group I, is -īy.

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 *-āʾ, see De Jong 2000:89.
54 See also Stewart 1990:248 (glossary), root m- -ā.
Like in group VI, final -iy may reflect final *-i’ in biriya “innocent”, final *-iy in sibiy “boy”, ġaniy “rich”, tiriya “moist; soft”, *-ay’ in šiy “thing” and the nisbah ending for the sg. masc., e.g. ſAbbādiy “(member) of the ‘Abbādah”.

Instances of final (but unstressed) -iy sequences created by anaptyxis are: hākiy # “telling” and ġidiy # “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.)”, hiluw # “sweet; beautiful”.

Examples of diphthongs created by word-medial anaptyxis are: biyšūf “he sees”, kāwiyha “its (sg. fem.) cauterization” and alīwlād “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(’) or hinā(’).

Final -iy reflects final *-i’ in biriya “innocent”, final *-iy in nibiy “Prophet”, sibiy “boy”, ġiwiy “strong”, final *-ay’ in šiy “thing” and the nisbah-ending for the sg. masc., e.g. Suũdiy “Saudi”.

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs

Long vowels may be lengthened: (expressing a long duration of time) w iytaxālataw w yal abaw lamma yītilfuw “and they mingle and play (a long time) until they grow tired”, (expressing an extreme degree) aḷḷāk ib’ād “those women faaar away”, ṣawyittā bāṛḥī “its (sg. fem.) water is (extremely) cold”.

The first element of a diphthong is also often lengthened. This occurs mainly in TAN, ṬAṢ, ḤwA, ĢrA and BdA (much less regularly in the other dialects) and predominantly so in monosyllabics, e.g. ʿayš “bread; food”, haṭṭ “walls”, ġyn “eye”, xaṭ “thread”. Such lengthening does not appear to be related to extra emphasis.

55 The ‘Abbādah 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 Ma‘āzah.
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 yáhalbuw “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-infifx (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).

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56 The same rule order is reported for TyA of Negev in Shawarbah 2007:425. Stress in Negev TyA can be characterized as: fa ál, fi il fi úl fa il or fa ál fa álalih/ih, fa álalíh, fa á(’)/fi ýy, yif’ý yáf’a (tertiae infi), álfi ál (stressed article), anfa ál, yinfí ál (surface form yinfí il), anfu álát (verb measure n-t), áfta ál, yífta ál (surface form yífti il), áfta álát (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”, álif’iyy “the viper” (first i is anaptyctic), šaláát ál’išiy (first i is anaptyctic) “evening prayer”, ál’ilab (first i is anaptyctic) “the tins”, màdrasah “school”, áštá’al “he worked”, áttafaq “he agreed”, ánġasał “he was washed”, álbaṣal “the onions”, álwalad “the boy/son”, ḍarárbi “I hit (perfect)”, ūlīna “we rose”, álif’iyy “the tins”, mádrasah “school”, áštaġaḷ “he worked”, álttafaq “he agreed”, álbaṣal “the onions”, álwalad “the boy/son”, ḍarárbi “I hit (perfect) him”, wáládıkiy “your (sg. fem.) son”, zēnīn (i stressed) “good (pl.masc.).”

For forms like líbsítiy “she wore it”, libístíti “I wore it” and širíbitíti “she drank it”, širíbitíti “I drank it” recorded in ḤrA, 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)v 1Cv(C)57 are:

(C)vCvC: in all dialects: abáṛ “needles”, ahál “people, family”, akál “he ate” (the latter only in DbA, TyA, ḤwA; kal in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MlA, ḤrA), (“I come” is aġáy in all dialects of group I).

CvCv(C): ’ašá “dinner”, mašá “he walked”, dawá “medicine”, ḥayá “shame, bashfulness”.

CvCvC: ḥanáš “spider”, malág “hard flat rock (on which no footprints show)”, gaṭás “he dived”; waḡáf “he stood up”, waṛág “paper” and šibíy “boy”, biríy “innocent”, tiríy “moist; soft” (“he comes” is yġíy) and gahawah-forms šaḥán “plate”, šahár “month” and ba’ád “after”.

2.1.1.2.2. **Stress in (C)vCvC(v) and (C)vCvCvC(v)**

In the following sequences stress is placed thus:

(C)vCvC(v): stress in TAṢ is only on the initial syllable: xásaḥabah “piece of firewood”, fārašat “she spread out”, (and gahawah-forms) gáhawah “coffee”, áxa/dmacronbeloẉ “green”, áḥari/tmacronbelow “I plough”, áanager “I sweat”, táḥari/tmacronbelow “he ploughs”, yá’arag “he sweats”, ḏarábaw “they beat (perf.)”。 Also when (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)vCvC(v) stress is on the first open syllable from the left: inwákalat “she was eaten”, ištá’alat “she worked”, ittáfagaw “they

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57 When v₁ in this pattern is not preceded by C, it is underlying |a|.
agreed”, *alʿarabiyy* “Arabic”, *albādawiy* “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”.

Stress in TAN, ǦrA, TyA, ḤwA, DbA and BdA (for remark on MlA see * below) is on the second syllable: *xašábah*, *farášat*, *darábow*, *Tawárah* or (with raised pre-stress a) *Tuwárah* “Tawarah (tribes)”, *akálat* “she ate” (the latter only in DbA, TyA, ḤwA) and (gahawah-forms) *gaháwah*, *axáḍar*, *aḥári/tmacronbelow*, *a ḡará*, *taḥári/tmacronbelow*, *ya ḡarág*. When (*C*)(*v*)C precedes a sequence (*C*)(*)vCv(C) in these dialects (but see remark 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”, *ištaqálad* “she worked”, *aššaǧáṭah* “the tree; bush”, *alwaṛágah* “the paper (n.u.)”, *azza ḡàtar* “the thyme”, *annaxáḷah* “the palm tree”, *ištaqálad* “they worked”, *in/dmacronbeloẉ arábat* “she was beaten”, *azzalámah* “the man”, *in/dmacronbeloẉ arában* “they (fem.) were beaten”, *azzalámah* “the man”, *in/dmacronbeloẉ arában* “she was beaten”, *aṣṣabágah* “the race”, *a ḡàbatih* “she pleased him”, but also (gahawah-forms) *alaxáḍar* “the green” and *aláhamar* “the red”59 and also *azZaġáṛah* “Wādiy Zaġaṛah (a tributary of Wādiy Dhabab)”.

When the heavy sequence preceding (*C*)(*)vCv(C) 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, ǦrA), but *káwanatih* in BdA and also *mgáḅalatak* “the meeting with you” (the latter two stressed on long â) in BdA.

(*C*)(*)vCvCv(C): stress in TAN, TyA, ḤwA, DbA and BdA is on the third syllable from the right: *rágabatah*, *náxaḷatah*, *ya ḡrágaw*, *ya ḡrágan*, *yahártuw*, etc. Stress in such sequences in TAṢ and MlA is on the fourth syllable from the right: *rágabatah*, *náxaḷatah*, *ya ḡrágaw*, *ya ḡrágan*, *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 ǦrA see * below).

In forms which become like a CvCvCvCv(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. (bukaṛa-vowel underlined) *záĝgraṭat* “she ululated”.

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58 The latter two of which are—in terms of stress assignment—best interpreted as *al´axaḍar* and *al´hamar*.
59 See preceding fn.
In MLA stress varies in ((C)(v)C) (C)vCvC(C); both (al)gașalah and (al)gāșalah, (al)gahawah and (al)gahawah, sākanaw and sakānaw “they settled”, etc. can be heard. Similar variation occurs in TyA, but only when (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)v 1CvCv(C): aššāǧaṛah “the tree; bush” algāșalah “the twig”, minṭā’amah “grafted (sg. fem.)”, but also maṣlaḥátak “your interest”.60

TyA however shows variation, since also forms with stress on the first open syllable from the left were recorded, like azzálamah “the man”, ingáḷabat “she overturned”, ingáṭa “they (pl. fem.) were cut off”, inḥášaraw “they were cramped together”.

Stress in ĞrA is placed thus: ṭragábatih, farášatih, naxáḷatak, naxáḷatih, but in elicited verb forms the gahawah-vowel was ignored and stress was placed accordingly: yá ḥragaw “they sweat”, tá ḥragan “you (pl. fem.) sweat”, tá ḥragay “you (sg. fem. sweat)” (i.e. stress is placed as if forms are ya ḥragaw, ta ḥragan, ta ḥragay 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. xaḍrāʾ(”) “green (sg. fem.)”, ṣafrāʾ(”) “yellow (sg. fem.)”, bēdāʾ(”) “white (sg. fem.)”, garāʾ(”) “bald (sg. fem.)”, āwṛāʾ(”) “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”.

These reflexes are also stressed when they have been raised (to final -īy, see 1.2.4.4.), e.g. sōdíy ~ sawdíy “black (sg. fem.)”, šadfíy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, ḥawlíy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)” and also with a gahawah-form šaḥabíy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)” (i.e. yellowish light brown).

Notice that stress in forms like ḥašáʾ, ḥawáʾ, pronominal anáʾ and also a verb form mašáʾ 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. ālʾāšaʾ, āḍḍawaʾ and also miy “water”, štiy “winter”, šiṭy “evening” and álmiy “the water”, ásšṭiy “the winter” and šlāṭ álšiṭy (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.

60 Such variation in stress is also present in dialects spoken nearby, such as those of the northern Taṛābīn, Sawārkah and Rmēlāt, see De Jong 2000:664 (map 15).
lná “to us”), e.g. ‘índina(‘) “with us”, yḡīn(‘) “he comes to us” and mínha(‘) or mínhiy “from her”.

The pair saxalıḥ Ḥawlīy “a cross-eyed (sg. fem.) lamb”—ḡīdīy Ḥawlīy “one-year-old billy goat” could be used to show phonemicity of stress (recorded in TAṢ).

2.1.2.2. Stress on final nominal *-iy 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. willīy “holy man”, nabhīy ~ nibīy “prophet”, șibīy “boy”.

2.1.2.3. Stress in al + *CaCiy

When the article precedes a CaCiy sequence it is stressed, e.g. ânnibīy or ânnibiy “the Prophet”, âsšabīy or âsšibiy “the boy” and âlwīly “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’âdhum “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. yâhalbin “they (fem.) milk”, tâhartuv “you (pl. masc.) plough”, tâxâbṭah “you beat it” (these latter three in TAṢ and MIA) or yahâlbîn, tahârtuv, taxâbṭah (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 åCaC IC V and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.1.2., e.g. biyâhâll̄uw “they make heaps” and biyḡaffâr̄ühin “they dry them (fem.)” and saddât “my dam”. The geminate is in these cases reduced.61

An exception to this exception recorded in TAN and TAṢ is sg. fem. m’âyyiyih, pl. masc. m’âyyiyin and pl. fem. m’âyyiyāt (sg. masc. m’âyyiyy) (i.e. the forms are not •m’âyyîyih, •m’âyyîyin and •m’âyyîyāt) for “feeble, sapless (esp. as a result of too much food or drink)”.

For active participles of the verb ta’aknān “be irritated”, see 2.4.4.

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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 mín-taḥat “from below”, mín-kidīy “from this”, mín-ihnīy “from here”, mín-ihnhū “from there”, mín-warū “from behind”.

In negated pronominials stress is on the first syllable: mānī, minta, mintīy, miḥna, mintuw, mintin mūhū, miḥa (also miḥī), mūhun, miḥin or māhin (in forms like mūhūmna and mūhinna 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 ĠrA) is ʿala hittah ygūl-ilhā, iygūl-ilh-Amn Saʿid “to an area he calls, he calls (it) Amn Saʿid”. Notice that in case of enclitic suffixing the shorter form lha is used instead of the independant 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: ḏahār “back”, saxālāh “lamb”, šahārayn “two months”, yahalbūha “they milk her”, Zaġārah “name of a tributary wadi (coming from the west) of Wādiy ḏahab some 10 km northwest of the town ḏahab”, aḥawal “cross-eyed”, šahabīy “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 C₁ = X: maXC₂ūC₃) like maʿārīf “known”, maʿazūl “separated, isolated”, maʿaqūl “reasonable”, maḥaṛūt “ploughed”, maḥaṛūg “burnt”, maḥaṭūt “placed” and maxaṛūm “pierced”, but also maxlūṭ “mixed”, masṣūṣ “special”, mahīyūn “insulted”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC₂vC₃(ah): maǧarīb “time of sunset”, maḥawīy “treated by a ḥāwīy (i.e. a snake charmer)”, maxazan “storage place”, but also (a loan) maḥraǧān “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 tahāgīg (< tahgīg) “allotment of shares of food (ḥiggih) during the annual visit to a sheikh’s tomb (zwārah)” was recorded, in MIA tagārīb “going north”, in ĠrA taḥwārī “collecting”, taʾāšīb “removing weeds”, tahabiš faḥām “making (by controlled burning) of charcoal”. But forms without gahawah-vowels were also recorded, e.g. tahwilna “our transfer”, taʾdib “punishment” and taḥbīš 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 TwA, 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 aḥlan! “welcome!” and also yaʾniy “that is; it means”, and yaʾmal “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 gāhawatak (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): hiǧirih “his lap”, yašaṛaban “they (fem.) drink”, zaġaraṭat “she ululated”, katūrāw “they became many”.

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63 baḥs instead of MSA baḥt; 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. kuṭur, but kaṭrit), 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 *ālikbār tafātir aliṣġār “old people are the records of young people”\(^{66}\) and *ykassīr albiḵārīq “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 Ras Šadr and Nixl”.

The form nūbudur al‘ayš “we sow the (seeds for making) bread” is comparable to the form yūdūkur ānnibiy 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base form</th>
<th>sandi elision</th>
<th>anaptyxis</th>
<th>bukara-insertion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yūdūkur + v</td>
<td>yūdūkur v</td>
<td>yūdūkr v</td>
<td>yūdūkur v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūbudur + v</td>
<td>nūbudur v</td>
<td>nūbudur v</td>
<td>nūbudur v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. zāġaraṭan “they (fem.) ululated”, also in dialects that would otherwise stress CaváCaCv(C), as in e.g. ṭragábatak “your neck” (see remark in 2.1.1.2.2.).

### 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 agdam gībāyīl aliyy hin-nih...aliyy humma Badārah “of the oldest tribes, which are...who are Badārah”, nīṣīl alxawāḡīh “the foreigner got out (of the car)” and min awwīl al‘umr “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 alwādīy fīh imlūḥīh bardāk “because there is also salinity (of the soil) in the wadi”, arrāmīl assāxīn “the hot sand”.

### 2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *‘ibil and *raḡil

The forms *bil “camels” and *ābil “the camels” and *bīlha “her camels” were recorded several times in ḤwA (not in the other dialects).

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\(^{66}\) 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’āgin anā “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 (fōgna >) fōgəna “above us” was also recorded several times.

2.2.3. Articulatory delay of ‘ayn following geminates
Instances of articulatory delay of ‘ayn 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 *):
(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)

\textit{mihnit alḥuṛmah} >

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

* \textit{mihnt alḥuṛmah} >

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

\textit{míhint alḥuṛmah} “the woman’s job”.

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 > CVCCICCV (e.g. \textit{yiktibuw} > \textit{yikítbuw}) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVCCIC VC > CVCCIC VC (e.g. \textit{mihnit alḥuṛmah} > \textit{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.: \textit{sa’altha} “I asked her”, \textit{ta’allamtha} “I learned them (pl. fem.)”, \textit{bintha} “her daughter”, \textit{aftakart} # “I thought”.

Clusters may be left unresolved in sandhi as well, e.g. \textit{ištaġalt fi Šarm ašŠēx} “I worked in Šarm ašŠēx”, \textit{gult ʿanha} “I said about her” and \textit{ʿind baʿaḍhum} “with each other”, \textit{gāmat albint mahha} “the girl got up with her”, \textit{sīrt baxlāt} “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) \textit{įstafatt ṭi/mi[r} “I gained a lot” (< \textit{įstafadt}).

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) \textit{widdna} “we want, need”, \textit{gillt alʾilm} “lack of science” and \textit{lih aḍḍwew 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.

\footnote{For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:323–328.}
2.3.3.2. Preposition ʿind + C
The suffixed preposition ʿind takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. ʿindaha “with her”, ʿindak “with you (sg. masc.)”, ʿindikiy “with you (sg. fem.)”, ʿinduhuw “with them (pl. masc.)”, ʿindihin “with them (pl. fem.)”, ʿindukaw “with you (pl. masc.)”, ʿindikin “with you (pl. fem.)” and ʿindina “with us”.
Clusters in sandhi are left intact, however, e.g.: ʿind ʿammih “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 C-ak / ṣ-k 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 [a], in back environments.68

2.3.4.1.1. Phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyctic 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 i 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 anaptyctic 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 xuḍ, xuḍi, xuḍuw, xuḍin and kuḷ, kuḷíy, kuḷúw, kuḷín.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. # uklý, # uklów, # uklín (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): # agráb, áləagrab “waterskins”, # əḥgán, áləḥgån “injections”, # əwrăś, áləwrăś “workshops”. But when assimilation precedes, a resulting geminate will be reduced, and anaptyxis will not take place, e.g. # əṣwar, áṣṣwar (pronounced áṣwar) “pictures”, # ənxáṛ, ánnxaṛ (pronounced ánxaṛ) “noses”. These anaptyctic vowels are not stressed in the group I dialects discussed here.

Plurals include: əʃiy, áləəʃiy “sticks”, ḥṣiy, áləḥṣiy “stones”, but there are no anaptyctic vowels in forms with an assimilated preceding article like (al + rḥiy >) árrḥiy “hand mills”, and also (al + lḥiy >) álľḥiy “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 ī 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 I-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):

```
yrawwiḥ + lhin > yrawwiḥ lhin > yrawwiḥ ilhin > yrawwiḥ ilhín “he goes to them (fem.)”.
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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:

```
tú/dmacronbeloẉ ḥɾub d˰ˢ ɜ̄fak > tú/dmacronbeloẉ ḥrub i˰ ɜ̄fak > tú/dmacronbeloẉ ḥrub i˰ ɜ̄fak “you beat your children”.
```

In this second example the cluster *ḥˌb* 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 *dˌb*, 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_a* and *C_b* in *C_aC_aIC_b* 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*, *mballilīn* and *mballilāt* “having made wet”.

Also in sandhi this type of elision does not take place, e.g. *ṣiddit 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.) *mtaʿakninīh*, (pl. masc.) *mtaʿakninūn* and (pl. fem.) *mtaʿakninūn* “irritated”. This was the case in TAṢ, ḤwA, DbA, but in ǦrA direct elicitation produced the forms *mtaʿaknin*, *mta akinnih*, *mtaʿakinnūn*, *mtaʿakinnūn* (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) ḍḥbsīṭih or ḍḥābṣīṭih “she wore it” and ṣīṛbīṭih or ṣāṛbīṭih “she drank it” should be mentioned; the forms recorded were not (after elision and subsequent anaptyxis; anaptyctics in bold print) ḍḥbīṣīṭih or ḍḥābīṣīṭih and ṣīṛbīṭih or ṣāṛbīṭih, which one might have expected.

Such forms were however recorded in TAṢ, so that stress may be interpreted to have acquired a phonemic function: ṣīrībtah “she drank it” as opposed to ṣīrībtah “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 ḍ of the article only rarely assimilates to a following ǧ, as in e.g. aḡǧamr “the live embers”. Assimilation of ḍ 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:

\[ t + h > t t \] as in bnaḥarıṭṭiy (< bnaḥarıṭhiyy) “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 ṣāḡ “iron baking sheet”, sīḡh “game of sīḡah”, sīḡn “prison” and tasḡ̣il “recording”, etc. are current.

In these central and southern group I dialects ṣams is current for “sun” and ṣaḡar for “trees”.

3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of a in CāC ġič (ah)

Raising of a in the nominal pattern CāC ġič (ah) occurs regularly, but is optional in southern group I dialects (except in ḤwA, see remark below). Such raising is only inhibited by preceding ʾ and is less regular when X
precedes or follows a, although it may take place in such positions (especially when following 'i, see examples below). The resulting high 'surface' vowel i is not elided.\(^{71}\) In HwA instances of non-raising were so few that morphological restructuring may be concluded. In DbA raising is mainly absent when 'i, \(j\), h or x precedes, e.g. 'aḍīm “enormous”, ḡaliḍ “fat, bulky”, ḡarīb “strange”, xalīṭah “mixture”, ḥaqiqiy “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 \(*CaCiy (C_3 = y)\)
Raising of a preceding \(*CaCiy (C_3 = y)\) occurs often, but variation is still heard as well, e.g. birīy “innocent”, (reflecting final \(*-i\)) in ṣibīy “boy”, ḡaniy “rich”, tīrīy “moist; soft”, nibīy ~ nābīy “Prophet”, guwīy “strong”, wilīy ~ wālīy “saint”, ḫīly ~ ḫāly “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 \(C_1aC_2iC_3\) pattern for the \(i\)-type perfect), see 3.2.2.1.

3.1.1.3. *Raising of a in CaCCīC(-ah)
The short vowel a preceding stressed CCī is not raised. Examples are: baṭṭīx “watermelon”, baddī ‘improvisor of rhyme’, xarrīǧ “alumnus”, sakkīnah “knife”, garnīṭ “octopus”, sab’in “seventy”, xamsīn “fifty”, Katrīn “(St.) Catherine”, kabrīt “matches”. Also in verbal nouns of measure 2 such raising is absent, e.g. targī “grafting”, tašġīl “putting in operation” and also in a gahawah-form like ṭagārib “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: giṣṣāṣ “tracker”, billāṣ “thief; extortionist”, fissāy “expert farter”, biṛṛād “teapot”, ṭillāḡi “fridge” and wiḥān “suffering pain”, milyān ~ malyān “full”, galiṭān ~ gilṭān “mistaken”, Sīlmān “male given name Salmān”, mirḏān “ill”, fiḥyān “surprised”, kislān “lazy”, hiḡgān “camel rider”, sīyyāl ~ sayyāl “acacia trees (coll.)”, but also 'aṭšān “thirsty”, 'aṭlān “broken, not functioning” and bakkākah “lighter”.\(^{72}\) Although such raising was heard in all dialects, it is less current in TAN and TAṢ.

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).

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\(^{71}\) 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 bakkākah is used in TyA; in most dialects of Sinai the word for “lighter” is giddākhah.
The a in closed syllable may then be raised, but this is optional, e.g. himrā’ “red (sg. fem.)”, himgā’ “stupid (sg. fem.)”, but also zargā’ “black; blue (sg. fem.)”, ṣafrā’ “yellow”, etc.

Like in group VI, raising of a in the pattern for sg. fem. for colours and physical defects may only take place when final -ā(’) has not been raised to -īy.

3.1.1.5. Raising of a in . . . CaCāC . . .

Raising of 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: matān ~ mitān, “when?” (in ḤwA), gibāyil “tribes”, zimān "before in olden times", gizāyiz "bottles", bikāřīg “coffee pots”, Tiyāha “name of a tribe Tayāha”, ḡināyin “gardens”.

In labial environments, raising may also be towards [u], as in muwārik “cushions supporting the camel rider’s leg” (pl. of mēṛakah or mōṛakah, see also remarks in 1.2.4.1. and in fn 101, p. 83) and zuwāyir “annual visits to sheikhs’ tombs (pl. of zwārah)”, Şuwaļḥih “name of the tribe Šuwaļḥah”.

Examples without raising are: ṭalāḏin “thirty”, nahār “day”, tamām “excellent”, Badāřah “name of a tribe”, tafātir “records”, ganāt asSwēs “Suez Canal”, šamāl “north”.

Also in group I, raising is less regular when l or r follows a, or X precedes, e.g. kalām “speaking”, ṭalāṯah “three”, xalāṣ “ready”, salām “peace”, Garārših “name of a tribe”, ḍarāsīḥ “thin loaves of bread baked on a šāj”, marāḏīḥ “swings (three legs) for the goat skin (used to churn butter)”, ḥalāl “small cattle”, axawāt “sisters”, ṣāṣān “because”, ḡayātak “your life”, ḫamāḏīḥ “flat barren land”, ḡarāyir “large sack (pl. of ḡarārah)”, ḳ Also when ’ precedes, raising remains absent, e.g. (’)asāyil “thoroughbreeds”, (’)asāsīḥ “his origin”.

3.1.1.6. Raising of a in . . . CaC . . .
a in open syllable preceding stressed á is often (but optionally so) raised (like in group VI), e.g. (raising towards I.P.A. [i]) ġimāl “camel”, rīsān “halter”, libān “milk”, sibāgah “race” (sābagah in TAṢ), sīḡārah “tree” (šūḡārah in TAṢ), a verb form misāk “he took” and (towards [u] in labial and/or velarized environment) muṭār “rain”, duwā’ “medicine”. And also in gahawah-forms such raising may take place, e.g. tihāt “under”, sīhār “month” and in verb forms like yi’ārif “he knows”.

Such raising is generally absent when the a is preceded by *, e.g. (ʾ)abār “needles” and (ʾ)axād “he took”.

Also, when a is followed by l, such raising tends to remain absent, e.g. galām “pen”, malāgh “hard flat ground (like rock, in which traces are invisible)”, zalāmah “man”, or when X precedes, e.g. ḥaḡār “rock, stone”, ġanām “goats and sheep”, xašāb “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:

\[ a > 1 / C_a =~ C_b A \]

\[ C_a \neq * \text{ or } X \]
\[ C_b \neq l \]
\[ A = \text{stressed } a \text{ or } ā \]
\[ I = \text{high vowel } i \text{ or } u \]

N.B. Raising of a may also take place when stress on A is secondary, e.g. f-āssībag “in the race”, verb forms ānkītal “he was beaten”, āstuwat “it (sg. fem.) became ripe/cooked” and muwālīd “births”, muwāzīn “weighing scales (pl. of mīzān)”.

3.1.1.8. Raising of a in CaCūC(ah)
Raising of a preceding ū is optional, e.g. ġumūs – ġamūs “food dip”, xurūf – xarūf “lamb”, ġunūb – ġanūb “south” and yuhūd – yahūd “Jews”, ẓurūbah – ẓurūbah “beautiful young camel”, ʿurūs – ʿarūs “bride”, ʿuǧūz – ʿaǧūz “old lady”. With initial hamzah such raising is absent in most dialects (contrast with groups VI–VIII): āḥūy “my father” and axūy “my brother”, and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae wāw verbs agūm “I get up”, agūl “I say” (see remark * below). However, in dialects indicated below, isolated instances of such raising were heard when “hamzah preceded, as in uḥūh – aḥūh “father” (TAN), uṣūk – axūk “your brother”, agūm – agūm “I rise” (both ḤwA). Such raising with preceding *hamzah was not heard in TAṢ, ǦrA, BdA, DbA or MlA.

Underlying CāCūC with reduced ā; maʿūn “container”, babūr “tractor”, ganūn “law”, baʿūdah “mosquitos”. In one instance in TyA raising in babūr yielded būbūr.

The gahawah-vowel in open syllable preceding Cū is not raised, e.g. maḥaṭūṭ “placed”, maʿġūd “tied”, maḥabūs “locked up”, maxānūq “constricted; suffocated”.

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74 See also De Jong 2000:147.
75 ẓurūbah – ẓurūbah 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. ẓurūbīṭī.
3.1.9. **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”, *kuṭūr* “he became many”, *tuxūn* “he became thick”, *ġulūd* “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”, *ġalṭīt* “she became fat”.

3.1.10. **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:

\[ a > \text{I} / C_a \text{C}_b \text{I} \text{C} \]

\( \text{I} = \) long vowel ū or ĩ
\( \text{I} = \) short high vowel u if I is ū; short high vowel i if I is ĵ
\( C_a = *' \text{ (hamzah)} \)
\( C_b = \text{consonant capable of carrying velarization in case of raising to u} \)

Notice that, like in group I dialects of the north (see De Jong 2000:150), the provision of \( C_a = *' \) 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: *uḇūh ~ aḇūh* and *ugūl ~ aḡūl* “I say”.

3.1.2. **Reflexes of \*C_{a}C_{a}C_{a}(ah)**

For reflexes of CaCC(-ah) the following forms were recorded (in all dialects, unless indicated otherwise): *badw* “Bedouin”, *taḥāt* “under”, *faḥām* “charcoal”, *waḥdīh* (but ~ *wiḥdīh* in ḠrA) “one (sg. fem.)”, *nahyiḥ* “direction”, *ṣaʿāb* “difficult”, *ṣakl* “shape”, *ṣāḥān* “dish, plate”, *ḏīdy* “billy goat” (TAṢ, ḤwA, DbA, MIA, ḠrA), *ḏady* (BdA), *ṣadr* “chest”, (’)*akl* (TAṢ, TAN, DbA, MIA), *wakl* “food” (BdA), *kirš* (TAṢ) “(fat) belly”, *kalb* “dog”, *ḏidd* “grandfather” and *ḏifn* “eyelid” (TAṢ).

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76 Direct elicitation, however, yielded forms like *tuxīnīt* “she became thick” in ḠrA, *ġulīn* “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 *txūn*) and *ġulūd* (not *ġluḍ*).
3.1.3. Reflexes of *CaCiC(ah)

In all dialects, unless indicated otherwise: *wirk “thigh” (TAṢ), *kitf “shoulder” (ḤwA, ḞrA, TAṢ and TyA; other dialects not recorded), *kilmiḥ “word”, *širkīh “company”.

*xāšin in TyA, *xīšin 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 ~ uṃṃ in ḞrA), uṃṃ “mother” (BdA), uxt “sister”, Ğım’ih “male given name” (not recorded in TAN, DbA, BdA), *muddih “period”, ḥûrmah “woman”, *zîbdîh “butter”, *rukbah “knee” (ḤwA, TyA, TAṢ, ḞrA, TAN, not recorded in other dialects), hînnih “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.: snîn “years”, yîn “eyes” and ġnêh “pound (money)”, ġbâl “mountains”, drâs “threshing”.

Also when V is a short vowel, an initial cluster CC will result, e.g. *rkab “knees”, *snat “suitcases”, *grab “watersacks (goat skins)” and also in diminutives (see 3.1.6. below) like *gṣayyir “short” (*guṣayyir), bwêt “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), *ṣînâ’îy “artificial” (TAṢ), tiǧârâh “trade” (MlA), ġîrâḥah “surgery” (MlA), (2 instances in) *ẓurūf hukûmiyyah “government circumstances” (TyA), bidâyt albaṭṭîx “the beginning of the watermelon (i.e. the season for growing watermelon)” (TyA), ʾumûman “in general” TyA) and turâs “legacy” (ḤwA).

Notice that in the instances *niẓām and *ẓurâf the sibilant ẓ is heard instead of more typically Bedouin d. In the example turâs we have sibilant

⁷⁷ Also aṃṃ in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:330.
s instead of more typically Bedouin t (compare MSA turät). 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 gizāzih (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 hrayyım is current. In addition, many diminutive forms were heard, and especially in the speech of an elderly woman of the Tayāha, e.g. 佺ayfin ifornia “tiny children”, swēkin “living (more or less)”, wledi “my little son”, gray’iy “bald (sg. fem.)”.

Another diminutive pattern heard in TyA is CC ayC uC (i.e. C is reduplicated) in baṭṭix isgāyrūr “small watermelons”. The same pattern is used in TAŠ as in (after reduction of the diphthong) sgarūrah, sgarūrin, sgarūrāt and also graybūb “nearish”. Another diminutive heard in TAŠ is 佺dah sgantūṭah is a “tiny house/room”, ilēğān, iygaṣigṣūh gṣaygṣāt isgāyrūt “they cut it up into little pieces”.

A lexical item coined on the CaCCuC(-ah) pattern in karrūsah “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: ħinyyān “here” and ki/dmacronbelowiyyān (see 3.1.15.1.).

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. 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 $C_aC_2C_3$ pattern, with a final *-$ā$ that has been shortened and which is often in pause followed by an unreleased glottal stop (e.g. bēdā’, hamrā’; in MIA some forms were recorded with long final -ā). There is an additional $a$ following $C_2$ when it is $X$ and final *-$ā$ is raised to -íy when $C_3$ is neutral (e.g. šahabíy). Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

In the pl. com. forms for colours and physical defects all dialects show $C_1C_2C_3$ as the pattern, i.e. $C_iC_2C_3$ or $C_uC_2C_3$ (see 1.2.3.2.). Plural forms for “black” and “white” are süd ($C_2 = wāw$) and bīd ($C_2 = yā’$).

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. aḥla “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 byašrab imm alḥāmiḏ hāḏa w alliy biyfīṭt mīnīn “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-ášštiy “in the winter” and f-álǧibal “in the desert (lit. the mountains)” and also with unstressed a of the article, as in f-awlādiy “in the wadi”.

Prepositioned ha- was heard used predominantly in adverbial halḥīn “now”.

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$^{82}$ Like in the dialect of the Dawāġrah, 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 ili thus “aligning himself […] with the ‘sedentary’ dialects”.

$^{84}$ alliy is often elliptically used for something like fīh (mīn an-)nās alliy…
Only in a few instances ha- was used in its ‘specifying’ function: fi ha-
ddkmih ‘a tūl lā šilēḥāt wala ḡayrīh f-āddkam “there are no chalets in (i.e.
near) that hill or anything (at all) in the hills” (ḤwA), šuft miy . . . tāfih fi
ha-lgiddāf “I saw water . . . overflowing in this ferry boat” (TyA).

Much more current in ḤwA, however, is postpositioned ha, e.g. alliy
‘āwiz iy . . . tynawwi’ f-āļbil āssībaq ʾinn āssībaq ha biywaddīh ʾinn ālģimal
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: aṃm (except uṃm in BdA and aṃm −
uṃm in ĞrA) “mother”, ʿuxt “sister” in all dialects, aḥna is “we” in ḤwA and
aḥna − iḥna in ĞrA (in the other dialects only iḥna) and the pl. for (ʾ)ibrah
“needles is (ʾ)abār. In all dialects pl. forms of the type CCaC are current,
e.g. ṣwar “pictures” and ḡrab “waterskins”.

yā yumma is used in many group I dialects (also those that have aṃm
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 ragabatih “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 ragabatih “his neck”.

86 In TyA 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 v*
Like in group VI when not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme -ah becomes -it (or -t when a long vowel ñ 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: gahawati “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).

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 ḥamatātak “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></th>
<th>ilbēt +</th>
<th>il’ilbih +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šuģḷah</td>
<td>šuģḷhum/-w*²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuģḷha</td>
<td>šuģḷhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šuģḷak</td>
<td>šuģḷkw</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’āwit ġanām “grazing small cattle”, see Shawarbah 2007:244.
t + h will often assimilate to tt, e.g. šuglittuw, see 2.5.

For a remark on the suffix -huw, see 3.1.12.2.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>hū  / huwwa*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hī</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>aná / iḥna*2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 huwwa was also heard used for the pl. masc. in TAN, MIA, but not in the other dialects of group I discussed here.

*2 In ḤwA aḥna; in ĞrA iḥna ~ aḥna.

Negated (in all forms stress is on the first syllable, except in mūhūṃṇa and mūhīnna)*1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>mūhū*2 / mūhum(ṇa)*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mūhī / mūhin(na)*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>mânt<em>6 / maḥna</em>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In ĞrA direct elicitation yielded ‘double’ forms like aná mānī, int(ih) mint(ih), intiy mintiy, hū mūhū. Such double forms are also often used in the other dialects.

*2 mūhū ~ mâhū in ḤwA

---

*1 Independent pronominals in TyA of the Negev are: anā(h), intih (int), intiy, hū(h), hī (h), aḥna, intuw, intin, hūṃ(ṇaḥ) and hin(nih), see Shawarbah 2007:426.

*2 For possible origins of the forms (possessive/object) -huw and the subj. (independent) pronominal huwwa, see De Jong 2000:163 (remark *2)) and NOTE in 3.1.12.2. of chapter I.

*3 In poetry recorded by Holes and Abu Athera (2009:225) the negation is commonly mâ + pronoun (+ bi).
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. masc.</td>
<td>C-ah / C-ih *1, v-(h)</td>
<td>-hum*6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ha*2</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>C-ak, v-k*3</td>
<td>-kum*7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kiy*4</td>
<td>-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>(C)C-ı, 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 “mūhiy, 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 -ı and -nī for the 1st p. sg. com. are stressed, but unstressed -ı and -ni also occur.

---

*3 māna in ḤwA
*4 māhuwwa or māhuwwa was not recorded in TAN or MIA
*5 māhin was also heard in BdA
*6 miḥna in DbA, BdA, ĠrA

---

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 2000:64–66 and 674 (appendix), map 35.
3.12.2. Pronominal suffixes and negation

In group I the negation is formed with single (preceding) *mā*, which leaves pronominal suffixes unaffected.

3.13. Demonstratives

3.13.1. 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></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hāḍa</td>
<td>hāḍāk(ah)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>com.</td>
<td>hāḍōl*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hēdy</td>
<td>hēdik(ih)*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The same forms were heard in TAN.
*2 Unvelarized *hāḍa* is sporadic in TAṢ, but *hāḍa* ~ *hāḍa* in TAN.
*3 *hōḍal* 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></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hāḍa ~ hāḍa</td>
<td>hāḍāl ~ hāḍōl ~ hōḍal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hēdy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Far deixis*

|       | sg.         | pl.                      |
| masc. | hāḍāk(ah)   | hōḍalṭāk(ah)            |
| fem.  | hēdik(ih)   |                          |

* 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!”, annās árîhhum ġaw “there the people have come!” were said to be current (see 4.8.1.).

Demonstratives in ḤwA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc. sg. hāda</td>
<td>com. hāḏal(lah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. hēdiy*</td>
<td>com. hāḏallāk(ah)–hēdīk(īh)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* ġādiy was heard three times, but with an exceptionally high ā, (slightly higher than I.P.A. [ɛ], 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/dmacronbeloẉ ha “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 āṣgayyṛat ha “these young ones (pl. fem.) (in ref. to camels)”.

“There he/she/they is/are (litt. has/have come)!” is hayhū ǧaʾ, hayhī ǧat, hayhuṃ ġaw and hayhin ǧan.

Demonstratives in DbA are:

| Near deixis |  |
|-------------|  |
| masc. sg. hāda – hāḏa | pl. hāḏal(lah)* |
| fem. hēdiy |  |

* Notice the same demonstrative for the pl. com. in ḤwA (see above).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Far deixis*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc. hāḏāk(ah)–hāḏāk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. hēdīk(īh)</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>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hāda ~ hāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hēdiy ~ hādiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* hēdik(ih)* 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 dillih must be due to contact with (one of the) dialects of the bordering tribes Sawalḥah (group VII) and Legāt (group VIII).

Demonstratives in BdA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hāda ~ hāda*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</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 dillih was recorded five times.95
*4 hādāk was recorded twice, and once ḍākah.

ar’ih was recorded for “there he is!”

Demonstratives in ĠrA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>hāda ~ hāda*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</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 ḣa, hēhī Ḥa, hēhūmma ḣaw and hēhinnah ḣan. Alternatively ir’ + pron. suffix is used: ir’ih ḣa, irihha Ḥat, irihhum ḣaw and irihhin ḣan (see 4.8.1).

3.1.13.2. Specifying ha-
Specifying ha- is quite regularly used in southern group I dialects. Examples are binfittattih a tał “we immediately make this fattah” (DbA), bitgībha min hassag “you get it (sg. fem.) from the (lit. this) market” (MIA), w allīy msawwīy...mitmārah f-alblād—bingūl ‘alēha mitmārah—halmitmārah hēdíy byllīgūha 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 halḥīn 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, wagtēh, 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) matāʾ / matā, wagtēš, 5) wēn*, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf*, 8) kam* + sg., 9) gaddēš / giddēš.

in ĞrA: 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)
“there”  fi ḥāḍāk (MIA, ĠrA, TyA, DbA, BdA)
  fi ḥāḍākah (DbA)
“over there (far away)”  ġād (all dialects)
  ġādiy (TyA, TAṢ, TAN)
“here”  hniy*1 (all dialects)
  hniyyih (all dialects)
  hniyyān(iy) (TAN, TyA)*2
“here”  fi ḥāḍa (MIA, TyA, DbA)
“thus”  kidīy (all dialects)
  kidīyyih (all dialects)
  kidīyyān(iy) (TAN, TyA)*2
“now”  ḥalḥīn (all dialects)
“still”  lissā’ (GrA, DbA, ḤwA, BdA, TAṢ, TAN, ḤwA)
  assā’ (TyA, ḤwA)
“afterwards, after that”  minnih (all dialects)
  ‘uguba kidīy (all dialects)
  ba’ adēn (all dialects)

*1  mūn-iḥniy “from here; this way”, mūn-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.

The connector ʚ uguḅ ma (ʚ uguḅ + ma) is sometimes shortened to ʚ ugma, e.g. ʚ ugma ḥalāfaw ʚ alēhuṃ 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. xōfaḷḷah) and k-w-d (e.g. kūd). xōfaḷḷah / xawfaḷḷah / (sometimes reduced as) xāfaḷḷah is used to refer to undesired possibilities, while kūd refers to desired possibilities. kūd may also be suffixed, examples are: álǧimal kūdinnah zēn “maybe (let’s hope) the camels are good”, arraḡāgil

---

97 See also Brockelmann 1966 (Vol. I):394.
kūdinhuṃ ṭayybīn “maybe (let’s hope) they are good men” and alihrayyim kūdinhn ṭayybāt “maybe (let’s hope) they are good women”.

Forms elicited for (variations on) xawf are: xawfālāh (inkin) mintin ṭayybāt “perhaps you (pl. fem.) are no good”. xāf (velarized) may also be suffixed, e.g. xāfīnnaḥ māhū ṭayyib “perhaps he is no good”, xāfīnkīn mintin ṭayybāt “perhaps you (pl. fem.) are no good” and an unsuffixed form xāfin,99 as in xāfin mā nalgāha “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 MlA: (A) iw tākil... (X) ḥāgiḥ... (A) ḥāgī ḥibwah xālis... (X) balḥayl! w Allāh 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”, ʿala “on” and ma “with” in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MlA, ḠrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise)100 are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>l₄*₁</th>
<th>ʿala₄*₆</th>
<th>ma₄*₁₀</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>lah</td>
<td>ʿalāh</td>
<td>maḥhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>lih</td>
<td>ʿalāḥ</td>
<td>maḥāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leh</td>
<td>ʿalēḥa</td>
<td>maḥhun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lih</td>
<td>ʿalēḥa</td>
<td>maḥhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maḥhun</td>
<td>maḥhā</td>
<td>maḥhin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ For the paradigm of l₄ in TAN, TyA, DbA and ḤwA see below. The independent preposition is l ~ li.
For an alternative paradigm in BdA, see below.

*₂ The vowel in TAṢ and ḠrA is usually a, in BdA i. In MlA lah ~ lēh.

*₃ The suffix -ha ~ -hiy in MIA.

99 The form xāfin is reminiscent of the form xāftin reported in Stewart 1990:103 (text 32), l. 87 (+ fn).
100 TAṢ was taken here as a starting point, and deviations in other dialects are described in notes.
In MIA lak ~ lēk.

-huw in Ġra. In ḤwA, MIA and TAN -huṃ ~ -huw(wa).

In TyA, DbA and ḤwA raising of the a of the first syllable is regular, but only when preceding è. So: ʾilēk, ʾilēhuṃ etc.,101 but usually absence of raising in ʾalāy. The independent preposition is ʾala ~ ʾa.


In TyA -hiy. Shawarbah 2007:419 reports for TyA of the Negev the form like makhīy "with her" as well.

In TAN, BdA, MIA ʾalēk. In ḤwA and DbA ʾilēk.

For the paradigm in TAN, see below.

The vowel of the first syllable is i in BdA, also in closed (and stressed) syllables: miʾāh, miḥḥa etc. Raising of a in open unstressed syllable occurs regularly in other dialects, e.g. miʾāh (but a in stressed closed syllable, e.g. maʾkaw).

The prep. l+ 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>lah*1</td>
<td>lhun*5</td>
<td>mʾah</td>
<td>miʾhuṃ<em>5</em>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lha*2</td>
<td>lhun*3</td>
<td>miʾha*6</td>
<td>miʾhin*6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>lak</td>
<td>lkaw</td>
<td>mʾak</td>
<td>miʾkw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lkiy</td>
<td>lkin*3</td>
<td>miʾkiy</td>
<td>miʾkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>lay(y)</td>
<td>lna(ʾ)</td>
<td>mʾay</td>
<td>miʾna</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 mʾ, e.g.: tāʾdāmʾāk libbtak fī ǧēbtak . . . fʾiḍak "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 ʾ + h often assimilates to ḥḥ: miḥḥa, miḥḥuṃ, miḥḥin.

101 Notice that such raising remains absent when the short a is the product of reduction of ā in pre-stress position, as in magʾād šasēh (< šāsēh) "a construction of piled rock with an old Ford chassis serving as a roof used as magʾād in Malbad (Garāğrah)" (Ḡra).
Suffixed prepositions *fi “in”, *min “from” and *waṛa “behind” in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>*fi+</th>
<th>*min+</th>
<th>*waṛa+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>fih*1</td>
<td>minh</td>
<td>warâh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>fihuṃ*5</td>
<td>minhum*5</td>
<td>warâhum*5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. masc. fah*1  minnah  warâha*2  warâhin
fem.    fiha*2  minhuṃ  warâk  warâkuw

2. masc. fak*3  minnak  minkuw  warâkiy  warâkin
fem.    fiky  minkiy  minkin  warâkiy  warâkin

1. com. fay(y)*4  fina  minni  minna  warây  warâna

*1 *fih (with short i) in MIA, *fi (with long i) in TAN, BdA, ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA. In all dialects: *fih (with long i) is used for “there is/are”.

*2 -hiy in TyA.

*3 *fik in TAN, BdA, ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA.

*4 *fīnī in ĞrA.

*5 *-huw in ĞrA and -hum ~ -huw in ḤwA and TAN.

Suffixed prepositions *’ind “with”, *ḥawâla “around” and *fōg/fawg “over” in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>*’ind+</th>
<th>*ḥawâla+*3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>’indah</td>
<td>ḥawâlah*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>’induhuṃ*2</td>
<td>ḥawâlahuṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>’indah</td>
<td>ḥawâlah*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>’indaha*1</td>
<td>ḥawâlah*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>’indak</td>
<td>ḥawâlak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>’indiky</td>
<td>ḥawâlaky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>’indi</td>
<td>ḥawalây</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>’indina</td>
<td>ḥawalâna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>*fōg+*5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>fōgah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>fōghum*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>fōgah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fōgha*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>fōgak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fōgkiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>fōgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fōgna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 -hiy in TyA.

*2 -huw in ĞrA and -hum ~ -huw in ḤwA and TAN.

*3 This prep. was not recorded with suffixes in BdA, ĞrA and MIA.

*4 An alternative *ḥawâlah was recorded in TAṢ and *ḥawêlah in TAN.

*5 In ḤwA the preposition is diphthongal: *fawgah, *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 ḥiňđi “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 / wiḥdih*, tnēn / ţintēn*, ṭalāṭih (ţálāt), arba’ah (arba’), xamsiḥ (xams), sittih (sitt), sab’ih (sab’), ṭamāñiyih (ţamān), tīś’ih (tīś’), ạšarāh (‘ašār).

*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 tnēn and ţintēn may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. waladēn i/tmacronbelownēn “two boys” and īdāy attintēn “my two hands” and riţlay attintēn “my two legs” (TyA, TAṢ, ĢrA, 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. arba’ t-infār “four people”, xamis t-iyām “five days”.

3.1.17.2. Ordinal numbers 1–10
Only three ordinals were recorded: awwil, ţāniy, ţāliṭ.

3.1.17.3. Numerals: 11 and up
Numerals 11–19 recorded are: ḥdāšaṛ, tnāšaṛ / i/tmacronbelownāšaṛ, /tmacronbelowalattāšaṛ, arba’āšaṛ, xamistāšaṛ, sittāšaṛ, saba’tāšaṛ, ţamantāšaṛ, tisi’tāšaṛ in all dialects.

In ḤwA and BdA these forms ending in -āšaṛ co-occurred with forms ending in -ạ̄ ʚ iš, e.g. /tmacronbelowalattạ̄ ʚ iš, arba’ạ̄ ʚ iš, xamistạ̄ ʚ iš, etc. In MlA the months of November and December were referred to as šahār ḫdā’iš and šahār ḫtnạ̄ ʚ iš (resp.).

102 This is perhaps a hybrid form of īdāy “my hands” (like in other dialects) and ađâni “my ears”, or the pl. Ĭdān was directly suffixed with the pron.: Ĭdānī “my hands”.

103 In the forms ending in -āšaṛ velarization is indicated in r, in the forms ending in -ạ̄ ʚ iš, it is indicated in the long: ạ.
Numerals 20–90:

‘išrīn, ṭalāṭīn, arba‘in, xamsīn, sittīn, sabīn, ūtamānīn, tis‘īn.

Numerals 100–900:

miyyīh, miyyīn, tūlīmīyyīh, rubī miyyīh, xumīsmiyyīh, suttmiyyīh, sabī miyyīh, ūtumānmiyyīh, tusī miyyīh.

Numerals 1,000–10,000:

alf, alfēn, ūtal t-ālāf, xamis t-ālāf, arba‘ t-ālāf, sitt t-ālāf, sabī t-ālāf, ūtāmān t-ālāf, tisi‘ t-ālāf, ‘asār t-ālāf.

Long ā of the first syllable is usually reduced to short a, e.g. ūtal t-ālāf “three thousand”.

Numerals 11,000–1,000,000:

ḥdāšar alf, mūl alf, miyyētīn alf, milyōn / malyōn (and ūtal malāyīn).

Some plurals recorded with proclitic t- are: tisi‘ t-ālāf “nine thousand”, ‘asār t-iyyām “ten days”, sitt t-ušhur “six months”,104 sabī t-infār “seven persons”.

Months are usually referred to by numbers, e.g. šahār wāḥid “January”, f-awwil iḥdā ̣ یر yt“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. TAŠ and TyA forms riǧlāy “my (two) legs”, idāy “my hands” (unsuffixed pl. forms are riǧlān and idān).

Forms recorded in ḤwA are: id “hand”, idān “hands”, idāha “her hands”, idāhin “their (fem.) hands”, but idānī “my hands”. A form heard in ĞrA is idāhuw “their hands”.

---

104 sitt t-ušhur is actually pronounced like sitt ušhur (reduced tt t > tt). The proclitic t- is concluded from other forms, like xamis t-ušhur “five months” and ūtāmān t-ušhur “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 2000:387 (+ 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”, dīr ān (sg. ḍrā) “forearms”.)
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) \( C_1aC_2iC_3 \) and (a-type) \( C_1aC_2aC_3 \) (for \( C_1aC_2uC_3 \) see 3.2.1.3.).

The paradigms in TyA are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{perfect "drink"}^* & \text{perfect "sit"}^* \\
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
3. \text{ masc.} & \text{širibt}^* & \text{širibna}^* & \text{ga’ád} & \text{ga’ádaw}^* \\
& \text{širibt}^* & \text{širibtu}^* & \text{ga’ádat}^* & \text{ga’ádan}^* \\
2. \text{ masc.} & \text{širibt}^* & \text{širibtin}^* & \text{ga’adt}^* & \text{ga’adtu}^* \\
& \text{širib}^* & \text{šarbu}^* & \text{ga’adty}^* & \text{ga’adtin}^* \\
1. \text{ com.} & \text{šarbit}^* & \text{šarbin}^* & \text{ga’ad} & \text{ga’adna} \\
\end{array}
\]

*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 \( ġulú \) in 3.2.1.3.).

*2 Notice that the underlying a ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. This is not the case in TAṢ, ĠrA, MIA; forms there are \( šribit, širbuw \) and \( širbin \). Other examples are: \( tilfuw \) “they grew old”, \( waṣlit \) “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 \( ġulú \) in 3.2.1.3.).
Raising of a in open syllable preceding stress is regular, but optional, e.g. *fitáḥ “he opened”.

Stress is CáCaCv in TAṢ. The other group I dialects discussed here (including TAN!) stress CaCáCv (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: širíbtah “I drank it (sg. masc.)” (< šírbit + ah) and širíbtah “she drank it (sg. masc.)” (< šírbit + ah).

In ĞrA, however, the high vowel of the verbal ending is not elided (and hence no subsequent anaptyxis takes place): hī líbsitih “she wore it”, hī šírbitih “she drank it”, hī lágýtíth “she found it”, but aná libístíth “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: ĞrA, BdA and in some instances also in TAN (e.g. lēš inzil? “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: yaC₁₁₂CaC₃, yuC₁₁₂CuC₃ and yiC₁₁₂CiC₃.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a-type imperfect “drink”</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yášrab</td>
<td>yášrabaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tášrab</td>
<td>tášrabaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tášrab</td>
<td>tášrabaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tášrobat</td>
<td>tášrobat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ášrab</td>
<td>nášrab</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. aktib and aḍrub or iktib and uḍrub).

Measure 1 verbs i-type (e.g. yaharīt) and a-type (e.g. yaʿarag) with C₁ = X have the following paradigms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i-type imperfect*₁</th>
<th>a-type imperfect*₁</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“plough”</td>
<td>“sweat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yaḥárít</td>
<td>yaḥárít</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>yaḥárít</td>
<td>yaḥárít</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yahári/tmacronbelow</td>
<td>yahár/tmacronbelow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tahári/tmacronbelow</td>
<td>tahár/tmacronbelow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tahári/tmacronbelow</td>
<td>tahár/tmacronbelow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taháriy</td>
<td>tahárín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>aḥári/tmacronbelow</td>
<td>aḥár/tmacronbelow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ 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. yaḥárt), see remarks in De Jong 2000:94, fn 94).

Perfecs and participles of these verbs harât and ʿirîg are like those of gaʿād and širîb (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>u-type perfect*₁</th>
<th>u-type imperfect*₃</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“grow fat”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ġuluḍ</td>
<td>yağáluḍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ġuluḍt</td>
<td>tağáluḍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ġaluḍ</td>
<td>yağálud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ġaldít</td>
<td>tağálud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ġuluḍt</td>
<td>tağálud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ġulóddiy</td>
<td>tağáludiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ġuluḍt</td>
<td>tağálud</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ In unstressed open syllables the surface u (of the first syllable) is not dropped (i.e. forms are not •ğluḍ, •ğluḍt, etc.) and is therefore to be interpreted as being underlying |a| (cf. the verb širîb in 3.2.1.1.).

*₂ 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 ġulódt, ġuluḍt and ġulós. For TAN I have extrapolated ‘reappearance’ of a here based on its ‘reappearance’ in the i-type perfect (compare širîb *₂ in 3.2.1.1.).

*₃ Due to the relatively high sonority of the preceding l, the high vowel u is usually dropped when d is word-final, e.g. yağáld # and tağáld #. See also remarks *₁ and *₂ in 3.2.1.2. on ordering the gahawah-rule and the rule for high vowel elision in the imperfect.
Like in aḥárit (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 yuḍrub (i.e. yuḡluḍ, etc.) is current.

3.2.1.4. Regular verbs participles
Like in group VI, active participles are formed with the patterns C₁āC₁C₂C₃₁ah/-ih (sg. fem.), C₁āC C₂C₃ in (pl. masc.), C₁āC C₁C₂C₃₂ at (pl. fem.). When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: rāydih “she wants/loves him”, šāribthih “having drunk (sg. fem.) it (sg. masc.)” (both ḤwA), šārītha “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. ášrab, ášrabay, ášrabaw, ášraban “drink!”; úg’ud, úgu’diy, úgu’daw, úgu’din “sit down!” and imṣik, imṣikiy, imṣikaw, imṣikin “grab, take hold!”.

3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs
3.2.2.1. Verbs C₁ = 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. warād, yōrid “give water”, wazān, yōzin “weigh”, waṣāl, yawṣal “arrive”, but forms like yawrid and yōṣal were also heard.¹⁰⁷

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yawṣal</td>
<td>yawṣalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tawṣal</td>
<td>tawṣalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tawṣal</td>
<td>tawṣalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tawṣalay</td>
<td>tawṣalay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>awṣal</td>
<td>awṣal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹⁴ Like in aḥárit (see 3.2.1.2. above) the initial vowel does not harmonize with the base vowel.


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 (yaga’ and tiqif), 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 = wāw verb *warad* “give water”: one without wāw (*yiríd*), and one with incorporated wāw (*yōrid*):

The *i*-type imperfect has the following paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect without wāw*₁</th>
<th>imperfect with wāw*₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td><strong>yiríd</strong></td>
<td><strong>yōrid</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td><strong>yarduw</strong></td>
<td><strong>yōrduw</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td><strong>tiríd</strong></td>
<td><strong>tōrid</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>yardin</strong></td>
<td><strong>tōrdin</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td><strong>tārdiy</strong></td>
<td><strong>tōrdiy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td><strong>tardīy</strong></td>
<td><strong>tōrdīy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>(’)arīd</td>
<td>nīrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nīrid</td>
<td>nōrid</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 *širīb* (see 3.2.1.1.) and ǧulūd (see 3.2.1.3.).

Similar paradigms in ḤwA were recorded for *yigíf* (paradigm like *yiríd* above) ~ *yawgaf* (paradigm like *yawṣal* above).

*₂ In ḠrA the imperfect of this verb is with incorporated wāw. The tendency during elicitation was to monophthongize aw > ŏ 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 *warād* is like *gaʿād*, see 3.2.1.1.)

Other primae wāw verbs are: *wağaʿ*, *yōği* “hurt”, *walá*, *ywliy* “come near”, *wakāʿ*, *yōkiy* “tie closed”, *watāʿ*, *ywṭiy* “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, ḐbA, e.g. *aw an rūskān* “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 ḐbA 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 rāsak*, *awʿa rāskīy*, *awʿa rūskaw*, *awʿa rūskīn* 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 awʾan ṛūskin and awʾaw tansaw (Forms in MIA and TAN were not recorded).

Imperfect forms with base vowel i in most dialects have ŏ as in yōği “it hurts”, yōkê “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 yowluw “they come near”, yawṭuw “they go shopping” (both MIA), yawrid and yawgid (both TAṢ), yawkiy “he ties closed” but yōkiha “he ties it (sg. fem.) closed (both BdA) and diphthongs in a-type imperfects yawṣal “he arrives”, yawṣaf “he describes” and yawḏa’ (all three TAṢ), yowgaf or yawgaf “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, wārdin, wārdāt “having watered”.

maC₁C₂ūC₃ is the pattern for the past participle, as in mawǧūd (-ah, -īn, -āt) “present” for the root w-ǧ-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></th>
<th>perfect*₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yāḳil</td>
<td>yāḳluw</td>
<td>akāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḳil</td>
<td>tāḳlin</td>
<td>akālat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tāḳil</td>
<td>tāḳluw</td>
<td>akalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḳliy</td>
<td>tāḳlin</td>
<td>akaltiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>āḳil</td>
<td>nāḳil</td>
<td>akalt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ The long vowel ā is clearly lower than in the present participle (without velarization) máḳil, 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.\textsuperscript{108}

All dialects discussed here have the imperfect vowel \textit{i} in the imperfect.\textsuperscript{*2}

The perfect is without initial \textit{a-} in TAṢ, ĞrA, MIA (TAN is uncertain). Stress is then \textit{kalāt}, \textit{kalāw} and \textit{kalān}.

The paradigms for the verb “take” (’-x-d) are comparable (in the perfect \textit{d + t} usually assimilates to > \textit{tt}, e.g. \textit{axattuwa}).

Present participles are with initial \textit{m-}: \textit{mākil}, \textit{māklih}, \textit{māklīn}, \textit{māklāt}.

Past participles are: \textit{māx̣̣ū/dmacronbelow}, \textit{-ah}, \textit{-īn}, \textit{-ât} (all forms are velarized).

Imperatives are: \textit{ḳul}, \textit{ḳliy}, \textit{ḳluw}, \textit{ḳlin}.

The verbal noun is (’)\textit{akl} “eating” (also “food”), but \textit{wakl} was recorded in BdA. The passive verb “be eaten” is \textit{ánwakal}, \textit{yínwikil}.

3.2.2.4. Verbs C\textsubscript{2} = w or y (mediae infirmae)

3.2.2.4.1. Verbs C\textsubscript{2} = w or y (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect

In Group I dialects the perfect and imperfect paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“say”</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect\textsuperscript{*2}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>gāl</td>
<td>gālaw\textsuperscript{*1}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gālat</td>
<td>gālān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>gūlt</td>
<td>gūlt\textsuperscript{*3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gūltiy</td>
<td>gūlt\textsuperscript{*4}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>gūlt</td>
<td>gūlna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{*1} In TAṢ and ĞrA the ending -\textit{aw} varies with -\textit{uw}. In the other dialects the ending is regularly -\textit{aw}.

\textsuperscript{*2} Media yā’ verbs (with long base vowel \textit{i}) have the same endings.

\textsuperscript{*3} Notice that shortened base vowels in the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect (like e.g. \textit{tanam}, \textit{tugul} and \textit{tišīl}) were not recorded in these Group I dialects.

\textsuperscript{*4} See remarks in 3.2.1.2. on vowel harmony of the initial vowel of the sg. com. (\textit{ugūl}) in ĞrA and BdA.

For media yā’ verbs (with long base vowel \textit{ā}) ḤwA, BdA, ĞrA, TyA and TAṢ have the same endings, but forms in DbA were recorded with vowel harmony: \textit{tnāmary}, \textit{ynāmaw}, \textit{ynāman}, \textit{tnāmaw} and \textit{tnāman}. Situation in MIA and TAN is unknown (see also remark * in 3.2.2.4.2. below).

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{u} in the imperfect) is no longer present, since the vowel \textit{u} has been replaced by \textit{i}. Compare this to velarization left behind by \textit{u} in forms (e.g. \textit{rkab} “knees”, \textit{grab} “waterskins”), even after its total disappearance; the effect of the so-called vanished \textit{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 C₂ = y are like in group VI as well, e.g. šāl, yšil (and ūl) (for a remark on originally measure 4 verb ṭād, yrīd, see 3.2.3.7.2. of this chapter).

3.2.2.4.2. Verbs C₂ = 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. gul “say!”, šīl “carry, take away!”, although there are also isolated instances of gul “say!”.

Regular imperatives have long base vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>long u</th>
<th>long i</th>
<th>long ā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>gūl</td>
<td>gūluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>gūluw</td>
<td>gūluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>šīl</td>
<td>šīluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>šīluw</td>
<td>nām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāmuw*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gūliy</td>
<td>gūlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>šīliy</td>
<td>šīlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>šīlin</td>
<td>nāmiy*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāmin*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These endings without vowel harmony were heard in ḤwA, BdA, TyA, TAṢ and ǦrA. In DbA the endings were heard with vowel harmony: nāmay, nāmaw, nāman (not recorded in TAN and MIA).

Imperatives used with the verb ḥāb, yḏīb “bring” are: ḥāt, ḥātiy, ḥātuw, ḥātin.

N.B. Often the diphthong iy is reduced to i in forms like biygūl, biyšīl > bigūl, bišīl.

3.2.2.4.3. Verbs C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae) participles
Present participles are like in other groups, e.g. gāyil, gāylh, gāylin, gāylāt.

Past participles are magyūl, -ah, -īn, -āt, but more current is mingāl, -ah, -in, -ät.

3.2.2.5. Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae)

3.2.2.5.1. Verbs C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect
Like in the other groups of the south of Sinai, a-type and i-type perects of tertiae infirmae verbs have often become mixed.

Unmixed paradigms in TAṢ for the a- and i-type perects are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>“walk”*₁</th>
<th>“find”*₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>mašā(‘)</td>
<td>ligiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>mašāw</td>
<td>ligyuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>mašāt</td>
<td>ligýit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mašān</td>
<td>ligýín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mašēt</td>
<td>ligīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mašētuw</td>
<td>ligītuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>mašēt</td>
<td>ligīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mašēna</td>
<td>ligīna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Raising of $a$ in open pre-stress syllable is current in the $a$-type perfect, e.g. $mīṣā(‘)$ and $mīṣēt$.

The same paradigm was recorded in ĞrA, BdA, though in the latter the 3rd p. sg. fem. was produced as $māṣyīt$.

In DbA and ḤwA the verb has two parallel conjugations: both as $a$-type and as $i$-type, e.g. $mūṣā $ ~ $mīṣīy$, $māṣā $ ~ $māṣyīt$ and $mīṣēt$ (< *$māṣēt$) ~ $mīṣēt$. *2

The same paradigm was recorded in ĞrA.

In BdA the 3rd p. sg. masc. is also $ligīy$, but the underlying $|a|$ of the first syllable ‘reappears’ when the syllable is closed: $lagīy$, $lagyūw$ and $lagyīn$. 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. $ligā $ ~ $ligīy$, $ligāt $ ~ $lagyīt$ and $ligēt $ ~ $ligīt$.

The perfect paradigm for “forget” recorded in TAṢ is mixed: (sg.) $nasā(‘)$, $nasāt$, $nasīt$, $nasītiy$ and (pl.) $nasāw$, $nasān$, $nasītuw$, $nasītun$, $nasīna$. In these forms $a$ of the open first syllable is usually raised to $i$, as in e.g. $nisīt$.

DbA has two parallel conjugations: $nasā(‘)$ ~ $nisīy$, the conjugation elicited for “forget” in ḤwA is unmixed $i$-type: $nisīy$, $nasyīt$, $nisīt$, etc.

Material for MlA and TAN was limited, but the same mixed paradigms appear to be in use there.

3.2.2.5.2. Verbs $C_y$ = $y$ (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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talga</td>
<td>yalgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>talga</td>
<td>talguw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgiy</td>
<td>talgan</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.

---

*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.

---

*1 *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 ĠrA, DbA and TAN, and none in TAṢ, ḤwA and MlA.

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.

See remarks in 3.2.1.2. on possible vowel harmony of the initial vowel of the sg. com. (imšiy) in ĠrA 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 ĠrA 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: talgiňew “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 ĠrA, 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 C₃āC₁y, C₃āC₁yih, C₃āC₁yín and C₃āC₁yāt. E.g. nāsıy, nāsyih, nāsyín, nāsyät “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. pl.</td>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ǧaʾ</td>
<td>ǧaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yǧiy</td>
<td>yǧuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ǧat</td>
<td>ǧan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tǧiy</td>
<td>yǧin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ǧit</td>
<td>ǧituw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tǧiy*²</td>
<td>tǧuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ǧitiy</td>
<td>ǧitin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tǧiy</td>
<td>tǧin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ǧiṭ</td>
<td>ġina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aǧiṭ*³</td>
<td>nįṭiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In ĠrA forms with initial t- often showed a following vowel as well: tiǧiy ~ tǧiy, tiǧuw ~ tǧuw and tiǧín ~ tǧin.
2.2.6.2. The verb “come” imperatives
Imperatives used with the verb “come” in ḊrA, BdA and TyA are: taʿāl, taʿālīy, 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 (ʼ) 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.

3.2.2.6.3. The verb “come” participles
Participles of the verb “come” are: ǧāy, ǧāyīh, ǧāyīn, ǧāyāt.

3.2.2.7. Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)

3.2.2.7.1. 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 ĕ may occur in ḤwA, DbA and ḊrA (e.g. šıddēt), 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 ĕ of the ending is diphthongal ay. E.g. ḥaṭṭayt “I placed” and ḥaṭṭaytuw “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, ḊrA, MIA and TAN.

In TAṢ and TyA, however, both -aw and -uw were heard as endings of the 3rd p. pl. masc., e.g. ḥaṭṭaw ~ ḥaṭṭuw “they placed”. In TAṢ froms with the ending -uw are most commonly heard.

*³ In ḊrA and BdA also forms with vowel harmony were recorded, e.g. aná biḥibb “I love”, bišıdd “I pull” (~ aḥibb and ašıdd), and also a form buṭuxx “I shoot” in TAN, cf. remarks in 3.2.1.2.
3.2.2.7.2. Verbs C₂ = C₃ (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 C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)
Active participles geminate verbs are e.g.: *lāmm*, *lāmmih*, *lāmmīn*, *lāmmāt* “having gathered”.
Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when C₁ = X, e.g. *maḥaṭūṭ* “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: anC₁aC₂aC₃, yinC₁aC₂iC₃. The *a* in the imperfect is raised to *i* in open syllables, but ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. Paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. ánbisat</td>
<td>inbasätaw²</td>
<td>yinbisit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inbasätat</td>
<td></td>
<td>yinbástün</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inbašät̠t²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inbašät̠ti²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inbašät²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ For stress in these paradigms, see 2.1.1.
*² t + t assimilates to t̠t.
*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 C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n⁻¹ of medial geminate verbs are: (i)nC₁aC₂aC₃ and yinC₁aC₂iC₃, e.g. *indabb*, *yindabb* (miy) “be filled (with water)”.

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: inC₁ǎC₃ and yinC₁ǎC₃. 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>pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>inšāl</td>
<td>inšālaw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšālat</td>
<td>inšālan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inšilt</td>
<td>inšiltuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšiltiy</td>
<td>inšiltin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inšilt</td>
<td>inšilna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In TAṢ both -uw and -aw were heard as endings

3.2.3.1.4. Measure n₁ C₂ = y or w (mediae infirmae) participles
Participles are shaped on the patterns minC₃iC₃⁻⁻⁻, -ah/-ih, -in, -āt.

3.2.3.2. Measure t₁
Measure t₁ 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.) ánwakal, (imperf.) yânwikil. No other instances of measure t₁ 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: aC₁tC₁aC₃ yC₁taC₂iC₃. Like in measure n₁, 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.: áštīгал ~ ášṭāgal, yīštīğił “work”, áṭṭīfağ ~ áṭṭafāq, yīṭṭīfīq “agree” and áštūwa ~ áštawa, yīštīwīy “ripen; be cooked (of food)”.

Notice, however, that although the morphophonemic base vowel a ‘reappears’ in closed syllables when verbal suffixes follow, e.g. yīxtīlif + verbal suffix -uw > yīxtīluwu, no a ‘reappears’ in the example yīṭībīr “he considers” + pron. obj. suffix -ih > yīṭībrīh “he considers him” (recorded in TAN).

“buy” in TyA, BdA, TAṢ, ĞrA

<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>áštara</td>
<td>áštaraaw*¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áštarat</td>
<td>áštaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ištārayt</td>
<td>ištāraytuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ištāraytiy</td>
<td>ištāraytin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ištārayt</td>
<td>ištārayna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Similarly so in TyA of the Negev, e.g. yīṭṭafguw “they agree”, see Shawarbah 2007:296.

² 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 yāː tištiriy, y/ṭištiruw and y/ṭištirin. These forms were reported to be acceptable in ĞrA as well.
In ḤwA the base yāː was dropped only in the 2nd p. sg. fem.: tištiriy, but the pl. forms were y/ṭištáryuw and y/ṭištáryin.
The verb was not recorded in MIA and TAN.

Comparable forms occur with the verb ástuwa, yístiwiːː (e.g.) yìstawyin “they (pl. fem.) ripen”.

3.2.3.3.2. Measure 1-t C2 = w or y (mediae infirmae)
An example of a medial weak measure 1-t verb was not recorded (in the verb ástawa, yístiwiː the wāw is not a weak radical).

3.2.3.3.3. Measure 1-t C2 = C3 (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 miC1tiC2iC3 (underlying miC1taC2iC3), miC1taC2C3ah/ih, miC1taC2C3in, miC1taC2C3ät.
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>mixtîlîf</td>
<td>mixtîlîfh</td>
<td>mixtîlfîn</td>
<td>mixtîlfät</td>
<td>“differing”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mištîriy</td>
<td>mištîryih</td>
<td>mištîryîn</td>
<td>mištîryât</td>
<td>“having bought”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mittîfîg</td>
<td>mittîfîgh</td>
<td>mittîfîn</td>
<td>mittîfît</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, yistahwîn b “consider to be hayyîn, i.e. unimportant”.

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3.2.3.4.2. **Measure ista-1** $C_2 = y$ (*mediae infirmae*)
A measure ista-1 $C_2 = y$ (*media infirm*) verb recorded in TAṢ is ista‘āš (1st p. sg. com. ista‘išt), yista‘iš (*fi*) “choose to live (in a certain place)”.

3.2.3.4.3. **Measure ista-1** $C_2 = y$ (*tertiae infirmae*)
A measure ista-1 verbs $C_3 = y$ (*tertiae infirmae*) 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-1 verbs** $C_2 = C_3$ (*mediae geminatae*)
Patterns for medial geminate measure ista-1 verbs are: ista$aC_1aC_2C_2$, yista$aC_1iC_2C_2$.
Paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect*1</th>
<th>perfect*2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yista‘idd</td>
<td>yista‘iddaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yista‘iddin</td>
<td>ista‘add</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tista‘idd</td>
<td>tista‘iddaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tista‘iddin</td>
<td>ista‘addat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>asta‘idd</td>
<td>nista‘idd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asta‘iddin</td>
<td>ista‘iddēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nista‘iddin</td>
<td>ista‘iddētna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*1 Raising of $a$ preceding stressed $i$ occurs, but is limited (perhaps under influence of following ‘). 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 ē.
*3 In TAṢ and TyA the ending was recorded as -uw.
*4 In TyA the ending was recorded as -in, in other dialects (incl. TAṢ) as -an.

3.2.3.4.5. **Measure ista-1 participles**
Participles of measure ista-1 verbs have the pattern mista$C_1C_2iC_3$, e.g. mista‘gil, mista‘iğlih, mista‘iğlin, mista‘iğlāt “in a hurry”.

No instances were recorded of measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mista$C_1iC_2C_2$, mista‘idd, mista‘iddih, mista‘iddin, mista‘iddāt “(having) prepared”.

3.2.3.5. **Measures 2 and t-2**
The patterns for measure 2 are: (perfect) $C_1aC_2C_3aC_2$, (imperfect) $yC_1aC_2C_3iC_2$.

Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed $a$. The patterns are (perfect) ta$C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, (imperfect) yta$C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$.
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: *itgallbih* “you flip it (sg. masc.) over”, *biyāmmrūw* “they gather (harvest) with outstretched arms”.

Examples of (optional) sandhi elisions: *nṟawwāḥ alMidān* “we go to alMidān” and *bufrākkī bīlfrūd* “we mount the ploughs”.

*r* following the high vowel $i$ may inhibit its morpho-phonemic elision, e.g. *biyfakkirūw* (fi) “they look (at)” and in sandhi *ydawwir alīgṣūr* “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. *biyḥāllilūw* “they make little heaps” and (in sandhi, same root, but different meaning) *mḥallil ibnāklih yā ṭāǧil* “(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>fākkar</td>
<td>fākkaraw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fākkarat</td>
<td>fākkarān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>fakkārt</td>
<td>fakkārtuwan*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fakkārtiy</td>
<td>fakkārtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>fakkārt</td>
<td>fakkārtuna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

* TAṢ and TyA have varying -uw and -aw endings in the 3rd p. pl. masc. of the perfect, e.g. *rāwwāḥaw* “they went” and *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 infirmae*

In the imperfect apocopated forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc. may again be heard mainly in TyA and BdA, but also in: *tsaww~ tsawwiy* “you do”, *tfass~ tfassiy* “you fart”.

Paradigms for tertiae infirmae verbs are:

---

112 A *ġimr* (pl. *ġmūr*) is the quantity of harvest held in two arms.

113 The meaning of the verb *rawwāḥ*, *yrawwīḥ* is “go”, rather than its more specific meaning of “go home” (e.g. in Cairene Arabic, see Hinds and Badawi 1986).

114 *fard*, pl. *frād* is the current word for “plough”.

115 For *gaṣr*, pl. *gṣūr* see fn 42, p. 47.
### 3.2.3.5.3. Examples of measure 2 prima 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 taC1aC2C2aC3, ytaC1aC2C2aC3.

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</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>tağadda</td>
<td>tağaدادw(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tağaدادt</td>
<td>tağaدادdan(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tağaداددت</td>
<td>tağaداددتuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tağaداددتی</td>
<td>tağaداددتین</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>tağaدادد</td>
<td>tağaداددینa(^3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) The ending is -uw ~ -aw in TAŞ and TyA.
\(^2\) The ending is -in in TAŞ and TyA.
\(^3\) a of the *ta-* prefix in the perfect may be raised, e.g. *tiğaداددت*.
\(^4\) 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. *yitraţafq* “he is accompanied on his travel” (Shawarbah 2007:394), *yitraţagaw* “they meet” (ibid.:296).
3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns

Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a taC1íC3 pattern, e.g. (MSA loan) *tahrīb* “smuggling”, *taybīs* “drying (trans.)” and a gahawah-form *tağarīb* “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 mC1aC2aC3 (−ih/−ah, −in, −āt) pattern. Passive participles have a mC1C2aC3 (−ih/−ah, −in, −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 mitC1aC2aC3 (−ih/−ah, −in, −āt), e.g. *mitraḥḥil* “being on a trek”, *mitḍakkir* “remembering”, *mitkassir* “having been broken into pieces”, *mitgafffijil* “not paying attention” and (for C3 = y) *mitgaddiy* “having eaten lunch”. This is generally the case in TAṢ, ḢwA, MIA, GrA, DbA. On the other hand, also (but fewer) participles with the ta- preformative were heard, e.g. *mitamakkin*, *mitaʾakkid* “convinced” and also *mitaʾallim ~ mitʿallim* “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: taC1aC2C3, ytaC1aC2C3. 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) *yāwid* “return”, *yrāfijig* “be a travelling companion for (someone)”, *ylāgīy* “find”, (perfect) *sāfaraw* “they (masc.) traveled”, *sāfaran* “they (fem.) traveled”, *ḥārabaw* “they fought a war against”. Apocopation 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)”;88 (perfect) tarāfag “I was accompanied (on a trip)”, talāgēna “we met each other”, talāgan “they (fem.) met each other”, tāhārabaw “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 (< *talāgin) “they (fem.) meet each other”, but talāgan “they (fem.) met each other”.

3.2.3.6.2. Measures 3 and t-3 participles  
Active participles of measure 3 have the pattern mC āC iC (-ih / -ah, -in, -āt), e.g. mwāfijig “agreeing”, mlāgyih “having found (sg. fem.)”. mkāwnīn “fighting (pl. masc.)”.

A passive participle (pattern mC āC aC) is the origin for the loans mhāwalah “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 mitC āC iC (-ih / ah, -in, -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 mʾāxza119 “no offense intended”. Verbal nouns of the type tC ēC iC 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) ’aC āC iC, (imperfect) yiC āC iC and the active participle has a pattern miC āC iC (-ih, -in, -āt).

Of many examples are: arkab, yirkib, active participle mārkīb “cause (someone) to ride”, asnad, yisnid was heard in MlA for “go to Palestine” 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:

---

88 In TyA of the Negev such reduction of ta- > t- appears to be regular, see e.g. yitgahwa “he is served coffee or tea” (Shawarah 2007:374), atxayyal “I imagine” (ibid.:330).
89 bala mʾāxza is probably a loan from MSA via Cairene Arabic, hence z as a reflex for *d, see also fn 63, p. 221.
90 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”.

---
fitir (and, remarkably so, with the ‘reappearing’ a in closed syllables of the i-type perfect: fātrit), 120 yiftir.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 C = w or y (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect

The verb rād, yīrīd “want” has become measure 1 in ḤwA, ĠrA, TAṢ, BdA with participles rāydīd, rāydyih, rāydyīn, rāydyāt.

In TyA participles are mrīd, mrīdīh, mrīdīn and mrīdāt, but verb forms are without initial a: rād, rādat etc. (situation in MLA, DbA and TAN unknown).

3.2.3.7.3. Measure 4 C = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect and imperfect

In all group I dialects of southern Sinai the verb a’ṭa, yiṭiy is verbal measure 4.

In BdA, ḤwA, ĠrA, TyA, the verb dawā’, yiḍwiyy “return home before sunset (with small cattle)” is measure 1, the participles are then ḏawīy, ḏawiyih, ḏawiyīn, ḏawiyāt.

In the other tribal dialects TAṢ and ḤwA this verb is current as a measure 4. Participles are then mīḍwiyy, mīḍwiyyih, mīḍwiyyīn, mīḍwiyyāt (situation in MLA unknown).

Another tertia yāʾ measure 4 verb is agrā yigriyy, with the participle migriy “serve a proper meal to a guest”. 122

Like in group VI, a’ṭa, yiṭiy is a measure 4 verb in most dialects of group I. The perfect and imperfect paradigms for this verb 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>a’ṭa(’)</td>
<td>a’ṭaw*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>a’ṭat</td>
<td>a’tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>a’ṭayt</td>
<td>a’taytuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>a’ṭaytiy</td>
<td>a’taytin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>a’ṭayt</td>
<td>a’tayna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Also in TAṢ the ending is -aw (but often -uw elsewhere). 123

*2 Apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. forms in the imperfect of measure 4 are heard in TyA and BdA.

121 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 simi’ above in 3.2.1.1.) is applied to the root f-t-r.

122 Cf. remarks in fn 144, p. 111.

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 -aw 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: \( t'iṭ \) when followed by \# or C.

3.2.3.7.4. **Measure 4** \( C_i = w \) (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect

\( \text{awka}, \ yūkiy \) “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 \( miC_1C_2iC_3 \) pattern, e.g. \( mifṭir, mifjitrih, mifjitrin, mifjitrat \) “having eaten breakfast”.

Participles of the prima wāw/tertia yāʾ verb \( \text{awka}, \ yūkiy \) are (act. participles) \( mūkiy, mūkyih, mūkyīn \) and \( mūkyāt \) and (pass. part.) \( mawka, mawkayah, mawkayin, mawkayat \).

For mediae infirmae there are participles of the type \( mC_1iC_3 \) (-ih, -in, -āt) like \( mrid “wanting” \) (in TyA, see 3.2.3.7.2.) and also \( annās tallaw mjirin “people appeared (while) running fast” \) (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>( iḥmaṛṛ )</td>
<td>( iḥmaṛṛaw )*</td>
<td>( yiḥmaṛṛ )</td>
<td>( yiḥmaṛṛaw )*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( iḥmaṛrat )</td>
<td>( iḥmaṛran )</td>
<td>( tiḥmaṛrat )</td>
<td>( tiḥmaṛran )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>( iḥmaṛrayt )</td>
<td>( iḥmaṛraytuw )</td>
<td>( tiḥmaṛrayt )</td>
<td>( tiḥmaṛraytuw )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( iḥmaṛraytiy )</td>
<td>( iḥmaṛraytin )</td>
<td>( tiḥmaṛraytiy )</td>
<td>( tiḥmaṛraytin )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>( iḥmaṛrayt )</td>
<td>( iḥmaṛrayna )</td>
<td>( aḥmaṛrat )</td>
<td>( nihmaṛrat )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In TAṢ the endings are -\( uw \).

Participles are \( miḥmaṛr, -ah, -in, āt \)

124 Morphological \( i + w > ū \), see De Jong 2000:90.
An interesting measure 9 verb heard in ḤwA and TAṢ is *ṭḥlaww*, *yṭḥlaww* "improve (intrans.)" (for a quadriliteral verb based on the root ḥ-l-w in BdA see 3.2.3.9. below.

### Quadriliteral verbs

Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect (i) and perfect (a). The paradigms listed for group VI *ṭaẓraṭ*, *yṭaẓriṭ* "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*, *yɡawṭiṛ* (often so in DbA, ḤwA), a slightly diphthongal ow, e.g. *gowṭar*, *yɡowṭiṛ* (especially so in BdA, but also in other dialects) or monophthongal o (usually so in TAṢ, ḠrA, TyA, MIA and TAN).

The paradigms for the verbs (including bukāra-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 *ṭagahwa*, *yṭagahwa* and has the paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td><em>ṭagahwa</em></td>
<td><em>ṭagahwaw</em></td>
<td><em>yṭagahwa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td><em>ṭagahwat</em></td>
<td><em>ṭagahwan</em></td>
<td><em>ṭagahwa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td><em>ṭagahwét</em></td>
<td><em>ṭagahwétuwa</em></td>
<td><em>ṭagahwá/-a</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td><em>ṭagahwétty</em></td>
<td><em>ṭagahwétin</em></td>
<td><em>ṭagahwiỹ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td><em>ṭagahwét</em></td>
<td><em>ṭagahwéna</em></td>
<td><em>atagahwa</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Endings -aw tend to be -uw in TAṢ.

An apocopated imperative for the sg. masc. is *ṭagahw* "drink tea / coffee!" (the final cluster hw # is then resolved: *ṭagáhuw* #).

Participles are *mtagahwiỹ*, *mtagáhiwyiỹ*, *mtagáhiwyin*, *mtagáhiwyát*.

Other examples (recorded in TAṢ): *ṭagahraṣ*, *yṭagahraṣ* "wriggle the body to create a comfortable position to lie down (usually in pain)", *ṭagarmaṣ*, *yṭagarmaṣ* "wriggle the body, especially the shoulder, into soft sand to find a more comfortable position to sleep", *ṭatáwtah*, *yṭatáwtah* "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 *ihlawla, yahlawliy* expresses an increasing degree of acquiring a certain quality (here *hilw* "sweet; good; nice") “get better and better”, e.g. *algirbih ihlawlat* "the watersack became better and better (as a result of it being used)".

4. Remarks on Phraseology

4.1. Nunation

Tanwín 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*).\(^\text{126}\)

Loans from MSA which show nunation are like those listed for other dialect groups, e.g.: *tab’an* "of course", *masalan* “for instance”, *‘ammatan* “in general”, *dāyman* (in ĞrA *dīman* was recorded) “always” (< MSA *dā’imān*), *hāliyyan* “currently”, *ḥiyānan* “now and then”, *tagriyan* “approximately”.

4.2. Negation

A verb is usually negated with single *mā* + verb form.\(^\text{127}\) Examples are: *albi’īr ḥāda lah arba’ t-iyyām mā waḥrād* “this camel had not drunk for four days”, *azzar’ah ḥāda mā biykallif ya’niy sbū’ isbū’ayn* “this work on the land does not take (more than) like one, two weeks” (ĞrA), *albi’rān alimxawwarāt mā bništirīhin xalās* “the bastard camels, we don’t buy them at all’ (TyA).\(^\text{128}\)

A negated suffixed preposition is *w inn mā fīnī lay ḥa* *yl* “and suddenly there was no strength in me” (ĞrA). For the negation of ‘existential’ *fīh* see 4.5. below.

4.3. The b-imperfect

Like almost everywhere in Sinai,\(^\text{129}\) the b-imperfect to express the habitual present tense is also current in group I. Some examples are: *alkilmah hē/dmacronbelowiy bit’assir ‘alēh kibīrih* “this word has a great effect on him” (TyA), *min tum-

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\(^{126}\) Tanwín (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 Ḥweitiy 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 *mā*...*š*.


\(^{129}\) The only exception to this rule is the dialect of the Dawāγrah, see De Jong 2000:478.
mak\textsuperscript{130} ibtúnyfxah “with (lit. from) your mouth you inflate it” (MIA), gult ‘ǰimalī mā biyʿūz banzīn wala šiy’ “I said ‘my camel doesn’t need petrol or anything’” (BdA).\textsuperscript{131}

\section*{4.4. Future Marker}

To express “volition” or “need” widd + pron. suffix may be used.

Examples of widd expressing futurity/volition are: asma’, widd-axarrfak ‘ala gišṭ adqābb hāḍa “…listen, I’ll tell you the story of this lizard” (ǦrA), awṣafnī addarib…law widdī arawwiḥ min sābagat il’Iriš fi lMidān…mīn ‘indak mín-ihniy…”describe the way to me…if I want to go from the race of al’Ariš at Midān…\textsuperscript{132} from your place from here…” (TAṢ), widd-dhin…widdhin mākan…mākan, mā fīh mākan mint mā tǧīb wala hāǧih…”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 prefijixed ha- to express futurity are: iw yōm tígilbih, hayṣīr annā’im taḥát w alxašin fōg “and when you flip it over, the soft (side) will be down and the coarse (side) will be up” (MIA), law kāṭṭārit lēḥa…fa: algamiḥ…iddêtha 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), miş hatā’arfaw tištarkuw ma’ ba’ aḍkwaw “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 Aḥlāh lhīn law tas’al nuṣṣ annās iyğūl lak w Aḥlāh 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).

\section*{4.5. Ḩiḥ “there is / are”}

Examples of Ḩiḥ used to express existence or availability of something are ā Ḩiḥ garyah ismīha Midān āssibag hāḍa “yes, there is a village named Midān (where) this race (is held)” (see fn to 4.4.) (ḤwA), mīn hāḍa … ‘arāb

\textsuperscript{130} “Mouth” is more regularly afām or ōfām.

\textsuperscript{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”.

\textsuperscript{132} An annual camel race is held on the plain of Midān in northern Sinai, some 22 km west of al’Ariš, see map in De Jong 2000:654 (in appendix), location nr 26.
ihniy w fih 'arab zayy 'arab iFrayg ... “from here ... (there is) a family here and there are people like the family” of Frayg (MIA).

The negation is usually ma fih, but sometimes (K-form) mā fis may also be heard. An example is: hāḍa safiy ma fih xarraf “this is a thoroughbred, there’s no discussion (about it)” (both ǦrA).

Another current negation is māš, e.g. habbit rāsak là yṣufak algazāl ... algazāl law tār xalāṣ almiġrib biyṛūḥ māš gīzlān “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 used independently

An example of yōm used in the meaning of “when”, e.g. garrib garrib yōm ‘Awdih ča’ widdah ymidd ta lığazāl iw lan ilimhāfid biy arrid ḫ bi ṭāsih “he came nearer and nearer, (and) when ‘Awdaḥ came to take aim at the gazelle, there the Governor suddenly rose with his head (becoming visible)” (TAN), ā, háribt alWaṭyih lliy bēn ali’Lēgāt iw bēn a ... iw bèn aṣSuwālḥih ... yom taxālaṭow ... al’Lēgāt w iMzēnih ... yōm gāl aṭ’an yā aṭṭā ān “yes, the war at Watyah that took place between the ‘Lēgāt and ... the Şawālḥah ... when they attacked each other ... the ’Lēgāt and the Mzēnah ... when he said ‘let war break out!’” (BdA).135

A variant of yōm is yam, as in the example iw yam bahuṭṭ allibbih w bażammirha, iw ‘ugul ma-żammirha šwayyih kidiy, bahuṭṭ almallih “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” (ḤwA).

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. ‘urbān), see Stewart 1990:399 (glossary).
134 Garrib is an imperative form of the narrative style, see 4.14.1.
135 at an yā ta’iin “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 tistiwiyȳ* ... *biyḥuṭṭin ilḥā’ assamin iw minnih byiğilbūha* “and when it becomes cooked ... they add the ghee to it (sg. fem.) and then they stir it (sg. fem.)” (HwA).

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: *fīza’na ʿād, iw yōminna fīza’na ... sawwēna ǧīna, iw limmēna lahāmih kullah fi gaḥb aššantah* “so we ran away, and when we ran away ... we did [...] we came, and we gathered all his flesh in the bag” (DbA).

4.6.1.2.3. *min yōm*

An example of *min yōm* used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”: *kēf bitsawwiy allibbih ... min yōm ma bta’āğinha, lamma bitsaṭwīha w ithakhkhikhā* “how do you make libbah ... from the moment that you knead it (fem.), until you slap it and scrape it” (TAṢ).

4.6.1.2.4. *min yōm* in combination with *ma*

An example of *min yōm* in combination with *ma: laġāyit bitagaṭṭa’ tagṭī kidiy ... laġāyit ma yanšaf, lamma yanšaf ... yōm ma yanšaf binגיib iš ... šwālāt xayš ... šikāyir* “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” (HwA).

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 tṭallīḥha? “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 škāṛāḥ, šakāyir “gunny sack”, see Wehr 1980.
take it (fem.) out?” (TAṢ) and lamma titliḥṣa w ilḥā ēh? w ilḥā bastawik339
“when you take it (fem.) out (then) it is what? Then it is (texture like) biscuit” (ḤwA) and rabba lamma biyrid azzalāmah yikirmih 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‘ir gadd kidiy, ibyanṣaf, w ibyahasdūh “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 šāfiy “we winnow it until it becomes pure (clean) wheat” and in TAṢ bass lamman intah lam ḥaṭṭayt kidiy w šaddēt ibyīnkīr ib. iy byurubṭūh mín-taḥat f-ānnigaḷ “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 . . . ḡamal “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 kidiy “you heat (it) until it boils” (BdA).

An example of lumma recorded in TAṢ: kull ḥamāmih ‘alēha šarāk, āšṣarāk fi ktāfha min-ihniy, iw min fōg ēš? alliy hū bi ṣṣūf hā/dmacron below hā, xiṭān […] zayy kidiyyih, lumma ēš? ibyinzil aṣṣaḡir ‘a ḡamamih ‘a ẓahrāha “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”: ithuṭṭha f-aššams. lōm itġiyy, linn hi rāybih “you put it in the sun. When you come (back), there it (suddenly) is curdled (milk)” (ĞrA).

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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 Āllāhiy ʾinna gaṭáʾ ablād yā Īd. ḥatta lbarid katalna f-allēl... “By God, the land has come to misery, oh Īd. 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 inʾiš maʾhuw.. istawlāna lyahūd ṛāḥ inʾiš 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 fiḥin zayy kidyī inkānnih zaʿim 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 ilhāː... maṭabb iddrās biʿid... biyšiluw 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, binḡībih lih . . . māš ṭalāb, ibyitawakkal 'a-LLLah “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 ḏayf ġāliy bnadbaḥ lih . . . iw iskānnih ḏayf min iligrayyibīn hōḍaḷ bin’aṣṣiḥ “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 ġitnī f-allēl axarrfak ṛawāy-aktar “if you would have come to me in the evening I would have told you more stories” (BdA), (S) iw kān ‘āyz itsaww&aṣāfītih “if you want to make it (fem.) as a fattah (food dip). . . .” (S) 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 šūfūhum kān ali'Lēgāt walla sṢawālḥih “go see (pl. masc.) them (to see if they are) Lēgāt or Śawālḥah” (BdA). Another example is yōm táḥaṣdih bitdawwir lak hitt-alliy fiḥ . . . iġbāl fih malāg . . . tālígha\(^{142}\) “if they 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 ḥarīg, bitḥukkha . . . ib xūṣah . . . mā fīha ḥarīg hī bitnafffīha taṭa lak b ayyi ḥāḡah kidiy “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 ‘-Allah lit. “put one’s trust in God” is the current phrase used for “set out on a journey”.

\(^{142}\) tālígha: talg (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’ihum\textsuperscript{143} all-akbar minnī mūhum ārfínin “see those, who are older than I am, don’t know them (fem.).” Forms with apocopation are: ar’ih ģa’ “there he is (lit. has come)!”, āriḥhum ģaw “there they are (lit. have come)!”, āriḥbiy ģat “there she is (lit. has come)!” (TyA). Forms with ar’ + were also heard in TAṢ and in ĜrA ēriḥhuw “there they (masc.) are!” and ēriḥhin “there they (fem.) are!”.

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. (recorded in ĜrA) hēhu ģa’ “there he is!”, hēhī ģat “there she is!”, hēhumma ģaw “there they (masc.) are!”, hēhinnah ģan “there they (fem.) are!”.

In TAṢ forms with hā + were recorded, e.g. hāhī āmlīšikli “there’s the problem!”, but also with initial hay +, as in hayhū ģa’, hayhī ģat, hayhum ģaw, hayhin ģan. 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 alǧuṛun biyxallūh mṣallab, iwlinn al’ayš waḥād w attibin waḥād “when the (threshing on the) threshing floor has been good, he leaves it in a pile,\textsuperscript{144} and there’s the yield\textsuperscript{145} by itself (on one side) and the straw by itself (on the other side)” (ḤwA). Another example is mumkin itbarrkih min awwil maṛṛah yōm itǧíy tawgaf, iw linnih yubṛuk “you can let it kneel from the first time when you come and stand still, and then it kneels” (TyA).

\textsuperscript{143} 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.

\textsuperscript{144} 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 salība: salībit ruzz “Reiskörner (grains of rice)”, see Behnestedt and Woidich 1994:206.

\textsuperscript{145} āyš is often used in the general meaning of “food”. Here the reference is clearly to the yield of the harvest.
An example with both *wlā* and *wlin* is: *w ihniyyih w lā wāhid ligītih bā‘adēn iw linnih biytālīb fay wlin biygūl lay gār itsūg aljīrīh inta gīt 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)’” (*ḠrA*). Another example is *iwlin mā fīh ‘ašā* “and there’s (suddenly) no dinner” (*TAN*).

An example of suffixed *winn* is: *iw ţīna, w Ḩlāhiyy w innah lğaww zēn “and we came, by God, and (suddenly) the weather was fine” (*DbA*).

A variant *wlan* was also recorded, as in *iw lan ilimḥāfiji biy arrid ib rāsih “there suddenly the Governor rose with his head (becoming visible)” (*TAN*).

### 4.8.4. Particle *wlā*

An example of the presentative particle *wlā* is *w lā wāḥid ligītih “and (suddenly) there was someone I ran into to”* (see preceding paragraph 4.8.3.).

### 4.9. ġayr

*ġār (< *ġayr*) may be used (in all dialects discussed here) preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action, e.g. *albu ropyār gār ibyitatbatba’an. ya‘niy ibi‘ir iw hū ēs, min fūg āssinah ibtabda mi‘āh taṭbi‘ ittabi‘ 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” (*TAṢ*) and another example *alliy ʿāwiz iy…īynawwi f-álbīl ássibag imn ássibag ha biywaddih imn álğimal ha…masalan imṣayyiṭ alļǧimal a/tmacronbelow/tmacronbelowāniy imṣayyiṭ. ġāṛ yiṭlig ropyār 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 *irkān* (presumably < *ġayr kān*) “need be, be only” was heard in *TAṢ*: *alḥīn intuw sūkuw…iw ṭalabātkuw rkān alMāṣūrah “now, you, your market . . . and your shopping goods are only from alMāṣūrah” and in *BdA hāda-rkān māk mā‘āk yūkutlak ʾāḏama fīh “(in) this (place) you need to have water with you, otherwise thirst will kill you there (lit. in it)”.

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146 This presentative was also heard by Holes and Abu Athera (2009:227) in the poetry of the Ḥwēṭṭiy 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: *hāda la rasmiy 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: *widdiyāk itxaṛīfni* “I want you to tell me” (TAṢ) and *alblād bass lissāʿ widdha takrīm* “but the land still needs to be prepared for agriculture”¹⁴⁷ (ḠrA) and *widd* being translatable with “want” or “in order to” in *garrib garrib yōm ‘Awdih ġā* *widdah ymīdd ‘a lģazāl īw lan ililmāfīd biy’arrid ib 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 *ād widd-agūl lak, ṣallīy *ā-nnibiy* “he doesn’t know (about it) like you…(interviewee) No, this I’ll tell you then, pray for the Prophet…”,¹⁴⁸ *widd-agūl lak ‘ala ttamir* “I’ll tell you about the dates” (both examples BdA).

An example of *widd* expressing necessity from the viewpoint of the speaker is: *ṭayyib, halẖin widdak itgūl lay kēf biysawww ssamin aššīḥiy* “okay, now you need to tell me how they make šīḥiy ghee” (TAṢ).

4.12. ‘ād

The particle *‘ād* is extremely current to express “so, thus, then”. Examples are: *ṛāyib . . . biyḥuṭṭūha fiji ssi* *‘ād bitṣīr ēh? imsawwyīn ṛawāǧīḥ l* *assī*i’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”¹⁴⁹ (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 Dahāb?” (TAṢ) and *iw bingayyil wē:n iw bingayyil nuṣṣ alblādāt ‘ādiy ana w Aḷḷāh zamān . . . iyām ḥarīb . . . “and where do we rest during the heat of the day? And so we’d

¹⁴⁷ A *ḵaṛm* (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 1985:59.
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 ḥāda wāḥid alḥān tilī...min alliy byaḥāmow “so this was then someone now...who came forth from those who have a sound understanding” (TAŠ) and wagit ma dannat allibbah taharkalat hassētha, yabga llibbah āstuwat “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). álǧimal byiddīha ţamal...yabga šārat fiḥa ţimāl...“the (male) camel gives her a camel...so then there has come a camel in her...” (BdA). Another example in ĞrA is kull biyrawwiḥ bētih xalāṣ...yabga...kull rawwah bētih, biy/dmacronbeloẉall al ģarīs... “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). álǧimal byiddīha ţamal...yabga...kull rawwah bētih, biy/dmacronbeloẉall al ģarīs... “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). Another example in ĞrA is kull biyrawwiḥ bētih xalāṣ...yabga...kull rawwah bētih, biy/dmacronbeloẉall al ģarīs... “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).

4.14. Characteristics of the Narrative Style

4.14.1. Imperative of narration

Some examples of the imperative of narration are: garrib yā mḥāfiji/dmacronbeloẉ iw garrib iw garrib, iw ‘Awdah māh iw garrib w úxumruw iw garrib...alimḥāfiḍ biy/arrid ib rāsiḥ kidîyyān alģazāl šāfiḥ šārad...“the Governor came nearer50 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 arrḡāl iw hāt arrḡāl “(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’...ifwāg ‘a talaṭ t-iyyām...“that is, we used to organize it (fem.)...in heats (held) over three days...” (ḤwA),

50 The narrative imperative used directly addresses the Governor: (lit.) “Come nearer, oh Governor”.
phraseology, characteristics of the narrative style

inǧīblak karrūsiah walla ṣhāzāt? gult la’ inṣūf alīghāzāt…law karrūsah\textsuperscript{54} kān lagētnī l alḥīn al’amaliyyah ta’bānih “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’ xarāřif zamān biygūl lak int tağawwaz w int mintah ‘ārifhiy,\textsuperscript{53} mā bitšūfha gār kān bitjiy ‘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 stdafx iv kān biybi‘ūh wēn? “Okay, and where would they sell it (sg. masc.)?” (TAṢ), iv kān alimhaḏīḏ īnymī: l ‘alā-lijimal iv kā:n ʿyfassiy...“and the Governor (all the way) over to the side on the camel and farted...” (TAN) and anā mānī ‘ārif, mā-na kān bataṣayyad ma’ nās bass hū fi ‘ēš f-āxiṛ 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 kānát zamān alliy biygūl w lēhiy Šēxah bittill lay “this woman whom they called Šēxah in the old days used to come and look in on me” (TyA) (bittill < bittill).

4.14.3. Dativus ethicus

Some instances of the ethic dative are:\textsuperscript{55} lamma biyšūfah saqir, biygūm ibyiṭilg lak ānnigal ḥāda “when a falcon sees it, he’ll then set the nagal free (for you)” (TAN), aṣiḥ fīh aṭṭabī ih, lamma lḥīn hā/dmacronbelowiy āfīn ṭabī ih Sīnah kēf, banaw lak fī hittah 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).\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{54} karrūsiah, lit. “little chair” shaped on the dim. pattern C\textsubscript{a}C\textsubscript{C}C\textsubscript{ū}C\textsubscript{ah}. 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.

\textsuperscript{53} The interviewer, who is a Tuṛbāniy from Ṛās Ṣadr, here imitates a more north-eastern type of dialect by substituting -ha with -hiy, the latter of which is also characteristic of TyA, but not of his own dialect (TAṢ).

\textsuperscript{55} Holes and Abu Athera (2009:228) also report instances in the poetry of the Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk from southern Jordan.

\textsuperscript{54} In the past people have built in the wadi that runs straight through Ḍahab. 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: luğuṃ min aḥuw ṭhayāt “a mine with disks” (broken pl. ṭhiy), dawyāt “(types of) medicine(s)” (broken pl. ádiwyih) (TAṢ), arba’ sanawāt “four years” (broken pl. snīn) (MlA), talāt marṣāt “three times” (TAN), ḡāzāt “artificial legs” (broken pl. áǧihzih) (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 aṛba’ ḡuǧān mi’ ba’āḏhuw… xamsih, ibyiGrün lēhin ihtnēn kilīh ṭalāṭah kilīh… “four camel riders race (for themselves) each other… five, they (pl. fem.) run (for themselves) two kilometres, three kilometres” (ḠrA). Another example is: ḥaṣa lbān, iw sukkuṯ fiḏdiy, w alḥilbih…(I) w alḥilbih…(X) ayawah…hāḏōl tarayyag biḥin aṣṣubuḥ ‘a-xal-arriq…(I) ‘a-xal-arriq…(X) ayawah saba’a t-īyyām… min yōmin tibdiy fi hāḏōl lamma tōḥih…(I) tamām… “rosemary, white (lit. silver) sugar and fenugreek…(I) and fenugreek…(X) Yes, these you have for breakfast in the morning on an empty stomach…(I) 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.

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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 awfū, yūfy (or yōfy) “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 Šarqiyah 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: axad, tär, ḍarb, In dialect B: axad, tär, ḍarb and in dialect C: axad ~ axad, tär ~ tär, ḍarb ~ ḍarb

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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.

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 shared by all dialects in the central and southern Sinai are listed here:

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.

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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.
‘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 q in which *d and *q have merged (additional difference for central and southern Sinai) (cf. 1.1.2.)\(^5\) (B-S).

No MAP 2 in this volume (MAP 2 in 2000).

No MAP 3 in this volume (MAP 3 in 2000).

A. Like in northern Sinai, all dialects in central and southern Sinai have affricate ġ or fricative ž (or both in free variation) for *ġ (no map, cf. 1.1.4.) (B-S).

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.) (B-S).

\(^5\) In the north dialects were identified where q and t were disappearing (Axrasiy, AxA), or had already disappeared (Biyaydly, BA), see De Jong 2000:331–332 and maps 2 and 3 (in ibid., appendix).
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 $C_2 (C_aC_a)$ when $C_3 (C_b)$ is followed by V, i.e. a cluster $C_aC_aC_bV > C_aC_bV$: 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 btā’, šuql, ḥagg (MAP 29, cf. 3.11.) (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 māṛ / mēr “so, then, but”, māṛ was heard only in MlA (no map) (B-S).

L. Use of interrogative ḏalām + pron. suffix “why, what for?”: like in northern Sinai, this interrogative has been recorded in several dialects, like the example ḏalāmuk y-Abu 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 -ḳuw) ~ -kum (or -ḳum) (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 (‘AgA 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 Samā‘nah had migrated from the southern mountainous region of aţ-Ţūr to the Gaţyah oasis, where they reside today. This migration, as I was told one day by an older Smē‘niy, 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 ‘AgA 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 ‘AgA such velarization would be attributable -k, resulting in a compromise form by transferring its velarization onto the new pron. suffix -aḳ (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 aṛ-Ramlah near Ġabal Ḥmayyir—have considerably less contact with other group I tribes like Tiyāha, Ḥwēṭāt and Taṛābīn (of Nwēbi).⁸

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 kīṭūr are adduced.

⁷ Von Oppenheim 1943:64 mentions that (in my translation) “parts of the ‘Olēḳāt have settled in Upper Egypt […] Nowadays they mostly call themselves ‘Ogēlāt”. These ‘Ogēlāt may well be related to the ‘Agāylah (i.e. speakers of ‘AgA) whom we find today as neighbours of the Samā‘nah in Bir Gaţyah, 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 *kbār and *ktār, or velarization lacks and /ā/ is even realized relatively high (near IPA [ɛː]), as in *kbār and *ktār. In group VI realizations are *kbār, but no velarization in *ktār.

5. Partial or complete monophthongization of older diphthongs *ay and *aw and possible phonemic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ (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 /ē/ and /ī/ (e.g. sēf ~ sīf “sword”, šēx ~ šīx “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. katāb > kitāb and bakāriǧ > bikāriǧ).

8. Raising of the feminine suffix (T) (often referred to as ‘imālah 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 *-ā’ > -īy, or less extreme raising > -i’ (MAP 9, cf. 1.2.4.4.) (B-S).

MAP 9 in this volume (*MAP 9 in 2000*) illustrates the different reflexes of final -ā(’) in neutral (i.e. non-velarized) environments encountered in Sinai.

10. Absence of raising of final -ā or -ā’ (MAP 10, cf. 1.2.4.4.).

MAP 10 in this volume (*MAP 10 in 2000*) shows reflexes of final -ā(’) 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”, tinhāṭṭ “it (sg. fem.) is placed”, aššāṭṭ or iššāṭṭ “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 Nağdiy 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 CaC, 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 ā (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 CaCūC(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 *aCCaC 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 -ni).

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 presence/absence 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 māːː mākil, māxiv.

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 ō- (i.e. iǧa or iǧa 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. 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)staC1C2aC3, yistaC1C2iC3 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. 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. 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 C1awC2aC3, yC1awC2iC3–type (cf. 3.2.3.9.)
   (B-S).
   No MAP 66 in this volume. MAP 66 in 2000 is on the typically ‘Bed-
   ouin’ verb-type with inserted wāw C_iC2aC3 (or C_1awC2aC3), yC_iC2iC3
   (or yC_1awC2iC3). 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. MAP 67 in 2000 is on sg. fem. act. partici-
   ples followed by an obj. suffix: a construct state results, or does not.
   In all dialects of central and southern Sinai a construct state will result,
   e.g. hī mrīdtah or rāyidtah "she wants him".

68. Negation: single mā or compound ma…+ š (cf. 4.2.) (B-S).
   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. MAP 69 in 2000 is on use of the b-imper-
   fect. 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. 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).
   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) ḡām (cf. 4.7.1).
   MAP 72 (MAP 72 in 2000) is on the occurrence of ḡām as a “marker of consequent action” for the conjunction “when”. This ḡām is not regular in central or southern Sinai dialects; only in `LA 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 `ala “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. 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 o 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: $(6.5 : 88) \times 100 = 7.386364$. 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 MlA.

4 differences: 23), 39), 48), 87)
7 uncertain differences: 4), 27), 37), 72), 77), 79), 82)
5 partial differences: 14), 45), 46), 47), 78)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 88) 7.4%

–2– Isogloss bundle nr –2– distinguishes MlA from nTA.

2 differences: 16), 58)
11 uncertain differences: 4), 23), 57), 72), 76), 77), 78), 79), 81), 82), 87)
5 partial differences: 14), 40), 45), 46), 47)

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), 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), 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), 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* (‘*ałēh* > ’*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 ĞrA.

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 ĞrA 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%
–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 (ʻalēh > ʻilēh 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 (ʻalēh > ʻilēh 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 ‘LA 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 ‘LA 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%


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 ṢwA 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 ṢwA 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*1, *2) 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)*2, 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 ĞbA.

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 ĞbA from MzA.

21 (minus 2 *1 *3) differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 26), 31)*, 48), 52), 57), 58), 62), 68), 71), 78), 79), 80), 84)*, 86)
0 uncertain differences
9 partial differences: 16), 25), 27), 28), 42), 61)*, 81), 82), 85)*

*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)*, 42), 73), 75), 77), 79)*, 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. pronominal, therefore a partial difference is concluded.

Total 32 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 33.7%

Isogloss bundle nr –33– distinguishes BWA from ĞbA.

27 differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 31)*, 37), 46), 48), 52), 57), 58), 61), 62), 68), 71), 78), 80), 82), 83), 84), 85), 86)
o 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) o 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)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

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 Wāsil, 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)

* 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 Wāsil, 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–ǦbA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5/95</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–30–</td>
<td>(GrA–ǦbA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5/95</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–2–</td>
<td>(MIA–nTA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11/84</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–10–</td>
<td>(DbA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.5/95</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–1–</td>
<td>(SA–MIA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7/88</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–4–</td>
<td>(‘AyA–AbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>7/86</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–3–</td>
<td>(nTA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>9/86</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–18–</td>
<td>(BdA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>8.5/95</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–21–</td>
<td>(TyA–TAN)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9/95</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–8–</td>
<td>(TyA–AbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2/93</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–9–</td>
<td>(AbA–DbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3/93</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–5–</td>
<td>(‘AyA–ḤwA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>10/85</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–12–</td>
<td>(GrA–ḤmA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>9.5/95</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–22–</td>
<td>(‘LA–ḤmA)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10/95</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–15–</td>
<td>(ḤmA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10/95</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–11–</td>
<td>(ṬA–GrA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>10.5/95</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–6–</td>
<td>(ḤmA–AbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>1/10.5</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–17–</td>
<td>(ḤmA–BdA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11/95</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–19–</td>
<td>(ḤmA–ṬA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>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>(‘LA–ṢwA)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15/95</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–7–</td>
<td>(ḤmA–ṬA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>15.5/95</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–25–</td>
<td>(‘LA–GrA)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16/95</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–31–</td>
<td>(ǦbA–MzA)</td>
<td>VII–VI</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>23.5/95</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–27–</td>
<td>(MzA–ASA)</td>
<td>VI–VI</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25/95</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–29–</td>
<td>(GrA–MzA)</td>
<td>VII–VI</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–VI</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 Ḥamāḍah is considerably smaller (in terms of numbers of members) than the neighbouring tribes of ’Lēgāt 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).

---

Isoglosses

<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>−34−</td>
<td>(ASA–BWA)</td>
<td>VII–VI</td>
<td>31-5</td>
<td>(31.5/95)</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−32−</td>
<td>(BWA–GrA)</td>
<td>VI–VII</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>(32/95)</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−33−</td>
<td>(BWA–ḠA)</td>
<td>VI–VII</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>(32/95)</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−28−</td>
<td>(MzA–TAN)</td>
<td>VI–I</td>
<td>34-5</td>
<td>(34.5/95)</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−14−</td>
<td>(ḠA–’LA)</td>
<td>I–VIII</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>(35/95)</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−13−</td>
<td>(TAṢ–’LA)</td>
<td>I–VIII</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>(37.5/95)</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−20−</td>
<td>(*LA–BdA)</td>
<td>VIII–I</td>
<td>41-5</td>
<td>(41.5/95)</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−16−</td>
<td>(*LA–ḤwA)</td>
<td>VIII–I</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>(42/95)</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−24−</td>
<td>(BdA–ṢwA)</td>
<td>I–VII</td>
<td>45-5</td>
<td>(45.5/95)</td>
<td>47.9%</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 ʿLA have been assigned to different groups, even though the MDS plots and the step method both show relative typological proximity. The choice to isolate ʿLA 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 ʿLA 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 ʿLA to a separate group is in the type of characteristics that distinguish ʿLA from ḤmA (see next paragraph). In any case, ḤmA is not a proto-typical representative of group VII.¹

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 ʿLA 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 ʿLA and ḤmA show relatively few differences, in cases where they do, ʿLA 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 ʿLA are cited. We see here that ʿLA leans towards group I with its imperative forms ḱul, ḱul, ḱum, ḱil and ṅām (without a stressed initial vowel), whereas ṬwA dialects generally do show such vowels, e.g. (ṬwA) ʿukul “eat!”, ʿugum “stand up!”, ḱil “carry!” and ṅām “go to sleep!”.

¹ 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 *kibīr* and *kitīr* (*kbār* and *ktār* in ‘LA), but lack of velarization in both forms in ṬwA (*kbār* and *ktār*), and ‘LA thus takes up an intermediate position between groups VII and I (the latter having *kbār* and *ktār*).

Another illustration of ‘LA 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 ‘LA all have CaCáC or CiCiC, while group VII will stress CáCaC and CiCiC, but in ‘LA 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 ‘LA, or even group I for that matter. The situation in ‘LA would then be an indication of influences from surrounding group I dialects, if it is not an original feature of ‘LA itself.

There is also the example of a stressable article in the sequence aḷCaCaC (see 2.1.1.): in ‘LA, like in group I, aḷCaCaC is the rule, whereas in group VII (excluding ḤmA) iḷCaCaC is regular. ḤmA takes up an intermediate position here, allowing both possibilities as parallel options.

If we combine stressability of the vowel 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. áḷbaṣal and áṅwakal), group VII will stress neither (in group VII áḷbāṣal and inwākal), while ‘LA will stress the article, but not the initial vowel in preformatives of the perfect of n-1 or 1-t measures (áḷbaṣal, but inwākal and ittāfag).

In the negation of verb forms (see 4.2.), we see that ‘LA 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 ‘LA 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 v-k, vC-k or CC-ik, both ‘LA and ḤmA have -ik when not directly preceded by v, but -kiy when v 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’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

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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.\(^\text{14}\)

An example to cite here is the parallel existence of -’u\(^k\) and -a\(^k\) pronominal suffixes for the 2nd p. sg. masc. in the dialect of older speakers of group II in the north.\(^\text{15}\) 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 aṭ-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 Biyyāḍiy (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 ḏ for merged *ḏ 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.
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.

All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

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. āwalad, āndařarab, āttāfag). In group VII the article is not stressed (e.g. īlwālad), although in ḤmA both stress-types are used (e.g. āwalad ~ īlwālad). In group VIII the article is also a stressable unit (e.g. āwalad).

Preformatives of the perfect forms of measures n-1 and 1-t are not stressed in groups VII and VIII (e.g. īndārab, īttāfag).

Groups 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. ḥmār, sģūr). Groups I, VI, VIII and also ḤmA and (part of) ĜbA of group VII have initial CC in CCv... (e.g. ʿnab “grapes”, gṛab “watersacks”). Other group VII dialects have however morphologically resolved the initial cluster in this pattern with an initial vowel (e.g. ʿaṅab, āgrab).

Groups I, VI, VIII and ḤmA and ĜbA of VII score 1. Other dialects of group VII score 0.5.


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 d in demonstratives hād+, 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 d 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 min “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 hnūh. Group VI has hnūh ~ hnōtiy or hnnūtiy, groups VII and VIII have hnōtiy or hnnūtiy. In all dialects the occasional K-form hnnāk can be heard.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.¹⁸

46. Adverb for “here”: group I and BWA have hnīy (or hnīyyih, and in the central eastern Sinai hnīyyān(iy)), groups VII and VIII and MzA have nihāʾ(’) ~ nihāniy. In all dialects the K-form hina (often in its adapted shape as hīnīh or hīnīy).
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.¹⁹

47. Preposition l + vowel-initial suffix: group I has lah or līh. Groups VI, VII and VIII have luh.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1 (see remarks on the suffixes -uh or -ah / -ih below).

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¹⁸ Since the true ‘sedentary’ form (i.e. a form used in the Nile Delta and Cairo) is h(i)nāk, I regard hnōtiy or hnnūtiy as ‘Bedouin’ in this context.
¹⁹ Since the true ‘sedentary’ form (i.e. a form used in the Nile Delta and Cairo) is hīnā, I regard nihāʾ(’) or nihāniy as ‘Bedouin’ in this context.
53. Vowel harmony in the imperfect prefix of verbal measure 1: *yašrab*, *yiktib*, *yug*踊跃. All dialects in central and southern Sinai show such harmonized vowels.

All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

56. Imperfect of primae *wāw* verbs: none of the Bedouin dialects of central and southern Sinai have a morphologically patterned diphthong *iw*. 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 + š(i). Group I, ʿLA (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 + -š).

Groups I, VIII (ʿLA) 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 (ʿLA) 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 Ḥamādqah, 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 Ḍullām 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 Mžēnah 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 Mžēnah 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 Mžēnah. On the other hand, a development mirroring this hypothetical development could have also taken place, i.e. the Mžēnah 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) ʾísti “winter; rain”, āgrab “watersacks” (which in group I are more typically šty 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 -uh, -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 > ṣṣgūr “the falcons” and al + trāb > attrāb “the dust”, one may conclude that initial CC in such morphophonemic patterns is tolerated. Similarly in a pattern CCāC like al + śwar > ṣṣwar “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)liṣgūr, (i)litṛāb and (i)liswar, we have to conclude morphophonemic base patterns |iCCūC|, |iCCāC| and |iCCaC|. In the latter pattern the preceding (originally anaptyctic) i is then usually stressed on the vowel of the newly available heavy sequence, as in āṣwar, 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 ɖ) in their phoneme inventories. We have seen that in the north the dialect of the Biyyâdiyyah has lost ‘neutral’ interdentals t, d, and that the dialect of the Axârsah (both of group III) is in a process of losing t and 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 ʿLēgāt and Ṣawālḥah lived in the Šarqiyyah before they moved to Sinai almost seven centuries ago (see quote in Introduction, I. d., remark *), 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 ʿLēgāt, one could perhaps speak of re-bedouinization of these dialects; Bedouin features would then have been (re-)introduced into ŚwA and ‘LA 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.
corroborated if we could somehow definitively establish the shape of an earlier type of eastern Šarqāwy, which is not possible at this stage. We simply do not know the characteristics of the dialect-type (or even different 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 example 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 evidence of such or comparable hypercorrections.

It is more likely that these collectives (the ʿLēgāt and the Ṣawālḥah) 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 situation would be comparable to the situation of the dialect spoken by the Rašāydah, who are known to have continued to speak their own Nağdí 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. dīrah) 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 Ġbāliyyah 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 šuğl as the genitive exponent, whereas ḥagg appears to

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28 See also remarks in De Jong 2000:39.
29 Hobbs 1995:140 reports that of the estimated 300 families (or 1,500 souls) of the Ġbāliyyah, around half live within a 5 kilometre radius fom the monastery, and the other half live in aṭ-Ṭarfa.
be more current with Mzêniy speakers who live more inland, i.e. in the mountains (see 3.1.11.)\(^{30}\)

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,\(^{31}\) 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.\(^{32}\)

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,\(^{33}\) 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 (ʿLA) (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.\(^{34}\) In figure 1 of the appendix the escarpment

\(^{30}\) Palva 1984–1986:307 remarks that ḥagg "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 ʿAqabah (location appr. 29.25.50 North and 34.49.50 East, see Google Earth), which is accepted by Taṛābin 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 Dawāṛarah 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 Crystaline base, see webpage http://www.awayaway-sinai.net/main/about_sina.htm (accessed 10-18-2010).

\(^{34}\) Oral communication from members of the Badāṛarah in the field, and who now live in ar-ᴿamlah, the sandy area just to the south of this escarpment. Von Oppenheim 1943:152–153 also mentions the Bedāra (in his transcription) as one of the oldest tribes in Sinai, living on Ǧabal ʿIǧmah, who were in a ḥilf (alliance) with the Tayāḥa in older times, after which they had ‘Beziehungen’ (relations) with the Ṭuwa-ra (ʿLēgāt) as well, and have ‘now’ (i.e. in his day) returned again to their old protectors the Tayāḥa. I had the impression during my visits that they had now returned to their earlier protectors the ʿLēgāt again.
is visible in the map as the darker shade of grey between the brownish/pink area to the south (the area aptly named ar-ıRamlah, indicated on the map as Debbet er Ramleh) and the high granite mountains of at-ıTür and the grey area to the north (limestone plateau of at-Tıh). This escarpment is very difficult to traverse.35

Another example is the isogloss bundle between the dialect of Taırbıñ 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 Wädiy Watır—the Taırbıñ 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 Turıbnıy informant.

In Wädiy aș-ıŚex the tribal border between the Mzēnah and Ġbāliyyah is the (nowadays) asfalt road that leads through Wädiy aș-ıŚex (to Wädiy Fērān): at the stretch of this road to the west of at-ıTarfa Mzēniy territory lies to the north and the territory to the south is claimed by the Ġbāliyyah.

The dialects of Baniy Wäşil and the Mzēnah show a number of important similarities. Since the Baniy Wäşil 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 Wäşil 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 Wädiy Šlāf; 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 Tıh Plateau to the ‘Dividing Valleys’ (of which the ar-ıRamlah 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 ‘Lēgāt and Taṛābīn, when the ‘Lēgāt, supported in their territorial ambitions by the Ġarāğrah tried to move into Turbāniy territory south of Ṛās 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 ‘Lēgāt sentenced in this Bedouin court of justice for their expansionist aspirations, the Ġarāğrah too were fined a substantial sum for choosing the ‘Lēgiy side in this dispute.39

g. 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 𝑣, or invariably so (i.e. preceded by any combination of vowels and/or consonants, like in group I) (see MAP 37).

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 $hnîy$ 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 $matâ$, not like in the surrounding dialects (where one will hear $(i)mtēh, mtēn,$ or $mitēn$) (see MAP 82).
- 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms and sg. masc. imperatives of mediae infirmae 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) $-ā'$ (when preceded by an emphatic) is used as parallel to (with long vowel) $-ā(')$ (like in surrounding dialects) for $*-ā(')$, e.g. $fiḍā'$ “free time”, but $rḥā'$ “hand mill”.
- Like in group I, $wîdd$ is used to express “want, need”, parallel to $bîdd$, 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 $sāḡ$ (as opposed to $šāz$ in surrounding dialects). The game of $sīḡh$ ($sīḡh$ in group I), however, is referred to as $šīzih$, like in surrounding dialects.
- The demonstrative for the pl. com. “these” may be heard with initial $hā-$ (i.e. $hāḍīl$), as opposed to surrounding dialects, where only forms without such initial $hā-$ are current (this may be due to MzA, which has $hāḍīl$ 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 Baniy Wāṣil 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”: ʾamm (like in MzA and group I) as opposed to ʾummt in surrounding dialects (see MAP 26).
- The form of the preposition “with” + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix is mʾuh “with him” and is identical to the form in MzA (and ḨmA), but surrounding and group I dialects have different forms (see MAP 48).
- The 3rd p. sg. fem. perfect of ī-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 yiğiy and iğiy is like in MzA, but forms differ from surrounding and group I dialects (see MAP 61).
- For the pl. masc. personal pronominal for “they” huwwa is current, like in MzA (but most group I dialects have huṃ(ṃa)) (see MAP 78).
- The reflex for final *-ā in a-type tertiae infirmae (yāʾ) 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 II. 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.

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/Lo4/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 TAṢ 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 TAṢ 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 ‘āylah.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>

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41 Von Oppenheim 1943:154–155 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.:155, note 5). Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:307 also lists the Dubūr as one of the branches of the Ḥwēṭāt.
The dīrahs 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 Ǧaṣ Sadr to the main (west-east through central Sinai) road Mitla⁴²–Nixl, where some families of the Ahaywāt live, not far north of Qalʿat al-Ǧindiy.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 Šarqīyyah (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 Dwēģrīy (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 Šarqāwi) 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).

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⁴² Originally ʿUmm ʿIflah, see remark in fn 7, p. 3.
⁴³ Qalʿat al-Ǧindiy 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 2000⁴⁷ a remark from an older speaker of Smēʿniy (SaA of group II in the north) was quoted, in which he claimed that his tribe had until a hundred years earlier lived in aṭ-Ṭūr;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 Samāʾnah. 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 ĠrA (of different groups: VI and I resp.) is plotted as shorter than the distance between, e.g., ĠrA 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 ĠrA and MlA.

In this Proxscal MDS plot we see that the distance between ĠrA and MlA has been restored as being relatively shorter than the distance between ĠrA and BWA (dissimilarities are: BWA – MlA = 76, ĠrA – MlA

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⁴⁷ See p. 246. For illustration of similarities of these dialects cf. MAPS in the appendix of this volume.
⁴⁸ The name aṭ-Ṭūr is generally used to refer to the high mountainous area in southern Sinai, roughly where the Ṭuwa�� tribes live.
Excessive stress causing such distortions in these two-dimensional representations is less problematic in the MDS plot Euclidean Binary generated by Alscal of the SPSS (see p. 374).

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.\footnote{See remarks in Trudgill 1986:39, where the relevance of the geographic parameter of diffusion models is stressed.} In this way the dialects of the different tribes have coalesced (though not entirely) to form a ‘phylum’,\footnote{See also Palva 2008b:401 “[...] the Ṭawāra 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”.} which now covers the southern tip of Sinai. Several processes of focusing must have taken place. One clear example is the spread of the \(\text{ }(u)\kappa\) (masc.) and \(\text{(i)k}\) (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\footnote{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).} (generated with the Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of the SPSS) to cluster the dialects of Sinai (including Negev Arabic, ḌA). It is important to remember that a dendrogram illustrates degrees of similarity (or dissimilarity), and
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):
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).55

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).

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 Ḥwēṭāt.
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 Ġarāǧrah 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 Ġarāǧrah (ĠrA), 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.

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 2000:11.
Remark: The Garāṛšah 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.


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 Ṭāṭiyāya.
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 Ğidy 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 Naḡdiy 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).

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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 Ğidy pass about 20 km north of the Mītla 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 Ğabal alǦidy, and to the north of Șadr 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 duxula), 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”.

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’.66 The abbreviation ḤwA is used here to refer to my 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 authors67 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]).68

A glottal stop often follows final stressed -a in a pause (Barrāk:296): e.g. ǧa’ “he came”.

A similar situation in ḤwA, but ʾ is also often heard following unstressed final -a, e.g. áfda’ “I sacrifice”, taǧādda’ “he had lunch”, biyrīda’ “he wants (i.e. loves) her” and ál’āša’ “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.

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66 “Barrāk” for the poet Barrāk Dāġiš Ğāziy Abyuw Tāyih al-Ḥuwayṭiy recorded in Holes and Abu Athera 2009:83–108. Some of his poems appear there in transcription. He is from al-Ǧafr in southern Jordan (see ibid.:8), some 150 km northeast of ʿAqabah.

67 For the notation in transcription the interpretation of Said Salman Abu Athera was taken as a starting point for the texts, which were only available on paper (the poet himself had passed away in 1999). Said is himself a Bedouin of the Taṛābīn, born in the Gaza area, and was raised in Jordan (Clive Holes, personal communication). Chances are therefore considerable that in Barrāk’s transcribed poems Said’s own Turbāniy or perhaps (partly) Jordanian dialect shines through.

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. ˒ayn “eye”, xaymih “tent”, nusṣayn “two halves”, sayf “summer”, ḥawlīy “I went home before sunset”, ḥawlīy “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, gawṭar “he went”. The diphthong in ˒ayš “bread” was often realised lengthened: ˒ay/lengthfull in ḤwA.

In Barrāk only a few diphthongs occur, e.g. ḥawl (p. 93, l. 5), at-ṭubayg, (p. 96, l. 37), taw’în (p. 101, l. 4) but more regularly monophthongs are found following back spirants and velarized consonants, e.g.: ḥēl and xēl (p. 94, ll. 14 and 16) (but here perhaps to rhyme with sēl and mēl), ḥēt (p. 95, l. 30), ˒ēn (p. 96, l. 43), ṭēr (p. 100, l. 29), ḡēr (p. 100, l. 32), baǧētah (p. 101, l. 4) (here rhyming with nagētah and lagētah), sēf (p. 101, l. 5), a˒ṭētah and na˒ētah (p. 102, ll. 20 and 21).

In terms of stress, the only difference 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 CaCáC from ḤwA are malág “hard soil/rock (i.e. where no foot prints will be visible)”, libán “milk” and a gahawah-form ḡahár “back”. ḤwA examples for CaCaCv are sibágah “race”, zalámah “man”, gaháwah “coffee”, hanákak “your mouth”, afámak “your mouth”, tahárid (˒ala) “you go up (to)”, na˒ārif “we know”.

In ḤwJ we see forms like (following numbers refer to pages in Palva 2004)

ritam “retum (firewood)” (203) and siġar “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 ga dat, ga dow/-u and ga din by replacing them with the forms ga adat, ga adow/-u and ga adin, we are now faced with a new question: why is *katab + at stressed k(i)tábat, whereas ga ad + at is stressed, I assume, ga adat? This assumption is not without ground: the form ga dat could not have been listed if the proper form is ga 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 ga dat could therefore only be made because the proper form is ga adat.

When gahawah-forms are involved, we do find a CaCaCv stress-type, e.g. ba˒aḏa (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”, ángalab/yíngilib (imperfect in ḤwJ would be yángalib) “be overturned”, áttafag/yíttifig (imperfect in ḤwJ would be yáttafifig) “agree”, binti “my daughter”, darabatni “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. 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 resyllabified in conformity with the Naǧdiy resyllabification rule are (forms listed in square brackets are proper ḤwA forms):

ghawah (1984–1986:303) [gaháwah], yģazu “they raid” (201) [yaġázuw],
3 instances of nxabiz “we bake” (202) [naxábiz], 3 instances of n’äǧin “we knead” (202) [ná’aǧín], 2 instances of nğazil “we spin”, nğážila “we spin it” (203) [náŋázil and náąžálah] and nhasid “we harvest” (204) [naháṣid].

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70 I have not listed CaCaC forms preceded by the (stressed) article. Other forms in ḤwJ without such raising are balad (204), haǧar (204, 205, 206), masak (206), walad (206), ’išar (207), suňa (207), nasab (207) and hašal (208). Interestingly, in the paradigms for kitab and širib (see Palva 1984–1986:299), $i$ of the first syllable may only be dropped when it is in open syllable directly preceding a stressed syllable (forms cited are e.g. š(i)ribti and k(i) tábin). From this a conclusion that the second syllables in širib and kitab are not stressed logically follows, and therefore these forms must be stressed kitab and širib (since ·ktáb and ·šríb are not optional). For further implications, see remarks below in ‘the verb’.

71 For these imperfect forms of measures $n$-1 and $t$-$t$ in ḤwJ, see Palva 1984–1986:303.


In Barrāk instances of CaCaCV were not found.

gahawah-forms in Barrāk are: *ar-ra’ad* (p. 86, l. 11), *wa l-wa’ad* (p. 88, l. 4), and verb forms *taḥamdūh* (p. 91, l. 25), but there are also many forms which are not affected by the gahawah-syndrome (perhaps for metrical reasons), e.g. *ša’bah* (p. 91, l. 27), *ša’b* (p. 91, l. 28) and *ša’b* (p. 93, l. 8), *an-naxlāt* (p. 99, l. 25) and verb forms *yahfaḏōh* (p. 91, l. 20), *yahkum* (p. 91, l. 28) and *yaxša* (p. 95, l. 23).

**Morphology**

Independent pronouns in ḤwA are *aná*, *in(a)*, *inti, hū, hī, aḥna, intuw*, *intin*, *huṃ* (*ṃa*) and *hin* (*na*). For ḤwJ Palva reports *ana, int, inti, hū, hī, iḥna (~ ḥinna), intu, intin, hum and hin*.

Also in Barrāk we find *hinna* (p. 95, l. 31).

**Pronominal suffixes**

*C-ī / V-γ* (poss.) and *-nī* (obj.), *C-ak / V-k, -kiy, C-ah or C-ih / V-(h), -ha(‘), -kuw / -kin, -na(‘).* In ḤwJ the same suffixes 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) *ša’bah “his people”* (p. 91, l. 27) and *annās kullih “all people”* (p. 85, l. 3) and (v + -h) *yiṭūh “they give him”* (p. 89, l. 22); (3rd p. sg. fem. -ha) *gašdha “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) *ǧešak “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

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73 See Palva 1984–1986:297 and 2004:398. Palva also mentions that in pause, *ana, hū* and *hī* sometimes have an audible glottal stop following. In ḤwA I have only noticed this in the case of *ana* *, 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) *γιhάdkum* “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 postpositioned demonstrative *ha*, e.g. *ālwalad 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 *ʾiš* 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).

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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 CiCaC or CaCaC (< *CaCaC) and the i-type as CiCiC or CaCiC (< *CaCiC). Palva\(^{83}\) 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. gaʿad), but if it was realized with a front allophone, it has become i (e.g. kitab). 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 ʿarif (< *CaCiC, in which a is concluded to have been realized with a back allophone) and širib (< *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 ʿarif (which would then have to be more or less like (the vowel in the first syllable) a in e.g. ḫarab, 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 Grotfeld 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, 1.3, 4, 3.2, and 3.1, 5, 6 of preceding descriptive chapters), nor is stress of the CaCáC- or CiCíC-type (see paragraphs 2.1, 1, 2.1 of preceding descriptive chapters; ḤwA also has CaCáC and CiCíC, e.g. kitáb and širib).

The implication is that Palva's suggestion of raising of a in *CaCiC (> CiCiC) in ḤwJ as the result of vowel harmony\(^{85}\) 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 ʿ 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 ḫud, yaktib, yamši, 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 HwJ 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”, ḏibaḥ “he slaughtered”, but—due to lowering influences of contiguous h and ‘—no raising in e.g. (a-type perfect) ḥālab “he milked” and gá’ad “he sat” and also (i-type perfect) āšīġ “he loved”).

The confusing differences in stressing in forms like gá’adat, but k(i) tábât and (gahawah-forms) y(a)’árť and gháwah 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.

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87 Such forms are not exceptional in the area, see map 14 in the appendix.
89 See ibid.:32.
90 If we look at stress systems current in some Naǧdiy dialects (see Prochazka 1988:20–22), we see that there too a stress shift may have been involved in shaping forms that are heard today. If we take forms like (active) *katáb “he wrote” and (internal passive) *ktáb (in which I = i or u) “it was written” as starting points, and we assume that both forms were stressed on the ultimate (katáb and ktáb), postulating stress on the ultimate syllable would not only account for raising of a in katáb > kitáb, but also for the elision of the short high vowel I from the open (first) syllable in ktáb > ktáb. When stress then shifted, it could only do so in the active form (resulting in kitab, cf. ibid.:28), but stress could no longer shift in the internal passive form, since the vowel of the first syllable was no longer available after its elision, and stress had to remain where it was: ktib (cf. ibid.:316). On stress shift in Arabic dialects, see also Grotfeld 1969.
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 (ki(t)ābin 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 šarbrow/-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 byaṭḥanan iw biyğāriblin “they (fem.) grind and sieve” in ḤwA, but in ḤwJ tākitbin / taktibin and tāšrabin. Examples for the masc. are yikītbuw and yašṛabaw in ḤwA, but in ḤwJ forms are yākitbu / yaktibu and yašrabu, and fem. pl. forms are yākitbin / yaktibin and yašrabin.94

Barrāk lists some forms with the (more Naḡdiy-like) pl. masc. ending -ūn, e.g. yišfūn (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) iḥtājavaw (p. 95, l. 21) and (imperfect) yaḏḥakaw (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) ysamūh (p. 90, l. 1) and taḥamdūh (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) yārḫalanni (p. 94, l. 18) and (i-type) yiḥtfinni (p. 94, l. 11).96

In ḤwA the vowel of the imperfect preformative colours with the stem vowel through vowel harmony, e.g. yiktib, yuḍrub and yarja’, 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. yaktib, yaḏrub and yarġa.\footnote{See Palva 1984–1986:299–301.} In Barrāk the system is basically like in ḤwA, e.g. yisfik (p. 86, l. 10), yihyi (p. 89, l. 25), yimsi (p. 88, l. 8), yibnūh (p. 90, l. 4), tunkus (p. 89, l. 15), yuṇḍur (p. 89, l. 26), yuḏkur (p. 100, l. 34), tunsur (p. 91, ll. 15, 16), yuṭlub (p. 91, l. 23), nuḍukraḥ (p. 101, l. 9), yurzug (p. 101, l. 9) and also yasrax (p. 86, l. 14) and tarkab (p. 94, ll. 16, 17), but also (exceptions) ya‘izzhum (p. 89, l. 26) and tafrig (p. 96, l. 43).

Imperatives in ḤwA have initial vowels coloured by vowel harmony: ug‘ud, ikṭib and ašrab. In ḤwJ such colouring is absent from the a-type: ug‘ud, ikṭib, but išrab.\footnote{Ibid.:300.}

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 yiġif and yiɾid.

In ḤwJ the preformative contains long ā, as in yāgaf and yāṣal. A shorter form la tiga‘ was also recorded in ḤwJ.\footnote{Ibid.} Barrāk gives a form yāgafanni (for the -ni ending, see remark above) (p. 96, l. 33).

In tertiae yā‘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, yanṣu.\footnote{Ibid.:301} In Barrāk we find forms like in ḤwA: yarḍaw (p. 88, l. 10) and yitnāsōh (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): yḡiy, tḡiy, nḡiy, tḡuw,
Derived measures
In perfect and imperfect of measures ta-2 and ta-3, the ta- prefix is only rarely reduced to (i) in ḤwA. Examples are taḡadda, ytaḡadda and tasālam, ytasālam.

In ḤwJ reduction of ta or to > t in the imperfect (but not in the perfect) is indicated to be current, as in the examples taḡadda, yat(ə)ḡadda/yit(ə)ḡadda and tasālam, yat(ə)sālam/yit(ə)sālam. In Barrāk we find forms like iytaɣghā (p. 91, l. 15), tabāšaraw (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, yínfiṭih and ástawa, yístawiy in ḤwA, but ánfaṭah, yínfaṭih and ástawa, yástawi in ḤwJ. In Barrāk we find forms like ida nkasar (perhaps stressed id-ánkasar) (p. 88, l. 15), but also infağar (p. 91, l. 22), ingalab (p. 95, l. 27) yiḥtasīlāh (with a in the stem, but not in the preformative) (p. 89, l. 21), yimta/tmacronbelowilhā (ibid.) (p. 89, l. 21), yiḥtīfīnī (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 [e]. 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 -in) 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.
Conclusions

Particles

Some differences between adverbs in ḤwA and ḤwJ\(^{105}\) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ḤwA</th>
<th>ḤwJ</th>
<th>“…”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hni(yih)</td>
<td>hān</td>
<td>“here”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnuh</td>
<td>hināk</td>
<td>“there”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kid(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>kān/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 kānn-. In Barrāk an instance of suffixed kann is kannak tidakkak “if you remember” (p. 102, l. 15).\(^{106}\)

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 ġal “aside” and ’a ḏahār ġaljimal “on the back of the camel”. In ḤwJ ’a is only used when the article directly follows.`\(^{107}\)

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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\(^{105}\) Ibid.:304–305.

\(^{106}\) A footnote explains tidakkar < titdakkar, but reduction of the initial geminate tt as in ‘titdakkar 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” (ʼaḅḅ and ʼaḅū- in construct state; for “mother” ʼaṃṃ; for “brother” ʼaḍḍ and ʼaḍū- in construct state. A difference is ʼuxt in ḤwA, but ʼaxt in ḤwJ.

In ḤwA the pl. for “hand” (ʼīd) is ʼīdān, 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 ʼafām for “mouth”, e.g. ʼafamī “my mouth” and ʼafā- mak “your mouth”.

A difference is “water”: ʼálma (with incorporated article!) in ḤwJ, but mīy in ḤwA.

The analytical genitive
The analytical genitive is not frequent in ḤwJ. In ḤwA the analytical genitive with šuġḷ is current. I have not come across instances in Barrāk.

Negated pronominals
In ḤwA mūhū ~ māḥū and mīhī in ḤwA, ḤwJ has mū ~ muhu and mī ~ mihi108 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 dirahs of the Ḥwēṭat 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).

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
here110):111

i Absence of tanwīn and its residues: groups VI, VII and VIII conform
   (cf. 4.1.).

ii Absence of affricated variants of /g/ (*q) and /k/ (*k): groups VI, VII
   and VIII conform (cf. 1.1.1., 1.1.3.).

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.).

iv Pronominal suffix -ku (-kwe in my own transcription) in the 2nd p.
   pl. masc.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (~ -kum in VII and VIII) (cf.
   3.1.12.2.).

v Use of locative preposition fī: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf.
   3.1.16.).

vi Interrogative kēf: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.14.).

vii Voiced reflex of qāf: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 1.1.1., 1.1.3.).

viii The gahawah-syndrome and the CVCaCV- > CCVCV- syllable
   structure112 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).

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.

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.

112 This was rephrased as two separate criteria in De Jong 2000:48–50. The conclusion
   there was that resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences (> CCVCV) is not a feature of NWA.
ix 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.).

x The definite article (ʾ)al- and the relative pronoun (ʾ)alli/halli: groups VI, VII and VIII conform only in part: al- ~ il- and alliy ~ ʾilli (cf. 3.1.9.1.).

xi A number of typical Bedouin lexical items (gōṭar, sōlaf, ṭabb etc.): groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf., e.g., 3.2.3.9.).

xii Occurrence of stressed variants -i and -nī of the pronominal suffix in 1st p. sg. com.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.12.2.)

xiii 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.).

xiv Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable in a number of irregular nouns (ʾamm, ʾaxt, ʾaxwān, ʾadēn, ʾafām): MzA of group VI and ǦbA of group VII conform in part. Other dialects do not conform (cf. 3.1.9.2.).

xv 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:

xvi The use of b-imperfect: present in groups VI, VII and VIII (cf. 4.3.).

xvii Vowel harmony in the active imperfect of verbal form I: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.2.1.2.).

xviii Well-established monophthongs /ō/ and /ē/ vs. partial monophthongization of the older diphthongs, and /ō/ ~ /ū/, /ē/ ~ /i/ fluctuation: in group VI older diphthongs remain in certain environments, in groups VII and VIII monophthongization is not phonetically conditioned (cf. 1.2.4.).

xix The phonetically conditioned sg. fem. status absolutus marker allo-morphs /-a/ and /-i/ in Sinai and the Negev, vs. a less strong ʾimāla in the front allomorph in the dialects of the Ḥwēṭāt and BaniyʿĀṭiye 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”, *turbāb > trāb “dust”.
(/-a/ and /-e/): group VI has [iʰ] in neutral environments, groups VII and VIII tend to have slightly lower 'imālah, between [eʰ] and [iʰ] (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.3.).

xx 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 ‘Aṭiye, masc. -ahl/ih, fem. -ha the Bdūl, masc. C-o, fem. -ha the Nʿēmāt; groups VI, VII and VIII have masc. -uh and fem. -hai(-hi) (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), dillēihxxi (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 (ʃarīb) + -it > šīrībit, šarībit or šarbat, but katāb + -at > kātabat or katābat ~ kībat (i.e. not kībat).

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 Dawāğrah and that of the town of al-ʿAriš, 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.

xxi 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. ĥāḍōl, ĥāḍal or hōḍal) as current for near deixis, but all have doubling in forms for forms used for far deixis (e.g. hōḍālāk(-ah) or hāḍōllāk(-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 ‘Aṭiyye (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 Naǧdi-type of dialect(s) (see also the discussion above in Conclusions, V.).

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 ‘Aṭiyye have had influences from non-NWA (possibly Naǧdi) type of dialects.

Another important indication was the Naǧdi-type of resyllabication (CaCaCV > CCvCV), that seems to be current in the dialects of the Bani ‘Aṭiyye and Ḥwēṭāt in Jordan.

In addition, it should be noted that the Ḥwēṭāt are much more a relatively recent amalgam of social entities of different backgrounds 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 ‘Aṭiyye 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 ‘Aṭiyye of their origin in the eastern Naǧd, from where they (then still known as Ma’āzah) 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 ‘Aqabah). The Ma’āzah—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 -"uḳ for the 2nd p. sg. masc. and -"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-Țūr, may very well be true. If we combine the presence of the -"uḳ suffix in his speech (SaA) with the presence of the pronominal suffix -"kum (\~ -"kuw),\footnote{See De Jong 2000:283–288.} and also the verbal suffixes ending in -m of the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. masc. in the perfect and imperfect,\footnote{See De Jong 2000:298–299.} and see that the combination of these characteristics is also found in 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 Ḍagāylah) must have had their earlier abode in the region north of the lower end (not too far from the Gulf of Suez) of Wādiy Féṛān (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 Naḡdiy-groups of dialects, a remaining desideratum is a systematic survey of the dialects of the Ḥiḡāz 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 Ḍabābdah (which can be seen as the northern extension of the Sudanese type of Arabic dialects,\footnote{As described in De Jong 2002, and see remarks in Woidich and Behnstedt 1980:176 (in 1).} like that of the Šukriyyah\footnote{As described in Reichmuth 1983.}). 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.\footnote{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 hamsah precedes ayn. Forms with word-initial hamsah 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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wlin → presentative particles
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- iy
- a(h) (~ i(h)), -i(h) #
- a(h), -i(h) #
- á(’), -i’ #
- a(h), -e(h) #
- iy (*-ā’); -i’ (*-ā)

cf. 1.2.4.4.
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reflexes of final *-ā(∗):

M-ā’

M-ā (often-ā’ in pause)

M-ā(h)

cf 1.2.4.4.

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stress in CvCvC:

CaCaC, CiCiC

CaCaC, CiCiC

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Map 28. T-vowel elision

1. *in eligible position is elided, a is never elided*
2. *and a are elided in eligible position*

(Eligible positions in DA / BaA and Mza differ)

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3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix:

- $\text{ḥ-₃, (C)C}-\text{ah / (C)C}-\text{ih}$
- $\text{ḥ-ḥ, (C)C}-\text{u(h)}$

cf. 3.1.12.2.
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Map 37. 2nd p. sg. fem. pron. suffix

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- a-type
  - **CaCaCa**
  - **CiCCiu**

- i-type
  - **CaCaCa**
  - **GiCCiu**
  - **CiCCiu**
  - **CiCCui**
  - **CaCaCum**

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- māḥī, māḥī, mantu, mānī
- māḥū, māḥī, minta, mānī
- māḥūs, māḥīs, māntuš, mānīš
- māḥū, māḥī, mintu, mānī
Map 80. 2nd p. pl. masc. pronominal suffix

Map 80

2nd p. pl. masc. pronominal suffix:
- kuw
- kum ~ kuw
(pl. com. in -A and -AI)

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- māšāʾ(’) or mašāʾ(’) – mišāʾ(’)
- mišīʾ or mišīʾ
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