A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of Central and Southern Sinai
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A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of Central and Southern Sinai

By
Rudolf E. de Jong
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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

A stressed a or ā
I short high vowel i or u
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Í stressed short or long high vowel (stressed i, u, ī or ū)

T feminine morpheme (tā  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, ḡ, ḥ, ɻ, h)

M any velarized consonant (primary or secondary emphatics)

[] phonetic representation between the square brackets

// phonemic representation between the slashes

|| representation of underlying base form

* precedes historical forms or phonemes, intermediate forms in illustrations of rule ordering, or follows a form with a remark given below

· precedes a form not heard in the dialect discussed and the form is deemed unlikely to occur in that dialect

+ followed by…

Ø zero

> develops into (synchronously) or developed into (historically)

< develops from (synchronously) or developed from (historically)

≠ does not equal

= equals, is identical with

≈ is almost identical with

… any combination of Vs (vowels) and/or Cs (consonants) within word boundaries

~ co-occurs with

/ co-occurs not in free variation with

# speech pause

The list below shows abbreviations used for tribal varieties of Arabic (the asterisk ‘*’ following the abbreviation indicates that the dialect has been described or partially treated in De Jong 2000). The tribes/non-tribal dialect communities are listed here more or less from north (-east) to west and then south (see map in Appendix ‘Approximate distribution of Bedouin tribes in Sinai and surrounding regions’). Roman numbers indicate to which typological group the dialects have been concluded to belong. In brackets the names of the tribes follow in a classicized transcription:
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<th>group</th>
<th>name of tribe/social entity</th>
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<td>I</td>
<td>the dialect of the Ḍūllām (of the Negev Desert, not in Sinai), as described in Blanc 1970</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ẓullām)</td>
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<tr>
<td>RA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rmēly, the dialect of the Rmēlāt (Rumaylāt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Swēkīy, the dialect of the Sawārkah (Sawārika)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘AA*</td>
<td>V</td>
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<tr>
<td>nTA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Northern Turbāniy, the dialect of the northern Taṛābīn (Tarābīn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BaA*</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Balawiy, the dialect of Balīy (or Bīly) (Balī)</td>
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<td>IV</td>
<td>Dwēğiyy, the dialect of the Dawāġrah (Dawāġira)</td>
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<td>eŠA*</td>
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<tr>
<td>DbA</td>
<td>I</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĞR</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ğarāğrīy, the dialect of the Ğarāğrah (Ğarāğira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAN</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Taṛābīn of Nwēbī, the dialect of the Taṛābīn of Nwēbī (Tarābīn of Nuwaybī)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

BdA I Badriy, the dialect of the Badārah (Badāra or Badārā)

'LA VIII 'Lēgiy, the dialect of the 'Lēgāt ('Ulayqāt)

HmA VII Ḥmēdiy, the dialect of the Ḥamāḍah (Ḥamāda)

ŠwA VII Šālhiy, the dialect of the Ṣawālḥah (Ṣawāliha)

GrA VII Garrāšiy, the dialect of the Garāršah (Qarāriša)

ǦbA VII Šbāliy, the dialect of the Šbāliyyah (Ǧibāliya)

ASA VII Saʿiidy, the dialect of the Awlād Saʿīd (ʿAwlād Saʿīd)

HnA VII Hindiy, the dialect of the Hanādwah (a non-Bedouin family in Wādiy aṭ-Ṭūr) (Hanādiwa)

ṬwA VII Ṭawara Arabic: in collective reference to the dialects of the Šbāliyyah, Awlād Saʿīd, Šawālḥah, Garāršah and Ḥamāḍah (Ṭawara)

MzA VI Mzēniy, the dialect of the Mzēnah (Muzayna)

BWA VI Wāṣliy, the dialect of the Banīy Wāṣil (Banū Wāṣil)

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

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

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

To gather linguistic data I spent 8 periods of between 4 and 7 weeks in the area. I usually rented an apartment in Dāhab for my stay. For always taking care of my local needs such as a reasonably priced apartment, for answering any questions local authorities might have about my activities, and for being a good friend, I wish to thank here ‘Aliy Mḥammad al-ʿĀyiš, who is the owner and general manager of Mirage Village in Dāhab and who is himself a member of the Bīyāḍīyyah 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 Bīyāḍīyyah was described in De Jong 2000:chapter III.
to whom I am at least equally grateful, is ʿĪd Silim ʿĪd ʿAwdīh al-ʿAṭrāš, known by many as ʿĪd at-Turbaṇiyy.² He is a member of the Taʿrābīn of ʿRās Ṣadr (where he was born and raised) and he has travelled the desert since he was seven years old, when as a young boy he would accompany his father on trips to nearly every corner of the Sinai peninsula and into Jordan. His experience in desert travel made him eminently suitable to act as a guide and he could at the same time introduce me to members of the different tribes (he knows virtually every wadi and almost everyone living there). His gentle nature and sense of humor make him an ideal travelling companion, and these qualities combined with his loyalty have made him a good friend for life. Not only did he travel with me, he also made recordings for me in my absence, and sat with me—for weeks on end—behind my desk to make sure I could write it all out, word by word. He would also explain to me many details of Bedouin life in Sinai often not available in books.

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

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

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

Amsterdam, 26 September 2010

² ʿĪd is of the Gṣār clan, for a tribal genealogy of the Taʿrābīn 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’amah 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’amah 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 Tuwara). 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 Hijaz, 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-Gantarah (on the Suez Canal in the west)—Rafah (on the border with the Gaza Strip in the east). Of this total, more than one third today live in North Sinai’s capital city al-‘Ariš.

tribes in present-day Saudi Arabia just across the Gulf of ‘Aqabah and in Jordan are also indicated on these maps (these are also included in the map below): in the far north of the Ḥiǧāz and in the south of Jordan we find Ḥwēṭāt (on Bailey’s map spelled as Ḥuwayṭāt), with to their south (just east of the Ṭīrān islands in the mouth of the Gulf of ‘Aqabah) the Masāʾīd and (a little farther to the southeast, along the Arabian Peninsula’s west coast) Bili. These tribes are also found in Sinai today: the Masāʾīd live in and around the village of Ġilbānāh in the northwest, Bili (transcribed as Bāli on the map below) are found not far south from the main road al-Gantārah—al-ʿArīš, in an area named Ġarīf al-Ǧizlān near ar-Rawḍah in the central northeast, and the Ḥwēṭāt live in the areas as indicated on the map below.

On the map below I have also indicated the presence of three (sub-)tribal collectives not indicated on the map in Bailey: the Ġarāǧrah, whom I interviewed in the area near Wādiy as-Sīg named al-Malbad, the Dbūr, whom I found residing not far south from the road leading through the Mitla pass to Naxl,7 approximately forty kilometres to the west of Nixl, and also the Malāḥlah, who live near the border with Israel in the northeast of Sinai. Another name not indicated on Bailey’s map is that of the Hanādwah, who are actually a family said to be of non-Bedouin origin8 living in Wādiy at-Ṭūr inside the territory of the Awlād 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: one hundred men with their wives and children are said to have been recruited in 530 CE

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6 The different communities are referred to here as ‘tribes’, although I am aware that in some cases ‘tribal confederation’, ‘sub-confederation’, ‘sub-tribe’ or ‘clan’ would be more appropriate terms.
7 My Turbāniy informant Eid told me that the name for the Mitla pass is actually derived from ʿUmnn Ṭalah “(the region) with the tamarisk tree”. Bailey (1991:344) gives the same etymology. The town of Naxl in central Sinai is referred to among Sinai Bedouin as Nixl.
8 Literally their name means “Indians, i.e. (originally) from India”, but this could not be verified.
9 The dating is in this paragraph is quoted predominantly from Bailey 1985.
10 The quote in Bailey 1985:26 of the German geographer Carl Ritter is another example of a sensational claim: the ‘Azāzmah are claimed to be the “aboriginal inhabitants” of the Negev.
Approximate distribution of Bedouin tribes in Sinai and surrounding regions
in the land of the Wallachians\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{b}

The estimated times of arrival of Bedouin tribes in central and southern Sinai appearing in this study are (as reported in Bailey 1985;\textsuperscript{c} tribal names are given in my own transcription;\textsuperscript{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>Ġbāliyyah\textsuperscript{e},  Ḥamādah\textsuperscript{f}</td>
<td>pre-islamic period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badāṛah\textsuperscript{g},  Tayāha\textsuperscript{h}, Banī Wāsil\textsuperscript{i}</td>
<td>10th (perhaps earlier) through 13th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šawālīhah\textsuperscript{j}, Awlād Sa’īd\textsuperscript{k}, ‘Awārmah\textsuperscript{l}, ‘Lēgāt\textsuperscript{m}</td>
<td>14th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taṛābīn\textsuperscript{n}, Garāršah\textsuperscript{o}</td>
<td>16th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥwētāt\textsuperscript{p}, Mzēnah\textsuperscript{q}</td>
<td>17th c. (at the latest)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\textsuperscript{b} In present-day Romania the larger region around Bucharest, between the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube river.

\textsuperscript{c} See Bailey 1985:33–35. Maiberger 1984:147–148 quotes Johann Ludwig Burckhardt writing that until well into the eighteenth century a few Ġbāliyy families had remained Christians.

\textsuperscript{d} See however Stewart 1991, where caution with regard to Bailey’s conclusions is advised.

\textsuperscript{e} 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 1916:107.

\textsuperscript{f} 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 Feṙān’, 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 (بدر), with final ‘ālīf maqṣūrah, but it is spelled as بدرة in Šuqayr 1916:107). They are a very small tribe, who are reported to have moved from their earlier abode onGabal Iǧmah (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 Ṣafāyḥah (a sub-tribe of the Aḥaywāt). Šuqayr (ibid.) suggests that perhaps the name ‘Iǧmah is derived from the word (from the same root ‘-g-m) describing their speech as “improper Arabic”: luqah ‘aʃaɣimiyah.

The Tayāha are a relatively large tribe. Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:566 reports that they came to Sinai with the Banū Hilāl (of Adnānī origin)17 and that they were among the first tribes to ‘settle’ on the Tīh plateau. After the Taṛābīn had arrived there, several wars were fought over control of the land. Sawārkah, 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.:365–370 and also at-Tayyib 1997:227–233.

They are reported, also in at-Tayyib (see 1993:622 and 1997:292),18 to be one of the oldest tribes in Sinai. They are said there to have fought numerous wars against the Ḥamādah 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 Ḥmayyir, which was then later largely occupied by (the various sub-divisions of) the Sawālḥah.

G.W. Murray 1935:243 writes that the original inhabitants of southern Sinai are said to have been Beni Suleiman, and the Hamada and the Beni Wasil [in my own transcription: Baniy Slēmān, Ḥamādah and Baniy Wāṣil]. Not long after the Arab conquest of Egypt, the Sawalha and the ‘Aleiqat [in my own transcription: Sawālḥah and Lēgāt] were living in Sharqiya [...], from which they regularly raided south Sinai to carry off the dates of Feiran or to graze their camels wherever there had been rain. One year, these two tribes migrated en masse into the peninsula where they succeeded in conquering the Beni Suleiman and the rest, some of whom fled while others were absorbed into the conquerors [...] [T]he two tribes quarrelled and victory was inclining towards the 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: Wātyah. 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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Aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:681–682 (see also 1997:360–367) relates a story describing how the Awlād Saʿīd joined the tribe of Šawālḥah 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 Masāʾilid.

For a short history of the origin, present location(s) and activities of the ‘Lēgāt in Sinai,20 see also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:701–711 and 1997:475–489. Aṭ-Ṭayyib (1993:710 and 1997:487) however quotes Ahmad Luṭfī as-Sayyid in his book qabāʾ il al-ʿarab fī miṣr on the date of arrival of the ‘Lēgāt in Sinai as being in the tenth century Hijrah (i.e. appr. in the sixteenth century CE) (see also quote from G.W. Murray 1935 in remark 45 above).

The large tribe of at-Taṛābīn21 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.22

The Garāršah are said to be a section of the Šawālḥah (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 Šawālḥah’.23

Bailey (1985:33) also reports a war that took place around 1600 between the Šawālḥah and ‘Lēgāt.

The Ḥwēṭāt in Sinai are only a small group,24 but large numbers of the Ḥwēṭāt live as an amalgam of sub-tribes or clans of various origins in southern Jordan and the far northwestern region of Saudi Arabia just south of the border with Jordan. According to Von Oppenheim,25 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 Aṭiyya (who are still also today found in Jordan). When Huwayt had recovered from his illness, he stayed in ‘Aqabah, and managed to guile the Baniy Aṭiyyah out of their profitable business of

of the Šawālḥah see aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:623–644. See also Maiberger 1984:141 (paraphrased), where he mentions the ‘Awāreme (who are said to be the sub-section of the Šawālḥah 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 otherwise destitute Ṭawara), and the Awlād Saʿīd as sub-sections of the Šawālḥah. The name Šawālḥah derives from the prophet (an-nabiy) Šāliḥ, from whom they claim descent. Together with the ‘Lēgāt the Šawālḥah 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 Ḥamāḍah and to have been in territorial disputes with the Šawālḥah.

Their name Taṛābīn is said to derive from their place of origin Wādiy at-Tarabah or the town of that name, located to the northwest of aṭ-Ṭā/halfringrightif in present day Saudi Arabia. Today sections of this tribe are also present in the Gaza area and the Negev Desert, see also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:554–564. Stewart 1993:106 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 Rās Ṣadr), the Mzēnah to their south (now Taṛābīn of Nwēbi’) and Ṭawara, Gbāṛāt (now found to the north of Gaza) and Rmēlāt (in my own transcription) to their north (now northern Taṛābīn). In turn, they had their “own place in drought-ridden central Sinai taken over by the Ahaywāt, although not by conquest”, see ibid. For more on the Taṛābīn see also aṭ-Ṭayyib 1993:554–570 and aṭ-Ṭayyib 1997:210–226.

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


See Von Oppenheim 1943:291.
protecting grain transports from Syria to pilgrimage stations. Only part of them became nomadic, and only at a later point in history.\footnote{26}

*12 The Mzēnah are reported (see Bailey 1985:33) to be originally of /halfringleftAdnānī (northern Arabian tribes) origin, but they later (between the 14th and 16th centuries) joined the Qaḥṭānī (southern Arabian) Ḥarb. 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 *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 ʿAqabah make a living in the tourist industry. The focal point of this industry is Šarm aš-Šayx, where hundreds of thousands of tourists come for sunshine and diving, every year generating billions of dollars of income for the Egyptian economy. Most of this money is, however, earned by mainland Egyptians and relatively very little trickles down to the local Bedouin population. Bedouin work mainly as taxi drivers, desert safari guides, and run small businesses like rental shops for diving equipment, cafeterias and small restaurants or sell souvenirs and camel rides. Only few Bedouin have seen opportunities to start their own hotel businesses or larger transport companies for tourists.\footnote{27}

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

\footnote{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. 1):287–289.}

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

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

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

Other sources of income for Bedouin include fishing, herding small cattle, some modest crop farming in a karm, transporting fresh water from the mountains to hotels and also smuggling. 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.

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.

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.
which exist between the NWA dialects in this area. A similar related question is how far the Negev-type (the dialect of the Ḥullām) can be concluded to stretch into Sinai.  

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 Ḥullām 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. 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 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 -\textit{uḳ} for the 2nd p. sg. masculine and -\textit{k} for the sg. fem. found in group II of the north were surmised to be a feature more typical of southern Sinai dialects. Another question is therefore whether this is indeed the case, and if so, how widespread this feature is.

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

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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-Ramlaḥ and 'Lẹgāt 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 Nwēbī 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.  

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 Ġbalīyyah; speakers of Ġbalī who live near the monastery tend to say e.g. for “with him” im’ūh (where i is an anaptyctic vowel), while speakers of Ġbalī in Mrēr (in Wādiy aś-Šēx) will more regularly stress the anaptyctic as in im’ūh (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 Dhabab and near to the coast will generally use šuq‘l, 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. In the course of my research I would sometimes also hear

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

41 The method of selecting informants, topics discussed during interviews, some of the difficulties associated with field research and the general methodological approach are described in De Jong 2000:20–21 and 23–30.
names mentioned of tribal collectives not indicated (or known by another name) on the map in Bailey 1991, I would then go to the dirahs of these collectives to conduct interviews with speakers there as well. I would not attempt to subsume such collectives under a larger collective (like the Dbûr, 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.\footnote{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?}

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 (אַפְּשָׁאָאִי the Ḥarīfī 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
than a year.\textsuperscript{43} I have also often spoken to the mother of my main informant Eid, a Turbâniyyih 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{Tarakîn Nwêbi}  Şex Şêş (47) (Nwêbi’) + several Turbâniy visitors from around Nwêbi’ and Wâdiy Watîr in his mag’ad. The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TAN.

\textit{Tarakîn Râs Şadr}  ‘İd (33) (Râs Şadr) (+ 4 or 5 of his friends of appr. the same age in Râs Şadr/Abuw Şwayrah, his mother, appr. 60). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is TAŞ.

\textit{Ǧarâγrah}  Ťalâl (29) (born al-Bâģah/Wâdiy as-Sîg); Swelim (35) (born in Râs as-Sîg); Ĝamâl (appr. 32) (born in Wâdiy as-Sîg); Mḥammad (appr. 32) (born in Wâdiy as-Sîg); Silmiy (53) (born in al-Malbad/Wâdiy as-Sîg). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ĞrA.

\textit{Tayâha}  Mḥammad (34) (recorded in Aḅuw Şwayrah); Slêm (49) (Râs aš-Šêṭân, from Râs ‘Bêd appr. 105 km south of al-‘Ariš); Ĝenêm Xi’d (appr. 65) (recorded near (northeast of) aṭ-Ţarfa;\textsuperscript{46}) Xi’d (32) (northeast of aṭ-Ţarfa). 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 Mzênah in ‘Ayn Ḥu’drah, a couple of Ḥwêêtât on the main road through the Mitla pass, Ḥamâdah on the way from the Gabal Ḥmayyir area to Wâdiy Liḥyân, several ‘Lêgât near the area where I had interviewed Badârâh (in the Gabal Ḥmayyir area), Awlâd Sa’îd near al-Buwayb, just south of Wâdiy Fêrân, Tarabîn in Daḥab, etc.

\textsuperscript{45} Since I used to rent an apartment in Daḥab 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 Mzênah, 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.
Malālhah Xiḍr (80); Salmān (appr. 30); Zāyid (67); all three from al-Madfūnih/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); ‘Īd (28) (born and living in al-Ǧidy). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ḤwA.

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

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

**Group VI**

Mzēnah Hasan (54) (from Dahab); Mḥammad (from Dahab/‘Aṣalah) (appr. 28); ‘Āyid (25) (from Dahab/‘Aṣalah); ‘Abdallâḥ (appr. 34) (from Dahab); Fṛayǧ (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/Đahab 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 Šarm); Sālim (25) (born in the mountains east southeast of aṭ-Ṭūr, near Wādiy Sli’y). 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 Aslah or Wādiy Sliy. See 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5. in the descriptive chapters below. In Šuqayr 1916:69 the name is spelled in Arabic as izzas.
Group VII

Hanādwah  Ğim‘ih (29) (born in Wādiy Fē rèn); Ḥamd (also known by his nickname Mundiy) (26) (born in Wādiy Fē rèn); Slēmān (64) (born in Wādiy Fē rèn). All were interviewed in Wādiy āt-Ṭūr, a few kilometres to the northeast of āt-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 Fē rèn); ‘Īd (22) (from il-Ḥiṣwah, Wādiy Fē rèn); Ḥsēn (54) (from il-Ḥiṣwah, Wādiy Fē rèn); Ḥsēn (24) (from il-Ḥiṣwah, Wādiy Fē rèn); Mūsih (24).50 The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is GrA.

Ḥamāḏah  Maḥmūd (30) (born in Sēl Ba‘ba‘);51 ‘Awwād (55) (Wādiy Liḥyān); Sa‘ad (36) (Wādiy Liḥyān).52 The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ḤmA.

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

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

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50 Ḥiṣwah is in Wādiy Fē rèn, 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 Aḅuw Rdēs and just to the northwest of Wādiy Maġāṛah. Coordinates are appr. 28.54 North and 33.15 East on Google Earth. The area of Umūm Buġmah is well known among geologists for its manganese deposits. Already in pharaonic times, in the general area around Sarābīṭ alXādim and in Wādiy Maġāṛah turquoise was mined.
52 Wādiy Liḥyān (not indicated on Google Earth, but located appr. at 29.01 North and 33.25 East) is some kilometres (north) from Wādiy Mukattab, which is appr. at 28.50.58 North and 33.25.35 East and to the southwest Sarābīṭ alXādim. In this wadi there are several Nabataean and Byzantine rock inscriptions.
Ṣawālhah Ḥsēn (38) (born in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fēṛān); Ġim’ih (18) (born in Aḥuw Rdēs, lives in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fēṛān); ‘Atwah (36) (born in Xbayyir/Wādiy Fēṛān). The abbreviation used here to refer to their dialect is ṢwA.

Group VIII

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

d. Gathering Linguistic Material

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

e. Difficulties during Field Research

Problems connected to conducting research in Sinai have been referred to before,53 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 Ṭāba, campsites north of Nwēbī54 / Rās aš-Šayṭān had been targeted, which in turn came more than a year after on the 23rd

53 See also remarks in De Jong 2000:18.

54 Although I transcribe Nwēbī, as a transliteration for Arabic on road signs, Dr Frank Stewart (in personal communication) advised me to correct this to read Nwēbī (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-‘Arīš. Only after several months, when the involvement in the attacks of 2004 of a few members of one of the Bedouin tribes had become clear, three suspects were (within a matter of days) tracked down in the desert near the mountain range of Ṣadr al-Ḥayṭān (to the east of Rās ʿṢadr) 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. A selection of features which show up as dif-

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

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

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

b. Method of Description

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

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE ĢBĀLIYYAH, AWLĀD SA‘ĪD, ȘAWĀLḤAH, GARĀRŠAH AND ḤAMĀDŠAH WITH REMARKS ON THE DIALECTS OF THE HANĀDWAH AND ‘LĒGĀT

INTRODUCTION

In 1992 Tetsuo Nishio published a basic vocabulary of the dialect of the Ģbāliyyah 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 Ģbāliy 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 ĢbA 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 ǧ for j, š for ʃ, ԁ for Ȱ, etc., except where differences—mainly in representations for vowels—between Nishio’s transcription and my own may be relevant for a variety reasons, e.g. final -ɛ has not been replaced by (in my transcription) -i(’), -e(’) or -a and the vowels e or ə have not been replaced by a or i, etc. Where phonological implications are connected to adaptations in transcriptions, these are expounded in accompanying lines.

In this chapter I hope to shed some more light on the questions that may have arisen from Nishio 1992, and additional material is presented including material on neighbouring dialects: the dialects spoken by the Awlād Sa‘īd, Șawālḥah and Garārśah. With some reservation, I have also added the dialect of the Ḥamāḏah to this group, which I have numbered as VII. Although there are some differences, these dialects show a large number of similarities justifying their treatment as one typological group. In addition, the chapter contains remarks on the Hanādwah, who are one of the families said to be of non-Bedouin origin living in Wādiy at-Ṭūr (just to the northeast of the town of at-Ṭūr).
I have not made recordings in the town of at-Ţūr, since it is a mixing bowl of various Egyptian dialects from the mainland. For the sake of brevity, the dialects of the Ġbāliyyah, Awlād Saʿīd, Šawālḥah, Garāršah and Ḥamādah will be collectively referred to as ŢwA (Ţuwara Arabic). The dialect of the ‘Lēgāt is not included in ŢwA here, although often (in other publications) the tribe of the ‘Lēgāt is also regarded as part of the Ťuwara (i.e. tribes inhabiting the region known as at-Ţūr).

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 Ṛās Ṣadr. In a dialect-typological sense, their dialect takes up a middle position between the dialects of ŢwA and HnA on the one hand, and group VI on the other (see MDS plots in the appendix). The dialect of the ‘Lēgāt, which is concluded to be a separate group (VIII) in this study, will be referred to as ‘LA.

The dialect of the Mzēnah and that of the Baniy Wāṣil are treated separately in chapter II (as group VI).
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>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>vl vd</td>
<td>vl vd</td>
<td>vl vd</td>
<td>vl vd</td>
<td>vl vd</td>
<td>vl vd</td>
<td>vl vd</td>
<td>vl vd</td>
<td>vl vd</td>
<td>vl vd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

plosive  | b         | t         | d         | k         | g          | (q)    | (’)   |
emph.     | ṭ          | ṭ          | ṭ          | ṭ          | ṭ          |
nasal     | m          | n          | n          | n          | n          |
fricative | f          | s          | z          | ṭ          | ṭ          | ẓ      | ẓ      |
affricate | s          | (z)        | ṭ          | (ţ)        | (ţ)        |
trill     | r          | r          | r          | r          | r          |
emph.     | (r)        | (r)        | (r)        | (r)        | (r)        |
lateral   | l          | l          | l          | l          | l          |
glides    | w          | w          | y          | y          | y          |

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

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

1.1.2. Interdental fricatives /t/, /d/ and /d/ (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð] respectively). Examples listed below can be heard in all dialects discussed here.

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

The conclusion of vowelless personal pronominal suffixes is drawn form the fact that suffixation of these pronomininals will result in consonant clusters, which then draw stress onto a directly preceding short vowel, e.g. wālād + k > wālādk “your (sg. masc.) son” and wālād + 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 Naqdiy dialect of the Dawāɡrah of the north, where a final cluster -Ck will not attract stress onto the directly preceding vowel, e.g. wālādk “your son”, rabbna yikrimk “may our Lord have mercy on you” (see De Jong 2000:434–435 and 450–451).
Examples of /d/ for *ḍ are: ṯāxdın “you (pl. fem.) take”, bḍār “seeds” (but see remark below) and gān “ear”.

There are also exceptions: “refrigerator” and “ice; snow” are with plosive t (for * t) in ṬwA and LA: tillāĝah and talţiğ.

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

Emphatic interdental ɬ (I.P.A. velarized [ɬ]) is the reflex of both *ḍ and *ḏ, e.g. (as the reflex of *ḍ in) Ramaḍān “Ramadan”, itnaḍḍifhi # “you clean it (sg. fem.)”, ɬaf “guest” and ʿūridha “its (sg. fem.) width” and (as a reflex for *ḍ in) thāfis ʿilēh “you protect it” (but maḥafūž!), xuḍriy “type of green tobacco”, ʿawaḍ “compensation”.

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

In ṬwA and HnA the sg. masc. demonstrative (ḥā-)da ~ ḍi “this (sg. masc.)” is not velarized. Also ḥāḍa (~ less frequent da or ḍi) 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 ḡ 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 ṣ precedes, e.g. warākiy “behind you

7 For “freezer” I recorded flēzar in ŠwA.
8 For the following examples in Cairene Arabic, see Hinds and Badawi 1986.
9 For ǦbA Nishio 1992 reports ɬ for *ḍ in bīdīr (p. 18 (III-16)), ɬ in m(u)waddf (p. 58 (VIII-40) and hafād, yahafād (p. 96 (XIV-26)). The emphatic plosive ɬ (pp. 5-6 (I-42)) is reported in ɬēḍ, dyūḍ “breast” and in ɬadbān “angry” (p. 116 (XVI-22)).
(sg. fem.), ḡīkiy “in you (sg. fem.)” and īlēkiy “on you (sg. fem)” (the latter ~ īlīk). In ‘LA too this allomorph -kiy varies with -k when Ṗ precedes.

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

1.1.4. **Post alveolar affricate /ḡ/**

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

1.1.5. **Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/**

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

1.1.6. **Glottal stop (hamzah)**

The reflex for * in the verb ask is ’ in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA saʾal, yasʾal. In *raʾs “head”, loss of ṧ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel ṕās in all dialects. The pl. is ṕūs in ḠbA, ṢwA, HnA and ‘LA, but pl. ryūṣ in GrA, ASA and ḤmA.

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

In ḠbA I have only recorded šnaṭ as in hāṭ īšnaṭ “get the suitcases!”, (i)liʾnāb “the grapes”, (i)liḥgān “the injections”. Similar forms are current in ‘LA.

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10 Bernabela 2009 transcribes ž throughout his texts for ḠbA.
11 Also reported for ḠbA in Nishio 1992:73–74 (X-9).
12 For ḠbA Nishio 1992:38 (V-35) recorded (šanṭāt ~) šonaṭ as pl. for šanṭa. Similarly (p. 36 (V-25)) plurals are (šōkāt ~) šowak, (p. 34 (V-9)) (pl. of gollɛ) golal “water jars”, (pl. of ḥōṣa) (ḥōṣāt ~) ḥowaṣ, (p. 34 (V-9)) (pl. of ḥallɛ) (ḥallāt ~) ḥelal (p. 34 (V-10)) “cooking pot”, nogaṭ (pl. of nogṭa) (p. 143 (XX-11)) “point, dot” etc., but lōṣmacronbeloẉa “room” (with (originally) the article incorporated in the stem as a first radical) and the pl. form coined on the pattern aCCaC alwasdmacronbeloẉ (p. 26 (IV-6)). Of these pl. forms only the last strikes me as proper ḠbA. 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, ŠwA, GrA and HnA forms *rikbih*, *ár kab* (pl. *rkab* in ḤmA and ĞbA) “knee(s)”. All dialects discussed in this chapter have a pl. demonstrative *dill* (-iḥ) “these” (although ~ *ḏum* for pl. masc.) and also the sg. masc. demonstrative is without velarization: *(ḥā-) ḍa ~ ʿdi* “this”.

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

Imperatives of the verbs “eat” and “take” are clearly velarized, i.e. and *(u)kūl, (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: *yāxūd, yākul*. In ‘LA velarization is clear in *yākul* and *yāxūd* (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: *ištāqal* “he worked”, *yištāqluw* “they work”, *saḷaxnāh* “we slaughtered it”, *gāl* “say”, *ramlah* “sand”, *gaḷbān* “poor, wretched”, *burdugāl* “orange[s]” and *xālī* “my uncle”. In ‘LA there are forms like *gāl, ygūl* “say”, *xaḷḥāa* “he let her”, *txaḷḥhin* “you let them (fem.)”, *arRamlah* “the Sands (area south of the Tīh escarpment)”, *gabiḷ* “before”, *naxāḷ* “palm trees”, *gaḷī/dmacronbelow* “thick (sg. fem.)”, *shuḡ* “genitive marker”.

1.1.8. *Liquids ṷ and r*

Generally, like in group I, the sequence ār will be velarized (I.P.A. [arʃ]), unless i follows within morpheme boundaries (see also De Jong 2000:65–67). An exception is the pl. forms for *kiṯūr* “many” and *kibīr* “big; old” which are unvelarized *ktār* and *kbār* in ṬwA and HnA (i.e. ending in I.P.A. [arʃ]), 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”, *zwārah* “(annual) visit to the tomb of a wiliy”, *zyārah* “visit”, *dāruḥ* “his house”, *fār* “rats; mice” and *ḡizzār* “butcher”, *sgārah* “cigarette”. Some ‘LA examples are *fār, dār*,

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Badāṛah “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”, ḥāriṯ “ploughing”, šārib “lip” and taḡārib “experiences”.

Also sequences ţa are generally not velarized when (vanished) i follows in the next syllable within morpheme boundaries or precedes. Examples listed for group VI are also heard in ṬwA and HnA. More examples are: farāšīḥ “loaves of bread baked on the šāz (= ṣāḡ)”, zrā’ah “agriculture”, darāhim “money”, ḍrā’ (< *dirā’) “arm”, miṯṭrāt or miḏṭrāt “having eaten breakfast (pl. fem.)” and also (in ASA) zērān, pl. of zōr “throat”. Examples in ‘LA are: iǧrān “feet”,13 rā’iy “herdsman”, Garārših “name of tribe”.

1.1.9. Nasal n
No remarks.

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

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

1.2. Vowels

1.2.1. Inventory of vowel phonemes

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

short: \( i \quad u \) \hspace{1cm} long: \( ĩ \quad ū \) \hspace{1cm} \( ě \quad ō \) \hspace{1cm} \( a \quad ā \)

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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 /ī/ is rare in ṬwA, HnA and 'LA.

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

A difference with group VI is that diphthong *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”, hāt “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 [xɑːf] “he feared” and ġāb [ɣɑːb] “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. [oː], but /ō/ is realized even lower: in that case /ō/ tends to be lowered to near I.P.A. [ɔː] (indicated here as ʊ, e.g. xɔf “fear” and hɔːl “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 tōgid “you light” (both in ṬwA, HnA and 'LA). In all dialects discussed here the imperative of w-’y “pay attention, take heed” has an initial diphthong: aw’in rūskin/ rûskin “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 dependant on following by i or ĩ in the next syllable (but within morpheme boundaries), e.g. firšāhah “loaf of bread from a šāq” and also the realization of /ā/ in zîmân “in the past”, īyām “days”, ḥayāh “life” and sîyāl (raised å in

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

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

The difference in realizations of ā in rāsī and rāsīy may be explained by recognizing either /ā/ and velarized /ạ̄/ as separate phonemes, or /r/ and velarized /ṛ/ as separate phonemes. A similar difference in the realization of ā (and r) is found in e.g. the pair fāris (I.P.A. [ˈfæːris]) “knight”—fāṛ (I.P.A. [ˈfæːr] “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>/i/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
<th>/a/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xiḍr “male given name”</td>
<td>– xuḍr “green (pl. com.)”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xirm “long species of fish”</td>
<td>– xurm “hole”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurb “nearness”</td>
<td>– girbiḥ “watersack”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡibb “kiss!”</td>
<td>– ḡubb “love”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīf “zero”</td>
<td>– sūf “yellow (pl. com.)”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šigguḥ “his guest section of the tent”</td>
<td>– šuggah “fishing net”</td>
<td></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>– ḡubb “love”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡatt “he placed”</td>
<td>– ḡatt “place!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šadd “he pulled”</td>
<td>– šidd! “pull!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An additional minimal pair is (verbal measure 4) yin’im “bestow favours”—(verbal measure 1) yun’um “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 C'uC'C as the pattern, i.e. like in MzA of group VI. Only in ŠbA both ‘imi and ‘umy were recorded for “blind”.

All dialects of group VII (except ASA and ŠmA, see 3.2.2.3.) have only u as imperfect vowel of primae hamzah verbs; yāxuḍ 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: yāxuḍ and yākul (sg. fem.), xduw and klouw (pl. masc.) and xduin 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”, yḥukk “rub” and (i in) ydzić “push”, yhiğğ “run away”, yğiżz “shear (wool of sheep)”, yğiżs “test”, yizz ‘ala “hurt”, ysín “sizzle (in hot oil)”, yhiill “be ḫalāl”, yğiţzt “become dry” and yşiţgg “split”.

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 -ḳ or -uḳ. Examples in group VII are (a measure 1 medial geminate verb) wala yhuṃṃuḳ “don’t let it bother you!”, (colouring of the suffixed fem. morpheme -it-) nuxṛútₜḳ “your nose”, šuġḷútuḳ “yours (sg. fem.)”, and (colouring of i in the act. participle of measure 3) ana mkāwünk “I’m fighting you”.

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


18 It is not clear why yduq “punch”, yług “hit” is usually with u, while yşiţg is with i, but similar variation was noticed for the high vowel in the contiguity of k (e.g. yfiţk and yfiţt “untie”, but in different dialects) see De Jong 2000:73–74. Cf. also the verb katt, and the imperfect is then ykitt 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 shalfringleftLA:

- preceding stressed Cī: ġirīd “palm leaves”, midīnih “town”, digīg “dough”, xīfīf “light”, īrīs “bridegroom”, hirīd “parrot fish”, and also īlīy “male given name *‘Alī” and verb forms nīsīt “I forgot”, ligīt “I found” and even 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae yā’ verbs īṣīl “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. kaṭīr “much, many”, kābir “big; old”, taxīn “thick”, ġawīl “long, tall”, dagīg “dough”, xamīs “Thursday”, ġadīd “iron”.

- no instances were recorded of raised /a/ preceding stressed CCī: bāṭṭīx “watermelon”, sakkīnah “knife”, barmīl “drum”, Katriṇ “(St.) Catherine” and also garnīṭ “octopus” (similarly in LA).

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

- (preceding CCē) middēt “I stretched”, sawwēt “I made” and īstamīrrēna “we continued”, ista’iddēt “I prepared”.

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

(preceding stressed CCā): niǧǧāṛ “carpenter”, tillāǧah “fridge”, zihgānīn “fed up (pl. masc.)”, šigṛā “white (sg. fem.)”, turiḫ “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”, In ‘LA such raising occurs mainly in neutral environments: kislān “lazy”, wiqān “suffering pain” and suwwāg “driver”, but ʿatšān “thirsty”, ʿalṭān “wrong”, ʿalbān “poor, destitute”, fallāh “farmer” and also (but without apparent phonetic factors inhibiting raising) ʿabān “having eaten one’s fill”.20

(preceding stressed ā): buxūr “incense”, xurūf “lamb”, ʿinnūb ~ ʿunūb “south” and (with initial ġhamzah) uḫūy “my father” and uḫūy “my brother”, and also 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae wāw verbs uġūm “I get up”, uġūl “I say” (see remark * below). Similar examples in ‘LA are guʿūd “young male camel”, fuṭūr “breakfast”, lugūḥ “pregnant (of a camel)”, uḫūh “his father”.

Like raising of a preceding ā, raising of a preceding ā is optional; forms like ʿaǧūz “old lady”, ʿanūb “south”, yahūd “Jews” may also be heard. In ‘LA: rasūl “Prophet”, ḥamūlah “animal led to a party for slaughter as a present”.

(preceding stressed a): ma tiḥatkūṃš “not under you”, ma tiḥāṭīš “not under her”, īlāy “on me”, ġimāl“k, “your camel” and in ‘LA ġimāl “camel”.

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

(preceding stressed i, verb forms) iṣidd “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 inwākal, ittāfag, etc. (see 2.1.1.1.). The article is not stressed in a sequence ilCvCv(+) (see 2.1.1.).

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20 Some examples of such raising reported for ġbA 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 wuxān “dirty” (p. 152 (XXI-30)), but no raising in hallāg “barber”, naxār “carpenter”, ḥadād “smith” (p. 58 (VIII-37, 38, 39)), ṣayār “aeroplane”, barrād “teapot” (p. 99 (XIV-37)), ʿaḍān “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 ṬwA and HnA: *inwākal, ittāfaq*, but in 'LA the article—like in groups I and VI—is stressable in a sequence aCvCv(+), e.g. *ālḡimal* “the camel” and *āddawa* “the medicine”.

Again like in groups I and VI, when *a* follows stressed *i* in closed syllable, it is raised in ṬwA, HnA and 'LA, as in imperfects of measures n-1 and 1-t: *yındirib* “he is beaten”, *yıttıfig* “he agrees”.21

* Forms like *axušš, aḫuṭṭ, ašidd, alıff* etc. may also be heard in ṬwA, HnA and 'LA, but it is not possible to conclude here whether raising of *a* (> *uḫuṭṭ, išidd*, etc.) is optional, or whether forms without raising are actually loans from a dialect where such raising does not take place (like e.g. Cairene). The same holds for variation in forms like *ugūm–agūm* “I rise” and *išil–ašil* “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’ağin mažbiṭ xālis “(for) this ka’akah he kneads the dough extremely well”, tıšluḥ šwayyah nihā w šwayyah nihā bitkūn il’ariḍ . . . suxnat “you take it out, a bit here and a bit here (i.e. there) and the ground will have become hot”.

Examples with raising in pause *ḥilwah ḥilwah bitna/dmacronbelow/dmacronbelowf ilmi/dmacronbelow/dmacronbelowf dih . . . “good, good, it (sg. fem.) cleans the stomach”* and *lamma btínḥišiy tamiṛ . . . bingūl َālēha šannih “when it is stuffed with dates . . . we call it a basket”. Examples in 'LA: hāda kamān gabīlt ’Lēgāt . . . barḍuk faḍākīh “this is also the ’Lēgāt tribe . . . there too” and *’ırf aḍḍef min bi’id, ġay min iblād /tmacronbelow/ānyih “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. ’ā *lḥāṭah # “on the wall”, nḡārah # “carpentry”. txālḥa ḣalīdah # “you make (lit. let be) it (sg. fem.) thick”, nafs ilgīssah # “the same story”.

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21 And like in group VI, in the verb forms *yındirib and yıttıfig*, the raised *a* will again ‘surface’ as *a* when in closed syllables, e.g. *yındárbuw and yıttıfıw*, 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 [ı] in GbA, and often with a following glottal stop when final [ɛ] represented final -ā or –ā’.
In ṬwA and HnA raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ‘ and h, e.g. wāṣīh # “wide (sg. fem.)”, sab’īh # “seven”, ilFāṭihih # “the Fāṭiḥah surah”, ḏibīḥih “animal for slaughter”.

1.2.3.5. Prosodic lengthening of short vowels
To express extra emphasis, such as on long durations of time, long distances, great quantities and the like, speakers often prosodically lengthen short vowels. Examples are: la ḥa::dd sanah xamsih “(I was in school all the time) until the fifth year” and یساللٰع ‘ala nnār 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. [e:] and [o:].

Examples of /ē/ for *ay are: یتنن “two”, بَن “between”, لَلْلٰي “evening”, یسél “flood”, یجْوَل (dim. of یجْل) “little side” and examples for ō for *aw are ٓمْوَث “death”, یوْم “day”, یفْوُج “above”, یسُدْي “black (sg. fem.)”, یجْوُن “(manner of) standing up”.

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

Examples are (for /ē/) یَٰن “eye”, یَٰنْف “little children”, یِحَاتٰه “wall”, یَخْر “good”, یِسَد “hunting”, یِدَح “guest”, یَئْر “birds”, and verbs یَحْطَأنا “we placed” and یِسْتَرَفْنا “we bought” and (for /o/) یَخَن “year”, یَخَد “male given name یًدَه”, یَخَف “fear”, یَخَن “sound; voice”, though when h precedes, /ē/ or /o/, it is near I.P.A. [e:] and [o:] (resp.), as in یَحْوَل یَدَب “name of a snake charmer (of the Aвлَد ساًیذ)” and یَدَدْف “camel litter (formerly used for the bride in a wedding procession)”.

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

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, مِوْغُد “present (adj.)”, یَاوَ “watch out!”23 and also یَتَيِبْس

23 In ṢwA, ASA and HnA یَاوَ is conjugated: یَاوَ تَسْنِ, یَأْوَيَ تَسْنِي, etc. “don’t you forget!” In the other dialects it was left unconjugated for number and gender, e.g. یَاوَ تَسْنِ “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 ŢwA, HnA or ‘LA.

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

\[dēr “monastery” — dīr “turn (trans.)!” — dōr “turn (intrans.)!” — dōr “floor (in a building)” — dār “house”\]

\[gūm “enemy tribe” — gūm “get up!\]

Suffixed prepositions lay “to me”, ìlay “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. [ɛslengthfull]. 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 [ɛslengthfull] for ā is reached also when āC is morpheme-final, e.g. ktār “many (pl. com.)”, ṣāg “compartments of the tent”, ḫbāl “ropes”, šāsih “screen” and also wāhid “one”, sārhīh “out grazing (goats and sheep)”, nāgtī “my she-camel”.

1.2.4.4. Reflexes of final *-ā(’)

Like in group VI, the reflex of final *-ā in neutral environments in ŢwA 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 anaptyctics and which have become part of the morphophonemic base.

\(^{24}\) 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): CáCa(C) in VI and CaCá(C) in VII. Examples of such differences in stress are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group VI</th>
<th>Group VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>şti’</td>
<td>şti’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šalát išti’, šalát išti’</td>
<td>šalát išti’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“winter”</td>
<td>“the evening prayer”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group VI ‘isti’, Group VII and ‘LA ‘áši’* “dinner”

* When a directly precedes the reflex of final *-ā(’) in open syllable, it is usually not raised. More often, forms are like il’aša’, ilgáda’. Forms with raising ‘áši’, gáde were recorded in pause and only in GrA and ŠwA. Unraised forms gáda’ and ‘aša’ were heard in sandhi.

Other recorded examples with raised reflexes of final -ā(’) are: if’i “viper”, Wádiy Íslí (stressed on initial I-) “Wádiy Isla” ġi “he came”, ilbunn di “these coffeebeans”, tižibhi “you get it (sg. fem.)”, ‘ala gadd hålni “as much as we can afford”, ifṭarni “we had breakfast”. Comparable examples in ‘LA are: ġi’, (i)lif’ih and also (i)lif’iy “the viper”, álwalad di “this boy”, ġambhi “next to her”, biddni “we want” and ilkrih “the wages”.

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

When no phonetic factors interfere, raising of final *-ā(’) in sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects will reach (stressed) -îy, as in e.g. (colours) sódîy “black; bad”, šahabîy “sand-coloured”, ġabşîy “dark” and (physical defects) hólîy “cross-eyed”, hablîy “dim-witted”, ārzîy “limping (sg. fem.)”, āmyîy “blind” and šôlîy “left-handed”. Such examples are also found in ‘LA.

N.B. “here” is nihā(’) or nihāniy in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA, but also hińiy was recorded in ŠwA, ASA, HnA, (only once in) ḤmA and K-form hina or hínih in all dialects.

25 In group I raising of final -ā(’) 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 -īy) is inhibited by (underlying) a preceding in open syllable.\(^{26}\) In group VII raising to -īʾ tends to be prevented by a preceding in open syllable (see remark * above in 1.2.4.4.).

Examples are: īddāwa “the medicine”, issāmaʾ “the sky”, (verb forms) fūdaʾ “he sacrificed”, mášaʾ “he walked”, sāwaʾ “together”, īstāwaʾ “it became cooked” and also ánaʾ “I”.

In ‘LA some examples are: áddawā “the medicine”, álʾaša “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 ittasalniʾ būh “we contacted him”, ḥatta līfʾiʾ 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 ī’ī “he came” will be absent, e.g. law ǧā=k dīxīl “if somebody comes to you as a dāxīl”.\(^{27}\) Similarly, when kriʾ is suffixed, final -ī will be -ā+, e.g. krāh “his wages” and krāʾk “your wages” (example from ‘LA).

1.2.4.5. **Allophones of long vowels ē, 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. [еː] and [оː] 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. [еː] and [оː].

1.2.4.5.2. **Off-glide in ē and ĭ**

The same type of off-glides in /ē/ and /ī/, as described for group VI, may also be heard in ṬwA, ḤnA and ‘LA.

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\(^{26}\) See Blanc 1970:124 (13) and De Jong 2000:82.

\(^{27}\) A dāxīl 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 dāxīl for three days (and one third of a day) and seek legal assistance to have the problem of his dāxīl resolved.
1.2.4.5.3. Off-glide 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 ŏ, cf. 1.2.4.1.

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

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

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

1.2.4.6.2. Diphthongs -iy and -uw

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

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

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

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

Like in group VI, many final yā’ verbs with an i-type conjugation in the perfect have adopted—though often only partially—an a-type perfect in ṬwA and HnA. Examples are maša “he walked” (but mišyit “she walked”), násā and násat (but also nisyit) and also lígiy ~ lagia “he found”, ligyit ~ lagat “she found”, etc. (for further detail, see 3.2.2.5.1.). In ‘LA mašā was recorded with a regular paradigm of the a-type and ligiy with a regular i-type paradigm.
Final -iy may also reflect older final *-ā' in the pattern *CaCCā' for physical defects: ‘arğīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, habłīy "simple-minded (sg. fem.)", ‘amyīy “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCā’) sōḍiy “black”, šahlabīy “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 *-iy in šābiy “boy”, gāwiy “strong” and nībiy “prophet”, *-ay’ in šīy “thing” and also the nisbah-ending for the sg. masc., e.g. Su’ūdiy “Saudi”.

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs
Examples of long vowels being lengthened: (expressing great surprise) yā salāːm “my goodness!”, (expressing an extreme degree) ḥayāh ṣi bah xāliṣ “a very difficult life” and in ‘LA ḍalla nāyim “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 yáḥartuw “they plough”, receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

The rules for ṬwA and HnA are (for GBA there are exceptions like īšštī’ “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 ĠbA 1992, see ?arji (sic.) (a misprint for—in my own transcription—‘arğīy) on p. 7 (1-61).
3. Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequences are stressed.
4. The following types of ‘heavy’ sequences occur: vCC(C) and ĕC(C) (including ĕ(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, kátabat, rágabah, náxalah, yáharit, yáhárтуw, álwálad, ál’āša’, ilíši’, šnaṭ, áššnaṭ, ángasal, yínģisil, inģásaluv, áštägal, yístiğil, ištägaluv, kátabatuh, rágabatuh and yá’aráğuw.

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

2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences

Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are in ṬwA and HnA: iššti “the winter” (ǦbA), il’āša’ “the dinner, ilíf’i “the viper” (second i is originally anaptyctic), šalāt ilíši “evening prayer”, ilá’lab “the tins”, mādrasah “school”, iştägal “he worked”, ittáfag “he agreed”, inģásal “he was washed”, ilbásal “the onions”, ilwálad “the boy/son”, ittáfaguv “they agreed”, inģásaluv “they were washed”, hşıy “rocks”, šölly “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and šahabiy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”.

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

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29 In ‘LA the form ilʾiši “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:
*Cₘ,iCaC > Cₘ,mCaC > vl + Cₘ,mCaC > vl,Cₘ,mCaC > vl,Cₘ,vₘ,mCaC
vlₘ,Cₘ,mCaC or vlₘ,Cₘ,vₘ,mCaC

scenario 2:
*Cₛ,iCaC > Cₛ,mCaC > vl + Cₛ,mCaC > vCₛ,Cₛ,mCaC > vCₛ,Cₛ,mCaC

Cₛ = ‘sunletter’ consonant  vl = article il- or al-
Cₘ = ‘moonletter’ consonant  v ́ = stressed short v: i or á
vₘ = anaptyctic vowel colouring with the following vowel
vₘ́ = originally anaptyctic vowel, after having become stable and part of the morphophonemic base, and is therefore stressable

When anaptyctics preceding forms with initial Cₘ 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 noun³⁰—can thus become stable, and therefore become part of the morphophonemic base and be stressed,³¹ 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>*duraḥ</td>
<td>ḏraḥ</td>
<td>&gt; C ḏraḥ</td>
<td>&gt; C v ḏraḥ</td>
<td>ádraḥ (v ḏraḥ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the article is then prefixed, the resulting form will be aládraḥ “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 alāṅgra “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’aša’, álif ‘ih, ál’īšti ~ ál’īši, áligráb “the watersacks” (but alángar “the potholes”), álabar “the needles” and also aládırah “the sorghum”.

Other forms with heavy sequences in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA: źilé na “we rose”, waládık “your (sg. masc.) son”, waládık “your (sg. fem.) son”, ūmmuň “your mother”, ţiti “winter”, zên “good”, zénih “good (sg. fem.)”, zênin “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(C)':32

(’)v(Cv: úkul “eat!”, úgum “stand up!”, īšil “carry!”, ánam “go to sleep!”, ábar “needles” (“I come” is iğiý). ‘LA forms are: kul, gül, güm, šil, nâm.

Cv(Cv(’): áša “dinner”, máša “he walked”, dáwa “medicine” (“stick” was recorded as ʔaša). The same forms are found in ‘LA.

Cv(Cv(C): ăgál “camels”, şágär “trees”, ğás “he dived”; wágaf “he stood up”, wárag “paper” and šáby “boy”, bírí “innocent”, tári “moist; soft” (“he goes” is yığý, also in ‘LA). In ‘LA both types of stress are heard: walád or wálad, although the latter stress type is more current.

2.1.1.2.2. Stress in (C)vC(Cv(C) and (C)v(Cv(Cv(C

(C)v(Cv(Cv:C): īlxásabah “the piece of firewood”, ărábaw “they hit (perfect)”, báladuh “his country”, násatuh “she forgot him”, ma násatuš “she did not forget him” (the latter two not in ‘LA), and gahawah-forms áhamař “red”, nă’aği “ewe”, á’arag “I sweat”, áharit “I plough”, gáhařaw “coffee”.34

(C)v(Cv(Cv(Cv(C): ărábatuh “she hit him”, ma árábatuš “she did not hit him”, rágabatuh “his neck” and gahawah-forms gáhařatu “his coffee”, tá’aragín “you (pl. fem.) sweat”.

ilxásabah “the piece of firewood”, ilbádawiy “the Bedouin (sg.)”, (gahawah-form) innáxalh “the palm tree”, ibtáhařuw “they dig”, ibtágařat “she worked”, inbásařuw “they rejoiced”, ittáfagat “she agreed”, taqáwwazat “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 infirmæ verbs like gum / úgum or gum / úgum were checked, but were rejected as not proper ‘LA.
34 Stress reported for GbA in Nishio 1992 is the same, see p. 146 (XX-30 and 33). However, ibid. p. 7 (I-61) reports (in my transcription) a’rağ “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.)”), šīfrāʾ(“yellow (sg. fem.)”), bēḍāʾ(“white (sg. fem.)”), gīrāʾ(“bald (sg. fem.)”), ‘ıwrāʾ(“one-eyed (sg. fem.)”). Such stressing is regular in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA.35

In phonetically neutral surroundings, final -āʾ of sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects is raised to -iy (see 1.2.4.4.). Such raised -iy reflexes are then stressed, even if (other) heavy sequences precede, e.g. sōdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, šadfiy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, hawlīy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)”. Notice however stress in hínīy “here”, although more regular for “here” is nīhā. Also in a gahawah-form, in which the gahawah-vowel has resolved the cluster forming the heavy sequence, the reflex of -āʾ receives stress: (šahbāʾ >) šahabīy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”. These forms are current in ṬwA, 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 ṬwA and HnA) (i)l’āšaʾ “(the) dinner”, (i)l’gádaʾ “(the) lunch”, (i)sámaʾ “the sky”,36 but with heavy sequences available: īšṣī “the winter”, šalāt ilīšiʾ (base form is iššiʾ)”evening prayer”, īlifʾi “the viper” and Wādīy Īṣliʾ (stress on initial I) “Wadi Islah”.

Note: there is variation, however: (only) in ġbA and ḤmA forms with stress on the final vowel like šalāt ilīšiʾ “evening prayer”, īlifʾi “the viper”, waqṭ išṣī “the winter time” and ġabal ʿiGNī “the mountain of canals/water ducts (situated in the Mağā rah area)” were also heard.

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

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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) sáma, but does not indicate stress in gāde and ‘aše.

37 In Turbāniy dialect this mountain is referred to as ġibāl ʿiGNīy; gniy is a pl. form < *qināʾ.
2.1.2.2. Stress on final nominal *-īy reflexes in *CaCīy
In ṬwA and HnA, reflexes of the pattern CaCīy 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/īl + *CaCīy
Prefixing an article to a CaCiy sequence has no consequences for the assignment of stress in ṬwA and HnA, e.g. innībiy or innābiy “the Prophet” and issābiy “the boy”. In ḤmA ānnībiy was recorded and in ĠBA ānnībiy. ṣabīy (pl. ṣibyān) “boy” with suffixes: ṣabīyyuk “your boy”, ṣabīyyī “my boy”, ṣabīyyhuṇ “their boy”.

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

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

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

An example in LA 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 pronouns
Like in group I, the preposition min may form one stress unit with the following word, as in mīn-taḥat “from below”, mīn-ki/dmacron belowiy “from this” and mīn-ihniy “from here” (the latter BWA).

In negated pronouns 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) gahwe, (p. 28 (IV-25)) faḥam “charcoal” and verbs: (p. 101–102) (XIV-54)) yaxalaṭ “mix”, (p. 102 (XIV-55)) yaḥafer “dig” and (p. 115 (XVI-19) yaḥazen “be sad”, etc.
Negated pronominals recorded in ḤmA are: māhū, māhī, mințiḥ, mintīy, mānī, māḥnî, mintūw, mintīn, māhuṃ, māhin.

In GrA direct elicitation yielded the following forms: māhū, māhī, mintīḥ, mintīy, mānī, māḥnî, māhuṃ, māhin, mantum, mantīn, māhana.

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

2.1.3.2. Enclitically suffixed prepositions l and b

2.1.3.2.1. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition l

Enclitic suffixed of the suffixed preposition l occurs regularly. Examples are: yuḡʾūd-luh šaharān talāṭih “it stays (for itself) two or three months” (GrA). ibyāxūd-luh btā ṣāʾēṭen “he spends about two hours” (ḠbA), biyṛūḥūlūh “they go to him” (ṢwA), aṙawwīḥ-luh giddām īlmī ṣāʾib yām 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 suffixed was found to be especially current in ḤnA, e.g.: ibyībga-luh mōsim “there is a season for it” (ḤnA), innās bitgūm taḥašālūh . . . ḥašiy “people then stuff it (properly)” (ḤnA), imwazzaf byāxud-luh talatmiṭ yiqnēh “a civil servant gets (for himself) three hundred pounds” (ḤnA).

An example in ʿLA 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. mistaḥţir-buh “making fun of him” (ASA), w inḡammīs-buh “and we dip (food) with it”, timšī-buh “you go with him” (ḤnA), ibyiḥṭimmū-buh ḥtimām ğāmid “they attach great importance to it” (ḤnA). In ʿLA it was not recorded.

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

2.2.1. The gahawah-syndrome

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

Like in many dialects of Sinai, the gahawah-syndrome is active in TwA and HnA. Some of many examples are: šāhaṛ “month”, salāt ilmaġarib “prayer at sunset”, bā’ad “after”, byaxaṭibha “he gets engaged to her”, aha-bal “stupid”, aḥawal “cross-eyed”, šahabíy “sand-coloured”, taḥat “under”.40

In ‘LA we see similar forms, but stress may be on the vowel of the second syllable, e.g. naxáḷ “palm trees”, Sa’ad “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 \(C_1 = X:\) maXC \(\hat{u}C_3\)) like maḥafūṛ “dug”, maxaṛūm “pierced”, maḥabūs “imprisoned”, maḥatūṭ “placed” and ma aqūl “reasonable”, ma adūd “few, countable” and mağašūb “forced, compelled”, but also maxzūn “stored”, Maḥmūd “male given name” and maḫtūbah “engaged (sg. fem.).”

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC \(\hat{v}C_3\): mağařib “time of sunset”, máxazan “storage place, but also mağrib, maxzan and maḫgār “stone quarry”.

Examples in ‘LA: ma’arūfīn “known (pl. masc.)”, maxaṛūm “pierced”, maxaṭūbah “engaged (sg. fem.)”, mağařib “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”, aḡḷab “more/most” (and also aḡḷabiyyah “majority”), aḡla “more/most expensive” and the name Aḥmad.

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40 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)), laḡwe “language” (p. 72 (X-1)), raḡwe “bubble, foam” (p. 125 (XVII-48)), waḥla “mud” (p. 127 (XVII-64)) and verbs like iwaḡ, ya’waḡ “bend” (p. 99 (XIV-41)) and xiliṣ, yaxlaš “end” (p. 103 (XV-4)) and other forms. N.B. the imperfect of a (there measure 1) verb like aṭa, yaṭi “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 ʚṭi). A similar example is (also measure 1) azam, ya’zim “invite” (p. 90 (XIII-21)), which in my own transcription would be ʚazam, yi ʚzim.
The gahawah-syndrome also usually remains absent in loans from Standard Arabic like *ya’niy* “that is, it means”, *yahṣal* “it happens” and another measure 1 verb *ya’mal* “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 *naxaṭatī* “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 ḫāṭih* “you recite the Fātiḥah”, *duḡriy* “straight ahead, right away”, *tzaḡriṭ* “she ululates”, *ygōṭirin* “they (fem.) go”, *xuḏriy* “type of cheap green tobacco (smoked in rolled cigarettes)”.

Examples of the bukara-syndrome inhibiting the elision of a preceding high vowel are *l āxir innahāʁ* “until the end of the day” and *इndawwīr iɫɡamal* “we look for the camel”.

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukara-syndrome creating vowels: *fijī lgaṣir* “in the storage you store it for yourself” and *fijī lɡidir ib ḥāluh* “all of it in the pot” and in ‘LA Ṣadīr iIHēṭān “name of a mountain range, south of Umm Ḩḷah’ 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”, *hādīy btākil ilɡarbū* “this one (fem.) eats jerboa” (though also *ibtākl iṭwēr* “it (fem.) eats small birds”) and *f-awwil ilwagt* “in the beginning”. An example in ‘LA is *gāl yā raḡil ilmasal ALCHEMY* “he said ‘oh man, this saying . . .’”.

Examples of ‘expanded’ or ‘greater’ bukara-vowels preceding *l* in sandhi (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. *gaṣūr*: 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 ‘Umẓ Ḩḷah pass, on the main road from the Ahmad Ḥamdi tunnel near Suez to Nīxl, is usually indicated on maps as ‘Mitla pass’, see fn 7, p. 3.
2.3.2.) are (‘greater’ bukara-vowels underlined): \( w \ il'akil iyāmha kamān šī'ib \) “food was also difficult (to get) in those days” and \( itḥuṭṭuh fī ssi'īn iw yugūd-luh yōm \) “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 *rağil*

The form bil or ibil was not recorded.

rağil for “man” was only recorded once in ḤmA and once in ‘LA, but there were numerous instances of yā rağil. riğgāl or rağgāl (pl. rğāl) 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) yōmn īygassīm “when he allots” and īygūmn anniswān yāḥālibn adduwābb (i.e. not *īygūmn anniswān yāḥālibn adduwābb) “the women then (get up and) milk the animals”.

Also, an anapyctic vowel in sandhi is often inserted in positions not covered by the anapyxis rule (see 2.3. below). Examples are: assāmin aššīḥiy “the wormwood ghee”, and ibyanfa’ l albaṭīn iw fīh šīḡār l aṣṣadīr iw fīh šīḡār l iddiṣbih “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

2.2.3. *Articulatory delay of ʿayn following geminates*

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

2.3. *Anapyxis*

Rules formulated for group VI are also valid for ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA. For ĠbA 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 timṣī “she wishes to leave (or walk)”, biddāne “we wish” and biddāken “you (pl. fem.) wish” and also (p. 56 (VIII-9)) non-elision of high vowels in mdarrəsɛ and mdarrəsīn for (respectively) “teacher (fem.)” and “teachers”.

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

Word-medial clusters (in bold print below) resulting from high vowel elision are usually—depending on the relative sonority of the consonants involved\(^{45}\)—resolved by inserting an anaptyctic vowel preceding the last two consonants of the cluster, e.g.

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

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

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

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

2.3.2. Anaptyxis in sandhi

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

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

\[
sab’ snin\(^{47}\) > sab’ isnin “seven years”.
\]
\[
\# byasrah w byidwiym mī’ gamaluh > \# ibyasrah w ibyi/dmacronbeloẉwiy mī’ gamaluh “he goes away and comes back at sunset with his camel”.
\]

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.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\#CC & \rightarrow & \# iCC: & \# byasrah > \# ibyasrah \\
\text{and} & \rightarrow & CJC #: & b irriğił # > b irriğił #
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{45}\text{For the role of relative sonority, see remarks in De Jong 2000:125–26.}\)

\(^{46}\text{Nishio 1992 gives numerous instances in which word-medial with subsequent anaptyxis does not take place, e.g. imperatives of “write” (sg. fem.) iktibi, (pl. masc.) iktibu and (pl. fem.) iktiben (p. 76 (X-27)), imperfect forms (pl. masc.) yoḍrobu, (pl. fem.) yoḍroben, etc. (p. 88 (XIII-11) and also imperf. forms (pl. masc.) yinzalu and (pl. fem.), yinzalen, etc.}\)

\(^{47}\text{The base form is with initial consonant, which may be concluded from forms preceded by the article (its f assimilates to the first consonant), e.g.: iṣṣgayyir, iṣSwēs and also issnīn (not (i)lissgayyir, (i)liSwēs or (i)lisnīn).}\)
An example in ‘LA is: maṭraḥ ma timis, iris “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), iris is an apocopated imperative (root r-s-y).

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

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

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

sámnit i'anz >

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

sámnt i'anz >

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

sámint i'anz “the ghee of the goats”

Another example is:

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

nīlḥig iššāz >

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

nīlhg iššāz >

(after anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)

nīliḥg iššāz “we put the šāg (on the fire)”

A similar example heard in ‘LA is úḏrb ilmi'zih > * úḏrb ilmi'zih > úḏrb 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 > CVCICVC (e.g. yikitbūw) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVC-CIC VC > CVCCIC 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?”

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48 For similar phonetic conditioning, see De Jong 2000:123–128.
Clusters may be left unresolved in sandhi as well, e.g. *gult hēhū di*! “I said ‘there he is!’” and *'ind bētuh* “near his house”.

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

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

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


2.3.3.3. *Some special cases with regard to anaptyxis*

2.3.3.3.1. *Consonant clusters with initial geminates*

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

2.3.3.3.2. *Preposition ‘ind + C*

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

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

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

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

Examples are *arkāb'ḳ ibyōg'innuk* “your knees hurt you (sg. masc.)”, *arkāb'ḳ ibyōg'innik* “your knees hurt you (sg. fem.)”. In ‘LA *law arwāh'ḳ ibyuŋuz min 'induh* “if he smells you he jumps from his place”.

When more than one consonant precedes the personal- pronominal suffixes take allomorphic shapes -tık (for sg. masc.) and -ık (for sg. fem.) e.g. *xaluk gā'id* “remain seated”, *'induk* “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.50

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

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

2.3.4.1.3. Anaptyctics in clusters resulting from elision of i from T
The situation in ĢwA, 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 ĢwA, HnA and ‘LA.

In ĢwA, HnA imperatives of the verbs xád “take” and kád “eat” are úḳuḷ, # ukḷíy, # ukḷuw, # ukḷín and úxuḍ, # uxudder, # uxudderín.51

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

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

of aspiration might become relevant”. I did not notice any relevant degree of aspiration. For the conclusion drawn here of /ḳ/ and /k/ as separate phonemes see 1.1.1. and 3.1.2.3.1.

50 This is the same as described for group I in De Jong 2000:128.

51 Nishio 1992:91 (XIV-2) lists oxon ~ xoḍ, oxiḍi ~ xoḍi, oxoḍu ~ xoḍu, oxoḍen ~ xoḍen, but okul ~ kul, okli and oklen for ĜBA. 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)), şowak “ploughs” (p. 36 (V-25)), şonaṭ “bags” (p. 38 (V-35)), turab “graves” (p. 44 (VI-29)), sikak “roads” (p. 69–70 (IX-24)), geṣaṣ “stories” (p. 74 (X-14)), nogaṭ “points” (p. 143 (XX-11)), ḥeṭaṭ “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 anaptyctic

In the reflex of the pattern CICaC (i.e. CuCaC or GiCaC) in ṬwA (except ḠbA) 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.


Forms recorded in ḠbA are more like those heard in group I (apart from the fact that the article is not stressed in ḠbA) e.g. hāṭ iligráb “bring the waterskins”, (i)ḥlgán “the injections”, ḡšnát “the suitcases, bags” and comparable stressing in the form ṣalāt îlëṣi’ “the evening prayer” (though also îlîṣi’ was heard).

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

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

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

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

Plurals ending in *-īy have reflexes -īy like in: ġnīy “bunches of dates”,54 ḡṣīy “rocks”,55 ḡḥīy “hand mills” and ṣīy “sticks”.

52 See also remarks in 1.2.4.4. above.
53 See also Nishio 1992:26.
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 ġnī / Bīr ġnī / Bīr ġnā (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 Śī, Wādīy Śī, or Wādīy Islaḥ / Aslaḥ (cf. 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5.).
55 In ṬwA a form îlĩṣi’ was recorded, which must reflect the coll. ḡāṣan (root h-ṣ-y). I do not have an explanation for the raising of final -a preceded by the emphatic sād.
In ṬwA (however, for remarks on ĠbA 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’ī*. Negated forms are stressed *má-muš, ma míkuš, ma míšiš* and (more predictably) *ma míš*.

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) *bitṭalli ʚ + yūn > bitṭalli ʚ yūn > bitṭall ʚ iyūn > bitṭall ʚ iyūn “it (sg. fem.) grows flower buds”.*

In this first example the cluster ’ét 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: *urbut ḥzāmuk > urbut iḥzāmuk > urbt iḥzāmuk > úrubṭ iḥzāmuk “fasten your seat belt”.*

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

Such examples are also found in ‘LA.

2.4.4. Exceptions to the I-elision rule

When C_a and C_b in C_aC IC_b 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 ŠwA, ḪmA and HnA with the act. participles (sg. fem.) mtaʾákninīh, (pl. masc.) mtaʾakninīn and (pl. fem.) mtaʾaknināt “irritated”. In ASA the i-elision does take place (with immediate subsequent anaptyxis) mtaʾakinnih, -īn, -āt and in ĠbA and ‘LA both mtaʾákninīh and mtaʾáknīnh (and mitʾakinnīn / 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 ġ, as in iġġild “the skin”, iġġizzār “the butcher”, iġġism “the body” and iġġamr “the live embers” and iġġim āh ġāyīh “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:

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

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

57 For remarks on contact assimilation involving the spread of velarization cf. 1.1.7.
Instances of regressive partial assimilation were also recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA.

Progressive total assimilation of initial h- of pronominal suffixes to preceding voiceless consonants is regular in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA, as well as reciprocal total assimilations of the type reported for group VI, e.g. ‘arissa “her bridegroom”, mašlahatta “her department”, taslaṣṣa “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 šāḏ (or šāž) > šāz “iron baking sheet”, sīḡīh (or sīžīh) > šīzīh “game of sīḡah”. In ĠbA I heard both šīzn and sīzn “prison” and bitṣaḡīl and bitṣazzīl “you record”, but in ASA I heard only basaḡīl “I record”.

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

3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of *a in C₁aC₂iC₃(ah)

Raising of a in the nominal pattern C₁aC₂iC₃(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 ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are: katīr ~ kītīr “many; much”, kabīr ~ kībīr “big; old”, garīb ~ gīrīb “relative (related person)”, gādīm ~ gīdīm “old”, dagīg ~ dīgīg “flour”, ārīṣ ~ īrīṣ “bridegroom”, āqīnīh ~ īqīnīh “dough”, baʿīd ~ biʿīd “far”, taxīn ~ tixīn “thick, fat”, xāṣf ~ xīṣf “light (in weight)”, xamīs ~ xīmīs “Thursday”, ġālīd ~ gīlīd “fat”, naḍīf ~ nīḍīf “clean”.

⁵⁸ This situation is the same as what was described for group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:272–273. Nishio 1992, however, lists several instances of elisions of this vowel, as in e.g. tgl “heavy” (p. 176 (XXIV-74)), kṭīr “many, much” (p. 176 (XXIV-74), etc. See also remark *⁴ on (non-) elision of ‘underlying a’ in 3.2.2.1. and in verbs like nisīy and līgīy in 3.2.2.5.1.
Some forms recorded only without raising are: hadīd “iron”, dalīl “list (of persons)”, ṭarīq “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)”, mi_SPELLER-<decltype-;margin-right:10px;->’ét <opposite>“goat”, sirīr “bed”, fisīḫ “salted fish”.

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

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 a CaCCīC(-ah) was not recorded, e.g. bāṭṭīx “watermelon”, kabrit “matches”, barmīl “drum”, Katrin “(St.) Catherine”, zambil “basket for sand”, sakkinah “knife” and garnīt “octopus”. Also verbal nouns of measure 2 do not show such raising, e.g. tağlib “throwing out (of a line, fishing)” and (LA) tašnin “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 C₃aC₃ with C₃aC₃, and C₃aC₃. These patterns have been morphologically restructured as C₃iC₃ aC₃ and C₃iC₃ aC₃.

Examples in TwA and HnA: šiġġāl 59 “busy, functioning”, riǧǧāl “man”, siyyāl “acacia tree”, milīḥ “salty type of herb”, niġġār “carpenter”, tillağah “fridge”, willa’ah “lighter”, ḥissās “sensitive”, hiǧǧāriy “pickaxe”, milyān “full”, siyyārāh “car”, ǧiltān “mistaken”, diblān “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: šabʾān “satiated”, raddāḥah “roast pit”, raggāṣah “dancer (fem.)”, ʿatšān “thirsty”, ǧaltān “mistaken”,

59 In ĞBA ġg in šaġġāl was several times pronounced with very little friction, and sounded more like velarized gg.

60 Nishio 1992 also lists several instances of such raising in ĞBA, but mainly in neutral environments, e.g. tifān “thin, lean” (p. 41 (VI-8)), wuẓān “ill” (p. 41 (VI-11)), riġ𝑔āl “(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. baṭṭāniyɛ “blanket” (p. 29 (IV-35)), nasdmacronbeloẉsdmacronbeloẉāra “glasses” (p. 33 (V-3)), şaġġāl “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 TwA and HnA when it precedes CCā, e.g.: ḥibbāyāt “corns, seeds”, mirrāt “times” and also in the pattern for sg. fem. adjectives of colours and physical defects (*CaCCāʾ), as in tīrmaʿ “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”, girʿā “bald (sg. fem.)”, ḫirrā “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, gilbā “stupid (sg. fem.)” and ḥimrā “red (sg. fem.)”, ṣifrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, zirgā “black (lit. blue, sg. fem.)” and also xiṭrā “green (sg. fem.)”. Though forms like xaḍrāʾ and ḥamrāʾ were also recorded. In ‘LA examples are: xaḍrāʾ, ḥamrāʾ, samrāʾ, but also zirgāʾ, tīrmaʿ “gap-toothed (sg. fem.)”.

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

In ASA, SwA, 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 ~ Niṣṣār “male given name”, raḡgāl ~ riḡgāl “man”, niḡgār “carpenter”, Sīlmān “male given name”, šiyād “fisherman” (but šayyādiyyah “dish with fish”), biṭṭāniyyah “blanket”, kislān “lazy”, wiḡān “suffering pain”, šib “sated, full”, zihgānīn “fed up (pl. masc.)”.

Variation or no raising in ḡaltān “mistaken”, ḡalbān “poor, wretched”, ˈayyān “ill”, ta ’bān “tired”, malyān “full”, ʾitšān “thirsty” and in sg. fem. adjectives for colours and physical defects: zirgāʾ ~ zargāʾ “black (lit. blue, sg. fem.)”, ḥimrāʾ ~ ḥamrāʾ “red (sg. fem.)”, raddāḥah ~ riddāḥah “trap net (used to catch birds)”, ṣafrāʾ “yellow (sg. fem.)”, ḥamgāʾ “stupid, silly (sg. fem.)”, marrāt “times”, ḥabbāt “corns, bits” and miʾnāt “the meaning of”.

The conclusion for ḤmA, SwA, 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”, gināyin “gardens”, zimān “in the past”, gizāz “glass”, tīmānīn “eighty”, midāris “schools”, misāfīh “distance”, misākīl “problems”, filāyik isṣēd “(small) fishing boats (with sails)”, biḥāyim “cattle (pl.)”, ḡibāyiḥ “animals for slaughter”, digāyiğ
“minutes”, šīmāl “north”, kimān “also”, dirāhim “money”, ma mišāš “he did not go”, ɪlfā ɪy “the vipers”.

In labial environments, raising of a may also be towards [u], as in šuwārib “lips”, muwā in “receptacles”, fiwâkih “(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”, ɪtamâṭim “tomatoes”.

Here too, raising occurs less when l or r follows a, or X precedes, e.g. malāyīn “millions”, salāh “prayer”, ɪtalāṭah “three”, xalās “ready”, salām “peace”, Garârshah “name of tribe”, farâših “thin loaves of bread baked on a šâz (i.e. a šâq), marâkib “boats”, farâ nah “Faraos”, and ʾašān “because”, ḥasâh “rock”, xawâqîh “foreigner”, Ḥamâdah “name of tribe”, ḥayâh “life”, ɡazâl “gazelle”. Also when ’ precedes, raising is not regular, e.g. (ʾ)amâkin “places”, (ʾ)asâbi “fingers; toes”. Such examples may also be heard in ‘LA.

This raising of a in open syllable directly preceding stressed á 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. ʾilây “on me”, ǧimâl “your camel”, tihâthi “under her”, ma tihâthiš “not under her”.

Such raising only occurs on a limited scale, however; examples of non-raising are numerous, e.g.: ɡâbâhtuh “I slaughtered it”, rabâbât “your neck”, katábt “I wrote” and also gahawâtkum “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: ǧimâl “camel”, ġibâl “mountain” and muṭâr “rain”.

3.1.1.7. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed A

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

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61 Compare C.A. af “a”, pl. afâ “(root f-)y).
3.1.1.8. **Raising of a in CaCūC(ah)**
Like raising of a towards I.P.A. [ı] in open syllable preceding Ci, a in open syllable is also often raised—usually towards I.P.A. [v]—when it precedes Ĕu. Examples are: buxūr “incense”, xurūf “lamb”, ġinūb ~ ġunūb “south”, ġumūs “food dip”, ʿurūs “bridegroom”, fuṭūr “breakfast”, yuhūd “Jews” and (with initial hamzah) ʿuḥū “my father” and ʿuxū “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 guḍ “young male camel”.

Like raising of a preceding ī, raising of a preceding ĕ is optional; forms like ʿagūz “old lady”, ġanūb “south”, ʿarūsah “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) ʿabūr in the name madrasat il ʿAbūr “the Crossing School”. Since u of the first syllable in the MSA loan ʿubūr is not dropped in pronunciation, which would result in ʿbūr (compare e.g. ʿyūn < ʿuyūn 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 ʿabūr. Since raising of a in such positions is however only optional, one may also hear a form like ʿabūr. 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 maʿīn (maʿūn) “container”, nāmūsiyyih (namūsiyyih) “mosquito net”.

A gahawah-vowel in open syllable preceding Ĕu is not raised, e.g. maxatūb “engaged”, maʿārūf “known”, mahāfuḍ “well-kept”, máʿādūs “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 ĕ is found much less often in group VII than in group VI. Although this may be partly due to differences in stress patterns (ĆvĆvĆ in ṬwA and HnA as opposed to CvĆvĆ), such ‘LA forms (which also stresses CvĆvĆ) are few.

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62 The ‘crossing’, C.A. ʿubūr, 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 $\dot{g}ulu\dot{t}$ “I grew fat”, $\dot{g}ulu\dot{t}in$ “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 ‘ilāh, which also appears without raising as ‘alūh “on him” (see remark *4 in 3.1.16.). Notice here that in the absence of velarization or labialization, raising is towards $i$, even though the stressed vowel following is $u$.

3.1.10. a-raising rules combined

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

\[
a > I / C_a C_i C \]

$I$ = long vowel ū or ī
$I$ = short high vowel $u$ if $I$ is ū; short high vowel $i$ if $I$ is ī
$C_i$ = consonant capable of carrying velarization in case of raising to $u$

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

3.1.2. Reflexes of $^*C,aC,C(ah)$

For reflexes of $CaCC(-ah)$ the following forms were recorded in TwA: $badw$ “Bedouin”, $tâhart$ “under” (also ‘LA), $fâham$ “coal”, $wâhdâh$ (=$wâddih$ in ĠB A, ḤmA and ‘LA) “one (sg. fem.)”, $nahyih$ “direction”, $sâ’âb$ “difficult”, $sâkh$ “shape”, $sâhân$ “dish, plate” (also ‘LA), $âdây$ “kid goat” (also ‘LA), $âsad$ “chest”, $wâkt$ “food” (also ‘LA), $kârst$ “(fat) belly”, $kâlb$ “dog” and $âjidd$ “grandfather” (also ‘LA) and $âjîfn$ “eyelid”.

3.1.3. Reflexes of $^*CaCiC(ah)$

$wirk$ “thigh”, $kitf$ “shoulder”, $kîlmîh$ “word”, $sîrkîh$ “company”.

3.1.4. Reflexes of $C_iuC,C(ah)$

Some reflexes of $C_iuC,C(ah)$ are: $bunn$ “coffee beans”, $rizz$ “rice”, $kull$ “all; every” (also ‘LA), $ummâ$ “mother” (also ‘LA), $uxt$ “sister” (also ‘LA), $âjîmîh$ “male given name” (also ‘LA), $muddîh$ “period”, $âjurmah$ “woman” (also

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63 For ĠB A $âlîk, âlâk$ is reported in Nishio 1992:7 (1-58).
3.1.5. Absence of I in open syllables preceding stress

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

When V is a long vowel, an initial CC cluster is the result, e.g.: snīn “years”, ḳūn “eyes” and ḳnēh “pound (money)”, ḡbāl “mountains”, ḡṣayyīr “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”, ᶰḥgān “injections”, ḳfʾi “viper”, ḳšti “winter”. Such forms are regular in ṬwA and HnA, but in ‘LA forms like ḳṇāt “suitcases” and Ṯnāb “grapes” are predominant, although also forms ḳfʾiy ~ ḳfʾih 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” (ḠbA), niḥāʾiy “final” (ḠbA), siyāḥah “tourism” (ḤmA), ḳibārakah “an “consisting of” (ṢwA) and gizāz “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. yiǧi “he comes”, which is again like forms in group II of the north (see De Jong 2000:307, contrast with groups I and VI, see 3.2.2.6.1.).

3.1.6. Diminutive patterns

The usual diminutives expressing ‘littleness’, ‘shortness’, ‘narrowness’ etc. were recorded as e.g. ḡrāyib “near”, ṭṣayyir “small; young”, ḳfayyī “narrow”, ḳʾayyīf “weak (sg. fem.)”, ḳlāyī “few; little”, ḳwāyīs “good”, ḳwayyīh “a bit” and (as a common dim. used to euphemistically refer to women) ḳhrāyīm “women”.

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64 The implication of such elisions is that stress was CICāC, and that it must have shifted in the course of time.
In ṢwA the viper (ilíf’i’) was also referred to as swēd illēl, lit. “the (little) blackness of night”. Other diminutives are: riśrēš maṭar65 “a few drops of rain”, ibtākl ʾitwēr “it (sg. fem.) eats small birds”, zrēgān “dark-coloured thoroughbred camel”, yā-ḥuw ʾṣhayyibī “my little friend (as a form of address)”. Except in the form zrēgān, the hypochoristic -ān suffix, which was recorded in some of the dialects of group I,66 was not heard in 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. aḥamaḍ) and aC1aC2aC3 (e.g. ṣahābiy, 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. bēḏā’, ḥamṛā’). There is an additional a following C2 when it is X and final -ā is raised to -īy when C3 is neutral (e.g. šaḥabīy). Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

In the pl. com. forms for colors and physical defects all dialects (including shalfringleftLA) show C1uC2C3 as the pattern, i.e. like in MzA of group VI. Only in ḡBΑ both ʾimy and ṣumy 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”.

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

3.1.9.1. The article and the relative pronoun

The article is *il*- in all dialects and the relative pronoun is *illiy*. The article is not a stressable unit (see 2.1.1.), except in ḤmA, where the (stressable) article *al*- is used parallel to the (unstressable) article *il*-.

Examples in ḤmA are: *ál ašī* ~ *il ašā* “the dinner”, *ál ġada* ~ *il ġada* “the lunch”, *ál ġánam* ~ *il ġánam* “the sheep”.

Examples in other dialects of ṬwA are: *il ġamal* “the camel”, *tá aqīn* *illiy biyaww ḫaw * Ubūw lHōl* — “there are beautiful dive sites here in Dahab. And there are those (lit. sg.) who go to the Blue Hole” and ḥasab *kimmīy illabān illiy ‘indu̇k ‘ad “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 il ġánam w iḫna ǧayyirin. ingōṭir ilbār yā salām iyyubbl āmuṭṭar… “we used to roam around with the small cattle when we were young, we used to go to the desert, oh my goodness, and (then) the rain would fall…”.

Only in ḠB and ḤmA *l* of the article assimilates to *šti*-, as in *f-īššti*- “in (the) winter”. In other dialects one will hear *f īštī*. Similarly (in ḤmA) *hāt āššnaṭ* “go get the bags!”, where the other dialects have *il ġaṭ naṭ*. An example from ASA is *hatīǧib il ġaṭwar wālla tānam īlēhin “are you going to bring the photos or keep them (fem.) for yourself (lit. sleep on them)”?*.

‘Specifying’ *ha*- was heard used only in adverbial *halḥīn “now”, e.g. *fīh bu’rān bitxāf halḥīn law nizilt īṣṣāri*, *bitxāf mi l’arabīyyih “there are camels that are afraid, if you would now go out on the street, they would be afraid of a car”.

In ḤmA 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 ilmiğrib “the sunset prayer”, ilīkri* “the wages”, but also *āļfaras ~ ’ilfaras “the horse”. When the article is stressed, the vowel is usually *a* (e.g. *āļ ġada* “lunch”, *áł ašā* “dinner”.

---

67 Aḅuw 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 aṭ-Ṭarfa) see remarks below in 3.1.16.
álgrab “the watersacks”), but sometimes colours with the vowel of the noun, as in šalāt ʾilliʾṣiʿ “evening prayer” and ḫiḥṣiʾ “the rocks”.

3.1.9.2. Other instances of initial a
Forms in ṬwA and HnA are: ʾumrn “mother”, ʾuxt “sister”, ʾihna “we”, (ʾ)ábar “needles” and (ʾ)áwad “rooms”. Forms recorded in ‘LA are ʾumrn, ʾuxt, álabar and álawa/dmacronbeloẉ.

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

3.1.10. The feminine morpheme (T) in genitive construction

T in genitive construction is treated like in the dialect of the Samāʾnah of group II in the north.\(^{69}\) T preceded by any sequence –CaC (including C + gahawah-vowel a + C) in genitive construction becomes –CaCat. The rule is:

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{C} & \text{ = any consonant} \\
\text{a} & \text{ = any a, including a produced by the gahawah-syndrome}
\end{align*}
\]

Nishio 1992:XV, however, describes a situation for ṢbA 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/, /ḍ, ūḥ/, /š/.”

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 ṭagabatuh “his neck”.

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

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

\(^{69}\) See De Jong 2000:279–281.
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 ṬwA 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’.\(^{70}\) Examples are: *gahawati* “my coffee”, *gahawatuḥ* “his coffee”, *gahawāt‘k* “your coffee” and *naxalati* “my date palm”, *naxalāthum* “their date palm” and *naxalāt‘k* “your (sg. fem.) date palm”, etc.

3.1.10.4. *T following ā*

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

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

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

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

3.1.11. *Genitive marker*

The genitive marker is *šuġl*, but in ĠbA also *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, ṢwA and ḤmA.

Apart from *šuġl* and *hagg*, K-form *btā‘* is often used.\(^{71}\)

The paradigms for *šuġl* 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 ṬwA and HnA.\(^{72}\)

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

---

\(^{70}\) For a different situation in group I, see De Jong 2000:158–160.

\(^{71}\) Nishio 1992:192–194 (XXVII-8) reports the same three possibilities for ĠbA.

\(^{72}\) In Nishio 1992:192–194 (XVII-8) transcribes a as T vowel in closed syllables in *şoġlat* + C and *ḥaggat* + C (e.g. *şoġlatnɛ* and *ḥaggatnɛ* “our”) and at for *T* in open syllables: (with T-vowel not elided!) *şuġlati* and *ḥaggati* “my” (though elision of the *a* is given as an option in e.g. *marr(ə)tēn* “twice” (p. 173 (XXIV-49)), but e in e.g. *btashalfringleftetnɛ* “ours” and the T-vowel elided in open syllables, e.g. in *btā‘ti* “my”.

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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></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>hū / huwwa</td>
<td>hum( الماضي)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hī / hiyya</td>
<td>hin(ها)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>intah / intih</td>
<td>intum / intuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>intiy</td>
<td>intin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ána</td>
<td>iḥna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

* In GrA direct elicitation yielded: māhū, māhī, mantih, mantiy, mana, māhum, māhin, mantuṃ, mantin and māḥna.

In ḤmA and (additional forms in) ḎbA the forms recorded are: māni, mintih, mintiy, māhu, māhi, miḥna, mintuw / mintuṃ, mintin, māhuṃ, māhin.

3.1.12.2. **Pronominal suffixes**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>(C)-u(h), v(h)</td>
<td>-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>-ha / -ḥi(h)</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 ḎbA.
75 Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-15) gives "hī (~ hiye ~ hiya < CLA or Cairene Ar.)" for ḎbA.
76 Nishio 1992:180 (XXV-19) gives "hennɛ" for ḎbA.
77 Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-3) only gives inta for ḎbA.
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 ḎbA.
80 Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-11) gives inten for ḎbA.
81 Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-1) also gives ana for ḎbA.
82 Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-3) also gives iḥna for ḎbA.
Initial h of the suffixes (in 3rd sg. fem and 3rd pl. masc. and fem.) often assimilates to a voiceless preceding consonant, e.g. bēttuṃ “their house”.

For allomorphs used with the preposition ʼind, see below 3.1.16.

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

Some examples are: tāʼamuh hiluw “its taste is sweet”, udugguh “I pound it”, saḷaxnāh “we skinned it”.

Endings in -iʼ occur mainly in pause and in neutral environments.

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

Suffixes -i and -nī for the 1st p. sg. com. are stressed. Unstressed -i and -nī also occur.

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

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

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

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

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81 Such assimilations are also reported for ĠbA, see Nishio 1992:180.
82 For ĠbA Nishio 1992:379 (XXV-14) gives consonant + o and long vowel û + (h).
84 These stressed and unstressed forms are also reported in Nishio 1992:178 (XXV-2) for ĠbA.
86 Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-10) for ĠbA also lists final -m in kom. For the pl. fem. form Nishio 1992:179 (XXV-12) gives ken.
In the verbal system of these dialects the endings -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-ıkît-b-uw and y-ıkît-b-in and (perf.) katab-uw and katab-in, and (for the second p. pl.) (imperf.) t-ıkît-b-uw and t-ıkît-b-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. -k-in. '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.

Since the reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries resulted in a pronominal system that is internally quite logical, 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

---

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-ıkītb-um and (fem.) y-ıkītb-in. One of my Lēgiy informants explained that the -um endings are used in more formal settings, such as court sessions.

3.1.12.3. Pronominal suffixes and negation

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>negated sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>bidduh</td>
<td>biddhum</td>
<td>ma bidduš*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>biddhiʾ</td>
<td>biddhin</td>
<td>ma biddhiš*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>bidduḳ</td>
<td>biddḳuṃ/-ḳuw</td>
<td>ma biddāḳš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>biddik</td>
<td>biddkin</td>
<td>ma biddikš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>com.</td>
<td>biddi</td>
<td>biddniʾ</td>
<td>ma biddiš</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 -ḳum is the ‘original’ pron. suffix rather than -ḳuw, since one would not expect lengthening of a final vowel (-*ū < -u(w)) with affixed -š (i.e. -ūš as in -ḳūš) in a system where other vowels are not lengthened when they precede affixed -š. A form comparable to the unlengthened forms in ma bidduš, ma biddhiš and ma biddniš would have been *ma biddkuš.

Some examples of negated verb forms are:

\[ \text{negated} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{kātabatuh} & \text{“she wrote it (sg. masc.)”} \\
\text{katabáttiʾ} & \text{“she wrote it (sg. fem.”} \\
\text{katābtuh} & \text{“I wrote it (sg. masc.)”} \\
\text{katābtitiʾ} & \text{“I wrote it (sg. fem.)”} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{negated} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{ma kātabatuh} & \\
\text{ma katabáttiš} & \\
\text{ma katābtuš} & \\
\text{ma katabtitiš} & \\
\end{array} \]

---

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. hī biddahɛ timši “she wishes to leave (or walk)” and biddahɛ “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 GbA, it seems, e.g. Nishio 1992:296 (XIV-27) ydawwəru, ydawwəren “they (masc., fem.) search”, etc. Such forms were not heard in my recordings.
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\[ \begin{align*}
  i^{t}n\dot{i} y\check{y}h & \quad "g\text{ive (sg. masc.) to me}" & ma t^{i}n\dot{n}\check{i} y\check{y}h \\
  i^{t}n\dot{i} y\check{y}h & \quad "g\text{ive (pl. masc.) to me}" & ma t^{i}n\dot{n}\check{i} y\check{y}h \\
  i^{t}\check{i} y\check{y}h & \quad "g\text{ive (sg. fem.) to (fem.) to her}" & ma t^{i} hi\check{i} y\check{y}h \\
  i^{t}\check{u}h & \quad "g\text{ive (pl. masc.) to her}" & ma t^{i} hi\check{u}h y\check{y}h* \\
  i^{t}\check{n}hi & \quad "g\text{ive (pl. fem.) to her}" & ma t^{i} hi\check{n}hi y\check{y}h* \\
  i^{t}\check{n}\check{u}h & \quad "g\text{ive (pl. fem.) to him}" & ma t^{i} hi\check{n}\check{u}h y\check{y}h \\
\end{align*} \]

* Notice the difference in phonetic quality of the vowels preceding \(-\check{s}\); the (originally) pausal vowel is directly suffixed with \(-\check{s}\).

Other such examples are: \(uk\dot{u}l\dot{h}i\) “eat (sg. masc.) it (sg. gem.)”, (negated) \(ma t\dot{a}k\dot{u}l\dot{h}i\check{h}i\) “don’t eat (sg. masc.) it (sg. fem.)”, \(uk\dot{l}\dot{u}h\dot{a}\) “eat (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)” is negated as \(ma t\dot{a}k\dot{l}\dot{u}h\check{i}\) “don’t eat (sg. fem.) it (sg. fem.)”, but \(u\dot{k}\dot{l}\dot{u}h\dot{a}\) “eat (pl. masc.) it (sg. fem.)” is negated as \(ma t\dot{a}k\dot{l}\dot{u}h\check{a}\) “don’t (pl. masc.) eat it (sg. fem.)”.

\[ \begin{align*}
  i^{s}\check{l}hi & \quad "t\text{ake (sg. fem.) away}" & ma t\check{s}\check{l}hi\check{h}i / m\check{a} t\check{s}\check{l}hi\check{h}i \\
  i^{s}\check{l}h & \quad "t\text{ake (sg. masc.) away}" & ma t\check{s}\check{l}u\check{s} / m\check{a} t\check{s}\check{l}u\check{s} \\
  (i)\check{s}\check{l}\check{h}\check{a} & \quad "t\text{ake (pl. masc.) it (sg. fem.) away}" & ma t\check{s}\check{l}\check{h}\check{a}\check{h} \\
  (i)\check{s}\check{l}\check{n}\check{h}\check{u}h & \quad "t\text{ake (pl. fem.) it away}" & ma t\check{s}\check{l}\check{n}\check{h}\check{u}\check{n} \\
  (i)\check{s}\check{l}\check{h} & \quad "t\text{ake (pl. masc.) it (sg. masc.) away}" & ma t\check{s}\check{l}\check{s} \\
\end{align*} \]

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

\( (i)\check{s}\check{l}\check{u}w "t\text{ake (pl. masc.) away}" \quad \text{negated as} \quad ma t\check{s}\check{l}\check{u}\check{s} \)

Other such examples are:

\[ \begin{align*}
  ux\check{d}\dot{i}h & \quad "t\text{ake (sg. fem.) it}" & \text{both negated as} & ma t\check{x}\check{d}\check{i}\check{h} \\
  \check{u}xd\check{d}i\check{y} & \quad "t\text{ake (sg. fem.)}" & \text{both negated as} & ma t\check{x}\check{d}\check{i}\check{h} \\
\end{align*} \]

and

\[ \begin{align*}
  ux\check{d}\dot{u}h & \quad "t\text{ake (pl. masc.) it}" & \text{both negated as} & ma t\check{x}\check{d}\check{u}\check{h} \\
  \check{u}xd\check{d}u\check{w} & \quad "t\text{ake (pl. masc.)}" & \text{both negated as} & ma t\check{x}\check{d}\check{u}\check{h} \]

Similarly, the vowel in the pronominal suffix \(-n\check{a}\) is not lengthened when it is in turn suffixed with \(-\check{s}\), e.g. \(s\check{a}\check{f}\check{ni}\) “he saw us”, (negated) \(ma s\check{a}\check{f}\check{n}\check{i}\check{h}i\) “he did not see us” and \(s\check{a}\check{l}\check{\check{u}}\check{n}\check{\check{u}}\check{n}\) “they carried us”, (negated) \(ma s\check{a}\check{l}\check{\check{u}}\check{n}\check{\check{u}}\check{n}\check{\check{h}}\) “they did not carry us”.

N.B.

This treatment of the pl. com. pronominal suffix \(-n\check{a}\) differs from treatment of the verbal suffix \(-n\check{a}\): in contrast to the vowel of the pronominal suffix, the vowel of the verbal suffix is lengthened before \(-\check{s}\), e.g. \(\check{s}\check{u}\check{f}\check{n}\check{a}\) “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 ḡāš “he did not come”, not ma ḡiš (cf. 3.2.2.6. below).

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

3.1.13. Demonstratives

3.1.13.1. Near and far deixis

Near deixis*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.*3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>(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 ṣā- occur mainly in the sg.

*2 In pause, and at times also sentence-medially often ḍī- or ḍīh.

*3 In HnA the pl. forms (masc.) īnناس /dmacronbelowuw and (fem.) ʾilḥrayyūm ʾinn(-ih) were also recorded.

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

In ‘LA the form dūm (~ ʾdillih) was also elicited (but a conceivable ʾdīn for the pl. fem. was rejected when suggested).

Nishio 1992:181 (XXV-24) gives dēll ~ dōl (the latter being more used among younger speakers) and ḍellet for the fem. in ḠbA.

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

Far deixis*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.*2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>dāk(-ah)*2</td>
<td>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 ḍōl for the pl. masc. and one instance of dīlah for the pl. fem.

Like in near deixis, also in far deixis ḤmA tends to have forms with initial hā-: hāḍāk(-ah), hāḍīk(-ih) and hāḍallāk(-ah).

For ĠbA Nishio 1992:181–182 (XV-25 and 26) lists ḍāka ~ haḍāka for sg. masc., ḍike ~ haḍike for sg. fem. and ḍallāka 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 k.

Like in group VI, “there he/she is (lit.: has come)” or “there they are (masc./fem.) (lit. have come)” is hēhū ġi’, hēhi ġāt, hēhum(ma) ġuw and hēhin(na) ġin.

In ĠbA also the following forms were elicited:

- ilkhāmmah hikīn(nih) “those women (there)”
- innās hukūm(ma) “those people (there)”
- ibwālad hukūw(wah) “that boy (there)”
- ilbint hikīy(yih) “that girl (there)”

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

- hukkū ġi “there he has come”, hikkī ġāt “there she has come”, hukkūm(mah) ġuw “there they have come”, hikkin(nah) ġin “there they (fem.) have come”.

The origin of these presentatives is probably hāk + hū or hūwwa, after which k + h was assimilated to kk and ā of hāk was shortened and harmonized with the vowel of the suffixed pronominal.

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

3.1.14. Interrogatives


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

Nishio 1992 lists the following forms for ĠbA: 1) mīn (p. 183 (XX-30)), 2) ēš ~ ē (p. 183–184 (XX-31)), 3) lēš ~ lē (p. 184 (XX35)), 4) mitēn (~ imta from Cairene Arabic) (p. 184 (XX-36)), 5) wēn (~ fēn from Cairene Arabic) (p. 184 (XX-34)), 6) ayyu (p. 184 (XX-32)), 7) kēf (~ izzay from Cairene Arabic).
Arabic) (p. 184 (XXV-33)), bkam (p. 185 (XXV-38)), 9) kam (XXV-37)) and translates gaddēš ~ gadrēš as “how far” (p. 185 (XXV, 39)).

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

3.1.15. Adverbs

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.15.2. “maybe”

For “maybe” no forms based on the root x-w-f (e.g. xōf allāḥ) or k-w-d (e.g. kūd) were recorded, but only yimkin “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 ilḵamal ma ṭili tiš. 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, ʿw fataḥna šṣubiḥ. issuwwāḥ māš ilḏimʾah 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 ṬwA, nor in HnA or ‘LA. Instead, a construction like šwayyih šwayyih “bit by bit” is used.

3.1.15.5. min xōf “lest”
min xōf in the sense of “lest” (see De Jong 2000:179) was not recorded.

Instead, a construction with aḥsan was recorded in HnA: bitsawwwha, mumkin itxallha galiḏah, bass in tabga ūfayy ah tabga eh? 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 ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are: (suffixes -ha and -na are usually -hi and -ni in neutral environments and in ‘LA 2nd p. pl. masc. final -aw varies with final -um)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>l+*1</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th></th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th></th>
<th>'ala+*4</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>(i)m(i)'+*6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>luḥ</td>
<td>lēhuṃ</td>
<td></td>
<td>'ilēḥ</td>
<td>ilēhuṃ</td>
<td></td>
<td>'ilēh</td>
<td>ilēhuṃ ím</td>
<td>uṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lēḥa</td>
<td>lēhīn</td>
<td>ilēḥa</td>
<td>ilēhīn</td>
<td>mīḥha</td>
<td>mihḥīn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>luḵ*2</td>
<td>lēk*uṃ</td>
<td>'ilēk</td>
<td>ilēk*uṃ</td>
<td>ím</td>
<td>uḵ</td>
<td>mīkuṃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lik*2</td>
<td>lēk</td>
<td>ilēk</td>
<td>ilēk</td>
<td>ím</td>
<td>iṅ</td>
<td>mišīn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>lī*3</td>
<td>lēna</td>
<td>'ilēna</td>
<td>'alāy(y)*5</td>
<td>ilēna</td>
<td>ím</td>
<td>mi na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{array}
\]

*1 The preposition l + suffix may in turn again be enclitically suffixed, e.g. biṭal’-luḥ “he takes out for himself”. This was however only observed with a suffix -uḥ.\(^94\)

*2 In ḤmA lēk*uṃ and lēk or lēkiy.

\(^{94}\) In forms like gāl luḥ or gāl luḥ it is not possible to conclude enclitic suffixing; ‘proof’ of such enclisis would be stress shift or lengthening of a directly preceding vowel, as in e.g. Cairene ḡibtū-luḥ “I brought it for him” or ʿālīt-lu “she said to him”. Examples of such vowel lengthening or stress shift were not recorded in these dialects.
*3 In ASA and 'LA lay.

*4 In 'LA direct elicitation yielded (sg.) 'luh, 'lēha, 'luḵ, 'luḵ, 'lay and (pl.) 'lēhun, 'lēhin, 'lēkum / -wv, 'lēkin, 'lēna but in spontaneous texts only forms like 'alāh ~ 'ilūh (and also 'alēh), 'alēha, 'alēkuw / -uṃ etc. occurred. In ḤmA both 'alēh ~ 'ilēh and less regularly 'alūh ~ 'ilūh can be heard.

*5 In ĜbA both 'alāy and 'ilēy (compare īdēy “my hands”) were recorded.

*6 In GrA full paradigmatic levelling has produced variant forms (for consonant-initial suffixes) īm'ha, īm'huw, īm'hin, īm'kum, īm'kin and īm'na, leading to the conclusion that the underlying morphological base is |im| in this case.

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

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

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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 ḞbA warahī and (negated ma warāhiš).
*2 Negated forms in SwA were recorded as (sg. masc.) ma warā‘kš and (sg. fem.) ma warākš. Other dialects have negated forms (sg. masc.) ma warā‘kuš and (sg. fem.) ma warākiš (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: ‘indihī’.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>negated:</th>
<th>‘ala+*1</th>
<th></th>
<th>fōg+</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>ma ‘ilēš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēhümš</td>
<td>ma fōguš</td>
<td>ma fōghümš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēhiš</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēhins</td>
<td>ma fōghiš</td>
<td>ma fōghiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēkuš*2</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēkumš</td>
<td>ma fōguš*4</td>
<td>ma fōgikš*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēkiš*2</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēkins</td>
<td>ma fōguš*4</td>
<td>ma fōgikš*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ma ‘aláys*3</td>
<td>ma ‘ilēniš</td>
<td>ma fōgiš</td>
<td>ma fōgniš</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 ‘alē‘kš and ma ‘alēkš.
*3 In ḞbA ma ‘īlēyš 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>(i)m(i)+</th>
<th></th>
<th>min+</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>má-m ‘uš</td>
<td>ma mihḥümš</td>
<td>ma mínnuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma mihḥiš</td>
<td>ma mihḥins</td>
<td>ma mínhiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ma m ‘ukš</td>
<td>ma mí ‘kümš</td>
<td>ma míníkš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ma m ‘ikš</td>
<td>ma mí ‘kınš</td>
<td>ma míníkš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ma m ‘iš</td>
<td>ma mí ‘niš</td>
<td>ma míníš</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):

1. **wāḥid / wiḥdih**
   - *1
2. **/tmacronbelowēn / /tmacronbelowintēn**
   - *2
3. **/tmacronbelowalā/tmacronbelow**
4. **aṛba ě̀a**
5. **xamsih (xams)**
6. **sittih (sitt)**
7. **sabīh (sab’)**
8. **țamānyih (țaman)**
9. **tis’ih (tis’)**
10. **așaṛah (‘ašar)**

*a* 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”.

*a* 2. **/tmacronbelowēn** and **/tmacronbelowintēn** may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. waladēn i/tmacronbelowēn “two boys” and ĭdēy i/tmacronbelowintēn or ĭdēy ĭtintēn “[my two hands].”

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic **t**- (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. ě̀ašt t-infār “ten people”, țalaṭ t-îyyām “three days”.

3.1.17.2. **Ordinal numbers 1–10**

Only three ordinals were recorded in TwA, HnA and ‘LA: āwwil, tāniy, tāliṭ.

3.1.17.3. **Numerals: 11 and up**

Numerals recorded in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are:

- **iḥdạ̄šaṛ**
- **iṭnā ̣šaṛ**
- **/tmacronbelowalaṭṭạ̄šaṛ**
- **aṛba ě̀a ě̀a tạ̄šaṛ**
- **xamisṭā ̣šaṛ**
- **siṭṭā ̣šaṛ**
- **saba ě̀a ě̀a tạ̄šaṛ**
- **/tmacronbelowamanṭạ̄šaṛ**
- **tisa ě̀a ě̀a tạ̄šaṛ**
- **’étı̄n**
- **/tmacronbelowulī/tmacronbelowmiyyih**
- **ṛubi ě̀a miyyih**
- **xumismiyyih**
- **suttmiyyih**
- **subi ě̀a miyyih**
- **/tmacronbelowummiyyih**
- **tusi ě̀a miyyih**
- **alf ě̀ᾱf**
- **xamis ě̀ᾱf**
- **sabī ě̀ᾱf**
- **tisa ě̀ᾱf**
- **/tmacronbelowaman ě̀ᾱf**
- **al’fe n ě̀ᾱf**
- **xamis ě̀ᾱf**
- **/tmacronbelowalat t-ālāf**
- **arba ě̀ᾱf**
- **xams ě̀ᾱf**
- **sitt ě̀ᾱf**
- **sabī ě̀ᾱf**
- **/tmacronbelowaman ě̀ᾱf**
- **tisi ě̀ᾱf**
- **/tmacronbelowamān ě̀ᾱf**
- **al’fe n ě̀ᾱf**
- **xamis ě̀ᾱf**
- **/tmacronbelowalat t-ālāf**
- **arba ě̀ᾱf**
- **xams ě̀ᾱf**
- **sitt ě̀ᾱf**
- **sabī ě̀ᾱf**
- **/tmacronbelowaman ě̀ᾱf**
- **tisi ě̀ᾱf**
- **mīt alf**
- **miyytēn alf**
- **milyōn**

*a* 1. In ‘LA ḥidāšaṛ

*a* 2. Forms recorded in HnA have endings in -ăśir. In ŠwA also shorter forms like sittāiš, sabī’tǎiš and țamanṭăiš were recorded in allegro speech. Informants for ASA claimed endings in -ăiš are more current than those ending in -ăśir or -ăśar.

*a* 3. In HnA and ‘LA malyōn.

Some plurals recorded with proclitic **t**- are: țalaṭ t-îskāl “three shapes”, țalaṭ t-álāf “three thousand”, ‘ašar t-îyyām “ten days”, xamis t-uşhur “six
months”, *arba’ t-irbi* “four descent groups (of a tribe)”, *ťaman t-infâr* “eight persons”.

Months are usually referred to by numbers, but in ŠwA also *šahar Imšîr* 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”, *xatīwtēn* “two steps”.

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

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

### 3.2. Verbal Morphology

In the dialects of the Ḥamāḏah (ḤmA) and ʿLēḡāt (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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co-occurring with *intuw and *-kulw— in surrounding dialects of group VII GrA, ŠwA, ĜbA, 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 infirmae). 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).

PerfecTs of measure 1 verbs come in three types: C1aC2aC3, C1iC2iC3 and C1uC2uC3. 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>sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>kātab</td>
<td>širib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kātabat</td>
<td>širībin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>kātābt</td>
<td>kātābtuw*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kātābt似y</td>
<td>kātābtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>kātābt</td>
<td>širībt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kātabuw*4</td>
<td>širībuw*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>širībt</td>
<td>širībna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 a may be raised to i in pre-stress syllables, e.g. kitābt似y, 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 šrībt, šrībt似y, etc.).

Nishio 1992, however, almost invariably indicates instances of such high vowel elision from the unstressed first syllable in ĜbA, e.g. smī’t “I heard” (p. 11 (I-76)), lbīst “I got dressed” (p. 13 (II-2)), šrībt “I drank” (p. 21 (III-46)) and also šrīt “I ran” (p. 67 (IX-17)) as a form used by younger speakers, lgīt “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 katabt似m and šrībt似m. Notice that similar forms were recorded in the dialect of the Samā’nah 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. hatṭum “they placed”, ištārum “they bought”, lāgum “they found”. Notice that also in the dialect of Cairo both katabu ~ katabum and katabt似m ~

98 The same verbal endings were recorded in the speech of older members of the Samā’nah 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 pl. 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 imperfектs (contrast e.g. group I, where we have initial a- for 1st p. sg. com. in all (three) vowel types, see De Jong 2000:299).99

There are three imperfect patterns: yaC1C2CaC3, yuC1C2CuC3 and yiC1C2iC3. The paradigms for anness, HnA and `iLA are identical to those listed for group VI, but for ḤmA and `iLA the following remarks should be added:

For ḤmA several (spontaneously produced) instances of -um (but not -uw) were recorded for the 3rd and 2nd p. pl. masc., e.g. yḥuṭṭum “they place”, tḥuṭṭum “you (pl. masc.) place”, yiṣṭirum “they buy”, yafḍum “they sacrifice”, tafḍum “you (pl. masc.) sacrifice”, yridum “they want”, tridum “you (pl. masc.) want”. When such forms were checked separately (i.e. on another occasion with another speaker), they were rejected, and forms with -uw endings were accepted only.

Also in `iLA some instances (but less regularly than in ḤmA) of -um endings for 2nd and 3rd pl. masc. imperfect forms were heard. One `Légiy informant explained that -uw endings were used in ‘faster’ speech, while -um endings would be used in more formal speech, e.g. by a gāḍiyv “judge”. Notice that similar forms were also recorded in the dialect of the Samā‘nah in the Gatyah oasis in the north (cf. De Jong 2000:296–309 and map 54 in the appendix). See also NOTE in 3.1.1.2.

Measure 1 verbs i-type (e.g. yaharit) and a-type (e.g. ya’arag) with C1 = X have the same paradigms as group VI. Perfects and participles of these verbs ḥāraḥ and ʿirīq are like kātab and šīrib (see 3.2.1.1).

3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *C1aC2uC3, *yaC1C2uC3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u-type perfect*1</th>
<th>“grow fat”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>gūluḍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>gūlduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>gūldiṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gūldin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99 Nishio 1992 reports the possibility of vowel harmony for the first person sg. com. in i- and u-type imperfектs in ǦbA too, e.g. ʿaḍrāb ~ ʿoḍrāb “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 $yu\check{u}rub$ in MzA and BWA, see 3.2.1.2. in chapter II). This appears to be the case when the perfect is velarized. When velarization is absent, the perfect tends to be $C_1iC_2iC_3$ and the imperfect then $yaC_1C_2aC_3$.

A paradigm elicited in ASA is: (sg.) $\check{u}txun$, $\check{u}txnит$, $\check{u}txintuy$, $\check{u}txintiy$, $\check{u}txint$ and (pl.) $\check{u}txnuw$, $\check{u}txnin$, $\check{u}txintuw$, $\check{u}txintin$, $\check{u}tx\check{u}nna$. The imperfect is $yutxun$.

In ĠbA, ŚwA, ḤmA, GrA and HnA also $\check{u}lu\check{u}d$ (~ $\check{u}li\check{u}d$ in ĠbA) (and imperf. $yu\check{u}lu\check{u}d$, in ‘LA $\check{u}li\check{u}d$, $yu\check{u}lu\check{u}d$), but $\check{u}xin$ (imperfect yatxan) and $kibir$ (imperfect yakbar).

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 $C_1\check{a}C_2iC_3$, $C_1\check{a}C_2C_3\check{a}h/-ih$ (sg. fem.), $C_1\check{a}C_2C_3\check{a}t$ (pl. masc.), $C_1\check{a}C_2C_3\check{a}t$ (pl. fem.).

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

3.2.1.5. Regular verbs imperatives

Imperatives of regular verbs in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are like in group VI, e.g. $\check{a}fta\check{h}$, $\check{a}ftahiyy, \check{a}ftah\check{u}w$, $\check{a}ftahin “open!”$, $\check{u}g’ud$, $\check{u}gu’\check{d}iy$, $\check{u}gu\check{d}uw$, $\check{u}gu’\check{d}in “sit down!”$ and $\check{u}n\check{zil}, \check{u}n\check{zliy}, \check{u}n\check{zluw}, \check{u}n\check{zlin “come down!”$.

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. $y\check{u}rid$ and $y\check{u}gaf$.

In ḤmA “stand” was recorded with an i-type imperfect: $y\check{u}gif “he stands”,

$y\check{u}gfiw “they stand”, etc.

In two instances in ASA verbs without the wāw, i.e. with an initial short vowel, were recorded: $t\check{a}l\check{u}d “she gives birth” and $y\check{u}sig b\check{e}hu\check{m} “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 ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA: aw’a rāsuk, aw’i’y rāsik, aw’aw ryūskūm, 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 ṢwA a particle aw’ was also recorded with pronominal suffixes for the person addressed: aw’uḵ tans, aw’ik tansiy, áwu’kuṃ 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, wardih, wārdīn, wārdāt “having watered”.

The passive participle for the root w-ǧ-d was recorded as mawǧūd in all dialects, but in ĞbA and ṢwA 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 C_i = y (primae yā‘)
Like in group VI, the only verb recorded with C_i = y is yibis, yēbas “dry (intransitive)” in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA.

3.2.2.3. Verbs C_i = *’ (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(d), but in HmA also i was elicited, as in yākil and yāxi(d). 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

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 ō. 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 luḵ “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 ūxaḏ, but was also recorded as kul and xuḏ in all dialects, except in ŚwA and ASA (compare with the sg. masc. imperatives of mediae geminatae in 3.2.2.4.2.).

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

Similarly, plural forms are úkulw (masc.) and úklin (fem.) in ŚwA, GrA, ASA and HnA. In ĞbA co-occurring forms are kluw, klin and úkulw and úklin and in ḤmA forms are only without initial u-: kluw and klin. Like in ḤmA, imperatives in ‘LA are kul, kliy, kluw, klin and xuḏ, xðiy, xðuwl and xðin.

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:- máxiḏ, máxḏih, máxḏin, máxḏat and mák, máklih, máklīn and máklāt.

The verbal noun in ṬwA and HnA is waḵl “eating” (also “food”) and the passive verb “be eaten” is inwákal, yínwikil, but in ĞbA also intākal, yíntikil 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)gũm tguṁ heard in group VI, in ṬwA and HnA we hear tuguṁ/tgũm and also tūsīl / tūsil and tánam / tūnam.

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

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102 Nishio 1992:91 (XIV-2) lists oxo ~ xo, oxo ~ xo, oxo ~ xo, oxo ~ xo, oxo ~ xo, but (p. 20–21 (III-43)) okul ~ kul, okli, oklu and oklen for ĞbA.
túguł, túguṃ were produced spontaneously, e.g. túgum tíjähr 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. tišłuḥ “you carry it (sg. masc.)”, ma tišlüš “don’t carry it!”; ma tišlíḥš “don’t carry it (sg. fem.)”, bitjóḥha “you bring her” and btu úzha “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) šíl, tnām, tgūḷ and (imperative) šil, nām, gūḷ. Sg. fem. and pl. masc. and fem. forms are like those described for ŢwA and HnA, e.g. šíliy, šíluw, šílin; gūḷy, gūḷuw, gūḷin and also nūmīy, nūmuw, nūmin.

Participles in ŢwA, HnA and ‘LA are like in group VI, e.g. šāyīl, šāyīlh, šāyīln, šāylāt.

The perfect of the verb šāf, yšūf was recorded in ŢwA 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 ṛād, 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 ~ išīl “carry!”, guḷ ~ úguḷ “say!” and also nam ~ ánam “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; gūḷy, gūḷuw, gūḷin and nūmīy, nūmuw, nūmin.

When the forms for the sg. masc. are suffixed, resulting forms are like: šīluḥ (ĠbA), išluḥ and (i)šīlhī. Dialects that have initial u- in imperative

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103 For ĠbA Nishio 1992:30 (IV-37) for “sleep” gives nām, nām (sic.), nāmu and nāmen and for “say” (p. 72–73 (X-6)) ogol ~ gol ~ guḷ, guḷi, guḷu and guḷen.

104 For ĠbA Nishio 1992:31 (IV-81) gives gom ~ göm ~ ugūm, gömi ~ ugūmi, but for the pl. only gömu and gömen.
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 ṢwA, for instance išl išswāl “carry the sacks!”, išlihišilihi “carry (sg. fem.) them (sg. fem.)!”, išlihašiliha “carry (pl. masc.) them (sg. fem.)!” and išlinnuhsilinnu “carry (pl. fem.) it (sg. masc.)”. In GrA, ASA and HnA imperative forms recorded were úgum or gūm, ugūmīy, ugūmuw, ugūmin for “stand up!”. In these dialects (i.e. GrA, ṢwA, ASA and HnA) a short base vowel does not appear after an initial vowel (compare this to sg. masc. imperatives in ṢwA and GrA of primae hamzah verbs in 3.2.2.3.). In ḤmA the sg. masc. does not have an initial vowel, but the form is gum or gūm.

Imperatives used with the verb ḣāb, yḡīb “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 CāyiC3 or CāyC3ih, CāyC3īn and CāyC3āt.
A passive participle recorded for gāḷ, ygūl is magyūḷ “said, spoken” (in ASA and ṢwA) and for rād, yrīd is maryūd “wanted” (ASA).

3.2.2.5. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae)

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“walk” (ǦbA)*1</th>
<th>“find” (ǦbA)*2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>màša’, màšuw</td>
<td>ligìty, ligyùw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>màšat, màšìn</td>
<td>ligìt, ligyìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mìšèt, mìšètuw</td>
<td>ligìt, ligìtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mìšètìy, mìšètìn</td>
<td>ligìtìy, ligìtìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>mìšèt, mìšèna</td>
<td>ligìt, ligìna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The same paradigms were recorded in ṢwA and ‘LA (maša is also a-type perfect there).
Raising of a preceding ĕ, as is reflected in the paradigm above, is current in the a-type perfect, e.g. mišēt < mašēt. Such raising is however optional.\footnote{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 a in open syllable preceding stressed ĕ.}

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

The high vowel ī 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 ī, after which the resulting ī 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>perfect “forget’ (ASA)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>náśa’</td>
<td>nisyuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>násat/nisyit</td>
<td>nisyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nísit</td>
<td>nisisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nísitíy</td>
<td>nisiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nísit</td>
<td>nisina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the GrA informants had similar difficulties with the perfect of the verbs máša’ / mǐšiy. The paradigm he produced was: (sg.) mǐšiy / máša, mášat, mišēt, mišētiy, mišēt and (pl.) mǐśyuw / máśuw, máśyin / máśin, mišētuw, mišētin, mišēna. He also produced a mixed paradigm for ligiy “find” (forms were: (sg.) ligiy, ligiyit, ligit, ligitiy, ligit and (pl.) ligiyuw, ligiyin, ligētuw / ligītuw, ligitin, ligēna).

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

Paradigms for “find” recorded in ASA and ḤmA were exactly like those listed for ĠbA (above).\footnote{Nishio 1992:112 (XVI-5) lists nisi “forget” as an i-type perfect.} Also nisīy and mįšiy are clearly i-types in ḤmA.
Notice that perfect conjugations in which a- and i-types have mixed also occur in groups I and VI.

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

N.B. Although 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfects and imperatives with shortened long base vowels (of mediae infirmae verbs) are absent from ‘LA (see 3.2.2.4.1.), apocopated imperfect and imperative forms for the 2nd p. sg. masc. of tertiae infirmae verbs are current in ‘LA. ‘LA thus occupies a middle position between group VII dialects (which show both base vowel shortening and apocopation of tertiae infirmae) and TAṢ (Tuṛbānīy 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>imperfect</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></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.  masc.</td>
<td>talg$^*$2</td>
<td>talguw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></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. yansi) heard in group VI is not current here.

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

Suffixed examples recorded in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are: algāk “I find you”, (apocopated) talgni “you find me”, hayalgūni “they will find me”, hayalgūk “they will find you”, hayalqinnuḳ “they (fem.) will find you”. In the latter example, i of the verbal ending may colour (towards I.P.A. [u]) with velarization of the pronominal suffix, i.e. yalqinnuḳ “they (fem.) find you”. Forms with measure 1: (apocopated) hatalghi “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 ĞbA 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”, hatalgīhi “you (sg. fem.) will find her” (for suffixed measure 3 forms, see 3.2.3.6.1).

3.2.2.5.3. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) imperatives

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

3.2.2.5.4. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) participles

Active participles have the patterns $C_1āC_2iy$, $C_1āC_2yi h$, $C_1āC_2yīn$ and $C_1āC_2yāt$. Examples are fādiy, fādyih, fādyīn, fādyāt “having sacrificed”.

3.2.2.5.5. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) verbal nouns

A verbal noun of a verb $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) is mašy.

3.2.2.6. The verb “come”

3.2.2.6.1. The verb “come” perfect and imperfect

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ġi</td>
<td>yīği</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ġum</td>
<td>yīğuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ġāt</td>
<td>tīği</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ġīn</td>
<td>tīğin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ġūt</td>
<td>tīği</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ġītuw</td>
<td>tīğin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ġītuw</td>
<td>tīğin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 When suffixes follow, final -i’ will be ā as in ġā’k “he came to you” and ma ġāš “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: ġu w and ġītuw (which are also parallel forms in ḤmA).

In ‘LA only ġu w was heard, but given the several instances of 3rd p. pl. masc. perfect forms with final -m (e.g. qātabum “they wrote”), it seems safe to assume that the form ġum will also be heard in ‘LA, just as ġītuw co-occurs with ġītuw (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.

109 Also reported in ġB 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” eqrı (p. 67–67 (IX-17)).
When suffixed with consonant-initial suffixes, the final -n is doubled, e.g. ḣitinnuh “you (pl. fem.) came to him”, (and examples for ToLeft and ‘LA) ma ḣinun “they (fem.) did not come to him” and ma tiqinun “don’t (pl. fem.) go to him!”.

Notice the long vowel ī in the imperfect paradigm. In ČbA both long vowel ī and short vowel i were recorded in this verb: yiqiy ~ yiqiy, niqiy ~ niqiy, iqiy ~ iqiy, but only tiq as the apocopated form for the 2nd p. sg. masc.

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

3.2.2.6.2. The verb “come” imperatives
Imperatives used with the verb “come” are: ta’āl, ta’āliy, ta’āluw and ta’ālin.
In one instance in ḤmA ta’āluw iqūw “come (pl. masc.)” was recorded. In ‘LA the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperative was recorded as (without final -l) ta’ā (other forms in ‘LA are like those listed above).

3.2.2.6.3. The verb “come” participles
Participles of the verb “come” are: gāy, gāiyih, gāyin, gāyat in ToLeftA, 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 ToLeftA, 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.</td>
<td>xašš</td>
<td>xaššuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>xaššat</td>
<td>xaššin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>xiššēt</td>
<td>xiššētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>xiššēty</td>
<td>xiššētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>xiššēt</td>
<td>xiššēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Raising of a preceding ē is regular in ToLeftA, HnA and ‘LA (like in group VI and in the dialect of Biliy in the north, see De Jong 2000:205) and is not
morphology, verbal morphology

prevented by preceding $x$, although such raising does not take place when $a$ is preceded by $h$ (see remark below).\textsuperscript{112}

When the geminate is velarized, the $\ddot{e}$ of the ending is lowered (indicated here as $\ddot{a}$, near I.P.A. $[\varepsilon]$), but not diphthongal $ay$. E.g. $ha\ddot{t}t\ddot{a}$ “I placed” and in $HmA$ $ha\ddot{t}t\ddot{a}m$ “they placed” and $ha\ddot{t}t\ddot{a}t\ddot{u}$m “you (pl. masc.) placed” (notice that $a$ is not raised, so not $hi\ddot{t}t\ddot{a}t$ or $hu\ddot{t}t\ddot{a}t$, or something similar). In ‘LA $ha\ddot{t}t\ddot{a}t\ddot{u}m$ was elicited.

*Forms elicited in $HmA$ are (pl. masc.) $yhu\ddot{t}t\ddot{u}m$ and $\theta u\ddot{t}t\ddot{u}m$. In ‘LA $\theta u\ddot{t}t\ddot{u}m$ was elicited.

3.2.2.7.2. Verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) imperatives

Imperatives of mediae geminatae verbs in $\Theta wA$, $HnA$ and ‘LA are like in group VI, e.g. limm, limmiy, limmuw, limmin “gather!” and with base vowel u: xu$\ddot{s}$ṣ, xu$\ddot{s}$ṣiy, xu$\ddot{s}$ṣuw, xu$\ddot{s}$ṣiṣ “enter!”.

3.2.2.7.3. Verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae)

Active participles of medial geminate verbs in $\Theta wA$, $HnA$ 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. $ma\ddot{h}a\ddot{t}t\ddot{u}$t “placed”, $maxa\ddot{r}\ddot{u}m$ “pierced”, $ma\ddot{a}\ddot{r}u\ddot{f}ah$ “known (sg. fem.)”, etc.

3.2.3. Derived measures

3.2.3.1. Measure $n$-$i$

3.2.3.1.1. Measure $n$-$i$ sound roots

In $\Theta wA$, $HnA$ and ‘LA the vowel in the preformative of measure $n$-$i$ is not stressable in the perfect, but may be stressed in the imperfect. The underlying patterns are: (i)$nC_1aC_2aC_3$, $yinC_1aC_2iC_3$. The a in the imperfect is raised to i in open syllables, but ‘reappears’ in closed syllables. Paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>$i\ddot{n}d\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}b$</td>
<td>$i\ddot{n}d\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}buw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$i\ddot{n}d\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}bat$</td>
<td>$i\ddot{n}d\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}bin$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>$i\ddot{n}d\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}bt\ddot{u}t$</td>
<td>$i\ddot{n}d\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}bt\ddot{u}w$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$i\ddot{n}d\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}b\ddot{a}tiy$</td>
<td>$i\ddot{n}d\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}b\ddot{a}tin$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>$i\ddot{n}d\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}bt$</td>
<td>$i\ddot{n}d\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}bna$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{112} Nishio 1992 does not report comparable raising for ĠbA, e.g. laff$\ddot{e}$t “I turned around” (p. 65 (IX-10)), add$\ddot{e}$t “I gave” (p. 82 (XII-1)), zagg$\ddot{e}$t “I pushed” (p. 94 (XIV-13)), lamm$\ddot{e}$t “I gathered” (p. 98 (XIV-36)), etc.
Participles are: *minḍirib, minḍárbiḥ, minḍárbin, minḍarbāt*.

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 in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are: (i)nC₁aC₂C₂ and yinC₁aC₂C₂, e.g. inḥaṭṭ, yinḥaṭṭ “be placed”.

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: inC₁āC₃ and yinC₁āC₃. 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 C₂ = y or w (mediae infirmae) participles**
Participles are shaped on the pattern minC₁āC₃ 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 ṢwA: títḥirig “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)C₃aC₁aC₂ yiC₃aC₁aC₂, with a of the imperfect being raised to i in open syllables (e.g. nigntyim “we gather”), but ‘reappearing’ as a in closed syllables (e.g. yiṯtamʿuw “they gather”).

Like in measure n-1, raised a is found in the unstressed syllables of the surface form for the imperfect, e.g.: (i)štāgal, yístiḡil “work”, (i)ttāfag, yittifīg “agree” and (i)štāwa, yístiwiyy “ripen; be cooked (of food)”.

Paradigms in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are:

"buy"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>yīštīrūw*₂</td>
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<td>īštārūw*₂</td>
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<tr>
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<td>īštārat</td>
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<td>2. masc.</td>
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<td>tīštīrūw*₂</td>
<td>īštārāt</td>
<td>īštārātuw*₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tīštīrīy</td>
<td>tīštīrīn</td>
<td>īštārātiy</td>
<td>īštārātin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
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<td>nīštīrīy</td>
<td>īštārāt</td>
<td>īštārānā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*₁ Nishio 1992 does not report such ‘reappearing’ a in closed syllables in ḠbA, e.g. (p. 105 (XV-11) yijtim’u “they gather”.

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In ḤmA also forms (imperfect) yīštirum and tīštirum and (perfect) ʾištārum and ʾišṭārum were recorded.

Participles are: mīštiriy, mīštaryih, mīštaryin, mīštaryāt.
Imperatives are: īštir (apocopated), ṣīštiriy, ʾištiruw, ʾištirin

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 īštāg, yištāg (l) “long (for)”.

3.2.3.3.3. Measure 1-t $C_2 = C_3$ (*mediae geminatae*)
Examples of medial geminate measure 1-t verbs are ʾiltamm, yīltamm “gather, assemble (of people)” and imtadd, yīmtadd “stretch out (in surface)”.

3.2.3.3.4. Measure 1-t participles
Patterns for measure 1-t participles in ṬwA, HnA and ḲiLA are miC̱tC̱iC̱ (underlying miC̱taC̱iC̱), miC̱iC̱taC̱ ah/ih, miC̱taC̱ in, miC̱taC̱ āt.
Examples are: mīštīgil “working”, mīftarsih “predatory (of animals)”, mīštiriy “having bought (sg. masc.)”, mīštaryih “having bought (sg. fem.)”, mūttīgil “agreed (sg. masc.)”, mīttafjīt “agreed (pl. fem.)”.
Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are: mīštāg lēha “longing for her”, miltammīn “having gathered (pl. masc.)”, mīmtaddīh “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 ḲiLA are like those listed for group VI.

3.2.3.4.2. Measure ista-1 $C_2 = y$ (*mediae infirmae*)
No perfect or imperfect forms of measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots were recorded.

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114 Also reported for ḴbA 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 ḴbA in Nishio 1992, e.g. p. 109 (XV-27) and p. 113 (XVI-11) and p. 95 (XIV-22) staʾmal yistaʾmel “use”, but not in e.g. (p. 22 (III-50) stafrāq, yistafrāq “vomit”.

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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 TwA 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: ista$aC_1C_2C_3$, yista$iC_1C_2C_3$, e.g. (ista)’add, yista’idd “prepare oneself”.\(^{117}\) Forms (reflecting optional raising of a preceding stressed ē) recorded in ‘LA are: (sg.) ista’add, ista’addat, isti’iddēt, isti’iddētiy, ista’iddēt and (pl.) ista’adduwa, ista’addin, ista’iddētuwa, ista’iddētiy, 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 mista$iC_1C_2C_3$, e.g. mistaťgreg “finding strange”.

For measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots the pattern is mista$iC_1C_3$: mistahīl “impossible, absurd” and (a clear MSA loan) mistaqīmih “straight”.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mista$iC_1C_2C_3$: mista’idd “having prepared oneself, ready”.

3.2.3.5. Measures 2 and t-2
In TwA, HnA and ‘LA the patterns for measure 2 are: (perfect) $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$, (imperfect) $yC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$.

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 may be elided in open syllables. The initial geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples of morphophonemic elisions are: biyfaḥ̣muw “they make charcoal”, biyḥammsuwa nāṛ “he roasts it on the fire”, txazznuw “you store it”.

Examples of sandhi elisions: twal’ īnnār “you light the fire” and bitṭall’ īyūn “it (sg. fem.) grows buds (of a plant)”. \(^r\) following the high vowel i may inhibit its morphophonemic elision, e.g. inwaxxirih “pushing back (sg. fem.)” and an example in sandhi biykaḥbir il’ādim “the bones grow”. Examples with l in a similar elision-inhibiting role were not recorded.

\(^{117}\) For ǦBA Nishio 1992:104 (XV-6) reports e.g. stamarr, yistimirr “continue”.
When $C_2 = C_3$, 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 biyballilíha “they moisten it (sg. fem.)”.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>suwwēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asawwiy</td>
<td>nsawwiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In ḤmA and ‘LA ~ -tum. Suggested perfect forms sawwum and imperfect ysawwwum for the 3rd p. pl. masc. were not accepted in ḤmA (not checked in ‘LA).
*2 An example of suffixation of an apocopated form is twarrha-yyāh “you show it (sg. fem.) to her”. For ĠbA Nishio 1992 also reports apocopation, e.g. twarr “you show” (p. 97 (XIV-29)).

3.2.3.5.3. Examples of measure 2 primae hamzah
The verb “feed” is wakkal, ywakkil “give food”, e.g. itwakkil álğanam “you feed the sheep” (in ‘LA itwakkl álğanam) and wadda, ywaddiy “bring, take to”, e.g. ywaddūh Maṣir “they take him to Egypt (i.e. the mainland)”.

3.2.3.5.4. Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect
In measure t-2 the vowel a is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns in TwA, HnA and ‘LA are 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-.118

Reduction of initial tta- > ta- in the imperfect is regular like in group VI.119 The paradigms are:

118 Nishio 1992:105 (XV-8) however lists many instances of such reduction for ĠbA, e.g. p. 105 (XV-8) tharrak, yitharrak “move, be in motion”, p. 72 (X-3) tharraf, yitharraf (ma’) “speak with” and thballal, yithballal “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>Number</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>yta ašša</td>
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<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
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<td>yta aššin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
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<td>ta ašša</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>com.</td>
<td>ta aššēt</td>
<td>ta aššēna</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 taC₁C₂iC₃ pattern, e.g. (MSA loan) ta ġgil “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 mC₁aC₂C₃ pattern, e.g. mta awīr “wounding” and a form mtašnin “taking aim” in ‘LA.

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 mtaC₁aC₂C₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt) pattern. Passive participles have a mC₁aC₂aC₃ (-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 mtaC₁aC₂C₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt) and mitC₁aC₂C₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt) occur, e.g. mta ǧawwiz ~ mit ǧawwiz “married” and for C₃ = y) mta ǧaddiy ~ mit ǧaddiy “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: C₃aC₂aC₁, yC₃aC₂C₁.

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: taC₁aC₂C₃, ytaC₁aC₂C₃. Like in measure t-2, intitial tt- in the imperfect is reduced to t- (see examples in 3.2.3.6.1.).

3.2.3.6.1. Examples of measures 3 and t-3

Paradigms for measure 3 are like those listed for group VI. Also paradigms for a measure 3 C₃ = y verb are like those listed for group VI.

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

The verb *läga, ylägiy* is often used alongside *ligy, ylga*, without apparent difference in meaning: *hanlägihi* or *hanilgāhi* “we’ll find her” and *hatläghin* 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”, *taqāyag* “he became angry”, *tanāwaš (< tanāwaš) 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 mC₃āC₂iC₁ (-ih / ah, -in, -āt), e.g. *mwāfijig* “agreeing”, *mlāgyih* “having found (sg. fem.)”, *mkāwnīn* “fighting (pl. masc.)” and in ‘LA *m’āwid* “returning” and *mlāgīuḳ* “finding/meeting (sg. masc.) you”.

A passive participle (pattern mC₃āC₃aC₁) is the origin for the loan *mwāṣalāt* “public transport”.

Active participles of measure *t*-3 have the pattern mtaC₃āC₂iC₁ 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 ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA as well.

\(^{121}\) Similar apocopation in ĠbA.
In HnA, however, several originally measure 4 verbs have joined measure 1, or co-occur as measure 1 with measure 4, e.g. aʿṭa ~ ʿāṭa, yīṭiy (and participles mīṭiy ~ ʿāṭiy, mīṭiyih ~ ʿāṭiyih, etc.) “give”. Examples of its use as measure 1 are ʿāṭuw “they gave” and hinnih ʿāṭinnuh “they (fem.) gave him”. The paradigm for the perfect ʿāṭa is thus a measure 1 a-type, i.e. like maša in HnA: (sg.) ʿāṭa, ʿāṭat, ʿāṭǟt, ʿāṭǟtiy, ʿāṭǟt and (pl.) ʿāṭuw, ʿāṭîn, ʿāṭǟtûw, ʿāṭǟtîn, ʿāṭǟna. In LA the verb is still full measure 4: aʿṭa (1st. p. sg. com. ʿāṭǟt), yīṭiy and participles mīṭiy, mīṭiyih, mīṭîyn, mīṭiyât.

Other verbs are fāṭar, yifṭir “have breakfast” (paradigms like kātab, yiktib, see 3.2.1.1.) and ḍāwa, yidṭwiy “return home before sunset with goats and sheep”. The measure 1 participles of these verbs co-occur with measure 4 participles: fāṭir ~ mifṭir and ḍāwîy ~ mîdṭwîy. In LA these verbs are (measure 1) ḍāwa, yidṭwiy with participle ḍāwîy, and (measure 4) aftar, yiftîr and participle mifṭir.

The patterns are aC₂C₃aC₄ for the perfect and yiC₂C₃C₄. The paradigms are like those listed for group VI, including raising of unstressed initial a > i, e.g. ifṭârt “I had breakfast”. Such raising of unstressed initial a is also heard in ‘LA, e.g. ʾtāt “I gave”.

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

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 C₃ = 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: ṛâyid, ṛâydih, ṛâydîn, ṛâydît and passive participles maryûd, -îh, -în and -ît, e.g. (‘LA) ʿaṣa māhî râyidtu� ibtuṣrûd ʿînî “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): mîgîr “running fast”.

3.2.3.7.3. Measure 4 C₃ = y (tertiae infirmae) perfect and imperfect
Like in group VI, aʿṭa, yīṭiy is a measure 4 verb in most dialects (in ASA, GrA, ŠwA and HmA). In ḤmA only measure 1 ʿāṭa was recorded (see remark above) and in ḠB only idda, yiddîy was heard for “give”, e.g. biddik tiddînî lmîṣṭî “you (sg. fem.) need to give me the key” and (apocopated) bidduḳ tiddnî lmîṣṭî “you (sg. masc.) need to give me the key”.

The perfect and imperfect paradigms for aʿṭa, yīṭiy are:

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122 In e.g. the dialect of the Taṛābīn of group I, these verbs are all clearly measure 4: aʿṭa, yīṭiy, aftar, yifṭir and ḍâwa, yidṭwîy with matching participles mīṭiy, mîfṭîr and mîdṭwîy. Also in ḠB, HmA: ḍâwa, yidṭwîy and participles ḍâwîy, ḍâwîyih etc.
### "give"

<table>
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<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>áṭuw</td>
<td>yîtuw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

A measure 4 prima wāw (and also tertia yā’) verb recorded in ǦbA is awfa yūfiyy, as in gaḅil ma yūfiyy ʾilaṟba’ 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) $i̯t$, $i̯ty$, $i̯tuw$, $i̯tin$.

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

#### 3.2.3.7.7. Measure 4 participles

The participles for sound roots have a $miC_1 C_2 iC_3$ pattern, e.g. mifṭir, mīfiṭrih, mīfiṭrin, mīfiṭrāt “having eaten breakfast”.

For mediae infirmiae there are participles of the type $mC_1 iC_3$, like mǧūr, -ih, -īn, -āt “running fast”.

#### 3.2.3.8. Measure 9

Paradigms for measure 9 in ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are the same as for group VI, except the diphthong $ay$ in the endings of the perfect are monophthongal $ē$ (with velarized consonants preceding $ē$ is lowered to $ā$, i.e. I.P.A. [ɛː]) in group VII, e.g. $iḥmarrātuw “you (pl. masc.) turned red$, participles are $mīḥmarr$, -ah, -īn, -āt.

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

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123 The verb awfa, yūfiyy was also recorded in group I in the north, see De Jong 2000:219.
3.2.3.9. Quadriliteral verbs

Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect (vowel \( i \)) and perfect (vowel \( a \)). The paradigms listed for group VI zağrat, yzağrit “ululate” are the same in group VII. Other examples are: biykarikmūh “they add curcumin to it”, bitḡāribluh “she sieves it”.

The typically Bedouin verb type with inserted wāw between \( C_1 \) and \( C_2 \): \( C_1\bar{\alpha}C_2aC_3 \), \( yC_1\bar{\alpha}C_2\bar{i}C_3 \) has the following paradigms:

\[
\begin{array}{l|ll|ll}
\text{“go”} & \text{perfect} & \text{imperfect}\* \\
& \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
3. & \text{masc.} & gōṭar & gōṭaruw & ygōṭir & ygōṭurw \\
& \text{fem.} & gōṭart & gōṭarīn & tgōṭir & tgōṭirin \\
2. & \text{masc.} & gōṭart & gōṭartuw & tgōṭir & tgōṭiruw \\
& \text{fem.} & gōṭartiy & gōṭartin & tgōṭriy & tgōṭrin \\
1. & \text{com.} & gōṭart & gōṭarna & agōṭir & ngōṭir \\
\end{array}
\]

* The superscript vowels in this paradigm are bukaṛa- vowels.

An example of such a verb recorded in ‘LA is (with diphthong!) biyṛawb’uw nnās “people perform the maṛbū‘ah”.

Quadriliteral verbs may also have a \( t\alpha \)- preformative. The stem vowel of the perfect and imperfect is then fixed \( a \).

\[
\begin{array}{l|ll|ll}
\text{“be irritated, annoyed”} & \text{perfect} & \text{imperfect} \\
& \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
3. & \text{masc.} & tā‘aknan & tā‘aknanuw & yta‘aknan & yta‘aknanuw \\
& \text{fem.} & tā‘aknanat & tā‘aknanin & ta‘aknan & ta‘aknanin \\
2. & \text{masc.} & tā‘aknant & tā‘aknantum/-uw & ta‘aknan & ta‘aknanuw \\
& \text{fem.} & tā‘aknantiy & tā‘aknantin & ta‘aknaniy & ta‘aknanin \\
1. & \text{com.} & tā‘aknant & tā‘aknanna & ata‘aknan & nta‘aknan \\
\end{array}
\]

Participles: \( mta‘aknin, mta‘akninih, mta‘akninin / mta‘akinnin, mta‘aknināt / mta‘akinnāt \). Notice that elision of 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 (maṛbū‘ah) and improvise verse to each other.
126 See remark in Stewart 1990:8 (text 1), fn 55 on the form tṣirriṭ formed on a pattern for verbal nouns used for both measure 2 and \( t\)-verbs. See also Abul Fadl 1961:286 on
A quadriliteral verb with $C_4 = y$ is *tagahwa*, *ytagahwa* and has the following paradigms:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>tagahwa</td>
<td>ytagahwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>tagahwuw</td>
<td>ytagahwuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tagahhwat</td>
<td>tagahwatin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tagahhwēt</td>
<td>tagahhwētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tagahwētiy</td>
<td>tagahwētin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* When in pause, *tagáhuw* #.

An apocopated imperative for the sg. masc. is *tagahw* “drink tea / coffee!”. Participles are *mtagahw iy*, mtagáhiwyih, mtagahiwyīn, mtagahiwyāt.

4. Remarks on Phraseology

4.1. Nunation

Tanwin is not a feature of ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA, but in loans from MSA and in poetry nunation does occur. Recorded examples are: (all loans from MSA) *ṭab* ‘an “of course”, *masalan* “for instance”, *‘āmmatan* “in general”, *dāyman* “always” (< MSA *dā* ‘iman), *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* ʾ Ṗa *mā* ligītish ‘arḡā’-luh ţāniy “keep looking (for it), (and) if you don’t find any, go back to him”, *ma bingatī iš siyyāl* “we don’t cut down acacia trees”, *ma farašāttiš* (< *ma farašat* + ḥi’ + š) “she did not spread it out”, *ma nā arāfhaš* “we don’t know her” (for more detail on negated pronominals and negated verb forms with pronominal suffixes, see 3.1.12).

A negated suffixed preposition is *ma lukses da’awah* “it is no concern of yours”. For more detail on negation of suffixed prepositions, see 3.1.16.

A single negation with only *mā* preceding the verb form may also be heard, but is much less frequent, and seems to be reserved for more emphatic

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verbal nouns of measure *t*-2 *tuḥussun* “Besserung”, *tu’uhhud* “Verpflichtung” and *tukubbur* “Hochmut”.

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via free access
negation, often accompanied by xâliṣ “at all”. Examples are w Allāh mā ǧāni “By God, he did not come to us” and biddâkkirna la ḥāġat mā nā’āriffā “you remind us of things we don’t know (i.e. had forgotten about)”. 

In ‘LA verbs are regularly negated with single preceding mā (the compound negation is the exception in ‘LA). Also negated pronominals, prepositions etc. are negated with preceding mā. Examples in ‘LA are: mā ṯallâgithe “I had not divorced her”, fih nās halhin ibyâkl-âlbalâh iw hû ṭâṣâh mā byahâṣûh “there are people now who eat the dates while they’re fresh (and who) don’t stuff them”, iza mā ‘induh ħâlâl “if he doesn’t have small cattle (for slaughter)”, gâl âbuw lbint ‘mâhî maxaṭûbâh “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 āywah biyḥuṭṭūh f-âgrâb “yes, they put it in goat skins”, ma bingaṭṭi’s siyyâl “we don’t cut down acacia trees”, innâgay biyâsbūha…ibtimšiy l waḥadha fi ṣṣâhaṛa. iw kull šahar aw šahrën wâḥid biyyaṛf “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 ṭaḥâdhûn biyâxîj “if he doesn’t have small cattle (for slaughter)”, ba ṭaḥâdhûn biyâxîj “after that his father…goes to the man…the father of the girl…and speaks to him”, biyâxîj lbint ‘mâhî maxaṭûb “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) biddî-gûl luq ḥâjih […] ilgaṣalah /dmacronbelowiy […] halḥîn xallēt Maḥmûd iyṬâṣâh lbint […] “I want to/shall tell you something…this twig… I have now (agreed to) let Maḥmûd marry my daughter”.

To express futurity, the imperfect form may also have prefixed ha-, e.g. hantaṣarraf lēha fi ljamûs […] “we’ll make do with it in the (preparation of) food dip” and iw ba’ad kidiy btâgasluh […] gasîl ǧâmiḍ xâliṣ. hatlâgih tîrîy “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 yulguṭha: mā yākilha lamma yğibha la ṣāḥbuh. iyğüm ṣāḥbuh ḏābīḥhe’ ‘the hunting dog runs after it... until it catches it (fem.). He will not eat it (fem.) until he brings it to its master. His master then slaughters it”.

4.5. fīh “there is / are”

fīh is used to express existence or availability of something, e.g. fīh wāḥid ṣāḥibna nihāniy mumkin nāxuḍ minnuh l’arabīyyah 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 biyšūffī “there are people who see her”.

The negation is usually ma fīš, also in (LA (!)), e.g. w Allāh ġār rišrēš maṭar mā fīš “by God, except for a few drops there hasn’t been any rain” and (‘LA) aza mā fīš ḥuṛmah fādyah 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 ġaḥ suwwāḥ b ilḥēl “the tourist, on Friday(s) there are no tourists at all”. māš was not heard in (‘LA).

4.6. Some Conjunctions

4.6.1. Conjunctions lamma and yōm

Like in many dialects of Sinai, conjunctions lamma and yōm, or variant forms based on these, are used for “when”.

4.6.1.1. yōm

yōm may be used meaning “when”, e.g. il’anz yōm taḥalibha kiḍiy w ithuṭṭuh fi ssi’ìn kimān... illaban “the goat, when you milk it like, and you put it in the goatskin also... the milk”, Ŧab’an illaban yōm iykūn kiṭūr bhuṭṭuh fīh ēh? “of course, when there is a lot of milk we put it in what?”’, ilmaṭar illiy nāzil ḍi, yōm yinzil ġala gizāz l’arabīyyah... ṭīn “this rain that falls, when it comes down on the glass of the car... it is mud” and (from (‘LA) yōm ṛawwāḥ ġind ḥuṛumtuḥ bidduh ynām ġambhī “when

127 yizġatte > yizgat + ha.
128 A sīn is a leather bag made of goatskin in which butter is churned.
he came to his wife he wanted to go asleep beside her” and yōm assaddah ṭawīlah “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 ḥigīhi “when he found her…” and (from ‘LA) aṣṣubīh yōmin ma yiğiy ḥiṣafā ʿi ṭannha malgūṭah “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’dēn ḥawwalθum ḥinīy yōminnuh ḫittarrēt iṭṭi yara ḫiyal ṭasān ilmidtāris “after that I moved them here, when I was forced to come with (lit. after) the children because of the schools” (ṭṭ in ḫittarrēt is assimilated < ʾdd). 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 ilgasalāh xalāṣ “from the moment that I give the twig, it’s done” and (‘LA) min yōm aʿṭūh algasalāh xalāṣ ʿirif ḥādiy ḥirūntuth, ṭāb sinnt Aḷḷāh ṭūh “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 ʿayzh thūrūd, maṛṛah maṛṛtēn /tmacronbelowalā/tmacronbelowah xalāṣ lāzim iyṭaligha…xalāṣ māḥi ʿayiztuh “from the moment that she wants to flee, once, twice, three times, that’s it, he has to divorce her (i.e. grant her her wish for a divorce), (because) she does not want him”.

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129 The ‘dam’ is actually the soil behind a dam on which water collects.
130 A ḡasalah “twig” is given to the groom by the father of the prospective bride in betrothal ceremonies. See also Bailey 2009:350 (glossary).
131 rasūl-ʿaṭūh: rasūluh + ʿaṭūh. The phrase b sinnt Aḷḷāh ṭūh is often added to descriptions of practices whose islamic origin(s) are doubtful. See also remark in fn 430, De Jong 2000:219 and Ṣuqayr 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 ṣayyah* lamma *tkün ‘aṭšān* walla ḥāǧiḥ, iw ba’ad ma tašārab. timsikha, wāḥid ibyimsik-luk iw wāḥid ibyadbah. bitgul bismillāh Allāhu ’akbar iw taḍbah “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 ibyasmaʿ uw xabiṭ illibbah kidyi*, ilkull ibyá arf inn fih wāḥid ẓiʾ . . . “when people hear such knocking on the loaf”,

4.6.1.2.2. lamma + in

The only recorded example (in ASA) of lamma + in (lumma + in was not recorded) is budxulʿādʿiṭ ind innās illiy baṛṛa, [. . .] fiji ḥmāyithuṃ. . . lamman inšūf ilmúškiäh, 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”

Lammas (lumma was not recorded) maybe used in combination with laġāyat for “until”, e.g. bitduggha dagg fī lḥōn . . . lağāyat lamma yunʿum kidiy “you crush it (sg. fem.) in the mortar . . . until it becomes soft” and bīyīḡ mišwāt kidīy xașab, iw byūrūbh bēḥa barḏuḥ āḥ? lağāyat lamma tağādyi . . . zayy izzibdah fī ba’āṭha “he takes a wooden spoon, like, and stirs it (sg. fem.) with it (sg. fem.) and also what? until it becomes . . . like butter mixed together”.

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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 *lağāyit* is *tíǧib ilḥaṭab di‘, imm issiyāl, w itwall‘ innār lamma ēh yāḥagām yāgadiy ġamir* “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 xamnī-ṭawwil bālī lamma šṣabāḥ yatla‘…w arawwh ilmag‘ad w anām fīh* “(addressing himself) let me be patient until the morning comes… and let me go back to the mag‘ad and sleep there”.

4.6.1.3. *lōm (+ in)*

An example of *min lōm* in the meaning of “from the moment that” (in ASA): *biyrawwi‘* ind* ilAḥēwāt biyrawwi‘* ind ilGirārših biyrawwi‘* ind iliMzēnih, ana min lōm biyrawwiḥ kidiy mā-garrib luh* “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 ḡawwazha* “from the moment he married her” and from ‘LA lōm tīǧ talqha lannha xādīṭt issī in, w imsawwyah libbah w fāttītta* when you come you find her and (lo!) there she has churned the goat skin, and she has made libbah and she has made fattah of it (sg. fem.)”.

4.6.2. *ḥatta*

4.6.2.1. *ḥatta* “until”, “so that”

*ḥatta* was not recorded in the meaning of “until” or “so that”.

4.7. Auxiliaries and Verbal Particles

4.7.1. *gām*

*gām* used as a ‘marker of consequent action’ was recorded only in ‘LA:* iw ḥāl…gām xalīḥa w ‘uguḥ sanatēn…ẓabatālḥaṭab, iw ḡāb adḥabāyiḥ, iw ḡāb iblyūt ȃśṣā’ar “and in case…he has then left her and

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133 A *mag‘ad* is a place where men meet and a host receives his guests, and where they drink coffee or tea and exchange stories and news.

134 *h* + *‘* often assimilates to *‘*, also in sandhi:  *biyrawwi‘ ind > biyrawwi‘ ind.*

135 *fattītta* = *fattah* *fattīt* + *ha* “having made it (sg. fem.) into fattah”. When suffixing the obj. pron. suffix to the sg. fem. act. participle the fem. morpheme becomes -*it* 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).

136 The three instances recorded in ‘LA showed a 3rd p. sg. masc. subject. ‘Unconjugated’ can therefore not be concluded.
after two years... he has prepared the firewood, and brought the animals for slaughter, and has brought the tents”.

4.7.2. ṛāḥ

Examples of the use of ṛāḥ used as an auxiliary were recorded only in ḤmA: *lama ṛāḥ karraḥha winha manganīz [...] manganīz nimṛah wāhid... ḡā ḡāl ḡār itwaddīni iḥnakān ḍī [...] [ ...] ṛāḥ iywaddī*137 ḡā-skandariyyih ḡāl itwaddīni makānuh* “when he then (went and) analyzed it, lo it was (i.e. turned out to be) manganese [...] top quality manganese.138 He came and said ‘you have to take me to this place’ [...] he was going to send it to (a laboratory in) Alexandria, he said ‘take me to its place’ (i.e. where you found it)”.

4.7.3. Conditional particles

4.7.3.1. Variations on kān as a conditional particle

4.7.3.1.1. in + kān

An example of in + kān “if” in ṬwA and HnA: iw šūfuw-nkān talguw lēʔkuṃ buʔrān ‘induh “and look if you find camels of yours with him”, w inguṣṣ inkān ŧūrūt ibuʔrān fihi “and we follow the tracks if the camel tracks are in it” and in ‘LA w alfuṭūr ba’adīyatta139 nkān ’awz 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. Suffixed inkān

Instances of suffixed kān or inkān were not recorded in any of the dialects discussed here.

4.7.3.1.3. il + kān

Instances of il + kān were not recorded.

4.7.3.1.4. kān preceded by CA loans iz or iza

The following example of kān preceded by iz is not very coherent: izkān...şāḥbuḥ-lijī yūğbuḥ...ārīf nimṛah-zkān nimṛit baṭāgtuh...w ā’ārufuh bāṣ “if...its owner who brings him...you know the number, if

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137 *ywaddī* ʼa is assimilated < *ywaddih* ʼa.
138 In the area of Um Buğmah manganese deposits have been found. A Google search on the internet with search criteria “Um Bogma” or “Oleikat” (i.e. ‘Lēgāt) will yield references to geological reports on these deposits. Google Earth indicates Umm Bugma as being located at appr. 29.00.43 North and 33.20.28 East, which is the area of Sēl Ba’ba’ (“Wadi Baba”).
139 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 ’asār digāyg xamistāṣaṣ digīṣigh biṇṭallīḥa-z kān ǧamīr ḥiluw “and after like five, ten minutes, fifteen minutes we take it out if it is (a fire of) good embers” and izkān wāḥid ’ayyān walla ḥāḡah biyḡibūḥ luḥ “if someone is ill or something, they bring it to him.”

Instances of iz(a) + kān were not recorded in ’LA. Instead, several instances of iza or iz, and even more regularly az(a) were heard as independent conditionals, e.g. iza mā ’induḥ ḥalāl “if he does not have small cattle (for slaughter)”, iz fatt alfattah maẓbūṭ xāliṣ “if he has prepared the fattah very well…” and azā gāluw ‘la’ lázim tuskun ’indina “if they say ‘No, you have to live with us’…”, azā lugūḥ, bitxallhe’… imšammalah “if she is pregnant (i.e. the she-camel), you make sure she gets a șamlah.”

4.7.3.1.5. kān as an independent conditional
kān used independently as conditional “if” was recorded often, but an example is: kān im’ūḳ dirāhim “if you have money”. No such examples were recorded in ’LA.

4.7.3.1.6. kān, inkān or ilkān introducing alternatives
kān may introduce alternatives: iddaxil kān Šarim, aw issyāḥah āmmatan fi liblāḏ diiy “an income is (i.e. can be made in) Sharm, or (in) tourism in general in this land”. No such examples were recorded in ’LA.

4.7.3.2. Absence of a conditional particle
Conditional sentences are often not introduced by a particle. An example is: huṃmā kānuw… huṃmā rrḡāl ’āyīzīn yūgu’duw sāwa’, fih makān… ilmaḡma’ bārṛa “they were… if they are men who want to sit together, there is a place… the meeting place is outside”. Another example from ’LA is: māhī lugūḥ, bitbarrīk ’alēḥa 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. ir’ or ar’
Presentatives ir’ or ar’ were not recorded in ṬwA or HnA, nor in ’LA.

140 A șamlah is a piece of cloth covering the vagina of the she-camel. This is used to make sure that she can only have been impregnated by a thoroughbred camel.
4.8.2. hē + suffix

The presentative particle hē followed by a personal pronominal to draw the listeners attention to something or someone is current, e.g. hēhū ǧi! “there he has come!”, hēhī ǧāt “there she has come!”, hēhuwwa ǧaw “there they (masc.) have come!”, hēhinnah ǧin “there they (fem.) have come!”. In ‘LA an example is: w lin ǧi hēhuwwīh “and there he came”.

This presentative hē must have developed from ḥāy, which shortens to ḥay in unstressed positions. ¹⁴¹

Another possibility recorded in ASA is ḥvk (in which ν is the short high vowel colouring with the following vowel) followed by a pronominal of which initial h assimilates to k, e.g. hukkuwwa or hukkū “there you have him”, hikkiiyih “there you have her”, hukkuṃma “there you have them”, hikkinnih “there you have them (fem.)”.

This presentative element ḥvk or must have developed from a presentative ḥāk ¹⁴² (< ḥā + k) of which the long vowel was shortened, due to its unstressed position in forms like ḥāk + ḥumma or ḥāk + 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 [ . . . ] fi nnār ḡaliy ḡaliy lammad tiḏūb fi ba’aḏha w ba’ad kidīy bitḥuṭṭha w ḡinna ṣamin šīḥiy “and you put it on (lit. in) the fire to boil and boil until it melts together, and there you have wormwood ghee”.

Another example is ndawwir iNmēr iw linn ǧuṛṛit ǧamal hēhī giddāmna ḥīmṛā “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 ṯalaṯ sā’āt kidīy w linni b xēr. ana banabbiṭ tanbīṭ fi ḡlād “after three hours or so I was alright again. (and) I was jumping about on the ground”.

In ASA a similar iw lannuh ḥū b nafsuh “and there he was himself” was also recorded (see remark in next paragraph).

¹⁴¹ For remarks on ḥāy and ḥay (< ḥā + y) see De Jong 2000:235–236.
¹⁴² On the difference in deictic function between ḥay or ḥāy and ḥāk, see De Jong 2000:236.
w lin / lan was also recorded in ‘LA, often in combination with hā- or hē- + pron. suffix and not necessarily with preceding w: lan hāhū ḫaras “there was the horse”, iw lan hēhū issēl ḡāy “and there is the flood coming” and a suffixed example yōm yiḡiy lūh linnuh, linnuh lāgiṭha “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 ‘LA the presentative lan co-occurs with lin, of which the former is probably the result of the latter combination (see examples in 4.8.3.).

4.9. ḡayr

ḡār (< ḡayr) may be used preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action,143 e.g. hāda ḡār niḡḡār inḡibuh lēhin w Allāh . . . “this we have to get a carpenter for them (pl. fem.), by God . . .”.

Also in ‘LA several examples of ḡēr were heard, e.g.: gāl ḡūr ḡēr iḡib issēf w agta’ rāgabatuh “he said ‘I have to get the sword and decapitate him’.

Instances of reduced ḡayr were recorded as ir, e.g.: law kalāt’k bidd, ir kān daktūr walla bidd, iza f-albār kamān mā ḥawalā’k daktūr ir kān insān hāwi “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 ibyidirsiw b álġimal, iw ḡūr insān ʾarif ʿyawsīw “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.
ple for “need” or “want” are: *biddna nkutt fi lwādiy* “we want to go down the wadi”, *bidduh ygōtir* “he wants to go (away)”.  

An example of *bidd* expressing futurity, rather than “want” or “need” is *iḥna zayy ibtā’ talāt 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* … nirsīy ‘ādīy “so we’ll anchor (here) (i.e. make camp for the night)” and *ana biddi-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 fī liblād. iw btālā’ batṭixah … ʾiḍ ayyyaf ḏiy ssā’, ‘awnwil ma yatṭā’, iw byakbar iw ba’ād-ma yakbar, tūkun ithāf ᵲ ‘ād intih … an ᵲ ḍarb iššamš ilguwiyīyīh.”* 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 *ḥāda ṣiyka ᵲ ‘ād “so this man is lying”.*

An example of ‘ād in ‘LA is *iw ’ugub ḏiy ‘ād waddāha dāruḥ “so after that he took her home”*, but often the forms ‘ādiy or ‘ādiyt also occur: *ḥū ᵲ ’ādiyt ‘ind ʾaddēf mistagra “so he is served a proper meal with the guest (i.e. who actually received the invitation and through whose company he is also invited for the meal)”*.  

### 4.13. yabga

Like in group VI, *yabga* is not very current in ṬwA, HnA or ‘LA, but may be heard at times meaning “so, then”, as in *w iṭṭa’alliy fī ha bardagān. yabga sārat bitgib 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. *garwaḥ)* and usually consists of rice and meat. Other ingredients instead of meat are also acceptable, if the host is unable to serve meat. Compare also Stewart 1990:222 (glossary), root *g-r-y*, 4th measure (*agra, yigriy*) “to entertain, feed guests” and *griy* “hospitality, the food etc. that is given to a guest”. See also Bailey 2004:173 (entry 449). In a similar context I have also heard *ilxubiz mā byigriy* “bread is not a proper meal”. See however also fn 36, p. 208 for *griy* as a pl. form for *garyih*. 

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4.14. **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 inġīb ilMansiy min Aḅuw Rđēs* “we used to get ilMansiy from Abuw Rđēs”, *kān binḥuṭṭ ġēr izzētūn* “we used to plant olive trees only”.

However, *kān* was more frequently used as a verb and conjugated as such, e.g. *kānat iliǧnēnah /dmacronbelowiy kullha kānat milyānih*. *kān milyān ēh? baṭāṭis w ix/dmacronbeloẉāṛ innās kānat ēh? kānat ibtiǧiy hina ‘a ṭūl “this whole garden was full. It was full with what? Potatoes and vegetables. People used to what? They used to come here directly”*. Findings for ‘LA were similar.

4.14.3. *Dativus ethicus*

Some instances of the ethical dative are: *w itwiǧǧ innāṛ minnuh w iyṣīr luḳ tamām xāliṣ “and you light the fire with it (i.e. firewood) and it becomes perfect for you”, iw ba’ad kidiy bitǧīb masfa ‘imāmah-w ayyi ḥāǧih, iw bītsaff ‘ilēh iw bīṭall’ izzēt iw bīsaww luḳ imṛaggagah ‘ilēh aw bīsaww luḳ ayyi ḥāǧih “and after that you get the cloth-sieve or anything, and you sieve with it and you get the oil out and you make mṛaggagah146 for yourself with it or you make anything for yourself” and mumkin yākul luḳ faṭīsih, yākul luḳ bahīmah mayytih, yākul luḳ ayyi ḥāǧah xalāṣ “he could eat for you (meat of) a corpse”, he could eat for you (meat of) dead livestock, he could eat anything at all for you”.147

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145 This should not be taken to mean that these dialects lack this feature; it is simply not present in my material.

146 mṛaggagah is like fattah: a dish with torn pieces of flat bread in oil and herbs.

147 The translation with ‘could’ reflects that the person in question (a boy who has been chosen to grow up to be a snake charmer) should avoid eating what is mentioned, and that people should take extra care with his food. It is believed that the wrong food—anything *ḥarām*—will ruin his special gift.
An example in ‘LA is: gāl luḳ hāda krāk ‘indī b xamīštāsan sanah “he says (lit. said) to you, here is your pay that I owe you for fifteen years (of work)”.

4.15. *Pluralis paucitatis*

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

4.16. *Concord*

Limited or countable numbers of things tend to be referred to in the pl. fem. Examples are: (A) ‘āwzōn iriḥakk iššabābik w ilbībān… (B) lā lā dīlīḥ šuglīthān dīl tawīlah ‘īlēne… (A) walla niğb lēna niğgār? (B) hāda ǧār niğgār inįģibuh 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 īlīy żāb luh sittīn išwāl walla ǧāḥah biywaddih īlnaṭhanīh, lākin išwāl wāhid biywaddih īlbēt ībyaṭhan ‘a rrḥā… “he who has harvested (lit. brought) sixty sacks or something for himself, takes them to the mill, but (if it is just) one sack he takes (it) home and grinds (it) on the hand mill” and fīh āmākin igṣūr 149 innās imsawwyīnhin zamān, fa biytaxazzan fīhin “there are places for storage that people made in the old days, so they store (goods) in them”.

The following is a reference to a pl. of animals (here camels): w Allāh w ṯabbēna 1Gā’ il’āṣir, w Allāh w ihna mnām luḳ ‘ilēhin… īsṛād īsṛād īsṛād īsṛād lamma ānā Bir Mūs-Abūw ʿAṭwa “By God, and we went to ilGā’ in the afternoon, by God, while we lay flat on them (for you), fleeing, fleeing, fleeing until we came to Bir Mūsa Aḥuw ‘Aṭwa”.

Some examples in ‘LA are: fīh igṣūr igṣūr dīl biyhuṭṭuw algiṛbah fīhin “there are storage caves. They put the girbah (a goat skin sack) in these

148 Root k-r-y, I have also recorded īkrih and krāh “his pay”.
149 gṣūr (sg. gaṣr), see fn 42, p. 47.
150 The (largely empty) sandy coastal plain near at-Ṭūr. See also fn 1, Chapter Two below.
151 luḳ “for you” is an instance of the ethical dative, see 4.14.3.
storage caves”, (talking about animals) *alġizlān dillah mā biyṭīhin fi bwāṭiy, ġār fi ġġbāl, fi ġġbāl 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, iw tiqiy’ a nayt álġada . . . itgayyidhin w itxaḷḥhin . . . fi ġāl ‘an alḥalāl* “you go out grazing with your camels, and you come by lunch time, you hobble them and leave them . . . away (lit. aside) from the small cattle”.

5. A Sketchy Remark on Pitch

The type of pitch heard in group I predominantly among older men in the northeast was not heard in ṬwA or HnA, nor in ‘LA.
CHAPTER TWO

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIALECTS OF THE MZÉNAH AND BANIY WĀŞIL

INTRODUCTION

The largest tribe of the central, south and southeastern Sinai are the Mzēnah (or Muzaynah). The much smaller tribe of Baniy Wāṣil live near the town of aṭ-Ṭūr and towards the east of it and in the western part of the massif of the central south of Sinai, where they are neighbours of the Awlād Saʿīd and the 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 Saʿīd, whose territory is indicated to lie between that of the Baniy Wāṣil and that of the Mzēnah, actually live more inland, i.e. in and around Wādiy Ṣlāf in the central mountain massif, where they are direct neighbours of the Ğbāliyyah. The coastal plain of the dīrah of the Awlād Saʿīd is in fact empty land (the sandy coastal plain al-Gāʾ), and hence the Baniy Wāṣil are—more or less—direct neighbours of the Mzēnah.

1 Although the dīrah of Awlād Saʿīd is indicated on the map as bordering the Gulf of Suez, members of this tribe actually do not live in this deserted coastal plain (known as Gāʾ asŠārm or simply alGāʾ), 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Type</th>
<th>MzA</th>
<th>BWA</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postalveolar</td>
<td>q</td>
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<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pharyngeal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labiodental</td>
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<td>Alveolar</td>
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<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postalveolar</td>
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<td>Velar</td>
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<td>Nasal</td>
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<td>Affricate</td>
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<td>Lateral</td>
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<td>Glides</td>
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<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/dmacronbelow bāluḳ—x/dmacronbeloẉ iy bālik (though ~ bālkiy in BWA) “pay attention (sg. masc.—sg. fem.)” isolates /k/ and /ḳ/ as phonemes.

*1 See remarks in 1.1.3. below.

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

The reflexes of *ṭ and *ḍ are interdentals t and ḏ (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð] respectively).

Examples for *ṭ are: naharīt “we plough” (MzA), tāniy “second” (both), tyāb “clothes” (BWA), (ʼ)atbaruw “their tracks” (BWA).

For *ḍ: nāxi “we take” (both), migdāf “oar” (MzA), mnaḍbaḥuh “we slaughter him” (MzA), iqḍn “ear” (MzA), diḍr “mention” (BWA), diḍimih “ugly” (BWA), xuḍ bāluḳ “pay attention, mind you” (BWA).

There are also exceptions: “refrigerator” and “ice; snow” are with t in both dialects: tillāǧah and talǧ.
In some loans from MSA (presumably via speakers of Cairene) the reflex for *t is s, e.g. ḥadīs “modern” (BWA) and also ḥaras (!)³ “he ploughed” (BWA), masalan “for instance” (both) and for *ḏ it is sometimes ẓ, as in bizr “seed” (BWA) and kizāluk⁴ “as well”.

Emphatic ḏ (I.P.A. velarized [ð]) is the interdental reflex of *ḏ and *ḏ, e.g. (as reflex of *ḏ in) ṛawḍ (pl. riḍān) “small wadi between low mountains” (BWA), udźfur, pl. adźāfir “finger” (MzA), ḏayf “guest” (both) and (as a reflex for *ḏ in) ḏādall “he remains” (both) and ḏāḥaruh “his back” (BWA) and álğaḍa “(the) inferior type of firewood” (BWA).

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

In both dialects the sg. masc. demonstrative (ḥā-)da “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 q are heard, only in MzA we find a true phonemic opposition in a minimal pair like īdūk “your (sg. masc.) hand”—īdik “your (sg. fem.) hand”; in BWA (sg. fem.) pronominal suffixes -ik and -kiy are used as parallel forms⁵ (i.e. īdík, as well as īdikey, the latter of which is the original BWA form and which is normally used). A true phonemic opposition between /k/ and /k/,⁶ such as that existing in MzA, appears to be developing in BWA.

Similarly we find the (sg. masc.) pron. suffix C-ak (and its allomorph ṣḥ-ak) parallel to the (sg. masc.) pronominal suffix -k in BWA.

In MzA “cigarette” is sigārah (not like in many other dialects siqārah).

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³ A sibilant s for interdental t in the verb ḥarāt, yaḥarit “plough” is usually (i.e. in other dialects of Sinai) not one of the exceptions.

⁴ Compare MSA ka-ḍālīk, of which morpheme boundaries were reinterpreted as kaḍā-l-ik, 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 /ġ/ is particularly frequent in MzA. It was not recorded in BWA.

1.1.5. Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/

In all dialects of group I of the south, and also in group VI, a measure of glottalization in the realisation of /ṭ/ may occur. Often the glottal release, which coincides with the release of the ṭ, is not very clear. What is clear, is the lack of aspiration in the release of ṭ, and the immediate onset of a following vowel.

1.1.6. Glottal stop (hamzah)

Like in many dialects of Sinai, the reflex for *ʾ in the verb ask is ỳ: saʾal, yaʾal.

In *raʾs “head”, loss of ʾ is complemented by lengthening the preceding vowel > rās (pl. rūs).

1.1.7. Secondary velarization

What strikes the ear first of all when one hears MzA is the lack of velarization in positions where neighbouring group I dialects in Sinai appear to have it almost as a matter of natural fact. It is a feature of which one of my Mžēniy informants was quite aware; when asked to mention a few differences of his own dialect with that of the Taṛābin (who are their neighbours to the north), he mentioned kibbǟyih “(drinking) glass”, pl. kibbbiey, where a Turḅāniy would say kuḅbāyih and kuḅābīy. MzA rikbíh (pl. rkab) “knee” is pronounced rukḅah (pl. rḳab) 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) yāxīd and yākīl, but velarization is heard in (imperative forms) kūl and xūḍ.

Compared to TAN, long ā in MzA is also noticeably higher in positions not influenced by velarization, e.g. sīyyād “fisherman”, riḡḡāl “man”, kiššāf “flashlight”, ʾitšān “thirsty” (ā is used here to indicate a phonetic value between I.P.A. [æː] and [eː]). In TAN the long ā is considerably lower (nearer to I.P.A. [aː]): sīyyād, raḡḡāl, kaššāf, ʾatšān.

Another difference with TAN is MzA and BWA demonstrative hāda (~ dāh / di’ #), where TAN has hāda, and the pl. form (hā-) dīl (-ih) or dīlēl (-ih) (~ hādōl in BWA) where group I dialects have heavily velarized forms.
like ḥāḍāl (-ah) or ḥoḍāl (-ṭah). Another difference is (MzA) kimān(-iy) — (TAN) kumān “also”.

1.1.8. Liquids l and ñ

On the other hand, MzA and BWA, like many dialects in Sinai (including TAN), have strong velarization in xāf “he feared” (and also xāyif “afraid” in MzA), gāb “he was absent”, ruẓfān “loaves (of bread)”, (in the first syllable of) xāyif “light”, nār “fire”, xyār “gherkins” and (i)nār “persons” and ḥimār “red (sg. fem.)”, īwār “one eyed (sg. fem.)”, bi’rān “camels” and rās “head” (but no velarization in frās “blanket”).

Uvulars followed by l or r are especially prone to become velarized as an accompanying phonetic feature, e.g. aḡḷabiyyah “majority”, šuḡḷ “genitive exponent”, naxal “palm trees”, xaļ “let! (imperative)”, nuxṛah (pl. nxar) “nose”, baxṛiff “I speak”, nuxṛah (pl. ngar) “pit, pothole”, bagra “I read (i.e. study)”, garār “decision”, grayyib “near”, gāḷ “heart”, gāḷat “she said”, gļoyil “few, little” (gḷāḷ “few (pl.)” and aġḷi “less”) and Rās Aḥuw Galla “name of a cape between Dhabab and Nwēbi”.

Generally, like in group I, the combination ār will be velarized, unless i follows within morpheme boundaries (see also De Jong 2000:65–67). An exception is the pl. for kitūr “many”, which is kṭār 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 kibūr “old, big”. There are many examples of velarized ār, of which some are: mitmārāh “(cylindrically shaped) grain silo”, xyāṛ “gherkins” (BWA), Sinnārāh “fishing hook”, nār “fire”, nahāṛ “day (-light)”. Also: sigāṛah “cigarrette”, xuwwāṛ “inferior type of camel, raised for its meat”, byāṛ “wells”, Badāṛah “name of the tribe Badāṛah”.

Notice, however, how following (either ‘vanished’ i within morpheme boundaries blocks such velarization, e.g.: mīṣāri “lands for cultivation”, midāris “schools”, sāri “street” and ārif “knowing (sg. masc.)”).

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8 Combinations of a velar (g, x or ḡ) 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 mitmārah 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 Ḡabal Maṭāmīr.
Also sequences rā are generally not velarized when (vanished) i precedes, or follows in the next syllable within morpheme boundaries, e.g., marākib “boats”, grāyah (cf. MSA qirā’ah) “studying (lit. reading)”, frāš “blanket” (cf. MSA fīrāš), Garāršah “name of tribe” (compare with MSA Qarārišah) and rākib “riding (sg. masc.)”, but there is velarization in forms like rās “head”, bārrād “teapot” and hārārah “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>ā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.2. Long vowels

1.2.2.1. Allophones of long vowels ē and ĩ
Unlike in group I dialects, phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ĩ/ is rare in group VI dialects.

The phonemic status of /ē/ and /ĩ/ can be established with a minimal pair like: šēn “bad”—šīn “name of letter š”, and /ā/ may be isolated by pairing either of these with (mīn) šān “because of”.

In MzA imperfect forms of the verb “dry” (root y-b-s) monophthongization takes place, e.g. yēbas (< *yaybas) “he dries (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 ē 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 ašdaf “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 rāsk! (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 ‘irğ in BWA, but u in ‘urğ in MzA and that of a’ama “blind” is ‘amy in BWA, but ‘umy in MzA. Other pl. com. forms of the pattern aC1C2aC3 used for colours and physical defects, recorded in both dialects have a Ĉ1uĈ2Ĉ3 pattern (most have some degree of velarization), e.g. (sg. masc. aḥṭamaṛ) h.imgur “red”, (sg. masc. azḍraq) zurğ “black”,12 (sg. masc. axdaqar) xudr “green”, (sg. masc. asfar) šufr “yellow” and (sg. masc. ahabal) hubl “dim-witted” (where labialization of the b triggers the appearance of u), (sg. masc. agra’) gur “bald”, ūrm (sg. masc. atram) “gap-toothed”.

Both dialects have i in the imperfect of primae hamzah verbs: yāxid and yākil “he takes” and “he eats”, but u in the sg. masc. imperative: kul and xud “eat!” and “take!” (resp.) and clear velarization, caused by the ‘vanished’ u:4 xdy and kly (sg. fem.), xdlw and kluw (pl. masc.) and xdl and kln (pl. fem.).

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


1.2.3.3. Morphological conditioning of the short high vowel

So far we have seen that often a velarized or labial environment triggers the appearance of u. Morphology, however, will over-rule this phonetic feature, as far as distribution of short high vowels is concerned. For instance, measures 2, 3 and 4 will have i in the imperfect forms, such as yC1aC2C2iC3 (measure 2), yC1āC2iC3 (measure 3), yiC1C2iC3 (measure 4),

12 azḍraq lit. “blue” is often used euphemistically for “black”.
13 In MzA axdaqar was also recorded in the meaning of “wet”, as in iw hu yğy mʤ̄ur kįviyyih bi idāuḥ . . . iw yjıldu ṭīēḥ, l issā axdaqar hū “and he comes running like this with his (diving) gear . . . with his diving suit (lit. skin) on, still wet he was . . .”.
14 See remarks in Blanc 1970:16 [127]!
15 lagg, yḷugg is listed as “snatch, grab” in Stewart 1990:245 (glossary), but my recording calls for a translation like “hit, strike”, as in [aljarrḥ byirkuḍūḥ ēḥ?] fi ʃšams, ilḷugg fiha ʃšams “[they place the earthenware pot where?] in the sun, [where] the sun hits (i.e. shines on) it” as a method to let milk ferment to produce ṛāyib.
16 The verb waʃš, ywiṣṣ is onomatopaeic.
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yiC(ic)iC 1 (measure n-1) and yiC(tic)iC 1 (measure 1-t) and yistaC1C 3 iC 1 (measure ista-1). Other examples are the active participles of the measures: C 1 iC 1 (measure 1), mC 1 C 3 iC 1 (measure 2), mC 1 iC 1 (measure 3) and mC 1 aC 1 iC 1 (measure 4), mtaC 1 C 3 iC 1 (measure ta-2), mtaC 1 iC 1 (measure ta-3), mC 1 C 1 iC 1 (measure n-1), mC 1 tiC 1 iC 1 (measure 1-t) 18 and mistaC1C 3 iC 1 (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 tušģūḳ “she occupies you/keeps you busy” and also the vowel of the fem. morpheme in construct state may be affected, as in nuxṛūt“k “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nuxṛīt“k “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 [ʒıd] “grandfather”, nirmiy ['nirmi'] “we throw” and dišbih ['dʃib] “cold (disease)”.

When in velarized positions, backing and centralizing takes place, resulting in [ı] or slightly higher, e.g. ṭibb “(practicing) medicine” [tib].

When laryngeals precede, they usually have a lowering effect on /i/, resulting in [e] or slightly higher, e.g. ḥiluw # [ḥvlinehɛluc] “beautiful, sweet”, xirm [xerm] “large species of fish”.

1.2.3.4.2. Allophones of /u/

In neutral positions short high vowel /u/ will be realized near I.P.A. [u], and slightly higher [u] when it precedes w, e.g. yuskun ['juskon] “he lives (inhabits)”, nāmuw “they slept” [næmuw]. 19

When velarized consonants or laryngeals precede, lowering tends to take place, resulting in a realization near I.P.A. [o], e.g. ḥumsih [ˈyɔmsi] “food dip”, ḥurmah [ˈhɔɾmah] “woman”, xuṭwah [ˈxɔtwa] “step”.

17 See following fn.

18 When in closed syllable, the vowel preceding C 1 will be a in measures n-1 and t-t (or VII and VIII resp.), e.g. yingdarbaw “they are beaten” and minfarbah “having been beaten (sg. fem.)” and yištaqlin “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. tānām [ˈtænəm] “you sleep”, maddat [ˈmedːət] “she stretched out”.

Where pharyngeals precede, /a/ has a realization near open and front I.P.A. [a], e.g. ḥarīm [ˈhaːrim] “womenfolk”, ārįgy [ˈɑːrʤɨy] “lame, limping (sg. fem.)” and also with h preceding, as in șahabîy [ˈʃaːhɑːbiy] “gray-coloured (sg. fem.)”.

In velarized environments, /a/ is realized near I.P.A. [a], e.g. baḥar [ˈbɑːhar] “sea” and nuqṭah [ˈnuqtaːh] “police post” and ḥabsah [ˈhɑbɑːsɑːh] “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 Ci: kibîr “large; old”, şidîd “strong”, ǧili’d “fat, thick”, xifî “light”, ird “bridegroom”, ĕrîd “parrot fish”, and also îlîy “male given name *‘Alî” and verb forms nîsît “I forgot”, lîgît “I found”. Instances of a preceding stressed CCi were not recorded: batṭîx “watermelon”, sab’in “seventy”.
- (preceding stressed Cē): ĵilēh “on him”, lîgēnə “we found”, mîsît “I walked”, bidēna “we started”, (preceding CCē) middēt “I stretched”, suwwēt “I did/made” and istinnēni (#) “we waited” (but istanna “he waited”).
- (preceding stressed Cā): ĵisākir “soldiers”, zimān “in the old days (used as adverb)”, timānyih “eight”; (preceding stressed CCā): riฏgāl “man”, šiyād “fisherman”, kîssāf “search light”, biṭṭâriyyih “flashlight”, zirgā “blue (sg. fem.)”. mîrłat “times”, mi’nāt (ḥājih) “the meaning (of sth)”.
- (preceding stressed û): urūs “groom”, isSu’udîyyih “Saudi Arabia”, šu’ûr “emperor (fish species)”.20
- (preceding stressed a): ġimâl “camels”, gī’adna “we sat down”, xuḅâr “information”, nihâb“k”, “he plundered you”.
- (preceding stressed u): kubūr “he grew”, ġuliud “he grew fat”.
- (preceding stressed i): širîb “he drank”, bîrîy “innocent”, guwîy “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”, háwǧisat “she improvised song”, ánñixaḷ “the palm trees”, álhiwi “the wind”, ál’iši “the dinner” and ádduwa “the medicine”.

Also when a follows stressed į in closed syllable, it is raised, as in yín/dmacronbeloẉ irib “he is beaten”, yítifig “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 wáḥid ‘ìnduh xuṛřāfah hilwih biyįgįhį “everyone has a nice story which he tells”, lamma llēlih gōṭarat “until the evening has passed”, ťallā’ gišidih fi wiḥdih rąyidhį “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 hùrmaŋ # “a woman stood up”, (a mock rhyme) bĩŋib lēna farxah siminįh, iw līhiy siminįh bi lmaṛṛah “we get for ourselves a fat chicken, but it is not fat at all”. Other examples are: bısıṭah “simple”, giląd “fat”, xuṭwah “step”, 琬gąmąh “snake-like species of sea fish”, ramląh “sand”.

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ě and k, e.g. rʃayy’iš “thin”, sām’iš “hearing (sg. fem.)”), Šuwālįh “name of a tribe”, mirįgę’hį “swing”, šaʃįhį “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 btiʃluh ʿala lmayyįh “you boil it (for a long time) in water”, iw biŋaṭṭiy lḥaṭab buh kuḷːiːtuḥ “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 ė and ô.

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21 In verb forms like hawǧisat and yínδirib and yítifig, the raised a will again surface as a when it is in closed syllables, e.g. hawǧast “I improvised song”, yínδarbw “they are beaten” and yítarfuw “they agree” (see also 3.2.3.1.1. and 3.2.3.3.1.).
Examples for *ay are: *iṭnēn “two”, bēn “between”, lēlīh “evening”, sēl “flood”, ġwēl (dim. to ġāl) “little side” and examples for ō: mōt “death”, yōm “day”, fōg “above”, sōdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, gōmah “(manner of) standing up”.

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

In forms like b’ayṭarān velarization has also spread backwards, preserving ay as a diphthong. Diphthongal *aw is preserved by spread of velarization as aw or ow in e.g. gōwtaraw “they went”.

In MzA (of *Ayn Ḥuḍrah and of a family in Wādiy ʿArādah) forms like mēḡūd “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)”
gībih “bringing”—ĝēbuh “his pocket”—ĝābuh “he brought it”
gōm “enemy tribe”—gūm “get up!”

Suffixed prepositions lay “to me”, ʿalāy “on me” and fay “in me” are actually better interpreted as final -ay + y.

1.2.4.3. Allophones of ā
Like in the dialect of the Taṛābīn of group I, ā in neutral surroundings is realized as near I.P.A. [ɛɪ]. 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 [ɛɪ] for ā is reached also when āC is morpheme-final, e.g. kṭār “many (pl. com.)”, ūgāg “compartments of the tent”, ḥbāl “ropes”, šāsīh “screen” and also wāḥid “one”, sārḥīh “out grazing (goats and sheep) (sg. fem.)”, nāgtī “my she-camel”.

22 aw’a is often left unconjugated, and has thus developed into a general particle of warning or admonition, as in aw’a tans! “don’t you forget!”

23 Von Oppenheim 1942:159 mentions *Ayn Ḥuḍrah as ‘Lēğiy territory (in his transcription: ‘Oleḳāt). Today this oasis is inhabited by members of the Mzēnah.
1.2.4.4. Reflexes of final *-ā(‘)

Like in the dialect of Biliy in the north,24 the reflex of final *-ā in neutral environments in MzA and BWA is often -ʾ. Examples are: Wādiy Sliy “Wadi Isla”,25 šṭi “winter” and verb form ġi (˂ *ḡā) “he came”.26

Final -ʾ will be unstressed when a heavy sequence precedes. The vowel of the heavy sequence is then stressed. E.g. āššifī “the curing”, (wāḥid) mānī “(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.: šadfī “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, āhlīy “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”, zarqā “black; blue” and (physical defects) ūwrā “one-eyed”, girā “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 nihā(‘) in MzA and BWA.

In dialects of group I raising (there to final -īy) is inhibited by (underlying) a preceding in open syllable.27 Such is not the case in MzA and BWA, e.g. hiwī “wind”, īṣī “dinner”, dīwī “medicine” (in MzA), simī “heaven” and also verb forms like miṣī (< *mašā) “he went”, ligī (< *lagā) “he found” and tawaffī “he died”.

When (secondary) emphatics precede, final *-ā(‘) is not raised, while reflexes of *-ā have remained long and reflexes of *-ā are short. Examples are: ǧṭā “covers”, ʿaṣā “stick”, fiḍā “free time”, rḥā “hand mill”, Wādiy ṭṬarfā “name of a wadi”,28 bēḍā “white (sg. fem.)”, hamrā “red (sg. fem.)”, xaḍrā “green (sg. fem.)”, ǧawā “flirting”, duwā “medicine” (in BWA, but in MzA dīwī), ṭagtā “speckled (sg. fem.)”, zarqā “black; blue; dark coloured (sg. fem.)”, samrā “brown (sg. fem.)”.

In BWA álma(‘) “the water” and in MzA álmi was recorded for “the water” (~ in both with much more frequent māyyih).

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 southeast 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 Şbāliy territory bordering on Mzēniy territory.
Final *-ā is not raised in the elative ahla "sweeter; more beautiful".

Several of the preceding examples also show raising of final -ā, although preceded by a in open syllable, does take place, e.g. duwāʼ or diwīʼ and verb forms like mišī and ligīʼ.

The forms with raised final *-ā (> -iʼ) 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 ḡānī "he came to me" were heard, but also forms with lengthened [i], as in hū ḡi:k "he came to you (sg. masc.)": not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [i]: [dʒi:3:k] "he came to you (sg. masc.)" and also hū ḡi:k (IPA [dʒi:3:k]) "he came to you (sg. fem.)". In BWA such lengthened [i:] was not heard.

1.2.4.5. Allophones of long vowels ĕ, ĭ, ŏ, and Ŧ

1.2.4.5.1. Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on ĭ and Ŧ

Like in group I (see De Jong 2000:85), primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following ĭ and Ŧ towards (resp.) I.P.A. [e:] and [o:]. Such lowering is clearer in the case of following Ŧ; with following ĭ 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 ĭ and Ŧ in positions preceded by emphatics.

1.2.4.5.2. Off-glide in ĕ and ĭ

An off-glide in the realisation of ĕ and ĭ is often audible, when these are followed by an emphatic. Examples are (from both dialects) gēḏ (I.P.A. [ge:3]) “chain”, (a less clearly audible off-glide in) Fērān [fe:3:na:n] “Wadi Fērān”, būḏ (I.P.A. [bi:3]) “white (pl. com.)”, zīlīt (I.P.A. [zi:li:t]) “young goat or gazelle” and mšēṭah [# ḥglottaləmḥvlineʃeḥlengthfullḥalphaLatinḥvlinetḥbarcombḥalphaLatinh] “type of herb”.


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29 Which is also the case in the dialect of Biliy, see De Jong 2000:82 (1.2.4.4.3.2.).
30 Lat. Acanthurus nigrofuscus.
wormwood and *itbi‘ I.P.A. [#ʔat’biː] “you sell”, but less clearly audible in Nfē’āt [#ʔawnfeː] “name of a family of Baniy Wāsil”.

1.2.4.5.3. Off-glide in ō and ū
Like in group I off-glides towards I.P.A. [a] are audible in ō and ū when these are followed by emphatics, e.g. götarat [goːtarat] “she went”.

Off-glides in ō and ū towards I.P.A. [a] are clear when ‘ or h follow, e.g. nō [noː] “type, sort”, ġū I.P.A. [dʒuː] “famine”, misūḥ [məʃuː] “milk camel” (there were no instances recorded with ō followed by h, but e.g. lōh “(wooden) board, panel” would thus be [loːh]).

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, ġ, h, ‘ and h. For the latter, see remark below). In some instances, a diphthong is audible without being attributable to phonetic conditioning, as in sanatatyn “two years” (MzA).

Examples with X preceding *ay are: xayṭ “thread”, ġayrī “(someone) other than I”, b ilhayl “very”, ʔayn “eye”, but the only form with preceding h recorded is nhēdīh “a type of herb (used to treat kidney disease)”.32

Examples with X preceding *aw are: xawf “fear”, ʔawl “year”, ʔAwīh “male given name” and a Bedouin verb33 hawǧas, yhawǧis “improvise singing”, ʔawmal, yhawmil “bring a ʔamūlah34 for a feast”.

31 Lat. Artemisia herba-alba, used to prepare samn šīḥiy “ghee”.
32 Perhaps the reference was to the Egyptian desert weed Cymbopogon proximus.
33 Verbs of the type CawCaC, yCawCiC (with inserted wāw) are considered to be typically Bedouin, see Palva 1991:155.
34 A ʔamūlah 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”, ḫaṭṭayt “I put (perfect)”. Examples with the secondarily velarized consonants preceding are: ʾištarayt “I bought”, ihmarrayt “I turned red”, taharraynaʾk “we waited for you”, kitṛrayš “how much?”, ḏallayna “we remained” and also ʾānnayt “I kept quiet”, ḏawayt ṭ “I returned home at sunset (with goats and sheep)” and tarabayzyih “table”.

Examples of *aw with a velarized consonant preceding are fewer: ṣawm “fasting”, ṭawr (pl. ṭīṛān) “overhanging cliff” and ṛaw (pl. ṛī/dmacronbeloẉān) “small wadi”.

1.2.4.6.1.2.3. Reduction of diphthongs ay and aw

The diphthong in ḡayr is often reduced to ʾa and then complementary lengthened. Examples are: ḡār ánnaxaḷ, mā fīh izrā ʾah zamān “only palm trees, there was no agriculture in the past” and ʿāšān law daggat wāḥid minni, ḡār kān iyṛawwiḥ l ʾittaktūr “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 ʾa or ʾā.

‘Systemzwang’ has preserved diphthongs in e.g. taybīs “drying (measure 2 verbal noun)” (but not in the imperfect form of measure 1 yēbas “it (masc.) dries”), ṣawlīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and mawǧūd “present (adj.)”. Another instance may be awʾa “beware, watch out!” (other imperatives of primae wāw verbs are with initial ʾō: ʾōgaf! “stand still!”, ʾōrid! “fetch water!”).

1.2.4.6.2. Diphthongs -iy and -uw

1.2.4.6.2.1. Reflexes of final *-ī and *-ū

Final diphthongs -iy and -uw, which in part reflect older final *-ī and *-ū are best heard in lento speech and occur both in sentence medial as well as in sentence final positions.

In verbs the ending -uw has developed as a morpheme signalling pl. masc., but also in pronominal suffixes. Examples are: (verbal perfect)
katab-uw “they wrote”, katabt-uw “you (pl. masc.) wrote”, (verbal imperfect) yikitb-uw “they (pl. masc.) write”, tikitb-uw “you (pl. masc.) write” and in pronominal suffixes bēth-uw “their (pl. masc.) house” and bētk-uw “your (pl. masc.) house”.39

Anaptyxis may also create final -uw to eliminate final -CC clusters, e.g. hiluw # “pretty, beautiful” (morphological base hilw) and daluw # “pail” (morphological base dalw).

Instances of final -iy are much more numerous. Examples of verbal endings are (perfect) katabt-iy “you (sg. fem.) wrote” and (imperfect) tíkitb-iy “you (sg. fem.) write”. In verbs where C₃ = y (imperfect) yimšiy “he walks”, ysawwiy “he makes” and yiǧiy “he comes”, etc.

In MzA and BWA an -iy ending in the 3rd p. sg. masc. of i-type perfects is rare. Instead, final y verbs nearly all have an a-type perfect e.g. nisī “he forgot”.40 Final -iy may also reflect older final *-ā, as in (MzA) mīy “water”, (reflecting the sg. fem. pattern *CaCCā’ for physical defects) ’arjīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, hablīy “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, anyīy “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCā’) sawdīy “black”, šaḥābīy “sand-coloured”.

Although a regular reflex for final *-ā is stressed -i, -iy reflects *-ā in hnīy “here” (in BWA only; “here” is nihā(-niy) in MzA). Final -iy reflects final *-i in birīy “innocent”, final *-iy in sībīy “boy”, *-ay’ in šīy “thing” and is of course also the nisba ending for the sg. masc., e.g. Maṣrīy “Egyptian”.

Anaptyxis may also create final (but unstressed) -iy sequences, as in e.g. ’imiyy # “(pl. com.) blind” (morphological base ’imy) and ġīdīy # “billy goat” (morphological base ġidy).

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs

The first element of the diphthong ay is often lengthened,42 e.g. ʚaʫyš “bread”, ʚaʫyb “disgraceful act”, xaʔytniʾ “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.43

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 *1 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 *-a 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 Dawāgrah 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 $yáḥṛṭu^w$ “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 $i̯l$- and the verbal $an$- prefix of measure $n$-1 and the syllable preceding the $t$- infix of measure $1$-$t$ and suffixes, if these are part of the last three syllables,
   b.) or, in the absence of an article, infix or prefix, the last four syllables.
3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequences are stressed.
4) The following types of ‘heavy’ sequences occur: $vCC(C)$ and $vC(C)$ (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. $dárbitu^h$ “she hit him” and $rāgḅiṭu^h$ “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. $dárabbitu^h$ and $rāgabbitu^h$.

2.1.1.1. Stress in words with heavy sequences

Examples of stress in words with ‘heavy’ sequences are: $mádṛa$sih “school”, $áštağaḷ$ “he worked”, $áṭṭifag$ “he agreed”, $ánğa}sal” “he was washed”, $álbuṣa$}

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“the onions”, álwalad “the boy/son”, iššti “the winter”, īl “the dinner”, árkab “the knees”, álğman “the Moray eels”, álğkal “the jerrycans”, álğšiy “the rocks” (in the latter two examples anaptyctics are underlined) and šawlíy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, šahabíy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, ṭilna “we rose”, walád “your (sg. masc.) son”, waládk “your (sg. fem.) son”, ámmuṭ “your mother” (MzA), šī “winter”, zēn “good”, zēnih “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)vCvC(v) is placed thus:

(ʾ)CvC: ʾakál “he ate”, axáđ “he took”, ugūm “stand up!”, iği “I come”
Cv(ʾ)C: ʾasá “stick”, ʾišš “dinner”, mišš “he walked”, duwá “medicine” (~ dūf).
CvC: ġimál “camels”, šiǧár “trees”, ġiṭás “he dived”; wugáf “he stood up”, waṛág “paper” and yiği “he goes”, šibíy “boy”, biríy “innocent”, tiríy “moist; soft”.

2.1.1.2.2. Stress in (C)vCvCvC and (C)vCvCvCv(C)
Examples of stress in (C)vCvCvC sequences are:
(C)vCvCvCvC: ákalat “she ate”, (gahawah-form) áhamař “red”, xásabih “piece of firewood”, dárabuw “they hit (perfect)”, báladuh “his country”, násatuh “she forgot him” and gahawah-forms gáhawah “coffee”, nā‘āgiḥ “ewe”, áharīṭ “I plough” and yágaṭis “he dives”.
(C)vCvCvCvC: ákalatuh “she ate it” (or MzA ákliṭuh), dárabatuṭ “she hit him” (or MzA dáribtuṭ), fárašatuh “she spread it (sg. masc.) out” (or MzA fáristuṭ), rágabatuṭ “his neck” (or MzA ráguṭuṭ) and gahawah-forms gáhawatuh “his coffee” (or MzA gáhbituṭ), láḥamatuṭ “his (piece of) meat” (or MzA láhmituṭ), tá’āragin “you (pl. fem.) sweat”, yá’āraguw “they sweat”.

alxásabih “the piece of firewood”, albádawiy “the Bedouin (sg.)”, (gahawah-form) annáxalāḥ “the palm tree”, (gahawah-form) iptáḥafruw “they dig”, īstáṭat “she worked”, inbāṣatuṭ “they rejoiced”, ʾītāfagat “she agreed”, tiğáwwazat “she got married”, takáłamuw “they spoke”.

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44 But notice a in the article in áššifiji “the healing”.
45 The word buklah (pl. bkal) is used for a plastic jerrycan in MzA.
46 When v, in this pattern is not preceded by C, it is underlying [a].
2.1.2. Exceptions to the stress rule

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

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.)”, šifrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, bēḍā “white (sg. fem.)”, girʿā “bald (sg. fem.)”, ʿiwrā “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. sōdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, šadīy “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 >) šahabīy “sand coloured (sg. fem.)”.

Reflexes of final *-ā in neutral environments are final -i. The resulting forms are then stressed in conformity to the rules in 2.1.1.2. Examples are šti “winter; rain”, mī “water”, wādīy Slī “wadi Isla”, simī “sky”, diwī “medicine”, ʾišī “lunch”, sīfī “healing”, mášti “winter”.

Examples of pronominal suffixes *-hā and *-nā are tanshīʾ “forget her!”, ḡitʿah mǐnḥī “a piece of it (sg. fem.)”, ḡūdānī “our forefathers”, baʿādūnī “(we) each other” and of the sg. masc. demonstrative álwalad dī “this boy”.

When velarization has spread, a in pronominal suffixes is not raised, e.g. uxūhā “her brother”, binẓabbiṭha “we do it (sg. fem.) properly”.

Examples of such raising in verb forms in which C = y are (perfect) mīšī “he walked”, ligī “he found”, sawwī “he did” and ḡī “he came”. Examples of imperfect forms are yansī “he forgets”, ytaḡaddī “he has lunch”.

Examples of reflexes of *-ā preceded by velarized consonants are álqaḍa “type of wood (does not burn like embers)”, barra “outside”, verb forms (imperfect) yrṣa “he agrees happily” and ṣala “he prayed”.

2.1.2.2. Stress on final nominal *-īy reflexes in *CaCīy

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

2.1.2.3. Stress in al/il + *CaCīy

When the article precedes a reflex of CaCiy, the resulting cluster will draw stress onto its directly preceding vowel, e.g. ḍinnibīy “the Prophet” and ḍiṣṣībīy “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. baʾāḏhin “each other (pl. fem.)”, saḥānha47 “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. gahawahatu “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. yáḥaratu “they plough”, tāʾāḏnu “you knead it (sg. masc.)”, yáḵabtu “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. xāšbitu “his piece of wood” (contrast e.g. wākiltu “eating it (sg. masc.)” and rikibtu “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. ṭḥállilu “you analyze it”, ǧidditī “my grandmother”.

2.1.3. Stress units
2.1.3.1. Stress in combinations with preposition min and negated personal pronominals
Like in group I, the preposition min may form one stress unit with the following word, as in mīn-tahat “from below”, mīn-kidīy “from this” and mīn-ihniy “from here” (the latter BWA).

For stress in negated personal pronominals, see 3.1.12.1. of this chapter.

2.1.3.2. Enclitically suffixed prepositions l and b
2.1.3.2.1. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition l
Enclitic suffixion of the preposition l occurs only sporadically.49 The examples (all from MzA) are ḡā-luḵ “he came to you”, gult-ilhi “I said to

47 I hear sin, rather than šād.
48 Notice also that the high vowel elision rule is not applied after stress placement, hence xāšbitu, not xašibtu (contrasting with a form like ḫābiṭu “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 lēha), aḥsāl-luk “it is best for you” (assimilated aḥsan+luḵ) and a’mīl-luk “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, ḫ, x, ġ

The resulting vowel may be stressed according to rules described in 2.1.1.2. Exceptions to these rules with regard to stress in gahawah-forms are described in 2.1.2.4. Examples of gahawah-forms are: (*naxl) naxāḷ “palm trees”, (*saḥl) saḥāl “easy”, (*aḍɑr) āḍaḍār “green”, (*aḥtal) āḥtaṭal “stupid”, (*šahbā) šahbāy “sand coloured (sg. fem.)”, (*ğahlān) ġahlān “ignorant”, (*mahmūl) mahamūl “neglected”, (*maxrūm) maxaṛūm “pierced”, (*maḥṭūṭ) maḥṭūṭ “placed”, (*maxfiy) máxafi “hidden” and verb forms (*yaxṭib) yaxṭib “he proposes (for marriage)”, (*yahšūh) yāhašū “they fill it”, (*tā′raguw) tā’aṛaguw “you (pl. masc.) sweat”.

2.2.1.2. Morphological categories showing variation
Although the gahawah-syndrome is active in forms of the past participle (i.e. where C = X: maXC₂uC₃) like maxaṛūm “pierced”, mahamūl “neglected” and máaṣqūl “reasonable”, it was not recorded in maṣṣū “specialized” and maḥṣūb ‘ala “reckoned with”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC₂aC₃(ah): ma’rakah “battle”, maḥkamah “court of justice”, maṯrib “time of sunset”.

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

99 The verb form must be a loan (an indication is also the initial vowel: a’mīl instead of i’mil), see also remark in following fn.
2.2.1.3. Morphological categories in which the gahawah-syndrome is not active

The gahawah-syndrome is not active in derived verbal measures, e.g. (measure 4) ʼaṭa “he gave”, (measure ista-1) istahmal, yistahmil “bear, endure”, istaġrab, yistaġrib “wonder, be amazed”, ista’mal, yista’mil “use”. Quadriliteral verbs gahwa, yigahwiy “serve coffee or tea to”, zaġrat, yzaġriṭ “ululate” and a passive participle mga’tal “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 áġalaḍ “thicker”.

In loans from Standard Arabic (or Cairene Arabic) like maḥkamah (see above) the syndrome is not active. Other examples are: raḡma ʾann “although”, aḡlabiya “majority”, tahliyyih “analysis”, maṭṭah ma’danyyih “mineral water”, ya’niy “that is, it means”, yaḥṣal “it happens” and another measure 1 verb ya’maṭ “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 bukaṛa-syndrome

Often the ‘simple’ bukaṛa-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:

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

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

\[ R = r \text{ or } ṛ \]

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

51 Much more current for “make, do” is sawwa, ysawwiy.

52 See also EALL 2006 (Vol. II):320–322.
Examples of bukařa-vowels are (underlined): zaġaraṭat “she ululated”, tzaġirīt “she ululates”, tuṣūrūd “she flees”, gaṭarah “drop (noun)”, kuburūw “they grew old”, tuʧurukha “you rub it (sg. fem.)”.

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

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukařa-syndrome creating vowels: mitīr iw nuṣṣ “a meter and a half”, ǧamir issīyyāl “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”, īynziḷ išwayyih “it comes down a little”, ʻāyyīl ʻisqayyir “a young child”, bīyahwamīl ʾalḥamāyīl “he brings the animals to be slaughtered (to a wedding party)”.

Examples of ‘expanded’ or ‘greater’ bukařa-vowels preceding l in sandhi (where the vowel is not a cluster-resolving anaptyctic as described in 2.3.2.) are (‘greater’ bukařa-vowels underlined): šuq̱ul iǧdūdna “of our forefathers”, ʾāṣil anā ḡībit “because I brought”, gaḅiḷ irdīy nafsī “before I please myself”, gaḅiḷ il ʿUtmaṇīyyīn “before the Ottomans”.

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *ibil and *rāgil
One of the forms for she-camels is bil, and with article álbil (BWA, not recorded in MzA). rāgil for “man” was only recorded once in BWA (and numerous instances of yā ṛāgil). In MzA riḡḡāl (pl. ṛḡāl) 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) fōg̱na “above us”, ittafarg̱na “we agreed”, axāḏni “we took”, yibnīh “he builds it”. An instance in sandhi is in e.g. (vowel underlined) bitḥuṭṭuh fi ssi’en iw bitxuḍḍuh “you put it in the goat skin and you churn it”.

2.2.3. Articulatory delay of ʿayn following geminates
In isolated instances an articulatory delay of ʿayn following a geminate can be heard, e.g. bīḥuṭṭaʿ ʾalēh “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:

\[ \emptyset > I \quad / \quad (C_a)C_b--C_cC_d \]

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.

\[ yurbuṭ + uw > *yurbtuw > yûrûbtuw \quad \text{“they tie”} \]
\[ tu/dux + uh > *tüdrbhuh > tüdürbhuh \quad \text{“she hits him”}. \]

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):

\[ ’înd Rûm Zwayyid^33 > ’înd irdûm ûZwayyid \quad \text{“near Zwayyid’s rock piles”}. \]

---

33 rûm, sg. rûm 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:

\[
\text{*} \text{bittw} + \text{ha w btiḥš + ha tamr} \text{ > *} \text{btiṭwha w btiḥša tamr} \text{ > *} \text{ibtīṭgwa w ibtiḥša tamir} \text{ = “you fold it (sg. fem.) and stuff it (sg. fem.) with dates” (both verb forms are apocopated imperfects).}
\]

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):

\[
\text{*} \text{hāqr kirīmah} \text{ > *} \text{ḥgāqr kirīmah} \text{ > *} \text{ḥgāqr kirīmah “precious stones” and} \text{Maṣr + # > * Maṣr > * Maṣr “Egypt (the mainland), Cairo”.
}\]

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

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

\[
\text{(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)}
\text{w btiḥšg iddagīg w bta’āğnuh >}
\text{(after elision of high vowel, clusters in bold print)}
\text{* w btiḥšg iddagīg w bta’āğnuh >}
\text{(after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctics underlined: surface forms)}
\text{w ibtiḥšg iddagīg w ibtā’āğnuh “and you take the dough and knead it”.
}\]

Another example is:

\[
\text{(base forms, high vowel eligible for elision underlined)}
\text{yimsik alfanāqīl >}
\text{(after elision of high vowel, cluster in bold print)}
\text{* yimsk alfanāqīl >}
\text{(after stress and anaptyxis, anaptyctic underlined: surface forms)}
\text{yimsk alfanāqīl “he takes the cups”
}\]

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

The resyllabication of a word-medial sequence CVCCICV > CVCICCV (e.g. yikṭībwu) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVCIC VC > CVCICC VC (e.g. yīmsk alfanāqīl) 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.: īlḥalb ḥāḍa “this milking”, alGlāʿiyih “location where water from šarafat ilGā’ flows into Wādiy Fēṛān”, ʿamaltha “I did it (sg. fem.)”, ālgrab “the water skins”, tuṣğālkh #55 “it (sg. fem.) occupies you”, tandhi “forget her!”, fiḥiṁt lay kēh? “do you understand what I mean?” and (with semi vowels) mōyt kīluh “a hundred kilometres”, iṣṭaraytha “I bought it (sg. fem.)”. But in some cases, also when the second consonant is voiced, the cluster is left intact, as in ǧildha “her skin” (where d is homorganic with l) and yīnzdław “they go down”.

Examples of other sandhi clusters left intact are: int ʿārif “you know”, yā bint! # “hey, girl!” and ʿind Bīniy Wāṣil “with the Baniy Wāṣil” (see 2.3.3.2.) and gult lēhuw “I said to them”.

When assimilation between the first and second consonant takes place, the cluster will remain intact as well, e.g. (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”, nnmiddhin “we stretch them (fem.) out”, thutta “you place it (fem.)” ithammṣ ilbunn “you roast the coffeebeans”, tǧammr išwayyih “it (sg. fem.) becomes glowing embers a little”. Sandhi examples are: nxušš fī “we enter into”, nuṣṣ kīluh “half a kilo”, bīqḍall # tūl yōmuq “you stay the (lit. your) whole day”, sinn # “tooth” and ḥaṭṭ # “he placed”, nšidd # “we pull tight”.

When a cluster contains a geminate and two other consonants, it is resolved, e.g. bass igrūḥ “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.)”, ʿindīk “with you (sg. fem.)”, ʿinduhuw “with them (pl. masc.)”, ʿindihin “with them (pl. fem.)”, ʿinduktw “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 bīqḍall: assimilated bīqḍall.
Clusters in sandhi are left unresolved, e.g. (underlined): ‘ind Biniy Wāṣil “with the Baniy Wāṣil”, la ‘ind suľbuḵ “(submerged in water) up to your waist”, ‘ind ḡidditi 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 -k (resp.), are vowelless when preceded by one consonant. This may be concluded from stress assignment, but it is difficult to decide whether an anaptyctic is present or not; especially with a voiceless consonant preceding and a vowel following k (in sandhi), there may be a vowelless anaptyctic, or none at all, as in e.g. 砻ly yatla’ min ẓimmith i’ṭni yyāh “whatever comes out of your goodness, give it to me”. Other examples are: ḥurmiṭuk # “your wife”, awṣūf uḳ # “I’ll describe to you”. nāqītuk “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”, matraḥuk # “your place” and nxurītuk # “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nxurītk # “your (sg. fem.) nose”.

When assimilation takes place, an anaptyctic is absent, e.g. sarākk (< sarāg+k) “he robbed you”.

When more than one consonant directly precede, the personal pronominal suffixes take allomorphs -uk (for sg. masc.) and -ik (for sg. fem.) e.g. xalluk gāid “remain seated”, ‘induk “with you”, ṣadrūk “your chest”, nafṣūk “yourself”, ‘umṛūk “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 *mīṅk or *mīṅuk).

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 [i], towards [ə], in front environments and a lax and centralized [v], towards a moderately rounded [ə], in back environments.57

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

Examples of the phonetic quality of word-medial anaptyxis in clusters form “colliding” base forms are:

57 This is the same as what was described for group I in De Jong 2000:128.
irim + ha > *irimha > ūrīmha “throw it (sg. fem.)”
šuğl + ha > *šuğlha > šūğlha “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>yisiguw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yisriguw</td>
<td>yisiguw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“they steal”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example with u:

tuktuluw > *tuktuluw > *tuktluw > túktluw “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”, ʚīlibtuh “his packet” and (examples of u) ḥūṛumtuh “his wife” and ʂuğultī “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): # îtkān irdāy’īh “it (sg. fem.) will be thin”, zilīṭ ışgāyîr “a young goat or gazelle”, # ɨyımūʃ išwayyi ‘it becomes a little soft/moist”, aḥād ɨmān ɨshābuq # “one of your friends”.

Imperatives of the verbs axād “take” and akāl “eat” are kul, # uklī, # uklîw, # uklín and xuq, # uxqî, # uxqîw, # uxqîn (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: baddaw # “Bedouin”, ʰilaw # “sweet, beautiful”, dalaw # “pail”, ʂuqul # “of (genitive exponent)”, ʈuhur # “circumcision”, ʰumur “red (pl. com.)”, zurug “black (pl. com.; lit. “blue”), ɨduq # “your (sg. masc.)
hand", *bētuḳ* # "your (sg. masc.) house", *min gabuḷ* # (~ *min gabīḷ*) "before (adv.)", *ǧamur* # (~ *ǧamīr*) "live embers", *rubu*’ # (~ *rubī*’) "quarter".

Anaptyctics in neutral environments will be near (centralized) [ı], e.g. *șī ib* # “difficult”, *mitir* # “metre”, *giriš* # “shark”, Ṣadir # “Ṛās Ṣadr”, *wagıt* # “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 *ńṛḳab* or *ńṛḳab* “knees”, *īhma* “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.; *#īlhā* or *#īlhi* “to her”, *#īlḳūw* "to you (pl. masc.)", *#īlkīn* “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. *mī’uh*, *mī’uk*, *mīk* and also *mī’* (contrast with forms in some dialects of group VII of the type *ım’uh*, where the original anaptyctic is stressed). However, forms of the type *ma’āh*, *ma’īk* and *ma’ik* (~ *ma’i̯i*) 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:

$$I > ∅ / (V)C_a(C_b)_c(C_v)\ V$$

\[
\begin{align*}
I &= \text{short high vowel } i \text{ or } u \\
C &= \text{any consonant}
\end{align*}
\]

The morphophonemic elision rules are compulsory.

58 Such forms are, for instance, found in groups II and III of the north (see De Jong 2000:270–271 and 355, and in group VII in the south (see Chapter I, 1.1.6.).

59 The regular reflex for the pl. pattern “CI CaC” in MzA and BWA is CCaC. Examples are: *gmāṃi* “Morray eels”, *rkāb* “knees” (MzA), etc, cf. 3.1.9.2.

60 See Cantineau 1936:49.
2.4.1. **Morphophonemic I-elision**

The rule for elision of unstressed I in open syllable preceded by only one consonant:

\[ I > \emptyset / VC a\_CbV \]

Examples are (high vowel eligible for elision in bold print): *nizil + uw > *nizlouw > nizluw “they descended”, *sim’i + at > *sim’iat > sim’at “she heard”, *kubur + at > *kuburat > kubrat “she grew older”, *táxid + in > *táxidin > tāxidin “you (pl. fem.) take”, *mištįgil (= underlying [mištądgil]) + ah > *mištądgilh > mištądgilh “working (sg. fem.)” and *taḥaritų > *táhartouw “you (pl. masc.) plough”.

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

\[ I > \emptyset / VC a\_Cb\_CcV \]

Examples of immediate elimination of a cluster resulting from high vowel elision:

*tufruš + iy > *tufrušiy > tūfuršiy “you (sg. fem.) spread out”, *yiktib + in > *yiktibin > yiktībin “they (pl. fem.) write”.

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

\[ I > \emptyset / VC a\_Cb\_CcV \]

\[ VC a\_Cb = \text{geminate} \]

Examples are: *ynaḍdif + uw > # *ynaḍdifiw “they clean”, *tḍayyif > uw + nī > # tḍayyifūnī ( < itḍayyifūnī) “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): *btılıhıg iddağığ > btılıhıg iddağığ > # ibtılıhıg iddağığ “you take the dough”, *byımisk issı’n > byımisk issı’n > # İbyımisk issı’in # “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 anaptycetics are in bold print and the high vowel eligible for sandhi-elision is underlined):
1) **twakki** + ʼyālːk > **twakki**ʼyālːk > **twakki** ʼyālːk > (including word-initial and word-final anaptyxis) # ʼtwakki ʼyālːuk # “you feed your children”.

In this first example the cluster ʼy 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 + ʼgiːl⟩ndiʾ > nīlbis ʼgiːl⟩ndiʾ > nīlbs ʼgiːl⟩ndiʾ > nīlbs ʼgiːl⟩ndiʾ “we put on our diving suits (lit. our skins)”.

In this second example the cluster ʼsg⟩l 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 ʼlbs, which is then eliminated by insertion of another anaptyctic vowel.

2.4.4. **Exceptions to the I-elision rule**

When C\(_a\) and C\(_b\) in C\(_a\)C\(_a\)IC\(_b\) are phonetically close or identical, I (underlined in the examples below) is not dropped, and the geminate may be reduced. Examples are: ʼgiddiṭi “my grandmother”, ʼṭall⟩l⟩luḥ “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 ʼg or k, as in ʼiːg⟩b⟩n⟩biḥ “the cheese”. al⟩x⟩ayt b ʼaːg⟩l⟩ab “the line with the hooks (used for fishing)” and also ʾikk⟩iṣ “the bag”.

\(^{61}\) The example in De Jong 2000:134–135 only illustrates the application of the I-elision rule after the execution of the anaptyxis rule (like the first example here). The second example here clearly illustrates re-application and cyclicity of the I-elision rule.
Instances of regressive total assimilation are:

\[
\begin{align*}
 n + r & \rightarrow rr & \text{birrağdíd “we pile”} \\
 t + ŝ & \rightarrow ŕ̲ & \text{ššíly “you carry”} \\
 t + z & \rightarrow zz & \text{źźíd “it (sg. fem.) increases”} \\
 t + d & \rightarrow dd & \text{ddír “you turn (fem.)”} \\
 ŏ + t & \rightarrow ŏ̲ & \text{axatt “I took”} \\
 t + ŝ & \rightarrow ŕ̲& \text{ššídd “you pull”}
\end{align*}
\]

Instances of regressive partial assimilation are:

\[
\begin{align*}
 t + z & \rightarrow dz & \text{dzíd “it (sg. fem.) increases”} \\
 t + ŧ & \rightarrow ṭ̲ & \text{dťih “you bring”} \\
 b + n & \rightarrow mn & \text{mnaďbăhu “we slaughter him”} \\
 n + ĝ & \rightarrow ģ & \text{mangad “fireplace”}
\end{align*}
\]

progressive total:

Initial h- of pronominal suffixes often totally assimilates to preceding voiceless consonants, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
 aģlabíyyit + hin & \rightarrow aģlabíyyíttin “the majority of them (fem.)” \\
 ģimá at + huw & \rightarrow ģimá áttuw “their group of people” \\
 tuťbux + ha & \rightarrow tuťbúxxa “you cook it (sg. fem.)” \\
 naftaḥ + ha & \rightarrow naftáḥha “we open it (sg. fem.)”
\end{align*}
\]

Other instances of progressive total assimilation are:

\[
\begin{align*}
 zağraṭ + tiy & \rightarrow zağráṭṭiy “you (sg. fem.) ululated”
\end{align*}
\]

Instances of reciprocal total assimilations are:

\[
\begin{align*}
 barağģí + ha & \rightarrow barağģíhhe “I return it (sg. fem.)” \\
 mablaj + hin & \rightarrow mbláxxin “their (fem.) price”
\end{align*}
\]

In a number of instances the mutual influence of hissing sounds has resulted in a metathesis. An example in both dialects is sîģih (or sîzih) > šîzih “game of sîğah”, in MzA sáž (< ság/säğ or šág/sáž), but in BWA šáğ “iron baking sheet”. Additional examples in MzA are šîzn (< sîgn or sîzn) “prison”, mšazzil (> saţţil or saţţil) “recorder” and naţ (> nasţ or nasţ) “weaving”, but in BWA sîgn and tasţil “recording”.

Another example of the mutual influence of hissing sounds is MzA is šamš (> šams) “sun”, but BWA šams, and in both dialects šaģar “trees” is current.
3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

3.1.1. Raising of a

3.1.1.1. Raising of a in $C_1aC_2iC_3(ah)$

Raising of a in the nominal pattern $C_1aC_2iC_3(ah)$ occurs regularly, but is optional. Such raising is not inhibited by phonetic factors.

Examples are: šidād “intense, strong”, kitār “many, much”, kibīr “large, old”, ġilaq “fat, thick”, īfiq, īris “groom”, xifīf “light”. But also forms without raising have been recorded: kaṭīr, kabīr, āfiq, 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”, sabʿ “seventy” and a verbal noun taǧlīb “throwing out (of a fishing line)”.

3.1.1.4. Raising of a in CaCCāC

Raising of a in CaCCāC(+) is regular. Examples are: riǧġāl “man”, ʂyyād “fisherman”, ʂiyāf “acacia tree”, kiššāf “search light”, biṭṭāriyyih “flashlight”, zirgā “blue (sg. fem.)”, ʂifrā “yellow (sg. fem.)”, himṛā “red (sg. fem.)”, girʿa “bald (sg. fem.)”, mirrāt “times”, mīnāt (ḥā gióh) “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), gibāyil “tribes”, tikātrih “doctors” and (u in) Šuwālḥih “name of tribe Šawālḥah”, buwāṣiy

sayyāl is likely to be a folk etymology for sayāl. The connotation must be with ‘a tree growing by a sēl (“flood, watercourse”)’.

The sg. dingiy is a loan from English dingy, which must have come through one of the Egyptian dialects where the reflex for *g is g and where the English [dʒ] was replaced by [g]. Compare this to an opposite development of g in Egyptian gineh (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 sigāṛah “cigarette” and grām “gram”, which became sīqārāh and ḡram in many ġim-speaking dialects (though in MzA sīqārāh is current).
“a type of fish (pl. form)”, *min muwālid Daháb* “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”, *‘Azāzmih* “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 *ytawāġad* “it (sg. masc.) exists” and *ytāalaġ* “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.: *talāṭih* “three”, *Tarābīn* “name of a tribe”, *warāʾk* “behind you”, *marākib* “boats” and (with ʾ preceding) *‘asāsāthuw* “their origins”. ʾَازَāนِب* “foreigners”, ʾَاشَابِ “fingers” and ʾَاذاَفِرِك* “your (sg. fem.) nails”. Examples in which *X* precedes *a* are: ʾَاشَان* “because”, ʾَاحَوَالُ “about, approximately”, ʾَاحَرَاَح* “heat”, ʾَالَاَس* “that’s it!”, ʾَازَاَل* “gazelle” and ʾَاوَتِأِك* “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”, *šíğár* “trees”, *libán* “milk”, *ġimál* “camel”, *fidá* “free time”, *Diháb* “name of the town Dahab”, a gahawah-form *šihár* “month” and verb forms *ligát* “she found”, *kitáb* “he wrote”.

Raising towards [u] is heard in the examples: *mā m’uk duwá* “medicine”, *wuřág* “paper” (though more regularly *warág*).

Such raising is (usually) absent when ʾ or *X* precedes, e.g.: (ʾ) *ahád* “anyone” and verb forms (ʾ) *akál* “he ate” and (ʾ) *axád* “he took” and (with *X* preceding) *haṭáb* “firewood”, *ġanáma* “small cattle”, *’adád* “number”, *arág* “sweat” and *xalág* “He created”, but also *ġitás* “he dived” and *mā m’uk xubár* “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):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & > \text{I} / \text{C}_r \text{C}_b \text{A} \\
\text{C}_r & \neq *' \text{ or } \text{X} \\
\text{C}_b & \neq \text{l} \\
\text{A} & = \text{stressed } \text{a or } \text{ǎ} \\
\text{I} & = \text{high short vowel } i \text{ or } u
\end{align*}
\]

64 See the rule in De Jong 2000:145 is: a > I / C_r C_b á, where C_r ≠ *' 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.: ġībābil “mountains”, min muwālād Dihāb “born in Dahab”, mikāni “my place” and ānwikal “it was eaten”, hāwqisat “she improvised song”, ānnixaḷ “the palm-trees” and also in forms with final raised reflexes of -ā(‘), such as āddīwi “the medicine” and āssimi “the sky”.

3.1.1.8. Raising of a in CaCūC(ah)

Like in the pattern CaCiC(ah), a is often raised to I in the pattern CaCūC(ah), but instances of absence of such raising were also recorded. Examples are lugūnih “a child with keen intelligence”, yuhūd “Jews”, Su’ūdiyyih ~ Sa’ūdiyyih “Saudi Arabia”, gu’ūd “young male camel”, ġumūs “food dip”, xurūf “lamb”, but also ġanūb “south”, āqūz “old woman”, arūs ~ īrūs “bridegroom”, šā’ūr ~ šu’ūr “emperor (fish species)” and also hakūmah “government”.

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

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”, ġulū/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:

\[
\text{a} > 1 / C_{-}\text{C}\text{I}(\text{C})
\]

- \(I = \) short high vowel \(u\) if \(\ddot{I} = \acute{u}\) or \(\ddot{u}\), \(i\) if \(\ddot{I} = \acute{i}\) or \(\ddot{i}\)
- \(C = \) 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 hāwqis “snake charmer”. It is related to the root l-q-n “learn; have keen intelligence” and must mean “endowed with intelligence” and/or *(to be) taught through instruction*.

66 See also fn 18, Chapter Two in De Jong 2000:149.

67 Such raising following (’) is not current in group I (see De Jong 2000:147–149).
3.1.2. Reflexes of \( ^*C_1aC_2C_3(ah) \)

Examples of reflexes of \( ^*C_1aC_2C_3(ah) \) are: \( \text{badw} \) “Bedouin (pl.)”, \( \text{gady} \) (BWA) “kid goat”, \( \text{tahát} \sim \text{tiḥát} \) “under”, \( \text{faḥám} \) “coal”, \( \text{šikl} \) “shape”, \( \text{ṣahán} \sim \text{ṣihán} \) “dish”, \( \text{kalb} \) “dog”.

Also: \( \text{wiǧh} \) “face”, \( \text{wiḥdih} \) “one (fem.)”, \( \text{nahyih} \) “direction”, \( \text{ṣiḥ} \sim \text{ṣaḥ} \) “chest”, \( \text{wakl} \) “food” and \( \text{ǧidd} \) “grandfather”.

3.1.3. Reflexes of \( ^*CaCiC(ah) \)

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

3.1.4. Reflexes of \( ^*C_1uC_2C_3(ah) \)

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

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

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

3.1.5. Absence of \( I \) in open syllables preceding stress

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

Exceptions to such elisions are (loans from MSA) \( \text{šu’ūn} \) “social affairs”, \( \text{nizām} \) “system”\(^{68}\). Another exception is \( \text{ṣayd} \) “hunting on horseback” (in BWA), where the influence of \( r \) may have prevented elision of \( u \) in \( \text{furūsiyyih} \) (if it is not a loan from MSA altogether).

For other ‘surface’ forms with initial sequences of the type \( \text{CiCā} \ldots \) or

\(^{68}\) Notice also \( \ddot{z} \) here instead of more regularly expected emphatic interdental \( ẓ \).
CuCā..., CiCī... 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”, nḥuṭṭ “we place”, tšiddiy “you (sg. fem.) pull tight”, ygōṭruw “they go”. Notice, however, that in the verb “come” the vowel of the first syllable is not dropped, e.g. tiġy “you come”, yiġy “he comes” (contrast with forms tğiy and yğıy heard in group I).69

3.1.6. Diminutive patterns

A number of diminutive forms were recorded in MzA and BWA. Apart from the usual forms such as glayyl “few”, gsayyir “short”, ṭfayyi “thin”, sḫayyir “small; young”, kwayyis “good” and šwayyih “a bit”, etc., other recorded examples are: sraybhī “small group (of people)”, byēt šaʾā “little tent”, xšēšāt “little huts”, bnayyih “little girl”, wlēd “little boy” and also a very regular (i.e. in Sinai) ḥrayyim “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 aC1aC2aC3

The pattern used for colours and physical (and sometimes mental) defects is aC1aC2aC3 and aC1aC2aC3 (stressed on the first syllable) where C1 = X. Examples are: abyaḏ “white”, azṛag (euphemistically; the word aswad is avoided) “black; dark coloured”, ašḥab “light coloured, pale” (and with C1 = X) áḥamaṛ “red”, áxaḏar “green”, áḥawal “cross-eyed”, áhabal “stupid”, áṇa “blind” and áxaraǧ “mute”, áaraǧ “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. bēdāʾ, ḥamraʾ. There is an added a following C2 when it is X and final ā is raised (to -y) when C3 is neutral, e.g. ʿarṭy and šaḥabīy.

Most pl. com. forms have a C1uC2C3 pattern, e.g. zuṛg, sumr, xuṯr, ħumr and hubl, but some forms that lack velarization were recorded with a C1C2C3 pattern, e.g. ʿirḡ, šihb. Plural forms for “black” and “white” are süd (C2 = waʿw) and biḍ (C2 = yaʿ).

69 See De Jong 2000:203–204.
3.1.8. The elative patterns $aC_1C_2aC_3$, $aC_1C_2C_3$ and $aC_1C_2a$

The elative pattern is $aC_1C_2aC_3$, e.g. akτar “more/most”, akbař “bigger/biggest; older/oldest”, asḥal “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 aḡlabiyyiḥ “majority”), but a gahawah-vowel was heard in axaṭar “more dangerous/most dangerous” (though also axṭar). aḡalaq “thicker” and also aḥala in BWA.

Elatives of geminate roots have a pattern $aC_1aC_2C_3$ (where $C_2 = C_3$), e.g. aḡalla “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) ilḫiṣiy “the rocks” and ilf ḫ “the viper”, iššti “the winter”, but iššibiyy “the boy” (underlying form is ṣabiyy). With CCaC following: árrkab “the knees”, ánnxaṛ “the noses”, állaf “the bait (pl.)”, áššnaṭ “the suitcases”.

When ḫ or iy precedes the article al-, it is dropped, as in, e.g. f-ατṬūr “in aτ-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. widdi -h-ašalliy “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-uǧum “I want to get up”, widdi-h-ogaf “I want to stop”, widdi-h-ākil “I want to eat” and also with initial i- following, as in widdi-h-išil “I want to carry”.

The relative pronoun is illiy, e.g. illiy ṣāyiz luḥ kilu, w illiy ṣāyiz luḥ nuṣṣ kilu “(there are) those who want a kilo and others who want half a kilo”.

‘Specifying’ ha- was heard used only in adverbial halḫin (often halḫiṇit in MzA) “now”.

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3.1.9.2. Other instances of initial a
Another instance of initial a is amnā “mother” (in MzA, in BWA umnā), “we” is ihna, “sister” is uxt.

Like in group I, plural forms reflecting older *CICaC have a CCaC pattern, e.g. gṃaṃ “Morray eels”, rkab “knees” (MzA), rxas “licences”, ūnab “grapes” (BWA), ḥgan “injections”, ūnāṭ “suitcases”, lʿaf “bait (pl.)”, although the pl. for ēbrih is ēbāṛ “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: máṛatuh “his wife”, sánatuh “his year”, xašabāṭuḳ “your piece of wood”.

In the case of CaCaCT + v(C) sequences in MzA, a special provision needs to be made for a-elision in the rule for short vowel elision, which in terms of rule ordering precedes the rule for T. This should explain why T becomes -it in such cases: since a has been dropped from CaCaCtv (resulting in CaCCTv), T is no longer directly preceded by aC, but by CC. Therefore T > it, resulting in a sequence CaCCitv. Since the rule for short vowel elision has already been executed (and this rule is not cyclic!), such CaCCTv sequences will not be resyllabified to (after applying stress and anaptyxis rules) become CáCCTv, but the sequence is stressed and appears on the surface as CáCCTv. Examples of such sequences are ṛāgbītuh “his neck”, xašītuh “his piece of wood”.

Verbal forms of the 3rd p. sg. fem. a-type perfect + vowel are resyllabified analogous to the suffixed nominals; the rule was generalized to cover all (including verbal) sequences: CaCaCat + v > CaCCTv, e.g. (faraṣat + uh >) fārṣītuh “she spread it out” and katabat + uh >) kābītuh “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 ĕ

When not preceded by aC, the fem. morpheme -ah becomes -it (or -t when a long vowel ĕ 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.: ʻiḥbūṭuh “his packet”, ʻilbīṭk “your packet”, fāṭrit arба ʻsnīn (with sandhi elision and anaptyxis >) fāṭirt arба ʻisnīn “a period of four years”, nāgṭuh “his she-camel”, nāgīṭk “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”. In strongly velarized environments T may be realized as -ut, as in nuxrutʻk “your (sg. masc.) nose”, contrasting with nuxrīṭk “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 gahwīṭī and gāhwīṭu (and similar forms like laḥmīṭī and lāḥmīṭu) 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 gahawūṭī and gāhawūṭu. The fact that the gahawah-vowel a is dropped from (intermediate) forms like *gahawāṭī and *gahawatū 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. ḥamāṭuḥ “his mother-in-law”,

In one instance *maʾnā (spelled in Arabic with ʿalif maqṣūrah: معني) was interpreted as T-final (as occurs more often in other dialects as well): mīnāt ilkilmīḥ “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. nāgṭuḥ “his she-camel”, ḡaṭṭāyṭuḥ “its (sg. masc.) cover”.

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

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

The paradigms for suffixed ṣuŋl(ah) and ḥagg(ah) are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šuŋluḥ</td>
<td>šuŋluḥw</td>
<td>šuŋluṭḥ</td>
<td>šuŋluṭhw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuŋluḥha</td>
<td>šuŋluḥhin</td>
<td>šuŋluṭḥa</td>
<td>šuŋluṭhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šuŋluḳ</td>
<td>šuŋluḳw</td>
<td>šuŋluṭk</td>
<td>šuŋluṭkw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šuŋluḳk</td>
<td>šuŋluḳkin</td>
<td>šuŋluṭk</td>
<td>šuŋluṭkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šuŋlī</td>
<td>šuŋluṇa</td>
<td>šuŋluṭ</td>
<td>šuŋluṭna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pl. forms used for humans are šuŋlīn and šuŋlāt: e.g. iliwād šuŋlīn ilmād-rasih “the boys of the school” and ilbanāt šuŋlāt ilmād-rasih “the girls of the school”. Also for smaller or numbers the pl. fem. is used: īṭṭalāṭah ġīnēḥāt dillīḥ šuŋlāṭw “these three pounds are yours”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ḥagguḥ</td>
<td>ḥagguhw</td>
<td>ḥagguṭḥ</td>
<td>ḥagguṭhw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ḥaggha</td>
<td>ḥagghin</td>
<td>ḥaggitḥ</td>
<td>ḥaggitḥin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ḥagguk</td>
<td>ḥaggkuw</td>
<td>ḥaggitk</td>
<td>ḥaggitkw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ḥaggik</td>
<td>ḥaggkin</td>
<td>ḥaggitk</td>
<td>ḥaggitkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ḥaggi</td>
<td>ḥaggna</td>
<td>ḥaggṭi</td>
<td>ḥaggṭina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pl. forms for humans are ḥaggīn and ḥaggāt: e.g. iliwād ḥaggīn ilmād-rasih and ilbanāt ḥaggāt ilmād-rasih. Like in the case of ṣuŋlāt, the pl. fem. ḥaggāt is often used for smaller numbers: īṭṭalāṭah ġīnēḥāt dillīḥ ḥaggāṭw.

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:
**Morphology, Nominal Morphology**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>3rd sing. masc.</th>
<th>3rd sing. fem.</th>
<th>2nd sing. masc.</th>
<th>2nd sing. fem.</th>
<th>1st com.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>hū</td>
<td>huwwa(h)</td>
<td>hīn</td>
<td>int(ah)</td>
<td>int(ah)</td>
<td>ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>mūhū*</td>
<td>mīhī*</td>
<td>mīhuwwaw(h)</td>
<td>mīhuwwaw(h)</td>
<td>iḥna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Direct elicitation yielded the following negated forms in BWA: māhū*, māhī*, mintah, mintiyy, mānī*, māhuṃma, māhuṃnah, 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>Gender</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>(C)C-u(h)*, ʰv(ʰ)</td>
<td>huw*4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>hin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>C-ʰk, CC-uk, ʰv-²k*2</td>
<td>kuw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>C-ʰk, CC-ik, ʰv-k*2</td>
<td>kin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>(C)C-i, ʰv-y (poss.)</td>
<td>na</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 ʰ 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 hurmi’k “your (sg. masc.) wife” and nāgit-k “your (sg. masc.) she-camel”. Contrast this with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: ‘ilbīṭk “your (sg. fem.) pack”, nāgit-k.

When ʰk is suffixed to ʰ, the long vowel colours strongly towards [u] before k is released, e.g.: ʰiḷe’k “on you”, fī’k “in you”, gifāk “your neck”. Contrast these with forms followed by 2nd p. sg. fem. suffixes: ʰiḷēk, 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 ubūk
“your (sg. fem.) father”; the long vowel ū preceding k is more tense than ū preceding k.⁷¹

*₃ Like most in Bedouin dialects of Sinai⁷² we find stressed suffixes -i and -ni for the 1st p. sg. com. Unstressed -i and -ni also occur.

*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*²:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>(hā) dah*¹</td>
<td>(hā)dill(ih)*²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(hā) diy</td>
<td>(hā)dill(ih) / dillé(ih)*²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms without initial hā- are much more regular than in group I.

Far deixis*²:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>(hā)dák(ah)</td>
<td>(hā)dálêk(ah)*²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>(hā)dák(ah)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ In pause often dih or di'.

*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 hädēlah. For presence / absence of velarization in these forms, see remarks *² and *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 ġī’ “there he is!”, hēhī ġāt “there she is!”, hēhuwwa ġuw “there they (masc.) are!”, hēhinnaḥ ġin “there they (fem.) are!”.

⁷¹ These remarks are based on mere impressions, not on precise machine-aided measurements.

3.1.13.2. Specifying ha-
Specifying ha-, which is especially current in group I dialects (see De Jong 2000:172–173), was heard only in halḥīn (~ halḥīnit in MzA) “now” and once in halyōm “today” (the latter only recorded in BWA).

3.1.14. Interrogatives

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

“What?” is ēš? (~ much less often ēh); “why?” is lēh? (both in sentence-initial, as well as sentence-final position); “where?” is wēn?; “when?” is mitēh? or wagtēš?, “how?” is kēf?, “how much?” is gaddēš?: kam + sg. is “how many?”, yāt bēt “which house?” and yāt bint “which girl?”.

3.1.15. Adverbs

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

“Here” is nīhāʾ or nīhānīy* in MzA and hniy in BWA (fi hāda is also used), “there” is hnuh or hnuṭiy (fi hādāk is also used), gād (with open ā) is used for “over there (far away)”. “Thus” is kīdīy or often kīdīyyīh (and less often kīdīyyāniy), “now” is halḥīn (~ halḥīnit in MzA), “still” is l issāʾ and “afterwards, after that” is baʿadēn.

* When mīn precedes nīhāʾ, one syllable is haplographically dropped, e.g. ĕmšīn mī-nhāʾ or 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 yīmkin.

3.1.15.3. bilḥayl “very, extremely”

b ilḥayl “very, extremely” is often used in BWA to qualify an adjective, e.g. iw hāliyyan fī liyyām hādiy fī Sinah māhuw kāṭrīn [...] miš kāṭrīn b ilḥayl…” “And now, these days, they are not many in Sinai [...] They are not very many…”. Another example is [...] iw zāyy kīdīy b ūdēʾk, biṭgaṭṭiʾ...alkāʾakīh w tuf “rukha w bīṭuṭṭ ’ālēha lēha...issām īnālāha ħilwih 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…”. 
3.1.15.4. bišwēš “slowly, carefully”
The adverb bišwēš was not recorded in MzA or BWA. Instead, a construction like šwayyih šwayyih is current.

3.1.15.5. min xawf “lest”

min xawf in the sense of “lest” (see De Jong 2000:179) was not recorded.

3.1.16. Prepositions + pers. pronominal suffixes

In BWA the pron. suffix for the 2nd p. sg. fem. -k co-occurs with -kiy, e.g. fīk ~ fikīy “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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>li +</th>
<th>'ala +</th>
<th>m(i) +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>luh</td>
<td>lēh</td>
<td>m'uh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēha</td>
<td>lēhā</td>
<td>mihha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūk</td>
<td>lēkūw</td>
<td>m'ūk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lūk</td>
<td>lēk</td>
<td>mīk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay(y)*4</td>
<td>lēna</td>
<td>mīna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The paradigm is mixed; forms like lēk and lēh are much less frequently used than lūk and luh. A similar paradigm is used for b +. The suffixed proposition l+ may be enclitically suffixed, e.g. gāluk “he came to you”, gultīhi “I said to her” (notice that the form is not lēha), ahsāl-lūk “it is best for you” (assimilated ahsan + lūk), but this is not always the case, as may be concluded from stress in e.g. gālāt luh “she said to him”, tfakkīr luh “you look at him” (i.e. these examples are not stressed gālāt-luh and tfakkīr-luh, which would be the forms in case of enclitic suffixing).

In BWA the short base instead of the forms with ē is more current: lha, lhuw, lhin, lḳuw, lkin and lna.

*2 Raising of short a to i in open syllables preceding stressed ē (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 ‘ala and ‘a (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 ‘ and h reciprocally assimilate to become hh.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fi</th>
<th>fōg</th>
<th>min</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fih</td>
<td>fihuw</td>
<td>minnuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiha</td>
<td>fihin</td>
<td>minha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fīk</td>
<td>fīkāw</td>
<td>minnuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fik</td>
<td>fīkin</td>
<td>minnik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fay(y)</td>
<td>fina</td>
<td>minni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Alternatively one can say min hardī “above me” min hardūk “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 fay must have developed in analogy to lay and ‘alāy, see remark above.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wara</th>
<th>'ind</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>warāh</td>
<td>warāhuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warāha</td>
<td>warāhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warāk</td>
<td>warākuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warāk</td>
<td>warākin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warāy</td>
<td>warāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 warāk 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): wāḥid / wiḥdih*1, tīn / tintēn*2, talāthīh (talāt or talāt), arba‘ah (arba’), xamsih (xams), sittih (sitt), sab‘ih (sab’), ūmānī, tīs‘ih (tīs’), ašāraḥ (‘ašār).

73 Šuqayr (1916:341), however, lists hard in the meaning of bi ḣānib “beside”.

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

tnēn and tīntēn may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. waladēn i/tmacronbelownēn “two boys” and idēy i/tmacronbelow tīntēn “my two hands”.

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic t- (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. ‘ašar t-infār “ten people”, talaṭ t-īyām “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

ḥidạ̄šiṛ, iṭnā ̣šiṛ, /tmacronbelowala ṭạ̄šir, aṛba ṭạ̄šir, xamisṭā ̣šir, saba ṭạ̄šir, ṭamanṭāṣir, ṭisī ṭāṣir, ĩīrān, ṭalāṭīn, aṛbiʿin, xamsīn, sittīn, sabʿīn, ṭamānīn, ṭisʿīn, miyytēn, ṭuṭṭmīyyīn, ṭuḥḍmīyyīn, xumsmīyyīn, sittmīyyīn, aḷaṭtā ̣šir, ṭalat t-ālāf, xamis t-ālāf, aṛba’ t-ālāf, sitt t-ālāf, sabiʿ t-ālāf, taman t-ālāf, ṭisī’ t-ālāf, ṭaṣîr t-ālāf, miyyit aḷf, miyytēn aḷf, malyūn.

3.1.18. The dual

Suffixing -ēn or -ayn to the sg. form of a noun forms the dual, e.g. šahaṛayn “two months”, sbūʾayn “two weeks”, nōʾayn “two kinds” and -ēn (in neutral environments) ḍarabilīyernel “two cars”, miyytēn “two hundred”, rikibtēn “two knees”, ṭanatēn “two years”, bintīn “two girls”.

Older forms of the dual are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. riǧlīy “my (two) legs” and riǧlīy uḳ “my (two) hands” and tīntēn “my (two) hands”.

3.2. Verbal Morphology

3.2.1. Regular verbs

3.2.1.1. Regular verbs perfect

In all vowel-types of the perfect and imperfect, the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. masc. ending is -uw, the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. fem. ending is -in (including the a- and i- types of the tertiae infirmae) and the ending of the 3rd p. sg. fem. is -at (except in the verb ‘come’, see below).74

74 These are differences with group I dialects (see De Jong 2000: several paragraphs under 3.2. in chapter I.)
Perfec tors of measure 1 verbs come in three types: \( C_1C_2aC_3 \), \( C_1C_2iC_3 \) and \( C_1uC_2uC_3 \). The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-type perfect*1</th>
<th>i-type perfect*3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>kitāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kātabat*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>kitābt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>kitābtīy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>kitābt</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 wāgafat “she stopped” and wāgafin “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’ širībtum: one of my informants had a tendency to almost close his lips (approximating I.P.A. [m]) when articulating \( w \) of pl. verbal endings; one had to look carefully to see that he was not actually producing \( m \), because it often sounded as such, also because of the high degree of nasalisation which accompanied his realisation of such final \( wāw \) (see also remarks on the situation in ḤmA (of group VII) and ‘LA (group VIII) in 3.2.1.1. of the preceding chapter).

3.2.1.2. Regular verbs imperfect
Like in many dialects in Sinai, the imperfect is characterized by vowel harmony in the verbal prefixes. Another interesting feature is that this vowel harmony has spread through the entire paradigm and that it includes the 1st. p. com. sg. This accounts for the absence of initial \( a \)- in

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75 This is reminiscent of verbal endings in group II of northern Sinai, see De Jong (2000:3.2. of chapter II). See also remarks in 3.2. above.
the 1st. p. sg. com. of i- and u-type imperfects, which we do find in many other dialect groups (see 3.2.1.2. of the various chapters).

There are three imperfect patterns: yaC\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}CaC\textsubscript{3}, yuC\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}CuC\textsubscript{3}, and yiC\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}iC\textsubscript{3}, all of which are characterized by vowel harmony in the prefixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-type imperfect*\textsuperscript{1}</th>
<th>i-type imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc. yāšrab</td>
<td>yāšrabuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. tāšrab</td>
<td>yāšrabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc. tāšrab</td>
<td>tāšrabuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. tāšrabiy</td>
<td>tāšribin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com. ášrab</td>
<td>nāšrab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u-type imperfect*\textsuperscript{2}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc. yuḏrub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. tuḏrub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc. tuḏrub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. tuḏrubiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com. uḏrub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{76}

*\textsuperscript{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. tuḡu\textsuperscript{daw} as well as tuḡi\textsuperscript{daw} for “you (pl. masc.) sit”, but in velarized forms the anaptyctic u is regular, like in the paradigm listed here.

Measure 1 verbs with C\textsubscript{1} = X have the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i-type*\textsuperscript{1} imperfect*\textsuperscript{2}</th>
<th>a-type imperfect*\textsuperscript{2}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc. yāhārit</td>
<td>yāhārtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. tāhārit</td>
<td>yāhārtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc. tāhārit</td>
<td>tāhārtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. tāhāritiy</td>
<td>tāhāritin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com. áhārit</td>
<td>nāhārit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*\textsuperscript{1} Notice that the lack of vowel harmony in i-type imperfects like yahārit 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).

\textsuperscript{76} See De Jong 2000:190–191.
*2 Perfect ḥarāt like katāb (see 3.2.1.1.). My BWA informant articulated sīn instead of tā, e.g. yāḥaris and yāḥarsuw, etc.

*3 Perfect *iরi胃肠 like *simi (see 3.2.1.1.).

Active participles are: ḥāriṭ, ḥārṭih, ḥārtīn, ḥāṛtāt.

Active participles of the type C_iC_2C_3 (etc.) for the verb *iরi胃肠, yāʾa胃肠 are not really used, instead for “sweating” one may hear: ‘a胃肠n, ‘a胃肠nīn, ‘a胃肠nāt.

3.2.1.3. Reflexes of older *C_1aC_2uC_3, *yaC_1C_2uC_3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u-type perfect*1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The Classical Arabic ‘Eigenschafts’ verb-type (which expresses a certain characteristic) C_1aC_2uC_3, yaC_1C_2uC_3 has C_1uC_2uC_3, yuC_1C_2uC_3 reflexes (imperfect paradigm like yuḍrub, see 3.2.1.2.). Notice that, like in reflexes of C.A. *C_1aC_2C_3, (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. kburṭ for “I grew”). We may conclude therefore that also in the case of C_1uC_2uC_3 perfections, the u of the first syllable is actually underlying | in the first syllable of C_1iC_2iC_3 perfections, see *3 in 3.2.1.1.).

Other u-type perfections are: tuxunt “I became fat”, hi ḡulḍat “she became fat”, hinnih ḡulḍīn “they (fem.) became fat”, iddīnīy suξnāt “the weather became hot” (for superscript u, see 2.2.2.3.) and innās kuṭruw “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 C_1aC_2iC_3 (sg. masc.) C_1aC_2C_3 ah/-ih (sg. fem.), C_1aC_2C_3 in (pl. masc.) C_1aC_2C_3 āt (pl. fem.).

77 Similar colouring was noticed in the imperfect form yukburun, recorded in the dialect of the Rmēlāt in the north, see De Jong:2000:39i.
When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: bāniytuh “having built it (sg. masc.)”, hū mihi ‘āyiztuḥ “she does not want/love him”.

3.2.1.5. Regular verbs imperatives
Imperatives of regular verbs have a harmonized initial vowel, while endings are like those in the imperfect paradigm, e.g. ásma’, ásma’iy, ásma’uw, ásma’in “listen!”, ūdrub, ūdurbiy, ūdurbuw, ūdurbin “hit!” and īktib, īkitbiy, īkitbuw, īkitbin “write!”.

3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs

3.2.2.1. Verbs C1 = w (præmæ wāw)
Imperfect paradigms of verbs with wāw as C1 are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i-type*</th>
<th></th>
<th>a-type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yōrid</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yōgaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>yōrduw</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>yōgafuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tōrid</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tōgaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tōrduw</td>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>yōgafin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tōrdiy</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tōgafuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ōrid</td>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>tōgafiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nōrid</td>
<td></td>
<td>tōgafin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The ō in this paradigm reflects older a in the preformatives of i-type imperfects as well, as in e.g. *yawrid, and these are presumably older than the forms with harmonized vowels like e.g. yiktib. Diphthongal preformatives were not recorded.

The imperfect of the verb “light, kindle” was recorded as yōgid.

The perfects of prima wāw verbs are C1iC2iC3 or C1aC2aC3 (see above).

The imperatives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>ōrid</td>
<td>ōrduw</td>
<td>ōgaf</td>
<td>ōgafuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ōrdiy</td>
<td>ōrdin</td>
<td>ōgafy</td>
<td>ōgafin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperative áw’a was said to occur in that form only (i.e. uninflected for number or gender): “mind your head(s)!" is thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>áw’a rāś’k</td>
<td>áw’a rūskuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áw’a rāś’k</td>
<td>áw’a rūskin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Particiles:

Active participles have a C1āC2iC3 pattern, e.g. (with velarized first syllables) wāgif, wāgifh, wāgifn, wāgfāt ‘standing’.
The passive participle for the root w-ǧ-d was recorded as mawǧūd (see 1.2.4.1).

3.2.2.2. Verbs \( C_1 = y \) (primaes yā’)
The only verb recorded with \( C_1 = y \) is yibīs, yēbas “dry (intrans.).”

3.2.2.3. Verbs \( C_1 = ‘ \) (primaes 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>ákaluww</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ákalat</td>
<td>ákalīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>akalt</td>
<td>akaltuww</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>akaltiy</td>
<td>taklīy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>akalt</td>
<td>akalne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active participles are: mākil, māklih, māklin, mākliṭ. Past participles are māxūl, -ah, -āt, -īn, which is also used meaning “daft”.

Imperatives are (these forms are considerably velarized): xud, xdiy, xdluww and xdin. Also kul, kliy, klouw, klin. Notice the absence of stressed initial u- in these forms; an unstressed u- may precede in forms like (here in superscript) "xdiy and "klouw, but is then—as should be concluded from its lack of stress—a mere anaptyctic vowel.

The verbal nominal is waṭl “eating” and the passive verb “be eaten” is ánwikal, yīnwikil.

3.2.2.4. Verbs \( C_2 = w \) or \( y \) (mediae infirmae)
A characteristic of southern dialects is the short base vowel in the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect and imperative forms. In MzA and BWA these co-occur with forms with a long base vowel, but in BWA forms with the long base vowel are more current than those with a short vowel.

Perfect and imperfect forms of mediae infirmae are:

\( C_2 = w \)

“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>gāmuww</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gāmat</td>
<td>gāmin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>gunt</td>
<td>guntuww</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gumtīy</td>
<td>gumtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>gumt</td>
<td>gumna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participles are: \textit{gāyīm}, \textit{gāyimīh}, \textit{gāyīmīn}, \textit{gāyīmāt} (no velarization).

The verb \textit{šāf}, \textit{yšūf} was recorded in MzA with short vowel \textit{u}, as in \textit{šuft}, as well as with \textit{i}, as in \textit{šift} “I saw”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“sleep”</th>
<th>\textbf{perfect}</th>
<th>\textbf{imperfect}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{sg.}</td>
<td>\textbf{nām}</td>
<td>\textbf{ynām}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{pl.}</td>
<td>\textbf{nāmuw}</td>
<td>\textbf{ynāmuw}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: \textit{nāyīm}, \textit{nāyimīh}, \textit{nāyīmīn}, \textit{nāyīmāt}.

\[ C_2 = \text{y} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“carry”</th>
<th>\textbf{perfect}</th>
<th>\textbf{imperfect}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{sg.}</td>
<td>\textbf{šāl}</td>
<td>\textbf{yšīl}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{pl.}</td>
<td>\textbf{šāluw}</td>
<td>\textbf{yšīluw}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Where there is variation in group I dialects between the 3rd p. sg. masc. forms \textit{biyšīl} and \textit{bišīl}, both meaning "he carries" (see De Jong 2000:199), in group VI a form like \textit{bišīl} “he carries” (after reduction of the diphthong \textit{iy} > \textit{i}) has become homophonous with the form for the 1st p. sg. com. “I carry”.

\[ 3.2.2.4.2. \text{Verbs} C_2 = \text{w or y (mediae infirmae) imperatives} \]

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 \textit{šīl “carry!”}, \textit{ugūṃ “get up!”}. Examples are: \textit{nām}, \textit{nāmiy}, \textit{nāmuw}, \textit{nāmin}, \textit{gūṃ / ugūṃ}, \textit{gūmīy}, \textit{gūmuw}, \textit{gūmīn}.

Imperatives used with the verb \textit{ǧāb}, \textit{yǧīb} are: \textit{hāt}, \textit{ḥātiy}, \textit{ḥātuw}, \textit{ḥātin}.

\[ 3.2.2.4.3. \text{Verbs} C_2 = \text{w or y (mediae infirmae) participles} \]

Active participles of measure 1 are formed with the patterns \textit{C} \text{āyiC}_{3}, \textit{C} \text{āyC} ih, \textit{C} \text{āyC} in and \textit{C} \text{āyC} āt.

A passive participle is \textit{mašyūl} etc.
3.2.2.5. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae)

3.2.2.5.1. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) perfect

Below two paradigms are listed of perfects of tertiae infirma verbs that are actually mixed; some forms originate from the $a$-type perfect, while other forms in the same paradigm are originally $i$-type forms:

In MzA the following paradigms were elicited:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&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*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>nisī'</td>
<td>miší'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>nisyuwy*</td>
<td>mišyuwy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>nisīt</td>
<td>mišėt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nisyat*</td>
<td>mišėty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>nisīt</td>
<td>mišēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>nisīty</td>
<td>mišētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>nisīt</td>
<td>mišīna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Another informant, however, claimed that forms like ligyuw and ligyin are not MzA. According to him, proper MzA forms are ligūw (< *laguw) (a suffixed example is ligūh) and ligīn (< *lagīn) (a suffixed example is ligīn-nuh) and by analogy one would then also expect ligāt for the 3rd p. sg. fem. (< *lagō). The 3rd p. sg. masc. form nisī' (< *nasā)—instead of nisīy—must then have crossed over from the $a$-type perfect (compare miší', 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 miší' 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 straightforward $i$-type, but forms like nisāh "he forgot him" and ligāh "he found him" point to the $a$-type. Similarly: hī nisyiyituh or nāsatuw "she forgot him" and ligyiyuh or (less current) lāgatuw "she found him". Other examples (with doubling of $n$) in nisūnnuh "you (pl. fem.) forgot him" and nisyinnuh or (alternatively) nisinnuh "they (f.) forgot him" and alternatives like ligyuw / lagūw (after raising ligūh) "they found him".

Imperatives of tertiae $yā'$ verbs are apocopated in the sg. masc., e.g. the verbs yirmiyi "throw" and yimšiyi:
mzēnah, baniy wāṣil

sg. pl.
masc. irm* / īmš irmuw / īmšuw
fem. ūrmity / īmšiy īrmīn / īmšin

* When followed by a pause or a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel appears, e.g. (underlined): īrım #! “throw!” and īrımha “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”

perfect

sg. pl.

3. masc. nisīy nisyuw
fem. nisyat nisyīn
2. masc. nisīt nisītuw
fem. nisītyīt nisītin
1. com. nisīt nisīna

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

3.2.2.5.2. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) imperfect

“forget”

a-type imperfect* i-type imperfect

sg. pl. SG PL

3. masc. yansiʾ yansuw īmšiy īmšuw
fem. tansiʾ tansin timšīy timšīn
2. masc. tans tansuw timš /-iy timšuw
fem. tansiʾ yi yansin timšīy timšīn
1. com. ansīʾ nansiʾ īmšiy nismīy

* Verb forms are listed here in their unsuffixed shapes; when suffixed, īʾ > ā, as in e.g. yansāḥī “he forgets her” (contrast with remark in *2 on treatment of final -iʾ in ġiʾ “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 āqlabīyyah lliy btalghuw sakanuw fi wī gióh gibil aṣṣaʾid “the majority of those you find settled down in the south in Upper Egypt”, hatlāguh “you'll find him”, aw’a tans! “don’t you forget!” and iw bītī:gluh “and you boil it (a long time)”.

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, e.g. īrimhī “throw it (sg. fem.) away!”, ansuḥ “forget him!”.
3.2.2.5.4. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) participles
Active participles have the patterns $C_1āC_2iy$, $C_1āC_2yih$, $C_1āC_2yīn$ and $C_1āC_2yāt$. E.g. $lāgiy$, $lāgyih$, $lāgyīn$, $lāgyāt$ "having found".

3.2.2.5.5. Verbs $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) verbal nouns
No instances of verbal nouns of tertiae infirmae were recorded.

3.2.2.6. The verb “come”

3.2.2.6.1. The verb “come” perfect and imperfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*1</th>
<th>imperfect*1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>$ǧī’$*2</td>
<td>$ǧuw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>$ǧāt$</td>
<td>$ǧīn$*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>$ǧīt$</td>
<td>$ǧītuw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>$ǧīty$</td>
<td>$ǧītin$*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>$ǧīt$</td>
<td>$ǧīne’$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Apart from stress in the imperfect paradigm, these forms are reminiscent of forms heard in the dialect of Biliy (see De Jong 2000:204).

*2 But when suffixed: $hū ǧānī$ “he came to me”, but both $hū ǧā’k$ and $hū ǧi’k$ (i.e. not with IPA [i:], but with lengthened [i]: [dʒi:’k]) were heard for “he came to you (sg. masc.)” and also $hū ǧī’k$ (IPA [dʒi:’k]) “he came to you (sg. fem.)”.

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

*4 In rapid speech $biqáy$ may be realized as $biqóy$, making it homophonous with the form for 1st p. sg. com., e.g. $fi ʂṣayf biqáy rih kītūr$, $iw fi lmašti ʂṣayf biqáy rih kītūr “in summer a lot of wind comes, and there are (times also) in winter 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 $yā’$ verbs.

*6 The form $aḡóy$ came out through direct elicitation in MzA, but the form $iḡóy$ 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: $tā’āl$, $tā’āliy$, $tā’āluw$, $tā’ālin$. 
3.2.2.6.3. The verb “come” participles
Participles of the verb “come” are: ġāy, ġāyih, ġāyin, ġāyāt.

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>&quot;stretch&quot;</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>madd</td>
<td>madduw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>maddat</td>
<td>maddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>middēt</td>
<td>middētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>middētiy</td>
<td>middētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>middēt</td>
<td>middēna</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 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. haṭṭayt “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: huṭṭ, huṭṭiy, huṭṭuw, huṭṭin “place!”.

3.2.2.7.3. Verbs C₂ = C₃ (mediae geminatae)

Active participles geminate verbs are e.g.: mādd, māddih, māddin, māddāt.

Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when C₁ = X, e.g. maḥaṭūṭ “placed”, but this was not heard in maḥsūṣ “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
forms often show raised \(a\), e.g. \(\text{ángīṭa}'\), \(\text{yíngīṭi}'\, \text{“be cut”}, \, \text{ánwikal}, \, \text{yínwikil} \, \text{“be eaten”}\). The paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect*</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ánbisāṭ</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭuw</td>
<td>yínbisīṭ</td>
<td>yínbaṣṭuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭat</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭin</td>
<td>tīnbisīṭ</td>
<td>tīnbāṣṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inbāṣāṭt</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭtuw</td>
<td>tīnbisīṭ</td>
<td>tīnbāṣṭuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbāṣāṭtiy</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭtin</td>
<td>tīnbāṣtiy</td>
<td>tīnbāṣṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inbāṣāṭt</td>
<td>inbāṣaṭna</td>
<td>inbīṣiṭ</td>
<td>nīnbisīṭ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In the imperfect forms the underlying \(|a|\) ‘reappears’ in syllables closed by \(C_2\) (here \(ṣ\)) after elision of \(i\) preceding \(C_3\) (here \(ṭ\)). The fact that the \(i\) preceding \(ṣ\) 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 \(yīkitbuw\)). In a similar manner, the participles are formed using the underlying pattern \(\text{minC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{iC}_3\), e.g. \(\text{mīnbīṣiṭ}, \, \text{minbaṣṭah}, \, \text{minbaṣṭin}, \, \text{minbaṣṭāt} \, \text{“rejoicing”}\).

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 \(\text{inšāl}\) in 3.2.3.1.3.).

3.2.3.1.2. Measure \(n\)-1 \(C_2 = C_3\) (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure \(n\)-1 of medial geminate verbs are: \(\text{inC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{C}_3\) and \(\text{yinC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{C}_3\), e.g. \(\text{inhaṭṭ}, \, \text{yinhaṭṭ} \, \text{“be placed”} \, \text{and} \, \text{inṣabb}, \, \text{yinṣabb} \, \text{“be poured”}\).\(^\text{79}\)

3.2.3.1.3. Measure \(n\)-1 \(C_2 = y \text{ or } w\) (mediae infirmae)
The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure \(n\)-1 of medial weak verbs are: \(\text{inC}_1\text{āC}_3\) and \(\text{yinC}_1\text{āC}_3\), e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect*</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>inšāl</td>
<td>inšāluw</td>
<td>yinšāl</td>
<td>yinšāluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšālat</td>
<td>inšālin</td>
<td>tinšāl</td>
<td>tinšālin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inšīlt</td>
<td>inšīltuw</td>
<td>tinšīl</td>
<td>tinšīluw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inšīlty</td>
<td>inšīltin</td>
<td>tinšīliy</td>
<td>tinšīlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inšīlt</td>
<td>inšīlne</td>
<td>inšīl*</td>
<td>ninšīl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Notice the absence of vowel harmony, and the paradigmatically fixed intital \(i\).
3.2.3.4. Measure n⁻¹ $C_2 = y$ or w (mediae infirmae) participles
Participles are shaped on the pattern $\text{min}C_1\text{āC}_3$: \text{mīnšāl, minšālah, minšālīn, 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⁻¹

3.2.3.3.1. Measure t⁻¹ sound roots
Underlying patterns for measure 1⁻ᵗ are: $aC_1taC_aC_3$, $\text{yiC}_1taC_3iC_3$. Like in measure n⁻¹, raised $a$ is found in unstressed syllables of the surface forms, e.g.: \text{ástiḡal, yištiḡil “work”, áttifag, yítifīg “agree” and áštawā, yístiwiy “ripen; be cooked (of food)”}. Paradigms for $C_3 = y$ are:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>áśtara</td>
<td>áśtaraw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áśtarat</td>
<td>áśtarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>išтарayt</td>
<td>išтарaytuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>išтарayt</td>
<td>išтарayt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>išтарayt</td>
<td>išтарayna</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 $\text{iḥtāḡ}, \text{yiḥtāḡ “need”}$.

3.2.3.3.3. Measure 1⁻ᵗ $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae)
An example of a medial geminate measure 1⁻ᵗ verb is $\text{i’tazz}, \text{yi’tazz (bi) “be proud (of)”}$.

3.2.3.3.4. Measure 1⁻ᵗ participles
Patterns for measure 1⁻ᵗ participles are $\text{miC}_1\text{tiC}_3iC_3$ (underlying $\text{miC}_1\text{taC}_3iC_3$), $\text{miC}_3\text{taC}_1\text{C}_2\text{C}_3\text{ah/ih, miC}_1\text{taC}_3\text{iC}_3$, $\text{miC}_3\text{taC}_1\text{C}_3\text{āt}$.

Examples are: $\text{mīštīḡil “working”, miftārsīh “predatory (of animals)”, mīštīwy “ripe, cooked (sg. masc.)”, mistāwiy “ripe cooked (sg. fem.)”, mīttifīg “agreed (sg. masc.)”, mīttafgāt “agreed (pl. fem.)” and mītiṇiy “taking care of, providing for”}$.

Examples of participles of medial geminate and medial weak verbs are: $\text{mīḥtāḡ “in need”, miltammīn “having gathered (pl. masc.)”}$.

One example of a passive 1⁻ᵗ participle is $\text{mīttahamīn “accused (pl. masc.)” (cf. C.A. root w-h-m)}$. 
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>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>istafham</td>
<td>yistafhim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>istafhamuw</td>
<td>yistáfijihmuw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.2. Measure ista-1 \( C_2 = y \) (mediae infirmae)
Measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.3. Measure ista-1 \( C_3 = y \) (tertiae infirmae)
Measure ista-1 verbs of final weak roots were not recorded.

3.2.3.4.4. Measure ista-1 verbs \( C_2 = C_3 \) (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for medial geminate measure ista-1 verbs are: istaC\( a \)C\( 2 \)C\( 3 \), yistaC\( i \)C\( 2 \)C\( 3 \), an example is (i)sta‘add, yista‘idd “prepare oneself”.

Short a in the perfect preceding stressed é may be raised (e.g. ista‘addét > ista‘iddét), 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 mistaC\( i \)C\( 2 \)C\( 3 \), e.g. mista‘gil “in a hurry”.

For mediae geminatae the pattern is mistaC\( i \)C\( 2 \)C\( 3 \); mista‘idd “having prepared, ready”.

3.2.3.5. Measures 2 and t-2
Measure 2 has morphologically alternating short vowels: a in the perfect and i in the imperfect. The patterns are: C\( a \)C\( 2 \)C\( 2 \)aC\( 3 \), yC\( a \)C\( 2 \)C\( 2 \)C\( i \)C\( 3 \).

Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed a. The patterns are taC\( a \)C\( 2 \)C\( 2 \)aC\( 3 \), ytaC\( a \)C\( 2 \)C\( 2 \)aC\( 3 \).

3.2.3.5.1. Examples of measure 2 sound roots
Like in group I, the high vowel i of imperfect measure 2 may be elided in open syllables. The initial geminate of the resulting cluster may then be reduced. Examples are: yəabbêtuw “they do a proper job”, bittāl‘uw ǧisāyid “you (pl. masc.) recite (lit. bring up) poems”, biybarskw ʾaṣīl “they let a thoroughbred cover”, the latter in I.P.A. [bı’barkoʔ ʔa’siːl].
Similar elisions may take place in sandhi, as in *thammṣ ilbunn* “you roast the coffee beans” and *w itxalliy tŋammr 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’ʊk išwayyih* “they (pl. fem.) have some influence on you”.

When *C₁ = C₃*, the elision of *i* does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. *thálniš* “you analyze it” (I.P.A. [ətʰˈhahloʰ]).

3.2.3.5.2. *Measure 2 tertiae infirmae*

Paradigms for measure 2 tertiae infirmae verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>sawwi <em>²</em></td>
<td>sawwuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>sawwat</td>
<td>sawwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>suwwët</td>
<td>suwwëtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>suwwëtiy</td>
<td>suwwëtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>suwwët</td>
<td>suwwëni’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹* For raising of *a* in closed syllable preceding stressed ẹ see remark in 3.2.2.7.1.

*²* Like in forms of the imperfect (see remark * in 3.2.2.5.2.) final -iʾ > -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 ywakklūne* “so that they wouldn’t give us food”, gi’adna šaharayn, fi lgbāl ḥādíy bīnhūm. innās kānat bitxāf itwakkilne “we stayed two months in these mountains as we moved around. People were afraid to give us food”.

3.2.3.5.4. *Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect*

In measure t-2 the vowel *a* is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns are taC₁aC₂.C₂.C₃/aC₂.C₂.C₃, ytaC₁aC₂.C₂.C₃.

Unlike the situation in group I dialects (especially so in those of the Rmēlāt and Sawārkah, see De Jong 2000:212), the ta- prefix in the perfect and imperfect of measure t-2 is stable and is hardly ever reduced to (i)t-.

When the imperfect preformative *t-* of the 3rd p. sg. fem. and of the 2nd p. sg. and pl. masc. and fem. precedes, the resulting sequence *tta-* is reduced to *ta-* *⁸⁰* For tertiae infirmae t-2 verbs the paradigms are:

---

*⁸⁰* I have referred to this before as a haplological drop of the verbal prefix *ta-* (from an initial sequence *tata-*). This interpretation however pre-supposes verbal imperfect pre-
“have lunch”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*1</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect*1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>taġaddi’</td>
<td>taġadduw</td>
<td>ytaġaddi’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taġaddat</td>
<td>taġaddin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>taġaddēt</td>
<td>taġaddētw</td>
<td>taġaddētiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taġaddētiy</td>
<td>taġaddētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>taġaddēt</td>
<td>taġaddēni</td>
<td>taţiżaddi</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. [eʾ]).

*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. taġlib “throwing out (of a fish line)”, taybīs “drying (trans.)”, tadrīb “training (trans.)” and a gahawah-form taḥadīr “coming down”.

A C̱y verbal noun is found in tirbāt álǧimal “training the camel”.

Verbal nouns for measure t-2 were not recorded. For the quadriliteral verb ta’aknan, yta’aknan “be annoyed”, however, the verbal noun t’iknin was recorded.

3.2.3.5.6. Measures 2 and t-2 participles

Active participles of measure 2 have a mC1aC C iC1 iC2C2iC3 (-ih/-ah, -ān, -āt) pattern, e.g. m’taggid “travelling”, m’talliq “keeping suspended”, for C_3 = y msawwiy, msawwyih etc., “making, doing” and for C_2 = C mǧaddid, mǧaddidih (without elision of the short vowel i), etc. “renewing”.

The pattern for the passive measure 2 participle is mC_1aC C iC_2 aC_3 iC_2C_1C_3 (-ih/-ah, -ān, -āt), e.g.: mlawwan “coloured”, mnaššaf “dried, hardened” and mtallal “piled up”, for C_3 = y msawwa, msawwayih etc., “made, done” and for C_2 = C_3 mǧaddad, mǧaddadih 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[aC1C2][C3] (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt), but in participles often the ta- prefix has been reduced to t- (pattern mitC[aC1C2][C3] (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt), e.g. mit’aṣsil “deep-rooted”, mithaddir (min) “originating (from)”, mitḡawwiz “married” and for C3 = y) mtaḡaddiy, mtaḡaddyih etc. “having eaten lunch” and also mitharrīy, mitharrīyh 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: C1āC2aC3, yC1āC2iC3.

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[aC1C2][C3], ytaC[aC1C2][C3].

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>“quarrel”</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: kāwanatuḥ (stressed on first syllable) “she quarrelled with him”, kāwannāḥ “we quarrelled with him”, kāwantinnbuah “you (pl. fem.) quarrelled with him” and (imperfect) tkāwniḥ “you (sg. fem.) quarrel with him”, ykāwninbuah “they (fem.) quarrel with him”, ykāwniḥ “they (masc.) quarrel with him”.

A C3 = y verb has the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“meet”</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>lāgetuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lāgetiy</td>
<td>lāgetin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>lāgēt</td>
<td>lāgēna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*1 Notice the absence of vowel harmony in the endings: -uw and -in instead of -aw and -an current in group I.

*2 Apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect forms also occur in measure 3.

Some examples of suffixed forms are: ħu lāgāh “he met/found him”, ĥī lāgātēk “she met/found you (sg. masc.)”, ĥī lāgatūh “she met/found him” (cf. 3.1.10.5.) and hinmah biylāginnuk /-innik “they meet/find you (sg. masc./fem.)”.

Examples for measure t-3 are: [kān] bintarāfag 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 ytiʚālaǧ “he receives medical treatment” and the perfect tiḥālafuw “they became allies”.

Notice again the absence of vowel harmony in the 3rd and 2nd p. pl. masc. and sg.: -uw and -in, contrasting with -aw or -ow and -an in group I.

3.2.3.6.2. Measures 3 and t-3 participles
Active participles of measure 3 have the pattern mC₁āC₂iC₃ (-ih/-ah, -in, -āt), e.g. mǧāḥdīn “fighting (pl. masc.) in a ǧihād”, mkāf’ih “compensating (sg. fem.)”.

A passive participle (pattern mC₁āC₂aC₃) is mṭāradīn “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 msāʚadah “help, assistance”. Verbal nouns of the type tC₁ēC₂iC₃ were not recorded.Ä¹

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.

Ä¹ Such as they have been reported for the dialect of the Aḥaywāt of group I, see Stewart 1990: 186 (text 69) and 118 (text 37).
The patterns are $aC_1aC_3$ for the perfect and $yiC_1iC_3$. The paradigms are:

"have breakfast"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>áftar</td>
<td>yiftir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>áftaruw*1</td>
<td>yiftiruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>áftarin*1</td>
<td>tiftir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. masc. áftar áftaruw*1 yiftir yiftiruw
fem. áftarin tiftir yiftiruw

2. masc. ifhtar ifhtaruw tiftir tiftiruw
fem. ifhtarín tiftiríy tiftirín

1. com. ifhtar ifhtarán tiftir niftir

*1 Notice again the absence of vowel harmony in the endings
*2 The anaptyctic vowel in forms like (here underlined) tiftiruw and yiftirin is voiceless and therefore barely audible.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 $C_2 = w$ or $y$ (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect

Patterns for measure 4 mediae infirmae are: $C_2C_1$ (C1C t) yC1C3, e.g. rād "he wanted", ridt (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”, ridnāh “we wanted him”, intuw ridtih “you (pl. masc.) wanted him”, intin ridtīnuh "you (pl. fem.) wanted him” and rādinnuh “they (fem.) wanted him”.

3.2.3.7.3. Measure 4 $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) perfect and imperfect

The patterns for measure 4 $C_3 = y$ (tertiae infirmae) are $aC_1a$ (perfect) and $yiC_1i$ (imperfect). The paradigms are:

"give"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>āṭa</td>
<td>yiṭaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>āṭow*1</td>
<td>yiṭow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>āṭat</td>
<td>yiṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>āṭin*1</td>
<td>yiṭin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>aṭayt</td>
<td>tīt*2/-iyy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aṭaytuw</td>
<td>tītuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>aṭaytiy</td>
<td>tītiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aṭaytna</td>
<td>nītiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. com. aṭayt aṭaytna tītiy nītiy

*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 aṭīnnuh “they (fem.) gave him” and hinnah aṭīnnuh iyyāh “they (fem.) gave it to him”.
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 awgā’, yūgī’ “hurt, cause pain to”, e.g. ibtā’uh “it (sg. fem.) hurts him” and ‘īdnī awgā’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: i’t (apocopated), i’tiy, i’tuw, i’tin. Suffixixed examples are: i’ith-iyyāha “give it (sg. fem.) to her”, i’tuh luh “give it to him”.

3.2.3.7.7. **Measure 4 participles**
The participles for sound roots have a miCCiC pattern, e.g. mifṭir, mifṭrih, mifṭrin, mifṭrāt “having eaten breakfast”.

For mediae infirmiae there are participles of the type mṛid, -ih, -īn, -āt “wanting.” Another example is mḡir “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>iḥmarr</td>
<td>iḥmarruw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>iḥmarrat</td>
<td>iḥmarrin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>iḥmarrayt</td>
<td>iḥmarraytin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>iḥmarrayty</td>
<td>iḥmarraytine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>iḥmarrayt</td>
<td>iḥmarraytine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles are: mihmarr, -ah, -in, āt.

3.2.3.9. **Quadriliteral verbs**
Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect (i) and perfect (a).

---

82 Though for the verb rād, yrīd measure 1 participles rāyid, -ih etc. were also accepted by my informants.
### “ululate”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect&lt;sup&gt;*&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>imperfect&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>zaţrţ</td>
<td>zaţrţuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>zaţrţat</td>
<td>zaţrţatin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>zaţrţf</td>
<td>zaţrţuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>zaţrţfťy</td>
<td>zaţrţtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>zaţrţf</td>
<td>zaţrţne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>*</sup> ṭṭ is assimilated to ṭṭ, e.g. zaţrţfṭy.
<sup>2</sup> Initial tz is assimilated to dz or zz, e.g. (partially) # idzaţrţ or (totally) # izzaţrţ.

### “improvise rhymed song”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect&lt;sup&gt;*&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>hawţas</td>
<td>hawţisuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hawţisat</td>
<td>hawţasin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>hawţast</td>
<td>hawţastuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hawţastťy</td>
<td>hawţastin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>hawţast</td>
<td>hawţastna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Forms like hawţisat and hawţisuw show raising of a > i (see 3.1.1.7.).

The verbal noun is hţēsiy or tţēgis. Similarly, the verb hawţan, yhawţin “improvise rhymed song in public” has verbal nouns hţēniy or tţēgin.

## 4. Remarks on Phraseology

### 4.1. Nunation

Tanwīn is not a feature of MzA or BWA.

Of course, there are the loans from MSA, which may have come via other dialects, such as masalan “for instance”; the s for *ṭ (in a ṭă-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”, ‘aṣlan “in origin”, fi’lan “indeed, actually” and ḥāliyyan “currently”.

### 4.2. Negation

Negating a verb is done with mā preceding the verb form, although bi-partite 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 xalīṣ “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 bītaraǧǧūw lmašāyix illy kān ḥinā mawḏūṭin mā ywaddūhuw Falaṣṭīn iywaddūhuw Maṣir # “and they asked the sheikhs, who were there at that time, not to send them to Palestine, (but) to send them to Egypt…” and hāḍ-illy ya’niy btākluh, law mā liḥāḡ daktūr aw ḥāwī biymūṭ “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 ʾalēh ʾid ilhōn, iw baʾad kidīyyih . . . ilbarād hū ʿibyglī biṃḥūṭ ḍh? “and you pound it with the pestle, we call it the pestle, and after that . . . (when the water in) the teapot is boiling and we put what?” and hū mūhū fāḥim kidīy, hū mūhū ʿārif . . . inna mā bitrīduh “he did not understand this, he did not know . . . that she did not want him” w Aḷḷah btug ʾiḏ kidīyyih w bitgahwiy nnās84 iw btaxaṛařaf iw bitǧīb . . . bithawǧis ilkalām illy zimān “By God, you sit down like this and you give the people coffee (or tea)85 and you talk and you get . . . you improvise the type of talk of old times”.

See also remark in 3.2.2.4. on reduction of the diphthong in a form like biyšīl > 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 Dawāḡrah, see De Jong 2000: 224–226, 318–319, 394, 478, 527 and 691 (map 69).
84 bitgahwiy nnās or bitgahw innās (the latter with apocopation); 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[d] iššuggah w uxuš...w unšur “now I shall take the net and go in (i.e. into the water), and spread it”.

To express futurity, the imperfect form may also have prefixed ha-, e.g. ya’niy halḥīnit ḍawalad il’àšil illy hu ‘índina niḥā’...hatlaquh ibysma’ kilám uḥāh “that is, the true son that we have here with us, you will find that he listens to what his father says”. In the instances recorded, this ha- was invariably used to express inevitability connected to stating a general truth. law istaqduw ‘a lḥikāyah diy, hayaqt’a-áššiǧar;87 hayaqt’a’uḥ “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 hinīh, aṣūfūlā ḳygyūḷūk ēh? ‘al-ēh? ‘ala ttadrīb /dmacronbelowih. “If you stay here tomorrow, I’ll get you someone who will tell you what? About what? About this training (of camels)”.

4.5. fīh “there is / are”

fīh is used to express existence or availability of something,88 e.g. iw fīh i’sāb fi ḍbarr bitdāwiyy ssukkar “and there are herbs in the desert which cure diabetes”.

The negation is usually mā fīh (or K-form ma fiṣ), e.g. ḡār ānnaxal, mā fīh izrā’ah zamān “there were only palm trees, in the old times there was no agriculture”.

Also māš may be used for negation (but was only heard in BWA): gaḅḷ ilfaṣil kān ya’niy hwēl alfēn itṭatala...ya’niy māš ka/tmacronbelowīr...ya’niy māš “before the seperation there was, that is, around two thousand, three...that is, there was not much” and w Aḷḷāhiy māš isdūd fīhe...iblādna hādiy “By God, there are no dams in it...(in) (this) our land”.

4.6. Some Conjunctions

4.6.1. Conjunctions lamma and yōm

Like in many dialects of Sinai, conjunctions lamma and yōm, or variant forms based on these, are used for “when”.89

87 hayagṭa’uḥ + aššiǧar.
89 For use of yōm in dialects of northern Sinai, see De Jong 2000:692 (map 71).
4.6.1.1. yōm

4.6.1.1.1. yōm used independently

yōm may be used meaning “when”, e.g. yōm liḥguw war-ālbiš, šār īlkōn…yōm šār īlkōn gāmūw gasamūw mi’ 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 then90 divided (the camels) equally with (Sheikh) Zwayyid”. Another example is ya’niy kilu…itnēn kilu yōm ma fiš hawa xāliš “(we catch) like a kilo, two kilos when there is no wind at all” and fiḥ māyyih, halḥīn ilḡāl yōm tīḡhī, subhān Allāh rabbna mi’ tinīy 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 zzamil w intasābag w insābig yōmin nǧ-āl arab,91 fiḥint lay kēf? “that is, we were young lads riding camels, and we’d race each other and we’d race and when we’d come to the village, you see what I mean?” yōmin was only recorded in BWA.

4.6.1.1.2.2. yōmin + obj. suffix as subject of the clause

There were no instances of direct suffixing of yōmin.

4.6.1.1.2.3. min yōm

min yōm(in) is often used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”, e.g. kunt fi Maṭariyyih sākin, bass bašūf ilḡālāt ḥāḍōlah ‘ala ’yuṇī w anā fi Maṭariyyih law-ddūnī min yōmin fakkat Sīnh, law kull yōm alf iḫnēh māni gā’id “I was living in Maṭariyya,”92 but I kept seeing these mountains on my retina (lit. my eyes) while I was in Maṭariyya. (even) If they, ever since Sinai was liberated, would have given me a thousand pounds for every day, I would not have stayed (in Maṭariyya)”. Another example is min yōm addā’k gaṣalatha ḥurnūt93 “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 gāṃ, which is often used in narrating a chain of events that took place in the past, see De Jong 2000:231.
91 nǧiy + āl arab.
92 Many members of Bedouin tribes in Sinai spent the years of the Israeli occupation of Sinai (following the 1967 war) as refugees in the Egyptian Nile Delta.
93 A twig is traditionally given to the groom in betrothal ceremonies as a token of the girl’s engagement to him.
4.6.1.2.4. min yōm in combination with ma

4.6.1.2. lamma and lumma

Both lamma and its variant lumma (probably a hybrid form of lamma and yōm ma) are often used for “when” and “until”.

4.6.1.2.1. lamma and lumma “when” used independently

Examples of lamma used for “when”: alḥīnit lamma bigūl luḵ intah min wēn? bitgūl luḥ ana Mzēniy “now, when he says to you ‘Where are you from?’ You say to him ‘I am a Mzēniy’”, inhuṃ gōṭaruw hnūh aṣil lamma tfakkir Sīna zamān alblād hēdiy maḥāl “they went there because when you would see (as it was) before this land was dry”.

An example of lumma (current in MzA, but not in BWA) inta lhīn aḍḍayf lumma biyįį’k, lumma byįį’y ʤayf, ta’mal luḥ 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 laqāyit for “until”, e.g. (prosodically lengthened a in the first syllable) laqāyit lumma ddaxanah btąba bētā’ “until (when) the smoke becomes white”. But also without laqāyit, as in iw byinhātṭ luḥ šwayyiḥ zayy ma tgūl fi šsamis lamma yṛūb “and it is placed in the sun a bit, as you say, until it curdles” and bitḥuṭṭ .jet ǰamir issiyāl nāṛ lamma tāhaḥam “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 جيبنا Ḏihāb nīhāniy lōmma midāris fāṭaḥin . . . “and we came to ḤDmacronbelowahab 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 tgahwīh.

95 “Become coal” is a gloss from my informant. I could not find a dictionary which lists this verb, but I suppose that the root h-ǰ-m is in some way related to the root ğ-m-r, as in ğamr̓ūyīḥ “glowing ember”.

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For references and documentation, please consult the source material for complete accuracy and context.
4.6.2. ḥatta

4.6.2.1. ḥatta “until”, “so that”

“ḥatta “until” was recorded in bitduugguh ʿiw bitiʿğluh96 ʿala lmayyiḥ aw mā ḥatta tiğluh ʿa lmayyiḥ "you pound it and boil it in water or water until you boil it in water".

ḥatta was also recorded meaning “so that”: yaʿniy halḥūnit álwad ilʿaṣil ʿilliy ḥuʾ ʿinda niḥaʾ...hatlāghu ʿibyasmaʾ kilām ʿabūh. ʿibyardaʾ...yaʿniy ḥatta ʿaḥūk ʿibyardaʾ ʿalēʾk w anmuḵ ʿibtardaʾ ʿalēʾk...“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 šār ilkōn gāṃuw yōm liḥguw waṛ-ābil, šār ilkōn...yōm šār ilkōn gāṃuw gasamuw miʾ 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. ṭāḥ

ṭāḥ 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 iṣgayyir zayy zilīṭ saʾyd aw zilīṭ ḡanām mā yḍurr bass inkān min zilīṭ iṣṣaʾyd ahala ʾi ilʿukkah...“(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 ʿukkah”97.

96 Prosodic lengthening is here used to express long duration of time, see also 1.2.3.5.
97 A ʿukkah is like a watersack (girbih) made from animal skin, but smaller and made from the skin of a young animal, making the leather smoother.
4.7.3.1.2. **Suffixed** inkān
Instances of suffixed kān were not recorded.

4.7.3.1.3. il + kān
Instances of il + kān were not recorded.

4.7.3.1.4. kān preceded by CA loans iz or iza
An example of kān preceded by iz or iza meaning “if”: (a line of poetry) ṭw izkān intuw bitlīffūh ’ala miyyīh “and if you're going to be around here a hundred (counts)” and ṭa’āniy[ yīh]…alimsimmīh diyyīh. diyy iz kān nilgāha fi śgāgni’…ḡār naqṭa’ aššuggah kidiy …w inṭuššḥū “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 bnīftīxīr bēha ḥatta kān biygūlūw waddiy w hātiy “we are proud of it (sg. fem.) even if they treat us like slaves (lit. they say “bring (this), get (that)!”)”.

Another example is: law žīn ib tafkīr, kān iddarāhīm ḍillīh…masalan alhīnit ṣāṣr t-ālāf…ixlāl ḍā sabt t-Uṣhūr xamis t-Uṣhūr…i’l-aṣṣr t-ālāf ḍillīh talghīn ’iṣrīn alf“if it (i.e. the money) came (to you) by brainwork, if this money…for instance it is ten thousand now…over four or five months…you'll find that these ten thousand pounds have become twenty thousand”.

4.7.3.1.6. kān, inkān or ilkān introducing alternatives
kān may introduce alternatives, like in ḥakamuw ’alēhuw b sīnīh ṣarīd…min sīnīh b ilmarārah ḥatta mà ywakklūne…kān wālidtī w uxītī w uxūy w…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: ṭw inḥuṭṭuh fiḥa. kān ḥirīld aw irfayyī lázm īyān miṣ ya’niy nō’ayn “and we put it in there. Be it thick or thin, it shouldn’t be two kinds (mixed), that is”.

4.7.3.2. Absence of a conditional particle
Often conditional sentences are not introduced by a particle, e.g. il…alḥīn ākalat ib sīnnaḥa, ḥū yitif kidiy f-iḍu, iw yaxabaṭha kidiy “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 liqāṭnāḥ fi lxeṭ. iw mnā…mninmīy swayyah zayy’ āṣḥarā ṭānī “if we have
caught it in the net, (and) then we what? We walk a little farther, like ten metres, and we throw out (our net) again”.98

4.8. Presentative Particles

4.8.1. ir or ar

Presentatives ir or ar were not recorded.

4.8.2. hē + suffix

To draw the listener’s attention to something or someone, a presentative particle hē may be used followed by a personal pronominal, e.g. hēhū ǧi! “there he is!”, hēhī ǧāt “there she is!”, hēhuvwa ǧuw “there they (masc.) are!”, hēhinnah ǧi “there they (fem.) are!” (lit. “has/come have”).

4.8.3. Particle wlin ~ wilin, win

The particle wlin is used mainly to present a sudden or unexpected turn in a narration,99 but in the following example the development referred to is hardly unexpected or sudden: ‘ašar dagāyig iw tigibha ma fiš dig . . . kam digīqih w tigibha ʿa līqāl iṭṭānīy w līnih yōm āstuwat . . . bītṭallīhha “ten minutes and you flip it over after less than a min . . . a few minutes and you turn it on its other side and there it is, when it has become cooked . . . you take it out”.

Another example is with the variant particle ilin + suffix: w fī lxaṛṛāfah diyyih . . . ilinnih ʾrkāb ǧin100 “and in this story . . . there they were, the riding animals came” (recorded in MZA).

4.8.4. Particle wlā +

An example of the presentative particle wlā (used more or less like wlin): w ibtalḥagha ʿa šṣāq ḡalībtēn ṯalanīth wḷāha mistawyiḥ “and you put it on the šṣāq 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. ʾšuggah, pl. ʾšgāg) on a line (xayṭ; here ḥēṭ) while the fishermen stand on the edge of the coral reef by the deep water (ʿala harf ilbāḥah) and throw out their nets on the deep side.


100 ʾrkāb is pl. (of small numbers) of ʾrkābih. Notice that the reference is in the pl. fem., see ‘concord’ in 4.16.
4.9. ġayr

ģär (< ġayr) may be used preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action, e.g. īlimḥilliy ġar ʾyxaddim ‘a ḏāyf “the host should serve the guest” and ṛawwāhna luh, anū ḡul t ġar ṛawwīḥ luh. awaddīḥ l ʾalḥurmah diy, yimkin āšṣīf ”āl-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 bidd is common. Examples for “need” or “want” are: widdna nlaggiy Wādiy Sli “we want to go to Wadiy Islah” (BWA), ēš bidduḵ? “what do you want?”, bidduḵ yāxda šiǧār 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. ʿād

The particle ʿād is current to express ”so, thus, then”. Examples are: ʿād yōm tišrif ʿala šarafat ilGā ḣibyinṣabb 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 ʿād wēn laggā? “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 ṭaʾāmhin ḥiluw “so their (pl. fem.) taste is sweet”.

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101 In group I widd is current.

102 Wādiy Isla (as it is usually indicated on maps) runs from almost due east of aṭ-Ṭūr into the mountains. In group I the name of this wadi is pronounced Sliy (cf. 1.2.4.4. and 3.1.5.).
4.14. Characteristics of the Narrative Style

4.14.1. Imperative of narration

The narrative imperative is one of the characteristics of the narrative style. An example is 

\[ \text{wasḥabuw syūf, zimān ġār b isyūf. [...] iw ţaxx ţaxx w asla'w kitif ṭāhid, iw hū ṭuṣurud, ūṣurduw raawāw tTarābin...} \]

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 Taṛābin”. Another example is (after somebody had stepped on a mine) 

\[ \text{innās ţuwi ilēh dammuh kulluh fi ḏaaj'ah, nāzīl...zayy ssēl. limmūh w ahānuw dammuh, iw huṭṭuw 'a lbi'ir iw yīmšuw “people came to him, all his blood had run on the ground...like a flood. They gathered it together and buried his blood and put him on a camel and they went away”.} \]

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. 

\[ \text{bass zimān fiji sSu'ūdiyyah hnūtiy kān innās mā btalga ṭākil “but in the past in Saudi Arabia over there people could not find (anything) to eat”, ilmāyyah kān bitganniy fiji lwādiy hāda “water used to flow through (narrow) canals in this wadi”. In most cases, however, kān is conjugated for number and gender.} \]

4.14.3. Dativus ethicus

Several instances of the ethical dative were recorded. Examples are: 

\[ \text{kān ‘indin-ayw-marākib...marākib bass isgāyyrāt ya’niy...isgāyyrāt...tālātah mitir aw arbā’ah mitir ya’niy timshi bēhin min ba ad āsśa’ab timš luḳ ītnēn bēha “yes, we used to have boats...boats, but small, that is...small ones...three or four meters (in length), that is, you go with them beyond the reef, you go for yourself two (kilometers) with them”. Another example is: min yōm itxušš luḳ talāt arba’ mitir ba’īd ‘an isśa’ab ma biyyī’k xāliṣ. lākin law mišēt ‘ā-šša’ab byimshi warā’k “when you go (for yourself) in (into the sea) three or four metres, far away from the reef, it (i.e. the Morray eel) will not come to you at all. But if you walk on the (edge of the) reef, it will come after you”.} \]
4.15. *Pluralis paucitatis*

For limited or countable numbers often the healthy plural form is used, instead of the broken plural. Examples are: *tamān faṭīrāt ‘āšar faṭīrāt* “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 iṭḥuṭ ‘alēhin ēh? gadd ‘āšar iǧrūmāt mihin* “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 *‘āšar kīlāt (~ ‘āšarah kīlu)* “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 aṛṛuġfạ̄n iw birraġǧīdhin f-āṣṣaḥan* “we bring the loaves of bread and we pile them up on a plate” and *iḥ’alāf dillih tālgīn ‘išrīn alf* “these ten thousand (pounds), you’ll find them (to have increased to) twenty thousand”. Other examples are: *halhīn ilwīdīyān...aǧlābīyyīn la Bīnīy Wāṣɪl...ka milkīyīh, tawǧad lēhin warāq fā ddēr, tawǧad lēhin warāq kīdiy...ya’niy...aǧlābīyt ilwīdīyān inNabīg...išŠarīm...*“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, Šārm...”. Also plurals of animals are referred to in pl. fem., e.g. *iḥ’al ḥūt kītīr f-ālbīhār iw fīh iɣrûš, bāṣs igaṛūš dyī mā-ḥadd ya’niy mā-ḥadd iḥbākilīh.bāṣs ya’niy ibniṣṭādīn barḏuh b ilxayt bīyīn fi ilxayt barḏuh* “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 TARĀBĪN, ḤWĒṬĀT, ĞARĀĞRAH, TAYĀHA, BADĀṛAH, DBŪR AND MALĀLḤAH

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the Bedouin dialects of the Taṛābīn¹ (of Rās Ṣadr on the Gulf of Suez, abbreviated as TAṢ, and of Nwēbi‘ on the Gulf of ‘Aqabah, abbreviated as TAN), Ḥwēṭāt (of Ğidy in Sinai,² abbreviated as ḤwA), Ğarāğrah (of Malbad, some 40 km to the southeast of Rās Ṣadr,³ abbreviated as GrA), Tayāha (on the Tīh plateau of central Sinai, abbreviated as TyA), Badāṛah (in ar-Ramlah,⁴ abbreviated as BdA), Dbūr (some kilometres south of Qal'at al-Ǧindiy,⁵ abbreviated as DbA) and Malālḥah (on the border with Israel, not far from al-Gṣaymah,⁶ abbreviated as MIA) are described as forming the southern continuation of group I.⁷ This is also the dialect type spoken in the northern Sinai by the tribes Rmēlāt, Sawārkah, Biliy, Masāʿīd, ‘Ayāydah, (farther into eastern central Sinai) Ahaywāt (as it appears in Stewart 1987 and 1990) and the Taṛābīn of the north. This type, which was earlier described in De Jong 2000:Chapter 1, links up to the dialect spoken by the Ḫullām in the Negev Desert, described in Blanc:1970. The same dialect type is spoken by branches of the Bedouin

¹ The Taṛābīn claim descent from the Bugūm of the southern Ḫiḡāz (see Holes and Abu Athera 2009:62 [fn 4] and 66 [fn 67]).
² Geographical coordinates of Ğabal al-Ǧidy are appr. 30.10.00 North and 33.09.00 East, see Google Earth (there spelled Jabal al Jiddi).
³ Geographical coordinates of nearby Ğabal al-Malbad are appr. 29.29.41 North and 33.05.55 East, see Google Earth.
⁴ Badāṛah were recorded in a small settlement located at appr. 29.02.50 North and 33.33.39 East, see Google Earth. Another recording session was conducted farther towards the east a few kilometres south of Ğabal Fōgah or 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-Ǧindiy are appr. 29.51.00 North and 33.07.50 East, see Google Earth. If my memory serves me well, it is the settlement visible on Google Earth around the coordinates 29.48.30 North and 33.07.30 East.
⁶ Al-Gṣaymah is at appr. 30.40.08 North and 34.22.00 East, see Google Earth (there spelled Quseima).
⁷ The Malālḥah are actually on the border with Israel in the northeast of Sinai. They were included here, since their dialect was not discussed in De Jong 2000.
tribes Tayāha, Taṛābīn and ‘Azāzmah living in the Negev Desert, and has been succinctly described in Henkin 2008. The dialects of the same group I (or Negev-) type, but spoken more toward the central parts of Sinai (ḤwA, DbA, BdA, TyA, ĞrA, TAṢ, TAN and MlA) 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:

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Of consonants listed here, those in brackets are heard in loans, such as q and ţ in the word *qurʾān* “Koran”. They are marginal as a phoneme, such as ş in *ẓabbāt, yẓabbīt* “do properly”, or are allophone, such as ž for ġ, in

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8 The triangular area in the central north of Sinai which is indicated on the map as Ḥwēṭiy territory (between the dirahs of AyA, nTA and AhA) was not visited during this research. For the maps in the appendix I have simply followed the findings for ḤwA as spoken by Ḥwēṭāt to the southwest of this area to colour in this area as well.

9 See remark in fn 7, p. 193.

some of the dialects ž is highly regular, while in other dialects it is rare. The phonemic status of r is sometimes disputed, and therefore r is bracketed in this inventory.11

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

Reflexes of *t and *d are interdentals t and d (I.P.A. [θ] and [ð] respectively. Emphatic d (I.P.A. velarized [ð]) is the interdental reflex of both *d and *t, e.g. (as reflex of *d in) rawd (pl. riḍān) “small watercourse between low mountains” (DbA), ḥāmiñ “sour” (BdA), ḏayf “guest” (TyA) and (as a reflex for *d in) ydall “he remains” (TAN) and ḍaharah “his back” and ṭinī “thirst” (both ḠrA).

In a number of lexemes ẓ (usually loans from MSA or Egyptian Arabic) is the current reflex, like in zābit “officer”, ḥaẓzañ “precisely”, maẓbūt “correct”, muḥāfiz “governor”, niẓām “system”, ṣurūf “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), naẓṣam, ynaẓẓim “organize”, ḥāwūẓ (pl. ḥawāwīẓ) “large storage tank for oil” (in ḤwA and TAṢ), ḥāğiñ fizī ah “a disgusting thing” (DbA), etc.12

In all dialects both hādā and velarized ḍādā “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: naḥārit “we plough” (ḠrA), tillāgah “refrigerator” (BdA and tallāgah and talg “ice, snow” in TAṢ),13 biyṭannīw lha “they come back to her” (ḤwA).

For *d: nubdūr “we sow” (ḤwA), Ḳidb “lying” (BdA) and aḏbaḥah “I slaughter it (masc.)” and miḍrāh14 “winnowing fork” (both ḠrA).

There are also exceptions: in ḤwA *t in “refrigerator” and “ice; snow” has a reflex t:15 tillāgah, talg and also ḥaddūtiñ “story; fairy tale” (BdA, TAṢ).

In some loans from MSA (presumably via speakers of Cairene) the reflex for *t is s, e.g. taṣir “influence” (TAN), biṭ′assir′alēh “it (fem.) has an

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11 For remarks on the notation of r or ṛ, see De Jong 2000:65–67.
12 Additional examples may be found in De Jong 2000:60. In TAN mḥāfị́ with emphatic interdental as final consonant was also recorded.
13 In winter temperatures below zero are not uncommon in the higher parts of the mountainous region of southern Sinai.
14 I was told that the ‘older’ word for “winnowing fork” in ḠrA is actually digrān, a term I also heard used by speakers of ḤwA.
15 t for *t in lexemes talg and tillāgah is also regular in dialects of groups VI and VII in 1.1.2. of chapters I and II.
influence on him” (TyA), *turās “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 *bīzr “seed” and *bīzrih “seed (n.u.)”, but *hū byubdur ibdār “he sows seeds” (TAṢ).

1.1.3. **Velar stops /k/ and /g/**

Like in other group I dialects *k and *q have unaffricated reflexes k (I.P.A. [k]) and g (I.P.A. [g]). These group I dialects do not have a separate phoneme /k/ (contrast groups II, VI, VII and VIII).

1.1.4. **Post alveolar affricate /ğ/**

A regular realisation of /ğ/ 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 /ğ/ is more regular in southern group I dialects than in those of the north and it is particularly frequent in ḤwA.

1.1.5. **Emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/**

In all southern dialects of group I a measure of glottalization in the realisation of /ṭ/ may occur. Often the glottal release, which coincides with the release of the ṭ, is not very clear. Much more clearly audible is the complete lack of aspiration in the release of ṭ—resulting from the total closure of the vocal cords—and the immediate onset of voicing for the following vowel, which coincides with the release of ṭ.

In one case the reflex for *ṭ was t: tʾimih “bait”, which must be related to the root t-ʾ-m (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 t-l-ʾ “ascend” (TAṢ).

1.1.6. **Glottal stop (ḥamzah)**

Like in many other groups in Sinai, the reflex for *ʾ in the verb “ask” is ṣaʾal, yasʾal. Also the presentative arʾ or irʾ “behold!” shows ʾ for *ʾ (< root *r-ʾ-y).²⁷

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²⁶ Compare MSA ka-dālīk, after metathesis > dākālīk, and after reinterpreting morpheme boundaries of da-kālīk as dākā-līk, after which -līk could be interpreted as the suffixed preposition l used as a presentative. See also remark on kizāluḵ in fn 4, p. 117.

²⁷ 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. rkan “knees”, śnāt “suitcases”, ḡan “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 ġ) with l, r or b will produce velarization, especially with u, ā or a, ā in its vicinity. Some of many examples are: xuḷḷah, (pl.) xḷaḷ “screened off private section of a tent” (TAṢ), mxaḷḷaḷ “pickled” (ḠrA), ṣuḷḷah “grain, cereals” (ḠrA), ḡuḷḷah “desert giant” (ḠrA), ṣuḷḷ “of the desert” (ḠrA), ḡuḷḷah “after him” (DbA), ḡaḷḷ “heart” (DbA), ḡābīḥa “before her” (ḠrA), xḷḷāhum “he let them” and xḷḷah ytaqlaṭ “let him go free” (both BdA), ḡḷayyil “little”, ḡaḷḷ “less; least” (both TAṢ).

Notice the phonemic difference in this respect between guḷḷah, pl. glal “pitcher, jug” and gillih “lack, paucity”.

1.1.8. Liquids l and ṛ

In ḤwA there is a phonemic opposition between /r/ and /ṛ/ in the minimal pair drās “threshing” and dṛās “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: mīṭmāṛah “storage for grain”, škāṛah “sack

---

8 There is a phonemic difference, but to identify the different phonemes causing this difference in meaning is problematic.

A guḷḷah “waterjar” (pl. glal) is referred to as bittiyyih (pl. batāṭiy) in TAṢ, while older people refer to the waterjug as zimzimiyih (which reflects underlying a in the second syllable, hence not zimzimiyih), cf. the well Zamzam in Mecca. The word guḷḷah is also used in metaphorical reference to a shell fired by a tank. karnifḍah (pl. karāṇiḍ), originally refers to the thick part of the palm leaf where it attaches to the stem, but is now also used metaphorically for the head of a tank-fired shell.
for grain” (ḤwA), faxxār “pottery”, nār “fire”, nahār “day(-light)”, ḡrār “jar (pl.)” and ḡtār “many (pl. com.)”, kbār “old (pl. com.)”. Also: mixšār “large wooden fork used to stir food”, zwāṛah “visit to (the tomb of) a saint” (DbA), xuwwār “inferior type of camel, bred for meat”, byār “wells”, Badāṛah “name of the tribe Badāṛah”, hwār “one-year-old camel” (all TyA).

Notice, however, how following (either present or elided) i within morpheme boundaries blocks such velarization, e.g.: albāriḥ “yesterday”, šārib “lip; having drunk (sg. masc.)”, ʻagārib “scorpions”, sāriḥ “taking the goats and sheep out to graze (sg. masc.)” and (elided) ʻārfīn “knowing (pl.)”, Bšāriyyah “of the tribe Bišāriyyah (referring to a type of camel)”, šāri “street, xarārīf “stories” and tārīx “history”.

Another illustration is the difference in velarization (i.e. its presence or absence) in bindārǧih mdāṛaǧih “we take it (in travel) in stages” and in the plural form in Sēl liXbār “the Wādiy (lit. Stream) of the fields”, but the other pl. form xibārīy “agricultural (plots of) land fed by rainwater”.

1.1.9. Nasal n

No remarks.

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

A feature noticed in TyA is the glottalization of (especially) the ā in an ending -āC in pause > -āʾ, after which the C (in all recorded instances this was an alveolar) is no longer pronounced. Examples are (the dropped final consonant is indicated in square brackets): Fērāʼ # [n] “Wādiy Fērān”, kattāʼ # [l] “killer”, Nṣayrāʼ # [t] “(a sub tribe) Nṣayrāt”, blāʼ # [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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2.2. Long vowels

1.2.2.1. Allophones of long vowels ō and ū

Like in group I dialects of the north, phonetic overlapping of /ē/ and /ī/ occurs in most southern group I dialects as well. However, in TAṢ, ĞrA and TAN this feature was found to be less regular than in the other group I dialects. Examples are sīf “sword” (TyA), zīn “good” (TyA).

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, ĞrA, TyA, TAṢ).

1.2.2.2. Allophones of long vowels ō and ū

In neutral environments, i.e. in the absence of velarization and without preceding back spirants, older diphthongs *ay and *aw have been monophthongized as ē and ō. As long vowels, the phonemic status of /ū/ and /ō/ can be established through a minimal pair like: rūḥ “go! (imperative sg. masc.)”—rōḥ “soul”.

In positions influenced by velarization, /ū/ is realized relatively low, near I.P.A. [oː], but phonemic clash with reflexes of *aw is avoided, since *aw tends to be realized as a diphthong aw in such positions.

In verbs with wāw as their first radical, the diphthong aw has often not been monophthongized, which keeps verb forms morphologically transparent, e.g. nawgaf “we stand” as opposed to monophthongization in tōgid “you light” (both in DbA and ḤwA) and tawṣafni “you describe to me” and tōzin “you weigh” (both in TAṢ). But in TyA both yawsal “he arrives” and yawrid “he gives water” have diphthongs. In ĞrA there appears to be a tendency to monophthongize aw in closed syllables, e.g. yawrid “he waters”, but yōrdaw “they water”. Examples in BdA: yowgaf “he stands” and yōkīha “he ties it (fem.) closed”.

Some C = w verbs in ḤwA also have imperfect forms occurring without incorporated wāw, e.g. tīgif “she stands”, tagfin “they (pl. fem.) stand”, yirid “he waters” and tardiyy “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 *yirid* 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 á

The long vowel á may have a realization as high as I.P.A. [ɛː], mainly in neutral positions and when followed by i or ı 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.)”, dāriy “knowing (act. part. sg. masc.)” and ğāriy “running (act. part. sg. masc.)”.

But á is realized nearer to I.P.A. [aː] in positions like nās “people”, and also in nāsî “my people” (contrast nāsiy above).

Also in HwA the phonetic difference between á 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 šāyîl “carrying”, where /ā/ is nearer to I.P.A. [ɛː].

In velarized environments, á is realized near I.P.A. [aː], as in rāsî “my head”, dārî “my house” and ğārî “my neighbour”.

The difference in realizations of á in rāsî 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 nāsî, absence or presence of velarization is irrelevant. We could isolate /ɛː/ and /aː/ as separate phonemes.

However, since nāsî 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Xi\d} & \text{dr “male given name”} & \quad \text{xu\d} & \text{fr “green (pl. com.)”} \\
\text{xirm} & \text{“elongated species of fish”} & \quad \text{xur} & \text{m “hole”} \\
\text{’igb} & \text{“offspring”} & \quad \text{’ugb} & \text{“after”} \\
\text{girb} & \text{h “watersack”} & \quad \text{gu} & \text{rb “nearness”} \\
\text{hi} & \text{bb “kiss!”} & \quad \text{hu} & \text{bb “love”} \\
\text{si} & \text{fr “zero”} & \quad \text{su} & \text{fr “yellow (pl. com.)”} \\
\text{si} & \text{gg} & \text{ah “his guest section of the tent”} & \quad \text{si} & \text{gg} & \text{ah “fishing net”}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{h} & \text{abb “grain”} & \quad \text{hu} & \text{bb “love”} \\
\text{h} & \text{att “he placed”} & \quad \text{hu} & \text{tt! “place!”} \\
\text{si} & \text{add “he pulled”} & \quad \text{si} & \text{dd! “pull!”}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{si} & \text{d} & \text{f in } \text{GrA, TyA, HwA, BdA, DbA, but } \text{su} & \text{df in TAŠ “left-handed (pl. com.)”; } \text{i} & \text{my in } \text{GrA, HwA, BdA, DbA, but } \text{’u} & \text{my in TyA and TAŠ “blind (pl. com.)”; } \text{’ir} & \text{g in } \text{GrA and BdA, but } \text{’u} & \text{rg in TyA, HwA and TAŠ “limping (pl. com.)”; } \text{zi} & \text{rg in } \text{GrA, TyA and HwA, but } \text{zu} & \text{rg in TAŠ, BdA and DbA “blue; black (pl. com.)”; } \text{hi} & \text{bl in BdA, but } \text{hubl in DbA “dim-witted (pl. com.)”.}
\end{align*}
\]

Apart from such variation in different tribal dialects, /u/ is regular in /humr “red (pl. com.)”, /xu\d fr “green (pl. com.)” and /su\d fr “yellow (pl. com.)” in all dialects. Other recorded forms pl. com. are /tur\d “deaf” (TyA), /hu\d mg “stupid, silly” and /xu\d rs “dumb” (both HwA and TyA).

The short vowel in the imperfect of the verbs “eat” and “take” is /i/ in all dialects discussed here: /y\d kil and /y\d xid/. Imperatives of these verbs tend to have /u/ in the velarized forms of the sg. masc.: /xu\d and /kul/ (velarization is
indicated here with a subscript dot in \(d\) and \(l\)).\textsuperscript{22} In the other forms \(u\) is dropped, but velarization remains, as in (sg. fem.) \(x̣ḍiy, ḳliy\), (pl. masc.) \(x̣ḍaw, ḳlaw\) and (pl. fem.) \(x̣ḍin\  ḳlin\). When such forms are preceded by a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel with a phonetic value near \(\text{IPA} \ [v]\) is regular: \(ỵa\  ṇās\  uḳḷūw\ “eat, people!” and \(ỵa\  ḥṛaỵym\  uḳḷīn\ “eat, women!”\) (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), \(i\) in: \(ỵḍugg\ “hit, pound”, \(ỵḍurr\ “be harmful to”, \(ỵx̣ụḍḍ “churn”, \(ỵḳụḍḍ “bite”, \(ỵṃụṣs “pour”, \(ỵṭụḅb “find, encounter; go to”, \(ỵx̣ụṣs “enter”, \(ỵṭụṣs “throw”, \(ỵḥụṭt “place”, \(ỵṛụḍd “be related to; answer”, \(ỵṭụx̣x “shoot, fire”, \(ỵḷụx̣ “be soaked in”, \(ỵṛụṣs “sprinkle”, \(ỵg̣ụkk “churn, shake” and \(ỵḳịt “go downstream in a wadi” (ḤwA, BdA, but ~ \(ỵḳịt“ in TAṢ).\textsuperscript{23}

\(i\) is heard in: \(ỵṣịḍd “pull, tighten”, \(ỵf̣ịk “loosen”, \(ỵḷịf “go around, turn”, \(ỵṃịd “stretch out”, \(ỵṭịf “spit”, \(ỵṣūr “let dry (of dates) in a mašaṙrah”, \(ỵṛịf “flutter (of tent cloth)”, \(ỵg̣ịf “dry”, \(ỵṭịm “take place”, \(ỵḥịm “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)\textsuperscript{24} are not found in group I.

\[1.2.3.4.\] **Allophones of short vowels**

Allophones of short vowels \(i, u\) and \(a\) are like those described for group I in De Jong 2000:74–76, which are in turn also like those in group VI.

\[1.2.3.4.1.\] **Allophones of /\(i\)/**

Allophones of /\(i\)/ are like those described for group VI.

\[1.2.3.4.2.\] **Allophones of /\(u\)/**

Allophones of /\(u\)/ are like those described for group VI.

\[\textsuperscript{22}\] A supra-segmental feature like velarization could also have been indicated in \(x\) or \(k\), e.g. \(x̣ụd “churn” and \(ḳụl “milk”, or throughout, e.g. \(x̣ụd “churn” and \(ḳụl, but since velarization spreads, marking it in one location may be sufficient.

\[\textsuperscript{23}\] Again we see variation of the high vowel in the contiguity of \(k\), see remark in fn 18, p. 30 above.

\[\textsuperscript{24}\] See De Jong 2000:253.
1.2.3.4.3. Allophones of /a/

1.2.3.4.3.1. /a/ in non-raised positions

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

1.2.3.4.3.2. Raising of (*/a/) preceding long stressed vowels

Although raising of *a/ in the pattern 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 ḤwA, where it is also concluded to be morphophonemic. In DbA raising of *a/ tends to be inhibited by preceding ḥ, ᵀ or ḥ (with preceding ḥ was not recorded in DbA).

Except when *a is preceded by ṭ, such raising is not inhibited by phonetic factors in the other southern group I dialects. Examples recorded are (illustrating all dialects, except ḤwA and DbA): ṣarīmih ~ ṣirīmih “bridle”, al’Arīṣ ~ al’Irīṣ “name of the town al-Arish”, xalīģ ~ xīliģ “gulf”, ’arīṣ ~ ‘irīṣ “bridegroom”, ṭahīl “travelers”, daġīg ~ diġīg “flour”, ṭafīg ~ rifīg “companion”, rahīf “thin”, ḡālīl ~ gilīl “thick”, ṭafīg “thin”, ḡalīġ/dmacronbeloẉ ~ ḡilīġ/dmacronbeloẉ “thick”, ḡanīy “rich”.

Forms only recorded with raised *a are: gibīlah “tribe”, kiṭīr “much, many”, ǧimī “all”, biṭur “camel”, kībur “big; old”, șīġur “small; young”, gidīm “old”, ’irīṣ “bridegroom”, iġūn “dough”, ḥīzīn “sad”, dīxīl “guest taking refuge”, șīġūg “brother”, șīrīf “honourable”, riġīf “loaf of flat round bread”, bīxīl “stingy”, ḫlīy “male given name ēhalfringleft Aliy” and ṭīrīy “moist, soft”.

In most group I dialects of central and southern Sinai preceding hamzah blocks such raising, e.g. ’aṣīl “thoroughbred” and ’atīm “orphan” and also in verb forms (’a)qīb “I bring”, (’a)qīb “I carry”, (’a)qīk “I come to you”, (’a)rīd “I want” and (’a)biṭ “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. babīr, barīd (raising of *a in mediae yah verbs of the type (b)bīr or (b)bīrd for the 1st p. com. sg. is rare in the dialects discussed here, see also remarks in 3.2.1.2.).

– No instances were recorded of raised *a preceding stressed CCī, examples are: baṭṭīx “watermelon”, baddī “improvisor of rhyme”, xarrīģ “alumnus”, sakkinah “knife”, garnūt “octopus”, sab’in “seventy”, xamsīn “fifty”, Katrīn “(St.) Catherine”, kabīr “matches”, xanzīr “extra growth of twigs (to be removed) on lower stem of the grafted almond plant (lit. pig)”, ǧarġīrih “watercress (n.u.) (?)” and many more.

– Instances of raising of *a preceding stressed Cē: in TyA, ḤwA and DbA one will hear e.g. ilēha ~ alēha “on him”). Such raising in the suffixed
preposition 'ala (e.g. 'alēh > 'ilēh) was not observed in TAŞ, TAN, ĞrA, MLA or BdA.

In verb forms we find optional raising in ḤwA, TyA, ĞrA like mašēt ~ mišēt “I walked” (~ mišit in ḤwA), lagēt ~ ligēt “I found” (~ ligīt in ḤwA, TyA), fadēt ~ fidēt “I sacrificed”, though in MLA, TAŞ 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”, ǧawayt “I went home before sunset”.

– raising of a preceding CCē is not current in MLA, TAŞ, 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 “Ghamal (Abd anNāṣir)”, ribā “camel in its sixth year”, gināh “small irrigation canal”, ṣārēl ~ ṣārādil “buckets”, bahāyim ~ biḥāyim “cattle (pl.)”, gazāzih ~ gizāzih “bottle”, Sawārkih ~ Suwārkih “name of tribe Sawārkah”.

– raising of a preceding stressed CCā is optional: ġissāṣ “expert farter”, billāṣ “thief; extortionist”, biḥrād “teapot”, ṣilād “fridge” and wiǧ ān “suffering pain”, miļān “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, TAŞ and DbA.

N.B. sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects have short stressed final -á(ʾ) (if not raised).

– raising of a preceding stressed ā is optional: ġumūs ~ ġamūs “food dip”, xurūf ~ xarūf “lamb”, ġunūb ~ ġanūb “south” and yuhūd ~ yahūd “Jews”. With initial hamzah such raising remains absent (contrast with groups VI–VIII): (ʾ)ābūy “my father” and (ʾ)axūy “my brother”, and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of mediae wāw verbs (ʾ)agūm “I get up”, (ʾ)agūl “I say” (see remark * below).

– raising of a preceding stressed a: (all dialects have a CaCāC stress-type) ġimāl “camel”, libān “milk”, șiğār “trees”, (a gahawah-form) šihār “month”, sibāg “race”, mićāh “with him” and verb forms mišā “he walked”, kitāb “he wrote” and (gahawah-form) yixāzin “he stores”. Here

too preceding hamzah prevents such raising, e.g. (')adáb “good manners”, a verb form (')axád “he took” (TyA) and gahawah-forms like (')āhál “people”, (')aˈáma “blind”, (')aˈáraq “limping, lame” and (')axádar “green”.

- raising of a preceding stressed u does not occur when *hamzah precedes the a: (')axušš “I enter”, (')aḥuṭṭ “I place” (in contrast to such forms as uxušš etc., heard mainly in groups VI–VIII).

- raising of a preceding stressed i does not occur when hamzah precedes the a: (')ašidd “I pull tight”, (')amidd “I stretch out” (in contrast to such forms as išidd and imidd etc. heard in groups VI–VIII).

Stress in perfect forms of verbal measures n-1 and 1-t is ánwikal, áttifag, etc. (see 3.2.3.1. and 3.2.3.3.). The article is stressed in a sequence álCvCv(+) (see 2.1.1.1.), e.g. álǧimal “the camel”, álbusal “the onions”.

Like in groups VI–VIII, when a follows stressed i in closed syllable, it is raised, as in yínḍirib “he is beaten”, yítittifig “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. [ı̞].

Such raising is usually found in pausal positions, but also, though less regularly so, sentence-medially. Examples are: ġibál alIǧmih baˈád atTīh “The Iǧmah mountain lies behind the Tīh”, (first word in) kilmih magyūlāh “a spoken word”, baˈád kidiy ağaṭṭīha b almallih xāliś “after that I cover it completely with hot sand”26, tíṭil allibbih w lannha ēh? mistawyih tamām attamām “you take out the libbih and there it is what? Perfectly cooked”.

In velarized environments such raising does not take place, e.g. šurtah “police”, ġilišah šwayyih “a little thick”, (second word in) kilmih magyūlāh “a spoken word”, algiṣṣah “the story”, baxūrah “incense”, xūxah (velarized throughout) “peach”, ʿaḍmah “bone”, māsk alxūṣah f-īḍī “holding the knife in my hand”.

Raising is not inhibited by the pharyngeals ʿ and h, e.g. mà tukfurha ʿašān mà tīʿaftam 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 yítittifig, the raised a will again ‘reappear’ as a when in closed syllables, e.g. yínḍārbaw and yítittāgaw, 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 mìnñih āh? iysawwlūh yōm yabṛaː fī mā ūn nādīf “and after that what? they carefully pour it into a bottle (through a funnel) when it (slowly) cools off in a clean container”, mahāl mā biyǧiẓ matār wala kān ligīt alhamād háda axaḍar “barren, no rain comes (to it) nor did I ever see (lit. find) this flat stony land²⁸ 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: ĝēšna “our army”, šēn “bad, ugly”, swēkin “(dim. of) living”, asSwēs “Suez”, zēt “oil” and examples for ō listed for group VI may also be heard in group I, nō “type, sort”, ĝōz “husband”, gōltak “what you said (lit. your saying)”, lōnah “its (sg. masc.) colour”, gōm “enemy tribe”, ĝōz “sandy hill, dune”, and lōz “almonds”.

When *ay and *aw are preceded by X or velarized consonants, they have not been monophthongized, but have remained diphthongal.

Examples are (for ay) ayn “eye”, āyš “food”, xayr “goodness”, xayl “horses”, hayt “walls”, sayd “hunting”, daʃ “guest”, and examples of verbs are haṭṭayna “we placed”, xaʃdaɪyna “we churned”, iʃṭarayna “we bought”, ḏaʃayt “I stayed” and (for aw) hawl “year”, ʿAwdiḥ “given name ‘Awdah”, xawf “fear”, sawt “sound; voice”.²⁹

There is a tendency to prosodically lengthen the first element of the diphthong ay (which has an I.P.A. value between [a] and [ɛ]), especially in positions with primary stress. Forms with such lengthened diphthongs were heard mainly in TAṢ, TAN, ḠrA and BdA. Examples are āysh “food”, āyn “eye”, ʿayb “disgrace”, xayṭ “thread”, xaynih “severe cold (as a disease)”, haːyl “strength”, saːyf “summer”, sayd “hunting”, Fraːyɡ “male given

²⁸ Stewart 1990:232 (glossary) lists hamādıḥ “flat barren stony land”. For further references, see ibid.
²⁹ Shawarbah 2007:422–423 describes a situation for TyA of the Negev where monophthongization of *ay (as ē or ī) and *aw (as ō) is general and not conditioned by phonetic environment.
name Frayg”. Similar lengthening of aw was heard in ṭga:wtīr “you go” and bya:wtīw “they travel (on foot?)”.

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, mawġūd “present (adj.)”, aw’ā “watch out!” and also šawlīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)” and also verb forms like awrid “I water” and awgaf “I stand up” and ǧawna “they came to us”. The advantage is that the arrangement of root consonants in a morphological pattern like aC₁C₂aC₃ (as in awgaf instead of ǧogaf, compare e.g. ašrab “I drink) has remained transparent.

The suffixed preposition lay “to me”, bay “with me” are better interpreted as lay + y and bay + y. In analogy to these forms, one will also hear fay “in me” in all dialects (~ finī in ǦrA).

1.2.4.2. Isolating long vowels /ī/, /ū/, /ā/, /ē/ and /ō/ as phonemes
In many dialects of group I the phonetic difference between /ē/ and /ī/ in neutral environments is often minimal, and in some lexemes the phonemes overlap. Such overlapping results from the higher realisation of /ē/, rather than from a lower realisation of /ī/. Examples are sif “word”, šīx “sheikh”, bit “house”, ihtān “two”, sanatīn “two years”, zīn “good”, ǧayfīn iftītāt (< ftētāt) “tiny children”. In such examples the ē is not quite full ĩ, but it is very near [iː].

A few instances of such overlapping were heard in MIA, TyA, HWA, DBA and ǦrA but none were heard in TAN, TAṢ and BDA. Possible minimal pairs to isolate the five long vowels are (see also De Jong 2000:79):

dēr “monastery”—dīr “turn (trans.)!”—dūr “turn (intrans.)!”—dōr “floor (in a building)”—dār “house”
ğibih/-ah “bring it!”—ğēbih/-ah “his pocket”—ğābih/-ah “he brought it”, gōm “enemy tribe”—ğūm “get up!”

1.2.4.3. Allophones of ā
In the dialect of the Taṛābīn of group I, ā in neutral surroundings is realized near I.P.A. [eː], but this is the case usually only when i follows (within morpheme boundaries) in the next syllable (like e.g. ‘ārif “knowing” and mizāri “fields for agriculture”, but rāyib “curdled (of milk)”), or ‘vanished’ i disappeared from a preceding syllable, e.g. drās “threshing”. In other

30 In HWA, ASA and HNA aw’a is conjugated: aw’a tansī, aw’īy tansīyī, etc. “don’t you forget!”. In the other dialects it was left unconjugated for number and gender, e.g. aw’a tansīn “don’t you (pl. fem.) forget”.

31 My Ṭurāniy informant claimed such overlapping to be a feature of northeastern (of Sinai) dialects, e.g. Rmēla and Sawarkah. See also MAP 5 in De Jong 2000:659 (appendix).
(non-velarized) environments the phonetic value is slightly lower, nearer to [æː], as in for instance in šāyī “my tea”. Thus also the phonetic difference in /ā/ in the examples šāl (near I.P.A. [æː]) “he carried” and šāyil (nearer to I.P.A. [ɛː]) “carrying”.33

When velarization is involved, /ā/ is backed as I.P.A. [ɜː] as in dār “house”, xalāṣ “and that’s it!”, dārəbah “thoroughbred (fem.) camel”, etc.

Minimal pairs, or near minimal pairs like ǧārī “my neighbour” and ǧǟriy “running” thus become possible. Similarly dārı “my house” and dǟriy “knowing” (both with [ɛː] and [ɛː] resp.), but the question remains which phonemes are actually isolated.34

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: štīy / ášštīy “(the) winter”, šīy / álīšīy “(the) evening”, hniy “here”, griy “villages”,36 miy / álmīy “(the) water”. Colours are: sawdīy or sōdīy “black (sg. fem.)”, (a gahawah-form) šaḥabīy “sand-coloured”, ḫamšīy “a darker shade than šaḥabīy (sg. fem.)”. Physical defects: ʿarġīy “limping (sg. fem.)”, ḫamgīy “stupid (sg. fem.)”, xarsīy “dumb, mute (sg. fem.)”, ḥawlīy “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)”, sadīy “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, ʿamīy “blind (sg. fem.)” and a diminutive form grayīy “little bald (dim., sg. fem.).”

Raising was also heard in the forms ʿīlyiy (compare CA ʿulyā) “upper grinding stone of a hand mill” and dīnyiy “world”, atṬrayyiy “the Pleiades” (in TAṢ, but in BdA a/tmacronbelow/Tmacronbelowrayyīy “the Pleiades”), Ġawzīy “Gemini” in BdA and ǧniy “singing” in TyA.

In the perfect verb form ǧaʾ “he came” such raising is absent (contrast the DwA form ǧiy, 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 imʾaggid f-alwādīy w asšāyib, Aḷḷāh yaṛḥamih, [mā] ṣindina ḫmār nāgl ʿigrayybīh fi ʿahārīh līnā “and he was going in the wadi, and the old man—God rest his soul—
(and) we did not have a donkey, was carrying a small waterskin on his back to us” (TyA).

In MIA and TyA final *-ā of the pron. suffix of the 3rd p. sg. fem. is raised, e.g. ṭrabbaytīty37 w māt ābūhiy w hī mā ṭab’anat, wala ḥatt-ābdry ḡa’ ḡālēhiy. īw fī ḡīṣitiy...ma’īt...yam’ātawhiy mn ihniy min-hāda. w iykāwnūhiy là ṭēy’īndi “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 ṭṭa’tāmhiy38 b xūxah...itḡīb min ġūṣn alxūxah w itraggi-dhiy fīhīy...“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 (MIA). The form iykāwnūhiy in the former example also shows that preceding ā does not inhibit raising of the final a in -ha.40

In the other dialects (TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, ĠrA, DbA and BdA) raising of *-ā in this pronominal suffix is absent. Instead, a glottal catch, especially in pause, often accompanies the final (short) -a, e.g. b addastah bāğiḥba’ # “by the dozen I get it (sg.fem.)” (TAṢ), ya’niy kān aḥna mnaẓẓmīṇha’...iḡwāḡ ʾa talaṭ t-iyyam... “that is, we used to organize it (sg. fem.)...in heats over three days...” (talking about camel racing) (ḤwA).

When back spirants ḡ, x, ġ or velarized consonants directly precede final *-ā, it is not raised, but in most cases has a -a’ (with glottal stop, also in sandhi, and usually stressed) reflex. Examples are: mīn-ihniy bnxāṭir41 aṣṣāṭt...ala zzmāl [...] īw bniḡīb ḡālēhin iḍrā “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 ʾindak ṣafṛā’...āṣṣafra’ ḡēdīy māni’ ārīḥa bıyḡūlōw ḡālēha ēṣ...“if you have jaundice...this jaundice I don’t know (it) what they call it...”. Other examples are: bēḏā42 “white (sg. fem.)",

37 Assimilated ṭrabbayt + hiy, see 2.5. of this chapter.
38 Assimilated t + ta’ imhiy, 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, yxaṭir see Stewart 1990:283 (glossary): “to go to get supplies of corn and the like”.
42 In ḤwA and DbA reduction of ē in this form was observed: biḍā’.
zargá’ ～ ziržá’ “blue” (in all dialects)\(^{43}\) (often as a euphemism for “black”), xaḍrá’ “green (sg. fem.)”, ʿawrá’ “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, gaṛʿá’ “bald (sg. fem.)” (but notice raising—since here further spread of velarization to the right is blocked by y—in the diminutive form ḡraýyí).

N.B. In MA some instances of the sg. fem. were recorded with long final -ā, ṣafrá, zaṛgá’ and also ḡaḥá’ “morning”.


In a form like ṱaxá’ “abundance”, ḡaḥá’ “morning” there is a combination of inhibiting factors preventing such raising (historical a in open syllable preceding and X preceding in combination with the spread of velarization).

When a in preceding open syllable is not historical, but a gahawah-vowel, such raising of final *-ā(’) is not inhibited, e.g. šaḥabíy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, kahálíy “variety of blueweed”.

In TAṢ a phonemic difference in stress was noticed in the pair of adjectives ḡawlíy and ḡáwliy: saxaḷah ḡawlíy “a cross-eyed (sg. fem.) lamb”—ǧídiy ḡáwliy “a one-year-old billy goat”.

Like in other dialects of group I (see De Jong 2000:82), a short (underlying) a in open syllable directly preceding will prevent such raising (provided this a is not a gahawah-vowel), e.g. ʿašá’ “dinner”, ḡadá’ “lunch”, nidá’ “moistness, dew”, gifá’ “nape of the neck”,\(^{45}\) aná’ “I” and also in velarized forms like ṯará’ “moist ground”, warpá’ “behind”, ḡará’ “windscreen”, ḡadá’ “law”.

Final -a in verb forms of the perfect of tertiae infirmae is not raised, e.g. ḡadá’ “he threw”, waṭá’ “he went to buy”.

When the preceding a is a gahawah-vowel, raising in neutral environments is not prevented, e.g. šaḥabíy “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)”, kahálíy “variety of blueweed”.

These reflexes of final *-ā, whether raised or not, are usually stressed, even when a heavy sequence precedes within morpheme boundaries, e.g.

\(^{43}\) Contrast zargý in DA, see Blanc 1970:124 [13].

\(^{44}\) In TyA of the Negev the un-raised stressed endings are also short and are cut off with a glottal stop, e.g. biḍá’ “white (fem.)” and ʿorá’ “one-eyed (fem.)”, see Shawarbah 2007:422, 425 and remark on p. 418.

\(^{45}\) The vowel i in the forms nidá’ and gifá’ is raised (underlying) a.
sōdíy or sawdíy “black (sg. fem.)”, ’arğáy “limping (sg. fem.)” and xaḍrá’ “green (sg. fem.).”  

When the preceding heavy sequence contains the article, stress on the article is regular, e.g. ášštiy “the winter”, álif iy (al + fiy) “the viper”, álğada “the lunch”, ánnida “the moistness, dew” and gillt álþaya “impudence”.

N.B. “here” is hniy in all dialects (although in MIA ~ hāna) and K-form hina may be heard in all dialects.

The forms with final -iy also occur sentence-medial. When suffixed, however, long ā will ‘reappear’. An illustrative example is in Bailey 2004:173 (entries 449 and 450, in my own transcription) wâğib al-ḥisnîy ala griy wa drîy (3 instances of raising) “he who’s received benefaction must feed and shelter”, but no raising in (two) suffixed forms in man ad’a li ḥisnâh yâxiḍ garâh “he who’s invited his benefactor will feed him”.

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

1.2.4.5.1. Lowering effect of preceding emphatics on i and ū

Primary and secondary emphatics will lower the phonetic value of following i and ū towards (but not completely) (resp.) I.P.A. [e:] and [o:].

1.2.4.5.2. Off-glide in ē and ī

Off-glides in /ē/ and /ī/ have been described for group I in De Jong 2000:85–86.

1.2.4.5.3. Off-glide in ō and ū

Off-glides in /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: ay, aw, iy and uw. Although the transcription of poems recorded from the Tīhiy poet “Taylorah” (Ḥusayn bin ʿId bin Ḥamad bin Miṣliḥ bin ʿAmir al-Tayāhā) and the Turbāniy poet “ʿUnayz” (ʿUnayz Aḅuw Sālim Swaylim al-Urēdmacronbelowi) in Holes and Abu Athera 2009 does not reflect dipthongal reflexes of *ay and *aw when preceded

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46 Such reappearance of ā in suffixed forms is also reported for TyA of the Negev, e.g. mī ziyy, but mī zāna “our goats”, see Shawabah 2007:424.

47 See pp. 47–62 for “ʿUnayz” and pp. 67–81 for “Taylorah”. Examples in ʿUnayz’s poetry are: gēr (p. 53, l. 6), ebīn (p. 53, l. 8), raḍěna (p. 56, l. 10), ēn (p. 57, l. 21), ḥōl (p. 60, l. 19), hi (p. 61, l. 1), gēbat (p. 61, l. 9) though gaḍaymāhin (p. 54). In Tayāhā’s poetry: al-guṣēma (p. 69, l. 4), fīr ŏn (p. 69, l. 13), xēs (p. 72, l. 11), ēn (p. 77, l. 5), ūnāh (p. 79, l. 3), ḍef (p. 79, l. 10), xēr (ibid.), ūnāh (p. 80, l. 11), but also ḍallaw (p. 80, l. 21).
by X or in velarized environments, my own findings for the dialects TyA and TAN described here are quite conclusive: in such positions reflexes tend to be diphthongal in these dialects of group I.

1.2.4.6.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw

1.2.4.6.1.1. Reflexes of *ay and *aw in neutral environments

In positions not preceded by X (i.e. back spirants h, x, ġ or h) or velarized consonants *ay and *aw have usually become ē and ŏ, 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 ĕaw “they came”.

In some cases monophthongization in neutral environments has not taken place, which has preserved morphological transparancy, e.g. taybîs “drying (transitive verbal noun of measure 2 verb root y-b-s)”, sawdîy (~ sôdîy) “black (sg. fem.)”, mawjûd “present”, and also initial sequences of prima wâw 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 ògaf and nôrid). The prima yâ’ verb (perfect) yibîs “dry (intrans.)” also shows a diphthong in the imperfect yaybas, although the form with the monophthong yêbas 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”, ģay/tmacronbelow “rain”, ěhaywât “name of tribe (dim.)”, ěyb “disgrace” and min yôm ūlâ’ īshayl, īyxall-attamir hayl “when the rising of Canopus (is there), it causes the dates to fall” (recorded in BdA), (for aw) hawḡal “wooden threshing board”, ěawlîy “cross-eyed”, ěawl “year”, ěawrâ’ “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, ěawf “fear” (an

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48 Also for TyA of the Negev unconditional monophthongization of *ay and *aw (> ē or ĭ and ŏ resp.) is reported, see Shawarbah 2007:422–423.

49 One of my TAN informants is actually a son of the late ēhalfringleftNēz.

50 Although I recorded a few instances of endings -iy and -uw in TAN and TyA in a-type imperfects (as in e.g. tâšrâbiy and yâšrâbiw), in the majority of possible cases the endings are in conformity with the rule formulated for group I, e.g. tâšrâbay and yâšrâbaw.

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 īyxallî ar-rutâb hayl (in my own transcription this would be iShayl īyxall-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 ġ preceding aw was not recorded). Examples of verb forms are yadbahaw [yədbehau] “they slaughter”, tāzra’aw [tuzre’au] “you (pl. masc.) grow (crops)”.

1.2.4.6.1.2.2. Diphthongs *ay and *aw preceded by velarized consonants Reflexes of *ay and *aw preceded by velarized consonants have remained diphthongal. The phonetic value of the first element of the diphthongs tends to be slightly raised and is higher than when preceded by X: [ei] and [ou]. Examples listed in De Jong 2000:87–88 may serve to illustrate the situation in the group I dialects discussed here as well: (for ay) t ayr IPA [tʾeir] “birds”, dayf [deif] “guest”, sayf [seif] “summer” and (for aw) sawm [soum] “fasting”, tawr [tʾour] “overhanging cliff”.

Other diphthongs were heard in tawr “bull” and tawb “garment”, where velarization has spread backwards (i.e. from right to left) through the word.

1.2.4.6.2. Diphthongs -iy and -uw

1.2.4.6.2.1. Reflexes of final *-i and *-u Like in other dialects of Sinai, the diphthongs iy and uw occur in a variety of positions.

Unlike the situation in group VI, i-type perfect forms of the tertia yā’ verbs pattern 3rd p. sg. masc. CiCiy (underlying |CaCiy|) commonly occur in group I. Examples are: ligiy “he found”, fihiy “he was surprised”, diriy (b) “he became aware (of)”, nisy “he forgot”, gilîy “it became expensive”.

Final -iy may also reflect older final *-ā, as in miy “water”, in the saying alhisniy tnazzal algidir ’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) ’argiy “limping (sg. fem.)”, habliy “simple-minded (sg. fem.)”, amiy “blind” and the sg. fem. pattern for colours (also *CaCCāʾ) sawdiy “black”, šahabiy “sand-coloured”. -iy may also reflect *-ā, as in hniy53 “here”, mižiy “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 *-ā’, see De Jong 2000:89.

54 See also Stewart 1990:248 (glossary), root m-*2.
Like in group VI, final -iy may reflect final *-i’ in biriy “innocent”, final *-iy in sibiy “boy”, ǧaniy “rich”, țiriy “moist; soft”, *-ay’ in šiy “thing” and the nisbah ending for the sg. masc., e.g. ʿAbbādiy “(member) of the ‘Abābdah”.55

Instances of final (but unstressed) -iy sequences created by anaptyxis are: hakiy # “telling” and ǧidiy # “billy goat” (the morphological bases are ħaky and ğidy resp.).

Instances of final -uw or -iw sequences created by word-final anaptyxis are: baduw # “Bedouin (pl.)”, ǧiluw # “sweet; beautiful”.

Examples of diphthongs created by word-medial anaptyxis are: biyšuf “he sees”, kāwiyha “its (sg. fem.) cauterization” and alīwīd “the boys”.

For remarks on diphthongal endings in a- and i-type perfects of tertiae infirmae see 3.2.2.5.1.

The adverb “here” is in most dialects hniy, which may derive directly from hunā(ʾ) or hinā(ʾ).

Final -iy reflects final *-i’ in biriy “innocent”, final *-iy in nibiy “Prophet”, sibiy “boy”, ǧiviyy “strong”, final *-ay’ in šiy “thing” and the nisbah-ending for the sg. masc., e.g. Suʿūdiy “Saudi”.

1.2.4.7. Prosodic lengthening of long vowels and diphthongs

Long vowels may be lengthened: (expressing a long duration of time) w iytaxālaṭaw w yal aba w lam ma yītilfūw “and they mingle and play (a long time) until they grow tired”, (expressing an extreme degree) aliḥrayyim ḥadallāk ib ēd “those women faaar away”, ẓayyittu bārdih “its (sg. fem.) water is (extremely) cold”.

The first element of a diphthong is also often lengthened. This occurs mainly in TAN, TAṢ, ḤwA, ǦrA and BdA (much less regularly in the other dialects) and predominantly so in monosyllabics, e.g. ʿaṣ “bread; food”, ḥaỳt “walls”, ʿayn “eye”, xaṭ “thread”. Such lengthening does not appear to be related to extra emphasis.

55 The ‘Abābdah are an Arabic speaking (though originally speakers of Beja, a Cushitic language) African tribe living in the eastern desert of Egypt (and across the border in northeastern Sudan), to the south of the 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 yáḥalbuw “they milk”, receive special treatment (see 2.1.2.4.).

The stress rules for central and southern group I dialects are like those described for group I in De Jong 2000:91–92. The rules can be summerized as follows:

1) Speech pause # does not have the function of a consonant for the stress rule (contrast # for anaptyxis rule below in 2.3.)
2) The domain of stress is formed by
   a.) the last three syllables of a word, including the article al- and the verbal an- prefix (and the suffixes), the vowel preceding the t-infijix (of measure 1-t) if these are part of the last three syllables.
   b.) or the last four syllables, when there are no heavy sequences
3) Stress is placed according to the criterion of quantity, i.e. vowels of heavy sequences are stressed.
4) The following types of ‘heavy’ sequences occur: vCC(C) and vēmacroncombC(C) (including vēmacroncomb(h)).
5) The vowel of the first heavy sequence from the right is stressed (see examples in 2.1.1.1.)
6) a) In the absence of a heavy syllable, stress the vowel in the second syllable from the left (all dialects except TAṢ), or
   b) In the absence of a heavy sequence, stress the vowel in the first syllable from the left (TAṢ).

56 The same rule order is reported for TyA of Negev in Shawarbah 2007:425. Stress in Negev TyA can be characterized as: fa ʿal, fi ʿil, fiʿal faʿal, fa ʿal, fa ʿałahun, fa ʿałath, fa ʿalʾ/ fiʿiy, yifʿiy/yafʿi a (tertiae inf.), alfa ʿal (stressed article), anfaʿa ʿal, yinfʿa ʿil (surface form yinfʿa ʿil), anfaʿa ʿalat (verb measure n-1), aftaʿal, yiftaʿil (surface form yiftaʿil), aftaʿalat (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”, ṣaláṭ álθiy “the dinner, álif iy “the viper” (first i is anaptyctic), mádrasah “school”, álθajal “he worked”, álθafag “he agreed”, ánθasal “he was washed”, álθalad “the boy/son”, ḍarábīt “I hit (perfect)”, álθina “we rose”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθāl “the boy/son”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perfect) him”, álθalad “the boy/son”, álθatih “I hit (perf.)”. Also when (C)(v)C preceeds a sequence (C)vCvCv(C) stress is on the first open syllable from the left: inwákatal “she was eaten”, ʾistágałat “she worked”, ittáfaqaw “they

2.1.1.2. Examples of stress in words without heavy sequences
2.1.1.2.1. Stress in CvCv(C)
Examples of stress in (C)v 1Cv(C) are:

(C)vCvC: in all dialects: abár “needles”, ahál “people, family”, akál “he ate” (the latter only in DbA, TyA, ḤwA; kal in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MlA, ḠrA), (“I come” is aṯiy in all dialects of group I).

(C)vCv(C): ʾašā “dinner”, mašā “he walked”, dawā “medicine”, ḥayá “shame, bashfulness”.

(C)vCvC “snake”, malág “hard flat rock (on which no footprints show)”, ʾaṭás “he dived”; waqāf “he stood up”, warāq “paper” and ʾaṭiy “boy”, ʾari “innocent”, ʾtiriy “moist; soft” (“he comes” is yḏiy) and gahawah-forms ʾaṭán “plate”, ʾaṭahr “month” and ʾaṭád “after”.

2.1.1.2.2. Stress in (C)vCvCv(C) and (C)vCvCvCv(C)
In the following sequences stress is placed thus:

(C)vCvCv(C): stress in TAṢ is only on the initial syllable: xášabah “piece of firewood”, fārašat “she spread out”, (and gahawah-forms) gáhawah “coffee”, ʾaḍaḷ “green”, ʾaḍari “I plough”, ʾaḍar “he ploughs”, yāḍar “he sweats”, ḏarabaw “they beat (perf.)”. Also when (C)(v)C preceeds a sequence (C)vCvCv(C) stress is on the first open syllable from the left: inwákatal “she was eaten”, ʾistágałat “she worked”, ittáfaqaw “they

57 When v₁ in this pattern is not preceded by C, it is underlying [a].
agreed", *al ārabiyy* “Arabic", *albādawiy* “the Bedouin", and also (i)*byaḥafraw* “they dig" (for such gahawah-forms of *i*-type imperfects with vowel-initial endings see remark in 2.1.2.4. below) and *alāhamar* “the red" and *alāxaḍar* “the green".⁵⁸

Stress in TAN, ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA, DbA and BdA (for remark on MlA see *1 below) is on the second syllable: *xašábah*, *farášat*, *darábaw*, *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 ámba/’àrg*, *taḥári/tmacronbelow*, *ya ámba/’àrag* When (C)(v)C precedes a sequence (C)vCvCvCv(C) in these dialects (but see remark*2 on TyA below) stress is also on the second open syllable from the left: *algaháwah* “the coffee”, *annahášal* “the (big black) ant”, *ingálábat* “she overturned”, *íxtáláfat* “she was different”, *íštagálát* “she worked”, *axštáqárah* “the tree; bush”, *alwarágah* “the paper (n.u.)", *azzá’átar* “the thyme", *annaxálah* “the palm tree”, *íštagálów* “they worked", *índarában* “they (fem.) were beaten", *azzalámah* “the man”, *ínárábat* “she was beaten", *assabágah* “the race", *a’jábátih* “she pleased him", but also (gahawah-forms) *alaxáḍar* “the green" and *aláhamar* “the red“⁵⁹ and also *azZaġáṛah* “Wādiy Zaġaṛah (a tributary of Wādiy ēDmacronbelowahab)".

When the heavy sequence preceding (C)vCvCv(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, ĞrA), but *káwanatih* in BdA and also *mgáḅalatak* “the meeting with you” (the latter two stressed on long *ā) in BdA.

(C)vCvCvCv(C): stress in TAN, TyA, ḤwA, DbA and BdA is on the third syllable from the right: *rågábatiḥ*, *náxalatiḥ*, *ya ámba/’àragaw*, *ya ámba/’àragan*, *yahártuw*, etc.

Stress in such sequences in TAṢ and MlA is on the fourth syllable from the right: *rågabatah*, *náxalatatah*, *yá ámba/’àragaw*, *yá ámba/’àragan*, *yáhartuw*, etc. (for such gahawah-forms of *i*-type imperfects with vowel-initial endings see remark in 2.1.2.4. below) (for a remark on ĞrA see *3 below).

In forms which become like a 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) *záygraṭat* “she ululated".

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⁵⁸ The latter two of which are—in terms of stress assignment—best interpreted as *al áxaḍar* and *al áhamar*.
⁵⁹ See preceding fn.
In MLA stress varies in \((C)(v)C\) \((C)vCv(C)\); both \((al)ɡaʃaləh\) and \((al)ɡaʃaləh\), \((al)ɡahəwəh\) and \((al)ɡahəwəh\), \(səkənəw\) and \(səkənəw\) “they settled”, etc. can be heard. Similar variation occurs in TyA, but only when \((C)(v)C\) precedes a sequence \((C)vCv(C)\): \(aʃʃəɡærah\) “the tree; bush” \(aɫɡəʃələh\) “the twig”, \(mɪnʈəˈəməh\) “grafted (sg. fem.)”, but also \(məʃəhətək\) “your interest”.60

TyA however shows variation, since also forms with stress on the first open syllable from the left were recorded, like \(aẓələməh\) “the man”, \(ɪŋəʃələt\) “she overturned”, \(ɪŋəˈtən\) “they (pl. fem.) were cut off”, \(ɪnχəʃəɾəw\) “they were crammed together”.

Stress in ǦrA is placed thus: \(ɾəɡəbatɨh, fəɾəʃətɨh, nəxələtək, nəxələtɨh\), but in elicited verb forms the gahawah-vowel was ignored and stress was placed accordingly: \(yəˈɾəɡəw\) “they sweat”, \(təˈɾəɡən\) “you (pl. fem.) sweat”, \(təˈɾəɡəɨ\) “you (sg. fem. sweat)” (i.e. stress is placed as if forms are \(yəˈɾəɡəw, təˈɾəɡən, təˈɾəɡəɨ\) 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 \(*-\ddot{a}\’\) and \(*-\ddot{a}\)

Reflexes of \(*-\ddot{a}\’\) 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. \(xəfərə(\’)\) “green (sg. fem.)”, \(ʃəfərə(\’)\) “yellow (sg. fem.)”, \(bədə(\’)\) “white (sg. fem.)”, \(ɡəɾə(\’)\) “bald (sg. fem.)”, \(ɪəwəɾə(\’)\) “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”.

These reflexes are also stressed when they have been raised (to final \(-\ddot{i}y\), see 1.2.4.4.), e.g. \(sədəə(\dot{i})\sim sədəɨ(\dot{i})\) “black (sg. fem.)”, \(ʃədfə(\dot{i})\) “left-handed (sg. fem.)”, \(χəvlə(\dot{i})\) “cross-eyed (sg. fem.)” and also with a gahawah-form \(ʃəhəbəɨ\) “sand-coloured (sg. fem.)” (i.e. yellowish light brown)”.

Notice that stress in forms like \(ˈaʃə, dədə\’, pronominal \(aṅə\’\) and also a verb form \(məsə\’\) 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. \(əlˈaʃə, ədədə\’\) and also \(mɪ\) “water”, \(ʃɪ\) “winter”, \(ˈʃi\) “evening” and \(əlmi\) “the water”, \(əʃʃɪ\) “the winter” and \(ʃələtəlɪˈʃɪ\) (where the first \(i\) is anaptyctic) “the evening prayer”.

Reflexes of \(-\ddot{a}\) in pronominal suffixes, whether raised or not, will not be stressed (unless they are part of the only syllable available for stress, e.g.

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60 Such variation in stress is also present in dialects spoken nearby, such as those of the northern Taṛābin, Sawārkah and Rmēlāt, see De Jong 2000:664 (map 15).
lná “to us”), e.g. ʿíndina(’) “with us”, yḡīn(a’) “he comes to us” and mínhā(’) or mínhīy “from her”.

The pair saxālah ḥawlīy “a cross-eyed (sg. fem.) lamb”—ḡādíy ḥāwliy “one-year-old billy goat” could be used to show phonemicity of stress (recorded in TAṢ).

2.1.2.2. Stress on final nominal *-īy reflexes in *CaCiy
In group I, reflexes of the pattern *CaCiy are CaCiy or (after raising the short vowel a) CiCiy and are stressed on the ultimate, which is in conformity with the rules formulated in 2.1.1.2., e.g. wilīy “holy man”, nabdīy ~ nibīy “prophet”, ṣibīy “boy”.

2.1.2.3. Stress in al + *CaCiy
When the article precedes a CaCiy sequence it is stressed, e.g. ánnibiy or ansibiy “the Prophet”, ʿāssābiy or āssibiy “the boy” and ʿālbīy “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: baʿāḍhum “each other”, naxalha “her datepalm”.

For assignment of stress in i- and u-type gahawah-imperfects the elision of the high vowel, made possible by the insertion of a gahawah-vowel, is ignored, e.g. yāḥalbin “they (fem.) milk”, tāḥar/tmacronbelowuw “you (pl. masc.) plough”, táxabṭah “you beat it” (these latter three in TAṢ and MIA) or yahālbīn, tahrntaw, taxābṭah (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,CaICaV and stress is placed according to rules in 2.1.1.2., e.g. biyḥāllum “they make heaps” and biyḡafffijifūhin “they dry them (fem.)” and saditti “my dam”. The geminate is in these cases reduced.61

An exception to this exception recorded in TAN and TAṢ is sg. fem. mʿayyīh, pl. masc. mʿayyīn and pl. fem. mʿayyyāt (sg. masc. mʿayyī) (i.e. the forms are not •mʿayyīh, •mʿayyīn and •mʿayyyāt) for “feeble, sapless (esp. as a result of too much food or drink)”.

For active participles of the verb taʿaknan “be irritated”, see 2.4.4.

61 The same is reported for TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:421.
2.1.3. Stress units

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

Like in group VI, the preposition min may form one stress unit with the following word, as in mīn-taḥat “from below”, mīn-kidīy “from this”, mīn-ihniy “from here”, mīn-ihnuh “from there”, mīn-warāʾ “from behind”.

In negated pronominals stress is on the first syllable: mānī, minta, mintiy, mīhna, mintuw, mintin mūhū, mīha (also mīhī), mīhuṃ, mīhin or māhin (in forms like mūhūṃma and mīhūnna 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 ḅala ḥittah ygūl-ilhāʾ, iygūl-ilh-Amn Saʾīd “to an area he calls, he calls (it) Aṃn Saʾīd”. Notice that in case of enclitic suffixing the shorter form lha is used instead of the independent form lēha.

2.1.3.2.2. Enclisis of the suffixed preposition b

Enclitic suffixing of suffixed preposition b was not recorded.

2.2. Phonotactics

2.2.1. The gahawah-syndrome

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

The gahawah-syndrome is active in all dialects discussed here. Some of many examples are: ḏahār “back”, saxālah “lamb”, šaḥaṛayn “two months”, yahalbuḥa “they milk her”, Zaġāraḥ “name of a tributary wadi (coming from the west) of Wādiy Ġahab some 10 km northwest of the town Ġahab”, aḥāwal “cross-eyed”, šaḥabīy “sand-coloured”, taḥāt “under”.

2.2.1.2. Morphological categories showing variation

The gahawah-syndrome is active in forms of the past participle (i.e. where C₁ = X: maXC₂ūC₃) like maʿārūf “known”, maʿazūl “separated, isolated”, maʿagūl “reasonable”, maḥārūt “ploughed”, maḥārūg “burnt”, maḥāṭūṭ “placed” and maʃārūm “pierced”, but also maʃlūt “mixed”, maʃṣūṣ “special”, maḥyūn “insulted”.

Exceptions are also found with the pattern maXC₂vC₃(ah): maʃārīb “time of sunset”, maʃawīy “treated by a ḥāwīy (i.e. a snake charmer)”, maʃaxan “storage place”, but also (a loan) maʃraʃān “festival”.
Although derived measures are usually unaffected by the gahawah-syndrome, some verbal nouns of measure 2 do show gahawah-vowels, like in DbA **taḥagīg** (< **taḥgīg**) “allotment of shares of food (**ḥiggih** during the annual visit to a sheikh’s tomb (**zwāṛah**)” was recorded, in MIA **tağarīb** “going north”\(^6\), in ĠrA **taḥawiš** “collecting”, **ta’asīb** “removing weeds”, **taḥabīš** **faḥām** “making (by controlled burning) of charcoal”. But forms without gahawah-vowels were also recorded, e.g. **taḥwilna** “our transfer”, **ta’ dib** “punishment” and **taḥbiš** **faḥām** (in TAṢ).

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

The gahawah-syndrome is not active in derived verbal measures (for exceptions in verbal nouns of measure 2, see remark in the preceding paragraph 2.2.1.2. above). Examples are like those listed for group VI.

The examples of elatives listed for ṬwA, HnA and ‘LA are also found in our group I dialects discussed here: **aḥsan** “better/best”, **aḥla** “more/more beautiful, sweeter/sweetest”, **aġlab** “more/most” (and also a loan **aġlabiyyah** “majority”) and **aŋla** “more/most expensive”.

In loans (from Standard Arabic or Cairene) the gahawah-syndrome is usually absent, e.g. **baḥs** “research”\(^6\) and **ahlan!** “welcome!” and also **ya’niy** “that is; it means”, and **ya’mal**\(^6\) “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 gāhāwatak “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): **ḥiǧirih** “his lap”, **yašaṛaban** “they (fem.) drink”, **zaġaraṭat** “she ululated”, **ka/urū** “they became many”.

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\(^6\) On the system of orientation of tribes in the north of Sinai, see De Jong 2000:469, fn 48.
\(^6\) **baḥs** instead of MSA **baḥ/tma:** s for t is an indication that the loan came via a sedentary dialect such as Cairene, which lacks interdentals in its phoneme inventory.
\(^6\) See remark in fn 51, p. 137.
\(^6\) Since a of the first syllable only appears in closed syllables (e.g. **ka/tma**rū, but **ka/tma**rū), 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 bukaṛa-syndrome inhibiting the elision of a preceding high vowel are alikbāṛ tafātir aliṣġāṛ “old people are the records of young people” and ykassir albikāriǧ “he smashes the coffee pots”.

Examples of the ‘greater’ or ‘expanded’ bukaṛa-syndrome creating vowels: Śadir alḤayṭān “Ṣadr al-Ḥayṭān; name of the mountain range between Ras Ṣadr and Nixl”.

The form núbudur al’ayš “we sow the (seeds for making) bread” is comparable to the form yúdukur ‘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 bukaṛa-vowel is bold and underlined):

N.B. Since the bukaṛa-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 bukaṛa-rule), e.g. záġaraṭan “they (fem.) ululated”, also in dialects that would otherwise stress CaváCaCv(C), as in e.g. ṛagábatak “your neck” (see remark in 2.1.1.2.2.).

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 gibāyil alliy hinnih . . . alliy huṃṃa Badāṛah “of the oldest tribes, which are . . . who are Badāṛah”, nizil alxawāǧih “the foreigner got out (of the car)” and min awwil al’umr “from the beginning of (his) life”.

Examples of ‘expanded’ or ‘greater’ bukaṛa-vowels preceding l in sandhi (where the vowel is not a cluster-resolving anaptyctic as described in 2.3.2.) are (‘greater’ bukaṛa-vowels underlined): aṣil alwādiy fīh imlūḥih “because there is also salinity (of the soil) in the wadi”, arramīl assāxīn “the hot sand”.

2.2.2.2.1. The high vowel preceding l in *’ibil and *raǧil
The forms bil “camels” and ábil “the camels” and bīlha “her camels” were recorded several times in HwA (not in the other dialects).

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66 tafrīt, cf. MSA daftar, dafrīt. 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 ṛāǧlih: ṭab w Aḷḷāhiy yā ṛāǧlih, 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’aǧin aná “I knead”, biyšūfl jā’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 *):
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 > CVCCICVC (e.g. yiktibuw > yiktibuw) is compulsory, while resyllabication of a sandhi sequence CVCCIC VC > CVCCICVC (e.g. mihnit alḥuṛmah > mihint 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. saがらth “I asked her”, taالةlамثa “I learned them (pl. fem.)”, binثa “her daughter”, aftakارت # “I thought”.

Clusters may be left unresolved in sandhi as well, e.g. īṣṭaがらft fi ʿašرام ašŠēx “I worked in Šarm ašŠēx”, gעלt ʿeनha “I said about her” and ʿiınd bاءًठums “with each other”, ǧमنt ابِنلت mاهha “the girl got up with her”, ِšǐrt ِبُخِلَاش “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) īṣṭافلت ِکيِتِر “I gained a lot” (< īṣṭافدت).

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) wィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィィ�
2.3.3.2. *Preposition* ʼind + C

The suffixed preposition ʼind takes vowel-initial allomorphs of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. ʼindaḥa “with her”, ʼindak “with you (sg. masc.)”, ʼindikiy “with you (sg. fem.)”, ʼinduhuw “with them (pl. masc.)”, ʼindihin “with them (pl. fem.)”, ʼindukuw “with you (pl. masc.)”, ʼindin “with you (pl. fem.)” and ʼindina “with us”.

Clusters in sandhi are left intact, however, e.g.: ʼind ʼammiḥ “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 / ŋ-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 [ə], 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 anaptyctics in sandhi*

Word-initial anaptyctic vowels tend to have a phonetic value near a lax and centralized [ı].

Examples listed for group VI (and also for group I in De Jong 2000:130) also illustrate the situation in TwA and HnA.

Imperatives of the verbs (a)xaḍ “take” and (a)kal “eat” are χuḍ, χḍy, χḍu̇w, χḍi̇n and ḳuḷ, ḳḷy, ḳḷúw, ḳḷi̇n.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. # ukhlá, ukhláw, ukhlín (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, áləgṛab “waterskins”, # ḥgán, áləḥgán “injections”, # āwrāš, áləwṛaš “workshops”. But when assimilation precedes, a resulting geminate will be reduced, and anaptyxis will not take place, e.g. # āṣwar, áṣṣwar (pronounced áṣwar) “pictures”, # ánxor, ánnxar (pronounced ánxor) “noses”. These anaptyctic vowels are not stressed in the group I dialects discussed here.

2.4. Elision of Short Vowels
All group I dialects are ‘différentiels’ in terms of short vowel elision.79 The rule for elision is like that given for group VI.

The rules of morphophonemic elision are compulsary.

2.4.1. Morphophonemic I-elision
Rules given for group VI are valid here as well.

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79 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):

\[
\text{yrawwiḥ} + \text{lhin} > \text{yrawwiḥ lhin} > \text{yrawwiḥ ilhin} > \text{yrawwiḥ ilhín} \quad \text{“he goes to them (fem.)”}
\]

In this first example the cluster \(hlh\) 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:

\[
\text{túdrub Ḍ ūfak} > \text{túdrub _contrast_ip_ ūfak} > \text{túdrb _contrast_ip_ ūfak} > \text{túdrb _contrast_ip_ ūfak} \quad \text{“you beat your children”}
\]

In this second example the cluster \(bd\) 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 \(db\), 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 \( C_a C_aC IC_b \) are phonetically close or identical, the short high vowel \(i\) is not dropped. Examples are (a suffixed noun) \(sadditī\) “my dam (where crops are grown)”, (a verb form) \(yḥālliluw\) “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. \(šiddit alḥarārārah\) “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.) \(mta’ākninīh\), (pl. masc.) \(mta’āknīn\) and (pl. fem.) \(mta’āknīnāt\) “irritated”. This was the case in TAṢ, ḤwA, DbA, but in ḠrA direct elicitation produced the forms \(mta’āknin\), \(mta aknin\), \(mta’akinnnīn\), \(mta’akinnnāt\) (the forms were not recorded in the other dialects).
As another exception to this I-elision rule, forms recorded in ḠrA like (preserved high vowel is underlined) ḥlbsīṭih or lábsīṭih “she wore it” and šīrbīṭih or šárbiṭih “she drank it” should be mentioned; the forms recorded were not (after elision and subsequent anaptyxis; anaptyics in bold print) ḥlbsīṭih or lábsīṭih and šīrbīṭih or šárbiṭih, which one might have expected.

Such forms were however recorded in TAṢ, so that stress may be interpreted to have acquired a phonemic function: šīrbīṭah “she drank it” as opposed to šīrbīṭah “I drank it” (see remarks in 3.2.1.1.).

2.5. Assimilation

Three types of contact asimilations of consonants can be identified:

– regressive partial or total,
– progressive partial or total and
– reciprocal total.

The l of the article only rarely assimilates to a following ḡ, as in e.g. aḡġamr “the live embers”. Assimilation of l to initial k was not recorded. For examples of these types of assimilation, see De Jong 2000:136–137. In addition to examples listed there, an example of progressive total assimilation recorded in TyA is:

\[ ṭ + h > ṭṭ \text{ as in } bnaḥarīṭīṭy (\textless \textit{bnaḥarīṭīṭy}) \text{ “we plough it”}. \]

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”, siḡih “game of siḡah”, siḡn “prison” and tasḡīl “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 ǦaC ḡC(ah)

Raising of a in the nominal pattern ǦaC ḡC(ah) occurs regularly, but is optional in southern group I dialects (except in ḤwA, see remark below). Such raising is only inhibited by preceding ḡ and is less regular when X
precedes or follows a, although it may take place in such positions (especially when following ʼ, see examples below). The resulting high ‘surface’ vowel i is not elided. In ḤwA instances of non-raising were so few that morphological restructuring may be concluded. In DbA raising is mainly absent when ʼ, ġ, h or x precedes, e.g. ʼaḍīm “enormous”, ḡaliṭ “fat, bulky”, ḡarīb “strange”, xalīṭah “mixture”, ḥagīği “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 *CaCiγ (C₃ = y)  
Raising of a preceding *CaCiγ (C₃ = y) occurs often, but variation is still heard as well, e.g. birīy “innocent”, (reflecting final *-īy) in šibīy “boy”, ġanīy “rich”, tīrīy “moist; soft”, nibīy ~ nābīy “Prophet”, guwīy “strong”, wilīy ~ wālīy “saint”, ʼIlīy ~ ʼAlīy “male given name”.

3.1.1.2. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed i  
For raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed i in verb forms (with underlying C₁aC₂iC₃ pattern for the i-type perfect), see 3.2.2.1.

3.1.1.3. Raising of a in CaCCiC(-ah)  
The short vowel a preceding stressed CCi is not raised. Examples are: baṭṭīx “watermelon”, baddī ʼimprovisor of rhyme”, xarrīǧ “alumnus”, sakkīnah “knife”, ġarnīṭ “octopus”, xamsīn “fifty”, Katrīn “(St.) Catherine”, kabūt “matches”. Also in verbal nouns of measure 2 such raising is absent, e.g. targaš “grafting”, tašgil “putting in operation” and also in a gahawah-form like taḡarīb “going north” (see for other examples 2.2.1.2. above).

3.1.1.4. Raising of a in CaCCāC  

N.B. sg. fem. forms of colours and physical defects have short stressed final -ā(ʼ) (if not raised) (except in MlA, where long final -ā is also heard).

71 This situation is the same as what has been described for group II in the north, see De Jong 2000:272–273.
72 The word bakkākah is used in TyA; in most dialects of Sinai the word for “lighter” is giddūkah.
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 -āʾ(ʾ) 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”, bikārīg “coffee pots”, Tīyāha “name of a tribe Tayāha”, ṣīnāyin “gardens”.

In labial environments, raising may also be towards [u], as in muwārik “cushions supporting the camel rider’s leg” (pl. of mērakah or mōrakah, see also remarks in 1.2.4.1. and in fn 101, p. 83) and zuwāyir “annual visits to sheikhs’ tombs (pl. of zwārah)”, Ṣawālḥih “name of the tribe Ṣawālḥah”.

Examples without raising are: ṭalāṭin “thirty”, nahār “day”, tamām “excellent”, Badāṛah “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”, ṭalāṭah “three”, xalās “ready”, salām “peace”, Garāṛshīh “name of a tribe”, Ṿarāsīh “thin loaves of bread baked on a šāj”, marāṛīḥ “swings (three legs) for the goat skin (used to churn butter)”, halāl “small cattle”, axawāt “sisters”, ʾaṣān “because”, ṣāītak “your life”, ḥamāḥih “flat barren land”, ʾgarāyir “large sack (pl. of ṣarāʾah)”.73 Also when ʾ precedes, raising remains absent, e.g. (ʾ)asāyil “thoroughbreeds”, (ʾ)asāsīh “his origin”.

3.1.1.6. Raising of a in . . . CaCā . . .
In open syllable preceding stressed á is often (but optionally so) raised (like in group VI), e.g. (raising towards I.P.A. [i]) ʾgimāl “camel”, risān “halter”, libān “milk”, sibāgah “race” (sābagah in TAṢ), šiḡārah “tree” (šāḡārah in TAṢ), a verb form misāk “he took” and (towards [u] in labial and/or velarized environment) muṭār “rain”, duwāʾ “medicine”. And also in gahawah-forms such raising may take place, e.g. tihāt “under”, šiḥār “month” and in verb forms like yiʿārif “he knows”.

Such raising is generally absent when the a is preceded by *, e.g. (')abár “needles” and (')axád “he took”.

Also, when a is followed by l, such raising tends to remain absent, e.g. galám “pen”, malág “hard flat ground (like rock, in which traces are invisible)”, zalámah “man”, or when X precedes, e.g. hağár “rock, stone”, ğanám “goats and sheep”, xaşáb “firewood”, etc. (see De Jong 2000:145–147).

3.1.1.7. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed A
To summarize the a-raising rules in one optional rule we can write: 74

\[ a > I / C_a C_b A \]

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( C_a \neq * ) or X</td>
<td>A = stressed a or ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( C_b \neq l )</td>
<td>I = high vowel i or u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Raising of a may also take place when stress on A is secondary, e.g. f-ássibag “in the race”, verb forms ánkital “he was beaten”, ástuwat “it (sg. fem.) became ripe/cooked” and muwálid “births”, muwázín “weighing scales (pl. of mizán)”.

3.1.1.8. Raising of a in CaCúC(ah)
Raising of a preceding ū is optional, e.g. ġumús ~ ġamús “food dip”, xurūf ~ xarūf “lamb”, ġunūb ~ ġanūb “south” and yuhūd ~ yahūd “Jews”, ġurūbah ~ ġarūbah “beautiful young camel”, īrūs ~ īrūs “bride”, īgūz ~ īgūz “old lady”. With initial hamzah such raising is absent in most dialects (contrast with groups VI–VIII): aḅūy “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 ubūh ~ aḅūh “father” (TAN), uxūk ~ axūk “your brother”, ugūm ~ agūm “I rise” (both ḤwA), Such raising with preceding *hamzah was not heard in TAṢ, ḠrA, BdA, DbA or MlA.

Underlying CāCūC with reduced ā; ma)'),un “container”, babūr “tractor”, ganūn “law”, ba’iḏah “mosquitos”. In one instance in TyA raising in babūr yielded bubūr.

The gahawah-vowel in open syllable preceding Cū is not raised, e.g. maḥaṭūṭ “placed”, ma āgūd “tied”, maḥabūs “locked up”, maxanūg “constricted; suffocated”.

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74 See also De Jong 2000:147.
75 ġurūbah ~ ġarūbah 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. ġurūbiṭi.
3.1.1.9. **Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed u**

Unstressed a in open syllable preceding stressed u (in the following syllable) is regularly raised, e.g. *kubūr* “he grew”, *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 ‘resurfaces’ as a in closed syllables, e.g. *kabrit* “she grew”, *ġalżit* “she became fat”.\(^\text{76}\)

3.1.1.10. **a-raising rules combined**

Like in dialects of group I in the north (see De Jong 2000:150), we can combine the rules for raising of a preceding a long stressed high vowel:

\[
 a > I / C_a / C_b \bar{I} C
\]

\(\bar{I}\) = long vowel \(\bar{u}\) or \(i\)

\(I\) = short high vowel \(u\) if \(\bar{I}\) is \(\bar{u}\); short high vowel \(i\) if \(\bar{I}\) is \(i\)

\(C_a\) = *’ (hamzah)

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

Notice that, like in group I dialects of the north (see De Jong 2000:150), the provision of \(C_a \neq *’\) is made for the group I dialects described here, i.e. preceding “*hamzah” inhibits such raising. However, in TAN and ḤwA a few forms were recorded which did show such raising: *uḅūh ~ aḅūh* and *ugūl ~ aḡūl* “I say”.

3.1.2. **Reflexes of \(*C_aC_2C_3(ah)\)**

For reflexes of \(CaCC(-ah)\) the following forms were recorded (in all dialects, unless indicated otherwise): *badw* “Bedouin”, *tahāt* “under”, *faḥām* “charcoal”, *waḥdih* (but ~ wiḥdih in ḠrA) “one (sg. fem.)”, *nahyih* “direction”, *ṣaʿāb* “difficult”, *ṣakl* “shape”, *ṣāḥan* “dish, plate”, *ḏidy* “billy goat” (TAṢ, ḤwA, DbA, MIA, ḠrA), *ḏady* (BdA), *ṣadr* “chest”, (ʼ)akl (TAṢ, TAN, DbA, MIA), *wakl* “food” (BdA), *kirš* (TAṢ) “(fat) belly”, *kalb* “dog”, *ḏidd* “grandfather” and *ḏifn* “eyelid” (TAṢ).

\(^{\text{76}}\) Direct elicitation, however, yielded forms like *tuxnit* “she became thick” in ḠrA, *ġulān* “they (f) became fat”; here the a did not ‘resurface’, although the vowel is still to be regarded as underlying |a|, since it is not dropped in open unstressed syllables, e.g. also in these dialects the 3rd p. sg. masc. forms are *tuxūn* (not •txun) and *ġulūd* (not •ġluḍ)
3.1.3. Reflexes of *CaCiC(ah)

In all dialects, unless indicated otherwise: wirk “thigh” (TAṢ), kitf “shoulder” (ḤwA, ḠrA, TAṢ and TyA; other dialects not recorded), kilmih “word”, širkih “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, ḠrA, ḠwA, TAṢ and TyA; other dialects not recorded), umm “mother” (BdA), uxt “sister”, Šim’ih “male given name” (not recorded in TAN, DbA, BdA), muddih “period”, ḥurmah “woman”, zibdih “butter”, rukbah “knee” (ḤwA, TyA, TAṢ, ḠrA, TAN, not recorded in other dialects), hinnih “they (fem.)”, šuggah “a woven length of a tent (about 1 m. wide)” (TAṢ, MlA, BdA, TyA, ḤwA, not recorded in other dialects).

3.1.5. Absence of I in open syllables preceding stress

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

When V is a long vowel, an initial CC cluster is the result, e.g.: snīn “years”, ỹūn “eyes” and ỹnēh “pound (money)”, ḡbāl “mountains”, drās “threshing”.

Also when V is a short vowel, an initial cluster CC will result, e.g. rkbāb “knees”, snat “suitcases”, grāb “watersacks (goat skins)” and also in diminutives (see 3.1.6. below) like gṣayyir “short” (*guṣayyir), bwēt “little house/tent” (*buwayt).

Exceptions to such elisions are (often loans from MSA, probably via a dialect such as Cairene Arabic), e.g.: niẓām “system” (all dialects), šinā’iy “artificial” (TAṢ), tiğārah “trade” (MlA), ġirāḥah “surgery” (MlA), (2 instances in) żurūf hukūmiyyah “government circumstances” (TyA), bidāyt albaṭṭīx “the beginning of the watermelon (i.e. the season for growing watermelon)” (TyA), ūmūman “in general” TyA and tūrās “legacy” (ḤwA).

Notice that in the instances niẓām and żurūf the sibilant ẓ is heard instead of more typically Bedouin ū. In the example tūrās we have sibilant ẓ.

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77 Also aṃṃ in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:330.
s instead of more typically Bedouin t (compare MSA turāt). These are additional indications that we are dealing with loans.

Other instances of non-elision include: *tulūhīn* “their (fem.) rising (of stars)” (BdA) and all dialects have *gizāzīh* (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 *yḡiy* “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 *hrayyīm* is current. In addition, many diminutive forms were heard, and especially in the speech of an elderly woman of the Tayāha, e.g. *d'yfin iftētāt* “tiny children”, *swēkin* “living (more or less)”, *wlēdi* “my little son”, *gray'īy* “bald (sg. fem.)”.

Another diminutive pattern heard in TyA is *C C₂ay⁶C₃ūC₃* (i.e. C₃ is reduced) in *baṭṭīx iṣġayrūr* “small watermelons”.

The same pattern is used in TAṢ as in (after reduction of the diphthong) *ṣģarūrah*, *ṣģarūrin*, *ṣģarūrāt* and also *graybūb* “nearish”. Another diminutive heard in TAṢ is *ōdah sgantūṭah* is a “tiny house/room”, *iḷēgān*, *iygaṣigṣūh gṣaygṣāt* “they cut it up into little pieces”.

A lexical item coined on the *CaCCũC(-ah)* pattern in *kaṛṟūsah* “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: *hnīyyān* “here” and *ki/dmacronbelowiyyān* “thus” and alternatively *hnīyyāniy* and *ki/dmacronbelowiyyāniy* (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. abyaḏ) and *aC₁aC₂aC₃* (e.g. áhamar, stressed

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⁷⁸ Diminutive patterns are reported to be very common in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:427.
⁷⁹ *ōdah* is also used for “small (stone) house”.
⁸⁰ See De Jong 2000:153. It thus appears to be mainly in use among tribes of the eastern central and northern Sinai.
⁸¹ The -ān suffix is also heard in TyA of the Negev, see Shawarbah 2007:427–428.
on the first syllable) where \( C_1 = X \). Other examples are like those listed for group VI.

The sg. fem. forms have a \( C_1aC_2C_3\) pattern, with a final \(*-\ddot{a}\) that has been shortened and which is often in pause followed by an unreleased glottal stop (e.g. \( \text{bēdā̂} \), \( \text{hamrā̌} \); in MIA some forms were recorded with long final \(-\ddot{a}\)).\(^{82}\) There is an additional \( a \) following \( C_2 \) when it is \( X \) and final \(*-\ddot{a}\) is raised to \(-\ddot{y}\) when \( C_3 \) is neutral (e.g. \( \text{šahabīy} \)). 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. \( C_iC_jC_k \) or \( C_uC_jC_k \) (see 1.2.3.2.). Plural forms for “black” and “white” are \( \text{sūd} (C_2 = \text{wāw}) \) and \( \text{bīḍ} (C_2 = \text{yā}) \).

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: \( aC_1C_2C_3 \) e.g. \( \text{aktar} \) “more; most”, \( aC_1aC_2C_3 \) e.g. \( \text{agall} \) “less; least” and \( aC_1C_2a \) (without gahawah-vowel), e.g. \( \text{ahla} \) “sweeter; sweetest”.

3.1.9. **Initial a**

3.1.9.1. **The article and the relative pronoun**

The article is \( \text{al-} \) in all dialects of group I and the relative pronoun is \( \text{alliy} \).\(^{83}\)

The article is a stressable unit (see 2.1.1.).

Examples are: \( \text{yōm iyṭīḥ álmaṭar} […] \text{biyḥuṭṭuω bdārhuṁ} \) “when the rain falls, they plant their seeds”.

The relative pronoun is \( \text{alliy} \). Examples are: \( \text{alliy byašrāb inn alḥāmiḍ hāda ω alliy biyfitt minnih} \) “there are those\(^{84}\) 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. \( f-\ddot{a}šštiy \) “in the winter” and \( f-\ddot{a}lğibal \) “in the desert (lit. the mountains)” and also with unstressed \( a \) of the article, as in \( f-\ddot{a}lwādiy \) “in the wadi”.

Prepositioned \( ha- \) was heard used predominantly in adverbial \( \text{halḥīn} \) “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 \( \text{al-} \) and \( \text{alliy} \) as the current forms in their corpus of Bedouin poetry; the exception is their poet Šbaylāt (of Baniy Ḥasan in northern Jordan), who uses \( il- \) and \( illi \) thus “aligning himself […] with the ‘sedentary’ dialects”.

\(^{84}\) \( \text{alliy} \) is often elliptically used for something like \( fīh (\text{mīn an-})nās \; \text{alliy} \ldots \)
Only in a few instances *ha-* was used in its ‘specifying’ function: *fi ha-ddikmih ‘a ṭul là šilêhât wala ġayrih f-áddkam* “there are no chalets in (i.e. near) that hill or anything (at all) in the hills” (ḤwA), *šuft miy . . . tâfih fi ha-lgiddâf* “I saw water . . . overflowing in this ferry boat” (TyA).

Much more current in ḤwA, however, is postpositioned *ha*, e.g. *alliy ‘awiz iy . . . tymawwi f-álbil ássibag imn ássibag ha biywaddîh imn álġimal 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”, *uxt “sister” in all dialects, *aḥna* is “we” in ḤwA and *aḥna ~ iḥna* in ĞrA (in the other dialects only *iḥna*) and the pl. for (*’)ibrah “needles is (*’)abár. In all dialects pl. forms of the type CCaC are current, e.g. *ṣwar “pictures” and gṛab “waterskins*.

*yā yuṃmā* 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 construct 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 aC* + 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. *ḏarabatih “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 ṿ

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

The i of the ending -it may then be subject to the rule for high vowel elision, after which resulting clusters are often eliminated by insertion of an anaptyctic. Examples listed for group VI may also illustrate the situation in our southern group I dialects discussed here.

3.1.10.3. T preceded by the gahawah-vowel a

Forms in which a gahawah-vowel a directly precedes T in open syllable are treated the same way as forms in which such a preceding a is ‘historical’. Examples are: gahawatī “my coffee”, gahawatah “his coffee” and gahawatak “your coffee” (for stress in these forms see 2.1.1.2.2.) (treatment of T preceded by the gahawah-vowel a could not be checked in MLA).

3.1.10.4. T following ā

T preceded by ā yields -āh, e.g. ūmāā “mother-in-law” and when in construction, T > -t, as in ūmātāk “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. nāgtā “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 ūsūl for sg. masc., ūsūlāh (sg. fem.), ūsūlān (pl. masc.) and ūsūlāt (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>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šūgli</td>
<td>šūglān</td>
<td>šūgli</td>
<td>šūglāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šūglāk</td>
<td>šūglākw</td>
<td>šūglāk</td>
<td>šūglākt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. fem.</td>
<td>šūglāk</td>
<td>šūglākw</td>
<td>šūglāk</td>
<td>šūglākt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šūglāh</td>
<td>šūglāhūm</td>
<td>šūglāh</td>
<td>šūglālt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. fem.</td>
<td>šūglāh</td>
<td>šūglāhin</td>
<td>šūglāh</td>
<td>šūglāth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.</td>
<td>ilbēt</td>
<td>ilbēh</td>
<td></td>
<td>ilbēh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

87 In TyA of the Negev T preceded by gahawah-vowel a > -āt, e.g. ra’āwīt ḡanām “grazing small cattle”, see Shawarbah 2007:244.
A preference for the construct state instead of indirect annexation could not be concluded from the available data.

3.1.12. Personal pronominals

3.1.12.1. Independent pronominals

In group I dialects of the central and southern Sinai the following independent pronominals are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>hū</td>
<td>hum(ā) / huwwa*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hī</td>
<td>hin(na)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>int(ih)</td>
<td>intuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>intiy</td>
<td>intin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>anā</td>
<td>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. 89
*2 In ḤwA aḥna; in ĞrA iḥna ~ aḥna.

Negated90 (in all forms stress is on the first syllable, except in mūhūmnna and mūhinna)*1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>mūhū*2</td>
<td>mūhum(ā)*4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mūhī</td>
<td>mūhin(na)*5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mint(ih)</td>
<td>mintuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mintiy</td>
<td>mintin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>mānī</td>
<td>māhna*6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In ĞrA direct elicitation yielded ‘double’ forms like anā mānī, int(ih) mint(ih), intiy mintiy, hū mūhū. Such double forms are also often used in the other dialects.
*2 mūhū ~ māhū in ḤwA

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88 Independent pronominals in TyA of the Negev are: anā(h), intih (int), intiy, hū(h), hī (h), aḥna, intuw, intin, hum(mah) and hin(nih), see Shawarbah 2007:426.
89 For possible origins of the forms (possessive/object) -huw and the subj. (independent) pronominal huwwa, see De Jong 2000:63 (remark *2)) and NOTE in 3.1.12.2. of chapter I.
90 In poetry recorded by Holes and Abu Athera (2009:225) the negation is commonly mā + 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.</td>
<td>C-ah / C-ih *1, v-&lt;h&gt;</td>
<td>-hum*6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>-ha*2</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>-kiy*4</td>
<td>-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>C-ak, v-k*3</td>
<td>-kaw*7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>-kiy*4</td>
<td>-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(C)C-ī, v-y (poss.)</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</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. sim<tt>ta “I heard her”, tbuxxa “you spray it (sg. fem.)”, hisṣṣa “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 MLA 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 MLA and TyA. Examples in MLA are: iw minnih biyṭa “mūhiy, iw yagṭa‘aw w iygussūhiy “and then they graft it (sg. fem.), and they cut and clip it (sg. fem.)” and aḥūhiy “her father”.

*3 Contrast C-ak and v-k with heavily velarized -<k| -uk of groups VI–VIII.
*4 Invariable -kiy is characteristic of group I, see also De Jong 2000:164. Contrast with -k and -ik of groups VI–VIII.

*5 Suffixes -<i and -ni for the 1st p. sg. com. are stressed, but unstressed -<i and -ni also occur.

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*3 māna in ḤwA
*4 mūhuwwa or māhuwwa was not recorded in TAN or MLA
*5 māhin was also heard in BdA
*6 miḥna in DbA, BdA, ĢrA

91 The spelling with 3 identical consonants is for reasons of morphological transparency. These forms are not different from tbuxxa and hisṣṣa.
92 For -ha or -hiy among sub-confederations of Tiyāha in Negev see Shawarbah 2007:426.
93 See De Jong 2000:64–166 and 674 (appendix), map 35.
In group I the negation is formed with single (preceding) *mā*, which leaves pronominal suffixes unaffected.

### Demonstratives

#### Near and far deixis

**Demonstratives in TAṢ and TAN are:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis*¹</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāda*²</td>
<td>hāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>hādā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hēdy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ The same forms were heard in TAN.
*² Unvelarized *hāda* is sporadic in TAṢ, but *ḥāda ~ hāda* in TAN.
*³ *hōdāl* was also elicited in TAṢ, but did not occur in spontaneous speech.
*⁴ The same forms were heard in TAN.

“There . . . is/are!” *hayhū ġa’, hayhī ġat, hayhum ġaw, hayhin ġan.*

**Demonstratives in TyA are:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāda ~ hāda</td>
<td>hāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>hāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hēdy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>hāda</th>
<th>hōdāl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

* Forms without initial *hā-, hē- or hō- are rare.

During direct elicitation, the existence of forms like *hēhū* or *hayhū* in TyA was denied. Instead, forms like *ar’ih ġa’* “there he has come”, *āriḥḥiy ġat*
“there she has come!”, \textit{annās áriḥḥum ǧaw} “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.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāda</td>
<td>hāda(ḥah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>hēdiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Far deixis*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāδāk(ah)–hāδāk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* hādiy was heard three times, but with an exceptionally high ā, (slightly higher than I.P.A. [εː], 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 \textit{ha} (undifferentiated for gender and number). Examples are: \textit{w alliy ʿawiz yaṣrāb minnih ǟ…alḥāmi ḥa} “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 \textit{aṣṣgayyrāt ḥa} “these young ones (pl. fem.) (in ref. to camels)”.

“\textit{There he/she/they is/are (litt. has/have come)!}” is ḥayhū ḡa’, ḥayhī ḡat, ḥayhuṃ ǧaw and ḥayhin ḡan.

Demonstratives in DbA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* Notice the same demonstrative for the pl. com. in ḤwA (see above).

Far deixis*

| sg. | pl. |
| hāδāk(ah)–hāδāk(ah) | hāδālāk(ah) |

\textit{hayḥū . . . “there he . . .”} was recorded once.

\* For a discussion on attributive \textit{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><strong>masc.</strong></td>
<td><strong>fem.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.  hāḍa ~ hāḍa</td>
<td>sg. hē/dmacronbelowiy ~ hē/dmacronbelowīk(ih)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com. hāḍal</td>
<td>com. (hā)/dmacronbeloẉ āk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. hā/dmacronbelowa</td>
<td>pl. hē/dmacronbelowīkt alḥīn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* hē/dmacronbelowīkt alḥīn was recorded three times for "now, at this moment".

The system of demonstratives in BdA is clearly mixed; hā- or hē- initial demonstratives for near deixis only occur in the singular, while the only pl. form ḏilligh must be due to contact with (one of the) dialects of the bordering tribes Sawālḥah (group VII) and Ṣawālḥah (group VIII).

Demonstratives in BdA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>masc.</strong></td>
<td><strong>fem.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.  hāḍa ~ hāḍa*1</td>
<td>sg. hē/dmacronbelowiy *1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com. ḏillik*3</td>
<td>com. (hā)/dmacronbeloẉ āk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. ḏillikh*3</td>
<td>pl. hē/dmacronbeloẉ āk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1 Sentence-final ḏi’ was recorded twice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*2 Sentence-final ḏiy was recorded three times and also hāḍiy was heard twice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*3 ḏa-initial demonstratives for pl. com. were not recorded, whereas ḏillih was recorded five times.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*4 hāḍāk was recorded twice, and once ḏākah.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ar’il was recorded for “there he is!”

Demonstratives in ḠrA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near deixis</th>
<th>Far deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>masc.</strong></td>
<td><strong>fem.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.  hāḍa ~ hāḍa*1</td>
<td>sg. hē/dmacronbelowiy *1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com. ḏālaft*2</td>
<td>com. hāḍāk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. hē/dmacronbeloẉ āk(ah)</td>
<td>pl. hē/dmacronbeloẉ āk(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1 ḏiy was recorded three times.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*2 In one instance a separate demonstrative for the pl. fem. was recorded during direct elicitation: alihrayyim hāḍan “these women”. This dem. was however not heard in spontaneous text.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

95 For a demonstrative ḏillā 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 ḥēḥū ǧa, ḥēḥī ǧat, ḥēhuṃma ḡaw and ḥēhinnaḥ ḡan. Alternatively ʾir’ + pron. suffix is used: ʾir’ih ḡa’, ʾirhha ḡat, ʾirhhuṃ ḡaw and ʾirhḥiḥn ḡan (see 4.8.1).

3.1.13.2. Specifying ha-
Specifying ha- is quite regularly used in southern group I dialects. Examples are ʾinfiṭitt ḡa fālāṭīḥ ʾa ṭūl “we immediately make this fattah” (DbA), bitīḥba mīn ḡassāg “you get it (sg. fem.) from the (lit. this) market” (MlA), w allīy msawwīy...mīṭmārāh f-alblād—bingūl ‘ālēha mīṭmārāh—halmīṭmārāh hēdíy byillīghūha ttībīn...“and there are those who have made...an underground grain storage in the ground—we call it (sg. fem.) a mīṭmārāh—this mīṭmārāh they add the straw to it (sg. fem.)” (ḤwA), and in all dialects ḡallīn in current for “now”.

3.1.14. Interrogatives
Interrogatives recorded in southern group I dialects for

in ḤwA and DbA: 1) mīn, 2) wiš, ēš / ēh, 3) lēh, 4) matān / mitān, wagṭēh, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kam + sg., 9) kutṛyaḥ, gaddēḥ.

in TAṢ (marked with * were also recorded in TAN): 1) mīn, 2) ēš / ēh, 3) lēš / lēh, 4) matā (ʾ) / matā, wagṭēš, 5) wēn*, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf*, 8) kam* + sg., 9) gaddēš / giddēš.

in ǦrA: 1) mīn, 2) ēh, ēš (the latter much less), 3) lēh, 4) matā / mitā, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kām* + sg., 9) kutṛyaḥ, gaddēḥ.

*1 kām (with long ā) was elicited, kam (with short vowel) was not recorded.

in TyA: 1) mīn, 2) ayš / ēš / ēh, 3) lēš, 4) ?, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kam + sg., 9) kutṛyaṣ.

in BdA: 1) mīn, 2) ēš / ēh, 3) lēš / lēh, 4) matā, 5) wēn, 6) yāt + sg., 7) kēf, 8) kam + sg., 9) kutṛyaṣ, gaddēš.

in MlA: 1) mīn, 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)
- fi hāḍāk (MlA, ĞrA, TyA, DbA, BdA)
- fi hāḍākah (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

“thus”  
- kīdīy (all dialects)
- kīdīyyih (all dialects)
- kīdīyyān(iy) (TAN, TyA)*²

“now”  
- ḥalḥīn (all dialects)

“still”  
- lissāʾ (GrA, DbA, ḤwA, BdA, TAṢ, TAN, ḤwA)
- assāʾ (TyA, ḤwA)

“afterwards, after that”  
- ʿugub kīdīy (all dialects)
- baʿ adēn (all dialects)

*¹ mīn-ihnīy “from here; this way”, mīn-inhnuh “from there” are treated as one unit for stress assignment.

*² The hypochoristic -ān(īy) suffix is typical for group I dialects in the (north-)east of Sinai. It was also recorded in the dialects of the Sawārkah, Rmēlāt and Aḥaywāt, see De Jong 2000:153.97

The connector ʿugub ma (ʿugh + ma) is sometimes shortened to ʿugma, e.g. ʿugma halāfāw ʿalēhum 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.98 kūd may also be suffixed, examples are: ālḡīmal kūdinnah zēn “maybe (let’s hope) the camels are good”, arraḡāgil

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97 See also Brockelmann 1966 (Vol. I):394.
kūdinhuṃ ṭayybīn “maybe (let’s hope) they are good men” and aliḥrayyim kūdinhin ṭayybāt “maybe (let’s hope) they are good women”.

Forms elicited for (variations on) xawf are: xawfaḷḷah (inkin) mintin ṭayybāt “perhaps you (pl. fem.) are no good”. xạ̄f (velarized) may also be suffixed, e.g. xạ̄finnāh māhū ṭayyib “perhaps he is no good”, xạ̄finkin mintin ṭayybāt “perhaps you (pl. fem.) are no good” and an unsuffixed form xạ̄fin99 as in xạ̄fin 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) ʾiw tākil…(X) ḥāğiḥ…(A) ḥağḥ ḥibwah xālīṣ…(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 suffixed

Suffixed prepositions l “for”, ěla “on” and ma “with” in TAṢ, TAN, BDA, MIA, ĞrA, TyA, ḤwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise)100 are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>l+</th>
<th>ěla</th>
<th>ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>lah/lēi</td>
<td>leh/un</td>
<td>ma’h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>lēhuṃ</td>
<td>ělāhun</td>
<td>ma’hun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. masc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>l+</th>
<th>ěla</th>
<th>ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ṭak/ṭa</td>
<td>ūlāh</td>
<td>ma’h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ṭalāh</td>
<td>ṭalēhun</td>
<td>ma’hun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. masc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>l+</th>
<th>ěla</th>
<th>ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>lēk/iy</td>
<td>lēk</td>
<td>ma’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>lēk/i</td>
<td>lēki</td>
<td>ma’i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. com.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>l+</th>
<th>ěla</th>
<th>ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ṭak/ṭa</td>
<td>ūlāh</td>
<td>ma’h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ṭalāh</td>
<td>ṭalēhun</td>
<td>ma’hun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 For the paradigm of l+ in TAN, TyA, DbA and ḤwA see below. The independent preposition is l ~ lī. For an alternative paradigm in BDA, see below.
*2 The vowel in TAṢ and ĞrA is usually a, in BDA i. In MIA lah ~ lēh.
*3 The suffix -ha ~ -hiy in MIA.

99 The form xạ̄fin is reminiscent of the form xaftin reported in Stewart 1990:303 (text 32), l. 87 (+ fn).
100 TAṢ was taken here as a starting point, and deviations in other dialects are described in notes.
*4 In MLA lak ~ lēk.
*5 -huw in ĞrA. In ḤwA, MLA and TAN -huṃ ~ -huw(wa).
*6 In TyA, DbA and ḤwA raising of the a of the first syllable is regular, but only when preceding ē. So: ’ilēk, ’ilēhuṃ etc., but usually absence of raising in ’alāy. The independent preposition is ’ala ~ ’a.
*7 In TAN, BdA, MLA ’alēh. In TyA, ḤwA and DbA ’ilēh ~ ’alēh. In ĞrA ’alīh.
*8 In TyA -hiy. Shawarbah 2007:419 reports for TyA of the Negev the form like maḥḥiy “with her” as well.
*9 In TAN, BdA, MLA ’alēk. In ḤwA and DbA ’ilēk.
*10 For the paradigm in TAN, see below.

The vowel of the first syllable is i in BdA, also in closed (and stressed) syllables: mi’āh, miḥḥa etc. Raising of a in open unstressed syllable occurs regularly in other dialects, e.g. mi’āh (but a in stressed closed syllable, e.g. ma’kaw).

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>lhūṃ*3</td>
<td>m’aḥ</td>
<td>mi’hūṃ<em>5</em>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lḥa*2</td>
<td>lḥin*3</td>
<td>m’iḥa*6</td>
<td>mi’hīn*6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>lak</td>
<td>lkūw</td>
<td>m’āk</td>
<td>mi’kūw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>lkiy</td>
<td>lkiy*3</td>
<td>m’iḥhiy</td>
<td>mi’ıkīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>lay(y)</td>
<td>lna(’)</td>
<td>m’a(y)</td>
<td>mi’na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In TyA līh.
*2 In TyA lhiy.
*3 In ḤwA lḥin and lkiy ~ lḥinnih and lkiinnih.
*4 The independent preposition is m’, e.g.: tāxד im’m’āk lībṭak fi wādak...fīdak “you take your libbah (a thick round loaf of bread baked in hot sand) with you in your pocket...in your hand”.
*5 In ḤwA and TAN -huṃ ~ -huw(wa).
*6 ’ + h often assimilates to ḥḥ: miḥḥa, miḥḥuṃ, miḥḥin.

---

Notice that such raising remains absent when the short a is the product of reduction of ā in pre-stress position, as in mag’ād šāsēh (< šāsēh) “a construction of piled rock with an old Ford chassis serving as a roof used as mag’ād in Malbad (Garāğrah)” (ĞrA).
Suffixed prepositions ɓi “in”, ɓin “from” and waɗa “behind” in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ǦrA, TyA, HwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
 & \text{ɓi}^{+} & & & & \text{waɗa}^{+} \\
 & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \\
3. \text{ masc.} & \text{fah}^{*1} & \text{fihum}^{*5} & \text{minnih} & \text{minhum}^{*5} & \text{warah} & \text{warahum}^{*5} \\
 & \text{fem.} & & & & \\
2. \text{ masc.} & \text{fak}^{*3} & \text{fiwake} & \text{minnak} & \text{minkaw} & \text{warak} & \text{warakw} \\
 & \text{fem.} & \text{fikiy} & \text{fikin} & \text{minkiy} & \text{minkin} & \text{warakiy} & \text{warakin} \\
1. \text{ com.} & \text{fay(y)}^{*4} & \text{fina} & \text{minni} & \text{minna} & \text{waray} & \text{warana} \\
\end{array}
\]

\*1 ɓih (with short ɓi) in MIA, ɓih (with long ɓi) in TAN, BdA, ǦrA, TyA, HwA and DbA. In all dialects: ɓih (with long ɓi) is used for “there is/are”.

\*2 -hiy in TyA.

\*3 ɓik in TAN, BdA, ǦrA, TyA, HwA and DbA.

\*4 fii in ǦrA.

\*5 -huw in ǦrA and -hum – -huw in HwA and TAN.

Suffixed prepositions ‘ind “with”, hawāla “around” and fōg/fawg “over” in TAṢ, TAN, BdA, MIA, ǦrA, TyA, HwA and DbA (unless explicitly stated otherwise) are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
 & \text{‘ind}^{+} & & & & \text{hawāla}^{*3} \\
 & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \\
3. \text{ masc.} & ‘indah & ‘induhum^{*2} & ‘indiin & ‘indihum^{*2} & \text{hawalah} & \text{hawalahum} \\
 & \text{fem.} & ‘indaha^{*1} & ‘indihin & ‘indihum^{*2} & \text{hawalah} & \text{hawalahin} \\
2. \text{ masc.} & ‘indak & ‘indukuw & ‘indak & ‘indukaw & \text{hawalak} & \text{hawalakw} \\
 & \text{fem.} & ‘indikiy & ‘indikin & ‘indikiy & \text{hawalakiy} & \text{hawalakin} \\
1. \text{ com.} & ‘indi & ‘indina & ‘indina & \text{hawalay} & \text{hawalana} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
 & \text{fōg}^{*5} & & & \\
 & \text{sg.} & \text{pl.} & \\
3. \text{ masc.} & fōgah & \text{fōghum}^{*2} & \text{fohina} & \text{fohin} \\
 & \text{fem.} & fōgha^{*1} & \text{fohin} & \\
2. \text{ masc.} & fōgak & fōgkw & \text{fohina} & \text{fohin} \\
 & \text{fem.} & fōgkiy & fōgkin & \\
1. \text{ com.} & fōgi & fōgna & \\
\end{array}
\]

\*1 -hiy in TyA.

\*2 -huw in ǦrA and -hum – -huw in HwA and TAN.

\*3 This prep. was not recorded with suffixes in BdA, ǦrA and MIA.

\*4 An alternative hawālah was recorded in TAṢ and hawēlah in TAN.

\*5 In HwA the preposition is diphthongal: fawgah, fawgaha, etc.
An interesting grammaticalisation recorded in DbA is byákluw min iğnûbâha “they eat from all sides (around them)”. Suffixed prepositions are negated with single preceding mä, e.g. mä ’indî “not with me”, mä fôgak “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): wâḥid / wiḥdih*, tnên / ūntên*, talâth (tâlat), arba’âh (arba’), xamsih (xams), sittih (sitt), sab’ih (sab’), tâmânîh (tâmân), tis’ih (tis’), ašârah (ašâr).

*1 wâḥid and wiḥdih may follow the counted noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. walad wâḥid “one boy” and bint wiḥdih “one girl”.
*2 tnên and ūntên may follow the counted dual form of the noun as adjectives for extra emphasis, e.g. waladên i tnên “two boys” and idây uţintên “my two hands” and riğlây uţintên “my two legs” (TyA, TAŞ, GrA, ḤwA). The form adây “my hands” was recorded in DbA. Direct elicitation in ḤwA yielded idâni instead of idây for “my hands”.

Some plural forms of nouns are counted with proclitic t- (a remnant of the fem. morpheme in construct state), e.g. arba’ t-infâr “four people”, xamis t-iyâm “five days”.

3.1.17.2. Ordinal numbers 1–10
Only three ordinals were recorded: awwil, ūnîy, ūlît.

3.1.17.3. Numerals: n and up
Numerals 11–19 recorded are: hdâšaṛ, tnâšaṛ / itnâšaṛ, talsattâšaṛ, arba’tâšaṛ, xamîstašaṛ, sittâšaṛ, saba’tâšaṛ, tâmântâšaṛ, tis’tâšaṛ in all dialects.

In ḤwA and BdA these forms ending in -âšaṛ co-occurred with forms ending in -â’iš, e.g. talsattâ’iš, arba’tâ’iš, xamîsâ’iš, etc. In MlA the months of November and December were referred to as šâhâr iḥdâ’iš and šâhâr itnâ’iš (resp.).

---

102 This is perhaps a hybrid form of idây “my hands” (like in other dialects) and adâni “my ears”, or the pl. idân was directly suffixed with the pron.: idâni “my hands”.
103 In the forms ending in -âšaṛ velarization is indicated in r, in the forms ending in -â’iš, it is indicated in the long: â.
Numerals 20–90:

ʼišrin, ṭalātīn, arbaʼin, xamsīn, sittīn, sabʼin, țamānīn, tīsʼin.

Numerals 100–900:

miyyīh, miytēn, țulțmīyyīh, rubī miyyīh, xumismīyyīh, suttmīyyīh, subī miyyīh, țumīnmiyyīh, tusī miyyīh.

Numerals 1,000–10,000:

alf, alfen, țalat t-ālāf, xamis t-ālāf, arbaʼ t-ālāf, sitt t-ālāf, sabī t-ālāf, țaman t-ālāf, tisiʼ t-ālāf, ʼašar t-ālāf.

Long ă of the first syllable is usually reduced to short a, e.g. țalat t-ālāf “three thousand”.

Numerals 11,000–1,000,000:

ḥdāšar alf, mit alf, miyytēn alf, milyōn / malyōn (and țalat malyōyn).

Some plurals recorded with proclitic t- are: tisiʼ t-ālāf “nine thousand”, ʼašar t-īyyām “ten days”, sitt t-uṣhur “six months”,104 sabī t-infār “seven persons”. Months are usually referred to by numbers, e.g. șahār wāḥid “January”, f-awwil ḥdāiś “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. raʃfayn “two tent sections”, șaharayn “two months”, țomēn “two days”, șwālēn “two (large) sacks”.

Older forms of the dual (?,?,?,?,?)105 are used in expressions for body parts, e.g. TAŞ and TyA forms riğiřlāy “my (two) legs”, idāy “my hands” (unsuffixed pl. forms are riğiřlān and idān).

Forms recorded in ḤwA are: id “hand”, idān “hands”, idāha “her hands”, idāhin “their (fem.) hands”, but idāni “my hands”. A form heard in ĞrA is idāhuw “their hands”.

104 sitt t-uṣhur is actually pronounced like sitt uṣhur (reduced tt t > tt). The proclitic t- is concluded from other forms, like xamis t-ușhur “five months” and țaman t-ușhur “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”, țirān (sg. țrā) “forearms”.

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Plural forms in BdA and DbA are with initial $a$: adēk “your hands”, adēhun “their hands”, adēhin “their (fem.) hands” and “my hands” in DbA is adāy, but was recorded as adāyy in BdA.

Forms recorded in MIA are only sg.: ūd “hand” and īdī “my hand”. Forms in TAN are īdak and īdah, and pl. forms īdēh “his hands” and riǧlēh “his legs”.

These forms are also used as plurals—not only as duals—as is clear from recorded instances like yākluw b īdāhuw “they eat with their hands” and biygussinīhīn ʿīw byyūḏfrinnah ʿaḏār . . . al-ʿādāhīn . . . ʿāšṣār ʿaḏa “they (fem.) shave them (fem., i.e. the goats), and they (fem.) plait it (sg. masc.) into a saddle girth . . . this hair” and īb riǧlāhin ibyīdirsin “they (fem.) thresh with their (fem., i.e. animals) feet”.

3.2. Verbal Morphology

3.2.1. Regular verbs

3.2.1.1. Regular verbs perfect

For measure 1 the two principal underlying patterns for the perfect are (i-type) $C_1aC_2iC_3$ and (a-type) $C_1aC_2aC_3$ (for $C_1aC_2uC_3$ see 3.2.1.3.).

The paradigms in TyA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect “drink”*¹</th>
<th>perfect “sit”*²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>širibt</td>
<td>širiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>širibna</td>
<td>širibtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>širibty</td>
<td>širibtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>širib</td>
<td>šarbuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>šarbit</td>
<td>šarbin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>širibt</td>
<td>širibtuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>širibtn</td>
<td>šarbin2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šarbit</td>
<td>šarbin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šarbit2</td>
<td>šarbin2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹ The short vowel $i$ of the open and unstressed first syllable is underlying [a] and is therefore not elided in these group I dialects (i.e. forms are not *šrib, *šribt, etc.) (cf. the verb ġulūd 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 širbit, 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 ġulūd in 3.2.1.3.).
*3 Raising of a in open syllable preceding stress is regular, but optional, e.g. fitáḥ “he opened”.

*4 Stress is CáCaCv in TAṢ. The other group I dialects discussed here (including TAN!) stress CaCáCv (but MlA shows variation in this respect, see remarks in 2.1.1.2.2.).

*5 The consonant cluster dt assimilates to tt.

In TAṢ suffixed forms only distinguished by stress are: širíbtah “I drank it (sg. masc)” (< širibt + ah) and širíbtah “she drank it (sg. masc)” (< širbit + ah).

In ĜrA, however, the high vowel of the verbal ending is not elided (and hence no subsequent anaptyxis takes place): hī líbsítiḥ “she wore it”, hī šírbitih “she drank it”, hī lágyítiḥ “she found it”, but anā libístiḥ “I wore it”. No such forms were recorded in MlA.

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: ĜrA, BdA and in some instances also in TAN (e.g. léš 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: yaC 1C2CaC 3, yuC 1C2CuC 3 and yiC1C2iC 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Masculine Singular 3rd</th>
<th>Feminine Singular 2nd</th>
<th>Masculine Singular 2nd</th>
<th>Feminine Singular 2nd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-type imperfect “drink”</td>
<td>yāšrab</td>
<td>yāšrabaw</td>
<td>tášrab</td>
<td>yášraban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tášrab</td>
<td>tášrabaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tášrabay</td>
<td>tášraban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ášrab</td>
<td>nášrab</td>
<td></td>
<td></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. yaharît) and a-type (e.g. ya’aṣrag) with Ci = X have the following paradigms.
### “plough” *i-type imperfect*  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>yahārit</td>
<td>yahārituway</td>
<td>ya’ārag</td>
<td>ya’āragaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tahārit</td>
<td>tahārituwa</td>
<td>ta’ārag</td>
<td>ta’āragaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>tahāriyy</td>
<td>tahāriyyuwa</td>
<td>ta’āragay</td>
<td>ta’āragan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tahāriyy</td>
<td>tahāriyyuwa</td>
<td>ta’āragay</td>
<td>ta’āragan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>aḥāri</td>
<td>naḥāri</td>
<td>naḥāriuwa</td>
<td>a’ārag</td>
<td>na’ārag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### “sweat” *a-type imperfect*  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>yahārit</td>
<td>yahārituway</td>
<td>ya’ārag</td>
<td>ya’āragaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tahārit</td>
<td>tahārituwa</td>
<td>ta’ārag</td>
<td>ta’āragaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>tahāriyy</td>
<td>tahāriyyuwa</td>
<td>ta’āragay</td>
<td>ta’āragan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tahāriyy</td>
<td>tahāriyyuwa</td>
<td>ta’āragay</td>
<td>ta’āragan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>aḥāri</td>
<td>naḥāri</td>
<td>naḥāriuwa</td>
<td>a’ārag</td>
<td>na’ārag</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.

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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. *yahārit*), see remarks in De Jong 2000:94, fn 94).

Perfecst and participles of these verbs *ḥarāt* and *’irīg* are like those of *ga’ād* and *širīb* (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>“grow fat”</th>
<th><em>u-type perfect</em></th>
<th><em>u-type imperfect</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>ġuluđ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ġalduit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>ġuluđt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ġuluđtuy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ġuluđt</td>
<td>ġuluđna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In unstressed open syllables the surface *u* (of the first syllable) is not dropped (i.e. forms are not *ġluđ, ġluđt*, etc.) and is therefore to be interpreted as being underlying |a| (cf. the verb *širīb* 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, ĢrA, MIA; forms recorded there are ġuluđt, ġuluđuwa and ġuluđin. For TAN I have extrapolated ‘reappearance’ of a here based on its ‘reappearance’ in the *i*-type perfect (compare *širīb* 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. *yağāld* # and *tağāld* #. 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 *ahárit (see 3.2.1.2. above) the initial vowel does not harmonize with the base vowel.

For the imperfect this paradigm with gahawah-forms was elicited in ḤwA. In other dialects a paradigm like that of 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 C₁āC₂iC₃, C₁āC₂C₃ ah/-ih (sg. fem.), C₁āC₂C₃ in (pl. masc.), C₁āC₂C₃āt (pl. fem.).

When the sg. fem. participle is suffixed with an object, it is in construct state with this suffix. Examples are: ḫāyidtih “she wants/loves him”, šāribtih “having drunk (sg. fem.) it (sg. masc.)” (both ḤwA), šārbitha “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. ášṛab, ášṛabay, ášṛabaw, ášṛaban “drink!”, úg’ud, úgu’diy, úgu’daw, úgu’din “sit down!” and imisik, imiskiy, imiskuw, imiskin “grab, take hold!”.

3.2.2. Irregular and other verbs

3.2.2.1. Verbs C₁ = w (primae wāw)
In group I dialects discussed here there is a mild preference for monophtongs in -i-type imperfects, while a-type imperfects more often have diphthongs, e.g. warád, yōrid “give water”, wazán, yōzin “weigh”, waṣál, yawṣal “arrive”, but forms like yawrid and yōṣal were also heard.107

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-type imperfect with wāw* “arrive”</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yawṣal</td>
<td>yawṣalaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tawṣal</td>
<td>tawṣalaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tawṣal</td>
<td>tawṣalaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tawṣalay</td>
<td>tawṣalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>awṣal</td>
<td>nawṣal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

* See De Jong 2000:392.

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 (yagá’ 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 (yirīd), 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. 3. masc.</td>
<td>yirīd</td>
<td>yōrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. yiarduw</td>
<td>yōrduw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. 2. masc.</td>
<td>tīrīd</td>
<td>tōrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. tirduw</td>
<td>tōrduw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem. 1. com.</td>
<td>tārdiy</td>
<td>tōrdiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. tirdin</td>
<td>tōrdin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(š)ārd</td>
<td>nārid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ Notice that the vowel of the first syllable is underlying |a|: it is raised to i in open unstressed syllables (except when ' precedes), but appears as a in closed (and stressed) syllables. Compare this to the perfect paradigms of širīb (see 3.2.1.1.) and ġulūd (see 3.2.1.3.).

Similar paradigms in ḤwA were recorded for yiğīf (paradigm like yirīd above) ~ yawgaf (paradigm like yawṣal above).

*₂ In ĠrA the imperfect of this verb is with incorporated wāw. The tendency during elicitation was to monophthongize aw > ō in closed syllables, but to maintain diphthongs in open syllables, e.g. yōrduw "they give water", but yawrid "he gives water" (the paradigm for the perfect warād is like ga’d, see 3.2.1.1.).

Other primae wāw verbs are: wağa’, yöği “hurt”, wala’, yawliy “come near”, wakā’, yökyi “tie closed”, wata’, yawṭiy “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 wi’iy, yaw’a “pay attention” (root w-‘y) are aw’a, aw’ay, aw’aw and aw’an in ḤwA, DbA, e.g. aw an rūskīn “mind (pl. fem.) your (pl. fem.) heads!”. Forms recorded in TAṢ, TyA were recorded with base vowels dropped: aw’a, aw’iy, aw’in and aw’uw, e.g. aw’a tans “don’t you forget (sg. masc.)!” and aw’in tansin “don’t you forget (pl. fem.)!”. In BdA and ĠrA 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): aw’a rāṣak, aw’a rāṣkiy, aw’a rūskuw, aw’a rūskin for “mind your head(s)!“ (BdA) and also aw’a tans, aw’a tansay, aw’a tansaw and aw’a tansan “don’t
forget!” (ǦrA). Other dialects have regular imperative forms like aw’ān ṛūskin and aw’aw tansaw (Forms in MIA and TAN were not recorded).

Imperfect forms with base vowel i in most dialects have ō as in yōği “it hurts”, yōkıy “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 yawšal “he arrives”, yawṣaf “he describes” and yawğa’ (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, wārdīn, 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 $C_1 = y$ (primae yā’)

In TyA, ḤwA, TAṢ and ĞrA the diphthong of the first syllable in the imperfect is left intact (perfect) yibīs, (imperfect) yaybas (not recorded in the other dialects).

Notice that, like in the verb širīb (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): yibīs “it (sg. masc.) dried”, but yabsit “it (sg. fem.) dried”.

3.2.2.3. Verbs $C_1 = *'$ (primae hamzah)

The verb “eat” has the following paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect*¹</th>
<th>perfect*²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
<td>sg. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yāḳil yāḳluw</td>
<td>akāl akālaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḳil tāḳlin</td>
<td>akālat akālan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tāḳil tāḳluw</td>
<td>akalt akaltuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tāḳliy tāḳlin</td>
<td>akaltiy akaltín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>āḳil nāḳil</td>
<td>akalt akalna</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. 

All dialects discussed here have the imperfect vowel i in the imperfect. The perfect is without initial a- in TAṢ, ĜrA, MIA (TAN is uncertain). Stress is then kalát, kaláw and kalán.

The paradigms for the verb “take” (’-x-d) are comparable (in the perfect d + t usually assimilates to > tt, e.g. axattuw).

Present participles are with initial m-: màkil, màklih, màklín, màklát.

Past participles are: màx̣̣ū, -ah, -ín, -át (all forms are velarized).

Imperatives are: kúl, kíy, klúw, klín

The verbal noun is (’)akl “eating” (also “food”), but wakl was recorded in BdA. The passive verb “be eaten” is ánwakal, yínwikil.

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

#### 3.2.2.4.1. Verbs C₂ = w or y (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect

In group I dialects the perfect and imperfect paradigms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“say”</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>gāl</td>
<td>gālaw*₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gālat</td>
<td>gālan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>gūlt</td>
<td>gūltuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gūltiy</td>
<td>gūltin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>gūlt</td>
<td>gúna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*₁ In TAṢ and ĜrA the ending -aw varies with -uw. In the other dialects the ending is regularly -aw.

*₂ Media yā’ verbs (with long base vowel ĩ) have the same endings.

*₃ Notice that shortened base vowels in the 2nd p. sg. masc. imperfect (like e.g. tanam, tugul and tîšîl) were not recorded in these group I dialects.

*₄ See remarks in 3.2.1.2. on vowel harmony of the initial vowel of the sg. com. (uǧūl) in ĜrA and BdA.

For media yā’ verbs (with long base vowel ā) ḤwA, BdA, ĜrA, TyA and TAṢ have the same endings, but forms in DbA were recorded with vowel harmony: tnāmay, ynāmaw, ynāman, tnāmaw and tnāman. Situation in MIA and TAN is unknown (see also remark * in 3.2.2.4.2. below).
The verb šāf, yšūf was recorded in all dialects with short vowel u only: ʾšuft “I saw”.

Verbs C₂ = y are like in group VI as well, e.g. šāl, yšil (and šilt) (for a remark on originally measure 4 verb rād, 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. gūl “say!”, šīl “carry, take away!”, although there are also isolated instances of gul “say!”.

Regular imperatives have long base vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>long ū</th>
<th>long ī</th>
<th>long ā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>gūl</td>
<td>gūluw</td>
<td>šīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>gūliy</td>
<td>gūlin</td>
<td>šīliy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These endings without vowel harmony were heard in ḤwA, BdA, TyA, TAṢ and ĠrA. In DbA the endings were heard with vowel harmony: nāmay, nāmaw, nāman (not recorded in TAN and MIA).

Imperatives used with the verb ḡāb, yḡīb “bring” are: hāt, ḥātiy, ḥātuw, ḥātīn.

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, gāylīh, gāylīn, gāylāt.

Past participles are magyūl, -ah, -īn, -āt, but more current is mingāl, -ah, -in, -āt.

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 perfects of tertiae infirmae verbs have often become mixed.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“walk”*₁</th>
<th>“find”*₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>mašā(’ )</td>
<td>lijy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>mašāw</td>
<td>lijyw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>mašā(’ )</td>
<td>lijy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mašān</td>
<td>lijyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>mašēt</td>
<td>lijit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mašētuw</td>
<td>lijitw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mašētn</td>
<td>lijitn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>mašēt</td>
<td>lijit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mašēna</td>
<td>lijina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Raising of a in open pre-stress syllable is current in the a-type perfect, e.g. mišá(‘) and mišēt.

The same paradigm was recorded in ĺrA, BdA, though in the latter the 3rd p. sg. fem. was produced as mášyit.

In DbA and ḤwA the verb has two parallel conjugations: both as a-type and as i-type, e.g. mášá ~ mášy, mašát ~ mašyit and mišēt (< *mašēt) ~ mišēt.

The same paradigm was recorded in ĺrA

In BdA the 3rd p. sg. masc. is also ligy, but the underlying |a| of the first syllable ‘reappears’ when the syllable is closed: lagyit, lagyuw and lagyin. In the rest of the paradigm the verb is treated like an a-type perfect: ligēt (< lagēt), etc.

In DbA and ḤwA the verb has two parallel conjugations: both as a-type and as i-type, e.g. ligá ~ ligy, ligāt ~ lagyit and ligēt ~ ligyt.

The perfect paradigm for “forget” recorded in TAṢ is mixed: (sg.) nasá(‘), nasāt, nasit, nasity, nasat, nasit, nasina. In these forms a of the open first syllable is usually raised to i, as in e.g. nisit.

DbA has two parallel conjugations: nasá(‘) ~ nisiy, the conjugation elicited for “forget” in ḤwA is unmixed i-type: nisiy, nasit, nisit, 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 C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) imperfect

Paradigms for the imperfect in TAṢ are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“find”</th>
<th>“walk”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>yalga</td>
<td>yalguw*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talga</td>
<td>yalgan*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>talga*2</td>
<td>talguw*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>talgiy*3</td>
<td>talgan*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>alga</td>
<td>nalga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The type of raising of final -a (e.g. yansi’) 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 ĞrA, DbA and TAN, and none in TAṢ, HwA and MlA.

*3 Notice that in the a-type the final base vowel -a is dropped in the endings of the 2nd p. sg. fem. and the 3rd and 2nd pl. masc. forms, but not in 3rd and 2nd pl. fem. forms.

*4 See remarks in 3.2.1.2. on possible vowel harmony of the initial vowel of the sg. com. (imšiy) in ĞrA and BdA.

Endings with base vowel (i.e. -ay, -an and -aw, as in talgay, t/yalgan and t/yalgaw) were heard in TAN, HwA, DbA and BdA. In ĞrA and TyA these co-occurred with endings without the base vowel. Material is too limited for conclusions on MlA; only one relevant form was recorded there: talgihuhu “you’ll find them”.

3.2.2.5.3. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) imperatives
Dialects where apocopated imperfects are current (mainly in TyA and BdA, but also in ĞrA, DbA and TAN, see remark *2 in 3.2.2.5.2.), may also use apocopated imperatives for the sg. masc.

3.2.2.5.4. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) participles
Active participles have the patterns C1āC2iy, C1āC2yih, C1āC2yīn and C1āC2yāt. E.g. nāsiy, nāsyih, nāsyīn, nāsyāt “having forgotten”.

3.2.2.5.5. Verbs C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) verbal nouns
A verbal noun of a verb C3 = y (tertiae infirmae) is mašy.

3.2.2.6. The verb “come”

3.2.2.6.1. The verb “come” perfect and imperfect
The verb “come” was recorded in all group I dialects as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ḟaʾ</td>
<td>ḡaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḧat</td>
<td>ḡan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ḧit</td>
<td>Ḫituw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḧitiy</td>
<td>Ḫitin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ḧit</td>
<td>ḧina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 In ĞrA forms with initial t- often showed a following vowel as well: tḡiy ~ tḡiy, tḡuw ~ ḫuwt and tḡin ~ tḡin.
The apocopated form in BdA and TyA is *tiğ*.

Informants of ŠrA and BdA did not produce a form *iği* here (contrast with remarks on vowel harmony in 3.2.1.2.).

### 3.2.2.6.2. The verb “come” imperatives

Imperatives used with the verb “come” in ŠrA, BdA and TyA are: *ta‘āl*, *ta‘āliy*, *ta‘ālaw* and *ta‘ālin*. The same forms are used in TAŞ, but there the pl. fem. shows vowel harmony: *ta‘ālan*.

In ḤwA the sg. masc is *ta‘ā* (’) and in DbA *ta‘āl*. In both ḤwA, DbA the endings of the other forms also show vowel harmony: *ta‘ālay*, *ta‘ālaw* and *ta‘ālan*.

Material for MIA and TAN is too limited for conclusions.

### 3.2.2.6.3. The verb “come” participles

Participles of the verb “come” are: *ğāy*, *ğāyiḥ*, *ğāyin*, *ğāyāt*.

### 3.2.2.7. Verbs $C_2$ = $C_3$ (mediae geminatae)

#### 3.2.2.7.1. Verbs $C_2$ = $C_3$ (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect

Paradigms for mediae geminatae verbs are:

```plaintext
“pull”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*1</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>šadd</td>
<td>šaddaw</td>
<td>yšidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šaddat</td>
<td>šaddan*2</td>
<td>tšidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>šaddēt</td>
<td>šaddētuw</td>
<td>tšidd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>šaddētiy</td>
<td>šaddētin</td>
<td>tšiddiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>šaddēt</td>
<td>šaddēna</td>
<td>asīdē*3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

*1 Raising of a preceding a syllable with ē may occur in ḤwA, DbA and ŠrA (e.g. šīddēt), but it is much less regular than in the other dialects, see also remark in 3.2.3.5.2.

When the geminate is velarized, the ē of the ending is diphthongal ay. E.g. haṭṭayt “I placed” and haṭṭaytuw “you (pl. masc.) placed” (notice that a is not raised, so not *hiṭṭayt* or *huṭṭayt*, or something similar).

*2 Notice vowel harmony in the 3rd p. pl. endings in BdA, ḤwA, DbA, ŠrA, MIA and TAN.

In TAŞ and TyA, however, both -aw and -uw were heard as endings of the 3rd p. pl. masc., e.g. haṭṭaw ~ haṭṭuw “they placed”. In TAŞ froms with the ending -uw are most commonly heard.

*3 In ŠrA and BdA also forms with vowel harmony were recorded, e.g. anā biḥiḥb “I love”, bišidd “I pull” (~ āḥiḥb and ašidd), and also a form buṭuxx “I shoot” in TAN, cf. remarks in 3.2.1.2.
3.2.2.7.2. Verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae) imperatives
Imperatives of mediae geminate verbs are e.g. limm, limmiyy, limmuw, limmin “gather!” and with base vowel u: xušš, xuššiy, xuššuw, xuššin “enter!”.

3.2.2.7.3. Verbs $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae)
Active participles geminate verbs are e.g.: lämm, lämmih, lämmīn, lämmāt “having gathered”.
Passive participles may be subject to the gahawah-rule when $C_1 = X$, e.g. 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></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>ānbiṣaṭ</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭaw*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭat</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭīṭ*2</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭtuw*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭīṭ*2</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭtin*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭt*2</td>
<td>inbaṣāṭna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 For stress in these paradigms, see 2.1.1.
*2 t + t assimilates to tt.
*3 Vowel harmony is absent in the ending -uw in TAṢ. In TyA -uw co-occurs with -aw and in other dialects the ending is -aw.

3.2.3.1.2. Measure n-1 $C_2 = C_3$ (mediae geminatae)
Patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial geminate verbs are: (i)nC1aC2aC3 and yinC1aC2iC3, e.g. indabb, yindabb (miy) “be filled (with water)”.

3.2.3.1.3. Measure n-1 $C_2 = y$ or $w$ (mediae infirmae)
The patterns for perfect and imperfect of measure n-1 of medial weak verbs are: inC1āC3 and yinC1āC3. The paradigm for the perfect is:
"be carried"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>inšāl</td>
<td>inšālaw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inšālat</td>
<td>inšālan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>inšilt</td>
<td>inšiltuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inšiltiy</td>
<td>inšiltin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</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 n-t**

$C_2 = y$ or $w$ (mediae infirmae) participles

Participles are shaped on the patterns $\min C_1 a C_3, \ -ah/-ih, -in, -\dot{a}t$.

3.2.3.2. **Measure t-1**

Measure $t-1$ was recorded once in TAṢ in (the loan from presumably Cairene) $\text{yittākil} \ "it (sg. masc.) is eaten",$ but the verb current in TAṢ for "be eaten" is (perf.) $\text{ánwakal},$ (imperf.) $\text{yânwikil}.$ No other instances of measure $t-1$ were recorded in these group I dialects.

3.2.3.3. **Measure 1-t**

3.2.3.3.1. **Measure 1-t sound roots**

Underlying patterns for measure 1-t are: $aC_1 taC_2 aC_3, yiC_1 taC_2 iC_3.$ Like in measure $n-1,$ $a > i$ is found in the unstressed syllables of the surface form for the imperfect (such raising is compulsory) and also in the perfect (where such raising is optional), e.g.: $\text{ášṭiḡal} \sim \text{ášṭaḡal}, \text{yíštiḡil} \ "work", \text{áṭṭifag} \sim \text{áṭṭafag}, \text{yíṭṭifig} \ "agree"$ and $\text{áṣtuwa} \sim \text{áṣtawa}, \text{yístiwiy} \ "ripen; be cooked (of food)".$

Notice, however, that although the morphophonemic base vowel $a$ ‘reappears’ in closed syllables when verbal suffixes follow, e.g. $\text{yíxṭilif} + \text{ verbal suffix } -uweg > \text{yíxṭáltuw},$ no $a$ ‘reappears’ in the example $\text{yíṭṭibir} \ "he considers" + \text{ pron. obj. suffix } -ih > \text{yíṭṭibřiḥ} \ "he considers him"$ (recorded in TAN).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>áštara</td>
<td>áštaraُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>áštarat</td>
<td>áštaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ištaryt</td>
<td>ištarytuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ištaryty</td>
<td>ištarytin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ištaryt</td>
<td>ištaryyna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

110 Similarly so in TyA of the Negev, e.g. $\text{yíṭṭafguw} \ "they agree",$ see Shawarbah 2007:296.

111 The fact that $a$ does not ‘reappear’ in this case suggests that the “reappearance” of $a$ is not a rule which is synchronically executed.
In TAṢ both -uw and -aw were heard as endings.

In BdA and TyA apocopated imperfects (like tiššir) are possible. In other dialects the form is tišširiy.

Notice that the base consonant y is not dropped here. In DbA the forms are without the base yā': tišširiy, y/tišširuw and y/tišširin. These forms were reported to be acceptable in ĠrA as well.

In ḤwA the base yā' was dropped only in the 2nd p. sg. fem.: tišširiy, but the pl. forms were y/tiššáryuw and y/tiššáryin.

The verb was not recorded in MIA and TAN.

Comparable forms occur with the verb ástuwa, yíššiwiy: (e.g.) yistawyin “they (pl. fem.) ripen”.

3.2.3.3.2. Measure 1-t \( C_2 = w \) or \( y \) (mediae infirmae)
An example of a medial weak measure 1-t verb was not recorded (in the verb ástuwa, yíššiwiy the wāw is not a weak radical).

3.2.3.3.3. Measure 1-t \( C_2 = C_3 \) (mediae geminatae)
An example of a medial geminate measure 1-t verb is iftakk, yiftakk “be solved (of a dispute/problem)”.

3.2.3.3.4. Measure 1-t participles
Patterns for measure 1-t participles are mi\( C_1 \)t\( C_2 iC_3 \) (underlying mi\( C_1 taC_2 iC_3 \)), mi\( C_1 taC_2 C_2 \) ah/ih, mi\( C_1 taC_2 C_2 i \), mi\( C_1 taC_2 C_2 at \).

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>mixtilif</td>
<td>mixtalif</td>
<td>mixtalifin</td>
<td>mixtalifat</td>
<td>“differing”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miššiřiy</td>
<td>miššaryih</td>
<td>miššaryin</td>
<td>miššaryat</td>
<td>“having bought”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīttafīg</td>
<td>mīttafīgih</td>
<td>mīttafīgin</td>
<td>mīttafīgat</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, yistahwin b “consider to be hayyin, i.e. unimportant”.
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 $C_3 = y$ (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: istaC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$, yistaC$_1$iC$_2$C$_2$.

Paradigms are:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect*1</th>
<th>perfect*2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>yista‘idd</td>
<td>ista‘add</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>yista‘iddaw</td>
<td>ista‘addaw*3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. masc. | tista‘idd   | ista‘iddin |
| fem.   | tista‘iddiy | ista‘iddin |

2. masc. | tista‘idd   | ista‘iddin |
| fem.   | tista‘iddiy | ista‘iddin |

1. com. | asta‘idd   | ista‘idd   |
|        | nista‘idd  | ista‘idd   |
```

*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 mistaC$_1$C$_2$iC$_3$, e.g. mista‘gil, mista‘iglih, mista‘iglin, mista‘iglāt “in a hurry”.

No instances were recorded of measure ista-1 verbs of medial weak roots. For mediae geminatae the pattern is mistaC$_1$iC$_2$C$_3$ : 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$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$, (imperfect) yC$_1$C$_2$C$_2$.

Measure t-2 has morphologically fixed a. The patterns are (perfect) taC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$C$_3$, (imperfect) ytaC$_1$aC$_2$C$_2$C$_3$. 
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 (compulsary) morphophonemic elisions are: *itgalbih* “you flip it (sg. masc.) over”, *biyğamrrow* “they gather (harvest) with outstretched arms”.

Examples of (optional) sandhi elisions: *nraww* alMidān “we go to alMidān” and *bīrakk* alifrūd “we mount the ploughs”.

*r* following the high vowel *i* may inhibit its morpho-phonemic elision, e.g. *biyfakkiru* (fi) “they look (at)” and in sandhi *ydawwir* alīgṣūr “he looks for the safe storages”.

When *C₂ = C₃*, the elision of *i* does not take place, but the geminate may be reduced, e.g. *bihālil* “they make little heaps” and (in sandhi, same root, but different meaning) *mḥallī* ibnākhiy yā raḡil “(it’s) ħalāl, 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>fākkaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>fakkārt</td>
<td>fakkārtuw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>fakkārtiy</td>
<td>fakkārtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>fakkārt</td>
<td>fakkārna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* TAṢ and TyA have varying -aw and -aw endings in the 3rd p. pl. masc. of the perfect, e.g. *rawwaḥaw* “they went” and *karrabuw* “they tied (ropes)”. In TyA the -aw 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 *ğimr* (pl. *ğmūr*) is the quantity of harvest held in two arms.

113 The meaning of the verb *rawwaḥ*, *yrawwiḥ* 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 *gāṣr*, pl. *gṣūr* see fn 42, p. 47.
“make, do”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect*1</th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>sawwa</td>
<td>sawwaw*2</td>
<td>ysawwiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>sawwat</td>
<td>sawwan</td>
<td>tsawwiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>sawwēt</td>
<td>sawwētuw</td>
<td>tsaww /-iy*3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>sawwētiy</td>
<td>sawwētin</td>
<td>tsawwiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>sawwēt</td>
<td>sawwēna</td>
<td>asawwiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Raising of a preceding stressed ē (> sawwēt) is a feature of GrA, HwA and somewhat less so of DbA. Such raising is much less, or not current in MIA, TAṢ, TAN, BdA or TyA (see 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.2.2.7.1.).

*2 Here too the endings -aw and -uw were both heard in TAṢ and TyA: sawwaw ~ sawwuw “they made/did” (other dialects only sawwaw).

*3 Apocopated forms are regularly heard only in BdA and TyA.

3.2.3.5.3. Examples of measure 2 primae hamzah
Like in many other dialects, the verb “feed” is wakkal, ywakkil “give food” and wadda, ywaddiy is “bring, take to”.

3.2.3.5.4. Measure t-2 imperfect and perfect
In measure t-2 the vowel a is morphologically fixed for the perfect and imperfect. Patterns are taC aC C aC*, ytaC aC C aC*.

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-.

“have lunch”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>imperfect*4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>taġadda</td>
<td>taġaddaw*1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taġaddat</td>
<td>taġaddan*2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>taġaddēt</td>
<td>tağuaddētuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>taġaddētiy</td>
<td>taġaddētin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>taḏaddēt</td>
<td>taḏaddēna*3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 The ending is -uw ~ -aw in TAṢ and TyA.

*2 The ending is -in in TAṢ and TyA.

*3 a of the ta- prefix in the perfect may be raised, e.g. tiḏaddēt.

*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. yitṛāfag “he is accompanied on his travel” (Shawarbah 2007:394), yitlāgaw “they meet” (ibid.:296).
3.2.3.5.5. Measures 2 and t-2 verbal nouns

Verbal nouns for measure 2 have a taCiC3 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 ṭkissīr “breaking into pieces” (ǦrA).

3.2.3.5.6. Measures 2 and t-2 participles

Active participles of measure 2 have a mCaC2aC2C3 (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt) pattern. Passive participles have a mCaC2aC2aC3 (-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt) pattern. An example of a C3 = y verb is mlaggiy, mlaggyih, mlaggyīn, mlaggyāt “going”.

The ta- preformative of measure t-2 is often reduced to t- in participles, so that for t-2 active participles the pattern is mitCaC2aC2C3 (ṯ-ih/-ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. mitrāḥhil “being on a trek”, mitḏakkir “remembering”, mitkassir “having been broken into pieces”, mitḏaffil “not paying attention” and (for C3 = y) mitḏaddiy “having eaten lunch”. This is generally the case in TAṢ, ḤwA, MLa, GrA, DBA. On the other hand, also (but fewer) participles with the ta- preformative were heard, e.g. mitamakkin, mitaʾakkid “convinced” and also mitaʾallim ~ mitaʾallim “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: taCaC2aC3, ytaCaC2iC3. Like in measure t-2, intitial tt- in the imperfect is reduced to t- (see examples in 3.2.3.6.1.).

3.2.3.6.1. Examples of measures 3 and t-3

Examples of measure 3 are: (imperfect) yāʾāwid “return”, yrāfīg “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) biytawafagaw “they agree (with each other)”, biytawā’adaw “they set a time (for a court session)”;\(^{118}\) (perfect) tarāfagti “I was accompanied (on a trip)”, talāgēna “we met each other”, talāgan “they (fem.) met each other”, tāḥārabaaw “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. biytasābaguww “they race each other”, biytarāfaguw “they accompany each other (as travelling companions)”, talāgin (< *ttalāgin) “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 mCāC1iC2 (-ih / -ah, -īn, -āt), e.g. mwāfijig “agreeing”, mlāgyih “having found (sg. fem.)”. mkāwnīn “fighting (pl. masc.)”.

A passive participle (pattern mC1āC2aC3) is the origin for the loans mḥāwalah “attempt” and msā’adah “help, assistance”. Like in measure t-2, active participles of measure t-3 often have a reduced preformative (ta- > (i)t-) in the pattern mitCāC1iC2 (-ih / ah, -īn, -āt) (see also remarks in 3.2.3.5.6.). Among the few instances of participles of measure t-3 recorded are: mitdāxlīn “having sought refuge as dāxīl (pl. duxala) with each other”, mitwāsyyih “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 māxza\(^{119}\) “no offense intended”. 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
Verbal measure 4 is active in group I. The patterns for this measure are (perfect) ’aC1C2aC3, (imperfect) yiC1C2iC3 and the active participle has a pattern miC1C2iC3 (-ih, -īn, -āt).

Of many examples are: arkaʃ, yirkib, active participle mūrkib “cause (someone) to ride”, asnaʃ, yisniʃ heard in MlA for “go to Palestine”\(^{120}\) and ar’ad, yir’id in DbA for “thunder”.

The verb aftar, yifṭir “have breakfast” is in most dialects of group I a measure 4, but in some cases (like in TyA) measure 1 may also be used:

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\(^{118}\) In TyA of the Negev such reduction of ta- > t- appears to be regular, see e.g. yitgahwa “he is served coffee or tea” (Shawarbah 2007:174), atxayyal “I imagine” (ibid.:330).

\(^{119}\) bala m’āxza is probably a loan from MSA via Cairene Arabic, hence z as a reflex for *d, see also fn 63, p. 221.

\(^{120}\) 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”.

---
fitîr (and, remarkably so, with the ‘reappearing’ a in closed syllables of the i-type perfect: fitîrit),\textsuperscript{122} yifṭir.

3.2.3.7.2. Measure 4 C\textsubscript{2} = w or y (mediae infirmae) perfect and imperfect
The verb rād, yrīd “want” has become measure 1 in ḨwA, ĞrA, TAṢ, BdA with participles rāyid, rāyidih, rāydīn, rāydāt.

In TyA participles are mrīd, mrīdih, mrīdin 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\textsubscript{3} = y (tertiae infirmæ) perfect and imperfect
In all group I dialects of southern Sinai the verb a’ṭa, yiṭiy is verbal measure 4.

In DbA, ḨwA, ĞrA, TyA, BdA the verb ḏawā’, yiḏwy “return home before sunset (with small cattle)” is measure 1, the participles are then ḏawiy, ḏawiyih, ḏawīn, ḏawyāt.

In the other tribal dialects TAṢ and ḨwA this verb is current as a measure 4. Participles are then miḏwy, miḏwyih, miḏwyin, miḏwyāt (situation in MLA unknown).

Another tertia yāʾ measure 4 verb is agra yigriy, with the participle migriy “serve a proper meal to a guest”.\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
 & perfect & imperfect &  \\
 & sg. & pl. & sg. & pl. \\
3. masc. & á’ṭa(’) & á’ṭaw\textsuperscript{*1} & yiṭiy & yiṭuw \\
 & fem. & á’ṭat & á’ṭan & tiṭiy & yiṭin \\
2. masc. & a’ṭayt & a’ṭaytuw & tiṭ’\textsuperscript{*2} -iy & tiṭ’uw \\
 & fem. & a’ṭaytiy & a’ṭaytin & tiṭiy & tiṭin \\
1. com. & a’ṭayt & a’ṭayna & a’ṭiy & niṭiy \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{*1} Also in TAṢ the ending is -aw (but often -uw elsewhere).\textsuperscript{123}

\textsuperscript{*2} Apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. forms in the imperfect of measure 4 are heard in TyA and BdA.

\textsuperscript{122} The term ‘reappearing’ could be a misnomer here, since there may never have been an original perfect form with a in the first syllable. The a only appears in closed syllables here because the entire measure 1 paradigm (compare simi’ above in 3.2.1.1.) is applied to the root f-t-r.

\textsuperscript{123} Cf. remarks in fn 144, p. 111.

\textsuperscript{123} Such -aw endings appear to be phonetically conditioned in TAṢ (i.e. they appear following velarized consonants), at least more so than morphologically conditioned; -uw endings also occur in tertiae yaʾ 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: \( t'it \) when followed by # or C.

3.2.3.7.4. Measure 4 \( C_1 = w \) (primae wāw) perfect and imperfect

awka, \( yūkiy \) “tie (closed) tightly” is a prima wāw/tertia yāʾ measure 4 verb.

3.2.3.7.5. Measure 4 \( C_2 = C_3 \) (mediae geminatae) perfect and imperfect

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

3.2.3.7.6. Measure 4 imperatives

Examples of imperatives for measure 4 sound roots are like imperatives for the \( i \)-type imperfect (see: 3.2.1.5.).

Imperatives of \( C_3 = y \) roots are: for the sg. masc. (apocopated) \( iṭ \) (~ \( iṭy \)) in TyA and BdA, but only \( iṭy \) was heard in the other dialects of group I. For sg. fem. \( iṭy \), 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. mifṭīr, mīfṭīrīh, mīfṭīrīn, mīfṭīrāt “having eaten breakfast”.

Participles of the prima wāw/tertia yāʾ verb awka, \( yūkiy \) are (act. participles) mūkiy, mūkyīh, mūkyīn and mūkyāt\(^{224} \) and (pass. part.) mawkāh, mawkayīn, mawkayāt.

For mediae infirmae there are participles of the type \( mC_1iC_3 \) (-ih, -in, -āt) like mārid “wanting” (in TyA, see 3.2.3.7.2.) and also annās tallaw mġīrīn “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>ihmarṣ</td>
<td>ihmarṣaw*</td>
<td>yihmarṣ</td>
<td>yihmarṣaw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ihmarṣat</td>
<td>ihmarṣan</td>
<td>tiḥmarṣ</td>
<td>tiḥmarṣaw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>ihmarṣayt</td>
<td>ihmarṣaytuw</td>
<td>tiḥmarṣ</td>
<td>tiḥmarṣaw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ihmarṣaytiy</td>
<td>ihmarṣaytīn</td>
<td>tiḥmarṣiy</td>
<td>tiḥmarṣan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>ihmarṣayt</td>
<td>ihmarṣaytīna</td>
<td>aḥmarṣ</td>
<td>nihmarṣ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In TAṢ the endings are -\( uw \).

Participles are mihmarṣ, -ah, -in, āt

\(^{224} \text{Morphological } i + w > ū, \text{ see De Jong 2000:90.} \)
An interesting measure 9 verb heard in ḤwA and TAṢ is *iḥlaww, yiḥlaww* "improve (intrans.)" (for a quadriliteral verb based on the root *ḥ-l-w* in BdA see 3.2.3.9. below).

### 3.2.3.9. Quadriliteral verbs

Like measure 2, quadriliteral verbs have morphologically alternating vowels in the imperfect (i) and perfect (a). The paradigms listed for group VI *zaġraṭ, yzaġriṭ* “ululate” are the same in group I.

The typically Bedouin verb type with inserted wāw between C₁ and C₂, $C_1ōC_2aC_3$, $yC_1ōC_3$ may show a full diphthong like in *gawṭar, ygawṭir* (often so in DbA, ḤwA), a slightly diphthongal ow, e.g. *gowṭar, ygowṭir* (especially so in BdA, but also in other dialects) or monophthongal ŏ (usually so in TAṢ, ḠrA, TyA, MIA and TAN). The paradigms for the verbs (including bukaṛa-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 $C_4 = y$ is *tagahwa, ytagahwa* and has the paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>tagahwa</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>tagahwaw*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>tagahwat</td>
<td>tagahwan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tagahwēt</td>
<td>tagahwētuw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tagahwēty</td>
<td>tagahwētin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tagahwētiy</td>
<td>tagahwētiyin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>tagahwēt</td>
<td>tagahwēna</td>
<td>ytagahwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ytagahwan*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ytagahwa</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masc.</td>
<td>ytagahwēt</td>
<td>tagahhw/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>ytagahwētiy</td>
<td>tagahhwiy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. masc.</td>
<td>tagahwēt</td>
<td>tagahwēt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>tagahwētiy</td>
<td>tagahwētiy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. com.</td>
<td>tagahwēt</td>
<td>tagahwēna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ntagahwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Endings -aw tend to be -uw in TAṢ.

An apocopated imperative for the sg. masc. is *tagahw* “drink tea / coffee!” (the final cluster hw # is then resolved: tagáhuw #).

Participles are *mtagahwiy, mtagahwiyih, mtagahwiyīn, mtagahwiyāt*.

Other examples (recorded in TAṢ): *tagahraş, ytagahraş* “wriggle the body to create a comfortable position to lie down (usually in pain)”, *tagarmaş, ytagarmaş* "wriggle the body, especially the shoulder, into soft sand to find a more comfortable position to sleep", *taṭawṭaḥ, ytaṭawṭaḥ* "swing, sway (e.g. of a tree in the wind)". Another verb heard in TAṢ is *karkam, ykarkim* "add turmeric".

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125 Realizations listed here are how they were heard as predominant in the dialects mentioned (following in brackets).
In BdA a quadriliteral *iḥlawla, yahlawliyy* expresses an increasing degree of acquiring a certain quality (here *ḥilw* “sweet; good; nice) “get better and better”, e.g. *algirbih iḥlawlat* “the watersack became better and better (as a result of it being used)”.

### 4. Remarks on Phraseology

#### 4.1. Nunation

Tanwīn is not a feature of any of the dialects of group I, but may be heard in poetry or sayings (and then has the shape -\(\text{-in}\)).

Loans from MSA which show nunation are like those listed for other dialect groups, e.g.: *ṭab\(\text{an}\) “of course”, *masalan* “for instance”, *ʿammatan* “in general”, *dāyman* (in ḠrA *dīman* was recorded) “always” (< MSA *dāʾīman*), *hāliyyan* “currently”, *ahyānan* “now and then”, *tagrīban* “approximately”.

#### 4.2. Negation

A verb is usually negated with single *mā* + verb form. Examples are: *albiʿir hāḍa lah arbaʾ t-īyyām mā warād* “this camel had not drunk for four days”, *azzarʾah hāḍa mā biykallif yaʾniy sbūʾ isbūʾayn* “this work on the land does not take (more than) like one, two weeks” (ḠrA), *albiʿrān alimxawwārat mā bništirīhin xalās* “the bastard camels, we don’t buy them at all’ (ṬyA).

A negated suffixed preposition is *w inn mā fīni lay ḥa\(\text{y}\)l* “and suddenly there was no strength in me” (ḠrA). For the negation of ‘existential’ *fīh* see 4.5. below.

#### 4.3. The *b*-imperfect

Like almost everywhere in Sinai, the *b*-imperfect to express the habitual present tense is also current in group I. Some examples are: *alkilmah hē/dmacronbelowiy bitʾassirʿalēh kibīrīh* “this word has a great effect on him” (ṬyA), *min tum-

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126 Tanwīn (ending -\(\text{-in}\)) 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 (ṬyA)) and the Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk of southern Jordan. Its use is optional and often for metrical reasons.

127 Holes and Abu Athera (2009:225) found no instances in their corpus of poetry of verbal compound negation *mā*…*š*.


129 The only exception to this rule is the dialect of the Dawāġrah, see De Jong 2000:478.
mak\textsuperscript{130} ibtúnufxah “with (lit. from) your mouth you inflate it” (MIA), gult ‘ǧimali mā biyʿūz banzin wala šiy’ “I said ‘my camel doesn’t need petrol or anything’” (BdA).\textsuperscript{131}

4.4. Future Marker

To express “volition” or “need” widd + pron. suffix may be used.

Examples of widd expressing futurity/volition are: asma’, widd-axarrafak ‘ala gişt aqṭabb hāda ...“listen, I'll tell you the story of this lizard” (ǦrA), awṣafnī addarib ...law widdi arawwiḥ min sābagat il’Irīš fi lMidān ...min ‘indak mīn-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 hāqīḥ ...“these things (lit. “they (pl. fem.)”) ...they need (spending of) money ...money ...if there is no money, you don't get anything” (MIA).

Examples of imperfect forms with prefixed ha- to express futurity are: iw yōm tīgilbih, hayṣīr annā’im taḥāt w alxašin fōg “and when you flip it over, the soft (side) will be down and the coarse (side) will be up” (MIA), law kaṭṭārit lēha ...fa: algamiḥ ...iddētha algamiḥ ...hattallī xišin “if you add more to it (fem.), then the wheat ...if you've added wheat to it (fem.) ...you'll take it out coarse” (ǦrA), miš hatā’arfuw tištarkuw ma’ ba’aqkaw “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 Aṭṭah lḥīn law tas’al nuṣṣ annās iygūl lak w Aṭṭah mā-driy ‘anha ...“by God, if you now ask half the people they'll (lit. he'll) tell you 'by God, I don't know about it (sg. fem.)'” (BdA).

4.5. fīh “there is / are”

Examples of fīh used to express existence or availability of something are ā fīh garyah isimha Midān āssibag hāda “yes, there is a village named Midān (where) this race (is held)” (see fn to 4.4.) (ḪwA), mīn hāda ...‘arāb

\textsuperscript{130} “Mouth” is more regularly afâm or afam.

\textsuperscript{131} Holes and Abu Athera (2009:212–213) report that in their Sinai poetry the b-imperfect is much less common 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.
ihný w fíh ‘aráb zayy ‘aráb iFrâyğ...“from here... (there is) a family here and there are people like the family” of Frâyğ” (MIA).

The negation is usually ma fíh, but sometimes (K-form) mā fīš may also be heard. An example is: hâḍa sâqîy mā fîh xarraf “this is a thoroughbred, there's no discussion (about it)” (both ĠrA).

Another current negation is māš, e.g. habbit râsak lâ yûfâk alğazâl...alğazâl law târ xalâs almiġrib biyûrû mâš ġizlân “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 yôm

Like in many dialects of Sinai, conjunctions lamma and yôm, or variant forms based on these, are used for “when”.

4.6.1.1. yôm

4.6.1.1.1. yôm used independently

An example of yôm used in the meaning of “when”, e.g. garrib garrib yôm ‘Awðih ġâ’ widdah ymidd ‘a lğazâl iw lan ilîmhad biyûrîd ib râsih “he came nearer and nearer, (and) when ‘Awðah came to take aim at the gazelle, there the Governor suddenly rose with his head (becoming visible)” (TAN), ā, hâribt alWaṭyih lliy bēn alî Lêgât iw bēn a...iw bēn ašSuwâlîh...yom taxâalâw...alî Lêgât w iMzênîh...yôm gâl at’ân yâ aṭṭâ‘în “yes, the war at Watyah that took place between the ‘Lêgût and...the Šawâlîh...when they attacked each other... the ‘Lêgût and the Mzênah... when he said ‘let war break out!’” (BdA).135

A variant of yôm is yam, as in the example iw yam bahuṭt allibbih w bažammîrha, iw ‘ûguḫ ma-žammîrha šwayyîh kidîy, bahuṭt almallîh “and when I put the libbah and roast it in hot embers, and after I have roasted it a little in embers like this, I put the hot sand” (HwA).

The a in yam must be the product of reduction of the diphthong aw.

133 For the different possible translations of ‘arab (pl. ‘urbân), see Stewart 1990:399 (glossary).
134 garrib is an imperative form of the narrative style, see 4.14.1.
135 at’an yâ tā‘în “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 Mzênah 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 tistiwiy...biyḥuṭṭin ilhā’ assamin iw minnih byiglībuha “and when it becomes cooked...they add the ghee to it (sg. fem.) and then they stir it (sg. fem.)” (ḤwA).

4.6.1.2.2. yōmin + obj. suffix as subject of the clause
There is an example of yōmin suffixed with an object suffix as subject; the subject is we: fiza’na ʿād, iw yōminna fiza’na...sawwēna ġīna, iw limmēna lahāmih kullah fi gaḷb aššanṭah “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(in) used for “as soon as” or “from the moment that”: kēf bitsawwiy allibbih...min yōm ma bta’aġinha, lamma bitṣawwiha w ithākhiḥka “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 binġib iš...šwālāt xayš...šikāyir ki/dmacronbelowiy iw biyta’abba fīhin “until it is cut to pieces like this...until it dries. until it dries...when it has dried we bring a sack of cloth...bags like this and it is stuffed in them” (ḤwA).

4.6.1.2. lamma and lumma
Lamma is often used for “when” and “until”. Also a form like lam was recorded (a variant lum was not heard).

4.6.1.2.1. lamma “when” used independently
Of many examples of lamma used for “when” are: iw minnah tsawwiy fiha ēš lamma 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 škāṛāh, šakāyir “gunny sack”, see Wehr 1980.
take it (fem.) out?” (TAṢ) and lamma titliḥha w ilhā ēh? w ilhā bastawik 139 “when you take it (fem.) out (then) it is what? Then it is (texture like) biscuit” (ḤwA) and rabbna lamma biyrīd azzalāmah yīkirmih byīkirmih “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 byaṭla’a aṣṣī’ir gadd kidiyy, ibyānsaf, w ibyāhasdiy “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 bindarrīrī lamman laḡāyit ʾitsīr gamīḥ ṣāfijīy “we winnow it until it becomes pure (clean) wheat” and in TAṢ bass lamman intah lam haṭṭayt kidiy w şaddēt ibyīnkīrīb, iw byuṛūṭān mīn-taḥat f-ānnīga’il “but when you, when you have placed it and pulled tight it is in distress. And they tie it to the nagal from below”. 140 The other dialects did not show instances of lamman or variations thereof.

4.6.1.2.3. lamma and lumma “until”

lamma and lumma maybe used in combination with laḡāyit for “until”, e.g. wāḥid min ḥiluw la ḥiluw laḡāyit . . . lamma biyṣīr . . . ǧamal “one (grows) from beautiful to (more) beautiful until . . . it becomes . . . a (full grown) camel” (ĞrA) (for an example of lamman + laḡāyit see 4.6.1.2.2. above).

An example of lamma used as “until”: tusxun lamma tiḍliyy kidiyy “you heat (it) until it boils” (BdA).

An example of lumma recorded in TAṢ: kull ḥamāmīh ’alēha šarāk, ʾaṣṣārak fi ktāfha mīn-ihniy, iw min fōq ēš? alliy hu ʾi ṣṣūf ḥāḍa, xiṭān […] zayy kidiyyīyih, lumma ēš? ibyinizil aṣṣagir ’a ḥamāmīh ’a ḍaharba “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 itğiyy, līn hī ṭāvbiy “you put it in the sun. When you come (back), there it (suddenly) is curdled (milk)” (ĞrA).

139 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 ʿAllāhiyʾ inna gaṭāʾ ablād yā ʿĪd. 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 lMaṣriyyih, aḥna ṛāḥ inʾīš maʿhuw.. istawlāna lyahūd ṛāḥ inʾīš maʿhuw “(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. Suffixed inkān

An instance of suffixed inkān is: ṭab lēš sawwa fīhin zayy ki/dmacronbelowiy inkānnih zaʾim 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

izrān ilhā masalan ilhā: . . . maṭabb iddrās biʾid . . . biyishīluw ʿa lbiʾrān “if there is for it (fem.), for instance there is for it (fem.) a threshing floor far away, they carry (it) on camels” (ḤwA).
izkān lih ṭalāb, binǧībiḥ lih...māš ṭalāb, ibyitawakkal ’a-ḷḷah “if he has a wish, we get it for him...if there is no wish, he sets out on his journey” (TyA).

kān may also be suffixed, as in izkānnih ṭalāb, ibyitawakkal a-ḷḷah “if he has a wish, we get it for him...if there is no wish, he sets out on his journey” (TyA).

4.7.3.1.5. kān as an independent conditional
An example of kān used independently as conditional “if”: kān ḥawaddaf ṭawāy-akṭar “if you would have come to me in the evening I would have told you more stories” (BdA), (S) ṭawāy kān ëyāz ītsawwih “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).

4.7.3.1.6. kān, inkān or ilkān introducing alternatives
kān may introduce alternatives, like in ṭawāy-akṭar “if you would have come to me in the evening I would have told you more stories” (BdA), (S) ëyāz ītsawwih “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).

4.7.3.2. Absence of a conditional particle
Examples of conditional clauses not introduced by a particle are: ṭawāy-akṭar “if you would have come to me in the evening I would have told you more stories” (BdA), (S) ëyāz ītsawwih “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).

“put one’s trust in God” is the current phrase used for “set out on a journey”.

tālg (apocopated talqa) + 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 minni mūhum ārfīnhin “see those, who are older than I am, don’t know them (fem.).” Forms with apocopation are: ar’ih ġa’ “there he is (lit. has come)!”, āriḥhum ġaw “there they are (lit. have come)!”, āriḥhiy ġat “there she is (lit. has come)!” (TyA). Forms with ar’ + were also heard in TAṣ and in ĜrA īriḥhow “there they (masc.) are!” and īriḥhin “there they (fem.) are!”.

4.8.2. hē + sufffijix

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) hēhū ġa’! “there he is!”, hēhī ġat “there she is!”, hēhümma ġaw “there they (masc.) are!”, hēhinnah ġan “there they (fem.) are!”.

In TAṣ forms with hā + were recorded, e.g. hāhī ġal-almīšiklih “there’s the problem!”, but also with initial hay +, as in hayhū ġa’, hayhi ġat, hayhüm ġaw, hayhin ġan. 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 alġuṛun biyxallūh mṣallab, iwlinn al ir 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 itǧīy 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 Behnstedt and Woidich 1994:206.\textsuperscript{145} ‘ayš 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 ligīthīn w ba’adēn iw linnih biyṭālih fay wlin biygūl lay ģāṛ itsūg inta ģīt 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 ģīna, w Allāhiy w innah lḡaww 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 ʚ arrid ib ṛāsih “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 ligīthīn “and (suddenly) there was someone I ran into to” (see preceding paragraph 4.8.3.).

4.9. ḡār (< *gayr*) may be used (in all dialects discussed here) preceding imperfect forms to express the necessity of the action, e.g. *albu ʚ ṛān ġār ibyitaṭabba’an, ya’niy ibi’ir iw hū ēs, min fōg ássinah ibtadba mi’āh taṭbi’ ittabbi’ albi’ir “the camels need to be trained. That is, the camel when it’s what? Over a year (old) you start training with it, you train the camel” (TAṢ) and another example *alliy ʚ āwiz iy…iynawwi ʚ f-ālbil ássibag imn ássibag ha biywaddih imn álḡimal ha…masalan ímsayyiṭ alḡimal aṭṭāniy imṣayyiṭ…ġār yitlig ‘alēha 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 < *gayr kān*) “need be, be only” was heard in TAṢ: *alḥīn intuw sūguw…iw ẗalabātkuw rkān alMasūṛah “now, you, your market… and your shopping goods are only from alMūṣārah” and in BdA *ḥāda-rkān māk ma’āk yūkutīlāk  Replies needed 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 Ḥwēṭiy poet Barrāk of southern Jordan.
4.10. **Intensifying Particle la**

The particle *la* intensifying the 1st p. sg. com. was not recorded in these southern group I dialects. There is an example however in which *la* intensifies: *hāda la rāsmiy Tīhiy* . . . “he’s really officially a Tīhiy” (BdA).

4.11. **bidd or widd + pron. suffix**

To express “want” or “need” speakers of group I dialects use suffixed *widd*. Examples for “need” or “want” are: *widdī-yyāk itxarrifnī* “I want you to tell me” (TAṢ) and *alblād bass lissā’ 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 *garrīb garrīb yōm ‘Awdih ġā* widdah ymīdd ‘a ḫajāzāl ḫw lan ililmāfīd biy’ārrid ib rāsiḥ “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 ġārif zayy intih* . . . (interviewee) *lā hā/dmacronbelowa ġā ad widd-agūl lak, šalliy ġa-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, halḥīn widdak itgūl lay kēf biysawwuw ssamin aššīhiy* “okay, now you need to tell me how they make šīhiy ghee” (TAṢ).

4.12. **‘ād**

The particle *‘ād* is extremely current to express “so, thus, then”. Examples are: *ṛāyib . . . biyḥuṭṭūha fi ssi’in ‘ād bitsūr ġēh? imsawwyīn ṭawāǧīh l assi’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 Ṣadīr walla tlāwah Dahāb?* “to which (part of the) land did he go, did he go towards Ṣadr or towards Dahab?” (TAṢ) and *iw bingayyil wē:n iw bingayyil nuṣṣ alblādāt ‘ādiy ana w Aḷḷāh zamān . . . iyām ḥarīb . . .* “and where do we rest during the heat of the day? And so we’d

147 A *kaṛm* (pl. *krūm*) is a private orchard or garden in which people grow their agricultural products.

148 The phrase *ṣall(iy) ġa-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 198559.
rest right in the middle of the lands during the heat of the day. By God, in the old days I... during the days of war...” (BdA).

4.13. yabga

*yabga* may be heard sometimes meaning “so, then”, as in *yabga hāda wāḥid alḥin ṭilī... min alliy byafhamow* “so this was then someone now... who came forth from those who have a sound understanding” (TAṢ) and *wagit ma dannat allibbah taharkalat hassētha, yabga llibbah ástuwat* “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 ţalīh...* and *yabga ṣārat fīha ġimál...* “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, biydall al’aris ‘ād w al’arūs gā’din... yōm, yōmēn talāṭī ‘ind ba’adhaw...* “everybody goes to his home, that's it... so (after) everybody has gone home, the groom and bride stay... for a day, two, three days with each other...” In MlA metathesized *yagba* was recorded.

4.14. Characteristics of the Narrative Style

4.14.1. Imperative of narration

Some examples of the imperative of narration are: *garrib yā mhāfiḍ iw garrib iw garrib, iw ‘Awdah m’ah iw garrib w úxumruw iw garrib... alinmhāfiḍ biy’arrid ib rāsih kidīyyān alģazāl šāfiḥ šārad...* “the Governor came nearer... 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 arrǧāl iw hāt arrǧāl* “(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 a’hna mnaẓẓmīnha... ifwāg ‘a talaṭ t-iyyām...* “that is, we used to organize it (fem.)... in heats (held) over three days...” (ḤwA),

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150 The narrative imperative used directly addresses the Governor: (lit.) “Come nearer, oh Governor”.

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phraseology, characteristics of the narrative style

inǧīblak karrūsah walla ǧhāzāt? gult la’ inšūf alighāzāt…law karrūsah\(^\text{54}\)

kān lagētni l alḥīn al’amaliyyah ta’bānīh “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’ xarārif zamān biygūl lak int

taǧawwaz w int mintah ’ārifhiy,\(^\text{53}\) mā bitšūfha ġar kān bitfyiy ’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)” (TAŞ) and āra ṭab iw

kān biybi’ūh wēn? “Okay, and where would they sell it (sg. masc.)?” (TAŞ),
iw kān alimhāfiḍ ʿyniː:Δ ʿalā-ljīmal ṭaw kāːn ʿyafṣiː“and the Governor

(bent (all the way) over to the side on the camel and farted …” (TAN) and

ana mānī ’ārif, mā-na kān batasaʾayyad ma’ nās bass hū fi ‘eṣṣ? f-āxīr aṣṣayf

“I don’t know, I used not to go hunting with people, but it is when? At

the end of the summer” (TAŞ).

kān was much less frequently used as a verb and conjugated as such,

but one such example is alḥurmah hādiy kānat zamān alliy biygūluw lēhiy

Šēxah bittīl lay “this woman whom they called Šēxah in the old days used
to come and look in on me” (TyA) (bittīl < bittīl).

4.14.3. Dativus ethicus

Some instances of the ethic dative are\(^\text{55}\) lamma biyṣufah šagir, biygūm

ibyīṭilg lak ʿannigal hāda “when a falcon sees it, he’ll then set the nagal free
(for you)” (TAN), aṣīl fiḥ āṭṭabī‘iḥ, lamma lhūn ḥādīl ibyīḥnūw mā fiṣ maṭār

mīn xams isnīn, mūhum ʿārfīn ṭabī‘it Sīnah kēf, banaw lak fi ḥittah w xalās

“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” (TAŞ).\(^\text{54}\)

\(^{53}\) karrūsah, lit. “little chair” shaped on the dim. pattern C\(_{aC\cdotC\cdot uC\cdot ah}\). 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.

\(^{54}\) The interviewer, who is a Tuṛbāniy from Ṛās Ṣadr, here imitates a more north-east-

tern type of dialect by substituting -ha with -hiy, the latter of which is also characteristic of

TyA, but not of his own dialect (TAŞ).

\(^{55}\) Holes and Abu Athera (2009:228) also report instances in the poetry of the Ḥwēṭiy

poet Barrāk from southern Jordan.

\(^{54}\) In the past people have built in the wadi that runs straight through ḏahab. When in

2004 a flood came, it washed away a MacDonald’s restaurant, which had been built too

near the sēl (actually, almost right in the middle of it).
4.15. **Pluralis paucitatis**

For limited or countable numbers often the healthy plural form is used instead of the ‘broken’ plural. Some examples are: *luğuṃ min aḥuw rḥāyat* “a mine with disks” (broken pl. *ṛḥīy*) (DbA), *dawyāt* “(types of) medicine(s)” (broken pl. *ādivyīḥ*) (TAṢ), *arbaʿ sanawāt* “four years” (broken pl. *snīn*) (MlA), *talāt marṟāt* “three times” (TAN), *ẓhāzāt* “artificial legs” (broken pl. *āǧihzīh*) (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.):  

*bīytsābagow lēhuw aṛbaʿ ḫūḡān miʿ baʿaqihuwa… xamsīḥ, ibyiɣrin lēhin īṭnēn kīlīh tālātah kīlīh… “four camel riders race (for themselves) each other…five, they (pl. fem.) run (for themselves) two kilometres, three kilometres”* (ĠrA). Another example is: *ḥasa lībān, iw sukūr fiḍḍīy, w alḥilbīh…(I) w alḥilbīh…(X) aywah…ḥādōl tarayyag biḥīn aṣṣubuḥ ṭ-a-x-al-arriq…(I) ṭ-a-x-al-arriq…(X) aywah sabaʿ t-īyyām… mīn yōmin Tibdiy fi ḫādōl lamma tōfīhin…(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, yāffiy* (or *yāffiy*) “achieve in full”, see De Jong 2000:219, fn 430.
CONCLUSIONS

I. COMPARING DIALECTS

a. Methods of Comparing Dialects

To present an overall picture, a number of maps have been added in the appendix, which show a number of features of the dialects spoken in the area. To facilitate direct comparison, data used in maps in De Jong 2000, which cover the dialects of the northern Sinai littoral, have also been incorporated in these maps. A total of 13 maps have been added, which illustrate dialect features not used in De Jong 2000. In these additional maps dialect features are set as criteria for comparison to show differences between dialects spoken by tribes in the centre and south of Sinai; setting the same features as criteria for a comparison to be illustrated in maps would not have yielded very significant results in De Jong 2000, but these criteria do offer new perspectives when the entire area of Sinai is represented in a map.

In De Jong 2000 the northern Sinai littoral was shown to be an area of transition. This transition is between a largely Bedouin type of dialect (labelled group I), spoken by the majority of the Sinai tribes, and which has also been referred to as Negev Arabic (described in Blanc 1970) on the one hand, and the sedentary dialect of the eastern part of the Šarqiyyah province in the Nile Delta of Egypt.

Dialects in De Jong 2000 were compared using the 'step method'. Since the dialects form a geographical continuum, the linear nature of the comparison (i.e. only dialects bordering on each other were compared, mainly in a west-east (or vice versa) distribution) does not present a problem; after having made the comparison the continuum proved to be linguistic as well.1

However, since the dialects of central and southern Sinai do not form such a geographical continuum, a comparison using the step method becomes too two-dimensional, since more dimensions are needed to group dialects that do not lie along a more or less neat two-dimensional line.

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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: \textit{axad, tāṛ, ḍarb}, In dialect B: \textit{axad, tāṛ, ḍarb} and in dialect C: \textit{axad} \sim \textit{axad}, \textit{tāṛ} \sim \textit{tāṛ}, \textit{ḍarb} \sim \textit{ḍarb}

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<td>dialect C</td>
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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.

\begin{tabular}{ccc}
  o & o & o \\
  A & C & B \\
\end{tabular}

\(^2\) 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 that are 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.

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 \( \dot{d} \) in which *\( d \) and *\( \dot{d} \) have merged (additional difference for central and southern Sinai) (cf. 1.1.2.) (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 \( \dot{g} \) or fricative \( \dot{z} \) (or both in free variation) for *\( g \) (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 \( d \) and \( t \) were disappearing (Axrasiy, AxA), or had already disappeared (Biyyaḏiy, 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 C₂ (CₐCₐ) when C₃ (Cₚ) is followed by V, i.e. a cluster CₐCₐCₚV > CₚCₚV: 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’, šuǧl, ḥagg (MAP 29, cf. 3.1.11.) (B-S).

H. Like in northern Sinai, nunation (or tanwin) is not current in any of the dialects of central and southern Sinai (no map, cf. 4.1.) (B-S).

I. Like in northern Sinai, the locative preposition fī “in” occurs in all dialects of central and southern Sinai (no map, cf. 3.1.16.).

J. Like in northern Sinai, productivity of diminutive patterns is difficult to establish (no map, cf. 3.1.6.) (B-S).

K. Use of māṛ / mēr “so, then, but”, māṛ was heard only in MIA (no map) (B-S).

L. Use of interrogative ʿalām + pron. suffix “why, what for?”: like in northern Sinai, this interrogative has been recorded in several dialects, like the example ʿalāmuk y-Abuw Zēd? (GrA) “what’s the matter with you, Abu Zayd” (no map, cf. 3.1.14.) (B-S).


Of characteristics used for maps in De Jong 2000 (pp. 37–47, numbering of maps used there again runs parallel to numbering of maps presented here), the following remarks can be made for Bedouin dialects in the centre and south of Sinai.
1. /k/ and /ḳ/ as separate phonemes in the phoneme inventory: not in group I, but both are present in phoneme inventories of groups VI–VIII (cf. 1.1.1. and 3.1.12.2.).

MAP 1 in this volume (MAP 1 in 2000).

In northern Sinai only two tribal dialects (ʿAgA and SaA) showed the presence of /k/ as a separate phoneme. It was surmised then that this was in fact a feature more commonly present in dialects of southern Sinai. It was also reported in De Jong 200:246 that the Samāʿnah had migrated from the southern mountainous region of at-Ṭūr to the Gatyah oasis, where they reside today. This migration, as I was told one day by an older Smēʿniy, would have taken place around the year 1900.7

The assumption in De Jong 2000:283–285 of /k/ being a more typically southern Sinaitic feature can now indeed be corroborated; we see that the southern groups VI, VII and VIII all show this separate phoneme in their phoneme inventories. The MAP also shows that in ʿAgA and BdA the /k/ in the pronominal suffix -aḳ was heard with a degree of velarization, in any case a higher degree of velarization than in (other) group I dialects. In ʿAgA such velarization would be attributable -k, resulting in a compromise form by transferring its velarization onto the new pron. suffix -ak (hence -ak). In BdA velarization may be due to dialect contact; the Badāṛah are surrounded by Ṣawālḥah, and—no longer being on the Tīh plateau, but to the south of the escarpment in the reddish sands of ār-Ṛamlah near ġabal Ḥmayyir8—have considerably less contact with other group I tribes like Tiyāḥa, Ḥwēṭāt and Taṛabîn (of Nwēbiʿ).

2. and 3. See remarks made above (no maps in this volume, cf. 1.1.2.) (both B-S).

4. Secondary velarization, or emphatization: several differences were recorded in the centre and south of Sinai (cf. 1.1.7.).

MAP 4 in this volume (MAP 4 in 2000) shows the degree of velarization generally present in the dialects compared here. To illustrate this for central and southern Sinai the pl. forms of kibīr and kīṯār are adduced.

7 Von Oppenheim 1943:64 mentions that (in my translation) “parts of the ʿOlēḳāt have settled in Upper Egypt […] Nowadays they mostly call themselves ʿOgēlāt”. These ʿOgēlāt may well be related to the ʿAgāylah (i.e. speakers of ʿAgA) whom we find today as neighbours of the Samāʿnah in Bir Gatyah, see map in De Jong 2000:656.

8 Geographical coordinates of their current abode are appr. 29.02.53 North and 33.33.39 East. The white rectangular shapes, already plainly visible from an elevation of 1,000 metres on Google Earth, are their tents, which are made of flour sacks (donated by USAID).
These pl. forms can be velarized, as in *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.

Partial or complete monophthongization of older diphthongs *ay and *aw and possible phonemic overlapping of /ɐ/ and /ɪ/ (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 /ɐ/ and /ɪ/ (e.g. sēf ~ sīf “sword”, sēx ~ sīx “sheikh”) and which dialects lack this feature.

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.

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 ʾā or a within word boundaries (e.g. katābt > kitābt and bakāriǧ > bikāriǧ).

Raising of the feminine suffix (T) (often referred to as ʾimālah 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).

Extreme raising of final *-ā or *-ā’ > -iy, 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.

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.

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”, tinháṭṭ “it (sg. fem.) is placed”, aššáṭṭ or iššáṭṭ “the coast”) and thus the whole central and southern region shows no difference in this respect.

13. Stress in maCCaCah (cf. 2.1.1.1.).

No MAP 13 in this volume. MAP 13 in 2000 shows stress assignment in the pattern maCCaCah. All dialects in central and southern Sinai have the máCCaCah stress-type.

14. Stress in *CaCvC (i.e. surface forms CvCaC, CvCiC or CvCuC) (cf. 2.1.1.2.).

MAP 14 in this volume (MAP 14 in 2000) illustrates stress assignment in patterns CiCiC (including CuCuC; both being ‘underlying’ CaCi/uC) and CaCaC.

15. Stress in *CaCaCv (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.).

MAP 15 in this volume (MAP 15 in 2000) shows stress assignment in the pattern CaCaCv.

16. Stress in *CaCaCaCv (MAP 16, cf. 2.1.1.2.2., was 2.1.1.2.1.3. in De Jong 2000).

MAP 16 in this volume (MAP 16 in 2000) shows stress assignment in the pattern CaCaCaCv.

17. Resyllabication of *CaCaCV sequences. Such resyllabication is not a feature of any of the dialects of central and southern Sinai, e.g. waṛagah “piece of paper”, gahawah “coffee” (cf. 2.1.1.2.2., was 2.1.1.2.1.6. in De Jong 2000) (B-S).

No MAP 17 in this volume. MAP 17 in 2000 shows the presence/absence of the Naǧdiy type of resyllabification: CaCaCV > CCvCV. This type of resyllabification was not heard in central or southern Sinai.

18. The article and preformatives of measures n-1 and 1-t as stressable units (cf. 2.1.1.2.2.) (B-S).

MAP 18 in this volume (MAP 18 in 2000) shows stress assignment in verbal measures n-1 (of VII) and 1-t (or VIII) and in sequences (with article) alCaCaC.

19. The gahawah-syndrome (cf. 2.2.1. and 2.2.1.3.) (B-S). No MAP 19 in this volume. MAP 19 in 2000 shows the spread of the gahawah-syndrome. The syndrome is active in all dialects of central and southern Sinai.
20. Presence of initial CCV in a limited number of morphological patterns (cf. 2.3.5.) (B-S).
   MAP 20 in this volume (*MAP 20 in 2000*) shows reflexes of the pattern *CICaC.
21. Raising of a in C_aC_iC_ah (cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.1.1.1.).
   MAP 21 in this volume (*MAP 21 in 2000*) shows raising (or absence of it) of short vowel a in pre-stress open syllable in a sequence CaC_iC(ah).
22. Raising of a in *CaCCāC (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 pre-stress closed syllable in a sequence CaCCāC(ah).
23. Raising of a in open syllable preceding ū (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 *ʾaCCaC for colours and physical defects. In southern and central Sinai the current reflex for this pattern is aCCaC in all dialects.
25. The definite article and the relative pronoun (cf. 3.1.9.1.) (B-S).
   MAP 25 in this volume (*MAP 25 in 2000*) shows the form of the article and the relative pronoun.
26. Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable of a number of irregular nouns (cf. 3.1.9.2.).
   MAP 26 in this volume (*MAP 26 in 2000*) is on the short initial vowels in the lexemes for “mother” and “sister”.
27. Treatment of T (the feminine suffix morpheme) (cf. 3.1.10.).
   MAP 27 in this volume (*MAP 27 in 2000*) shows the behaviour of the fem. morpheme (T) in construct state.
28. Elision of the T-vowel in construct state (cf. 3.1.10.).
   MAP 28 in this volume (*MAP 28 in 2000*) is on the elision of the short vowel of the fem. morpheme (the T-vowel).
29. The genitive exponent (cf. 3.1.11.).
   MAP 29 in this volume (*MAP 29 in 2000*) shows the different genitive exponents used for the analytical genitive in Sinai dialects.
30. Gender distinction masc./fem. in 2nd and 3rd p. pl. (cf. 3.1.12., 3.2.1.1., 3.2.1.2.) (B-S).
   No MAP 30 in this volume. *MAP 30 in 2000* is on the absence or presence of gender distinction masc./fem. in plurals of personal pronouns, adjectives and verb forms. In all dialects of central and southern Sinai this distinction is made.
31. The independent personal pronouns 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 pronouns for the
   3rd p. masc. sg. and the 3rd p. sg. fem. “he” and “she”.
32. The 1st p. sg. com. pronoun (cf. 3.1.12.1.).
   No MAP 32 in this volume. MAP 32 in 2000 is on the shape of the pers.
   pronoun 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 pronoun (cf. 3.1.12.1.).
   MAP 33 (MAP 33 in 2000) is on the shape of the pers. pronoun 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 (pos-
   sessive) and (stressed) -nī (object) (usually ~ unstressed -i and -nī).
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 kif.

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 wiḥdiḥ is current throughout central and southern Sinai.

50. The 3rd p. pl. masc. verbal ending of a-type perfects (cf. 3.2.1.1.).

MAP 50 (MAP 50 in 2000) is on presence/absence of vowel harmony in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. masc. perfect.

51. The 3rd p. pl. fem. verbal ending of a-type perfects (cf. 3.2.1.1.).

MAP 51 (MAP 51 in 2000) is on the presence/absence of vowel harmony in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. fem. a-type perfect.

52. The i-type perfect (cf. 2.1.1.2.2. and 3.2.1.1.).

MAP 52 (MAP 52 in 2000) is on the i-type perfect of verbs *CaCiC: 3rd person sg. masc., 3rd person sg. fem. and 1st person sg. com.

53. Vowel harmony in the preformative of the imperfect of verbal measure 1. (cf. 3.2.1.2.) (B-S).

No MAP 53 in this volume. MAP 53 in 2000 is on the absence/presence of vowel harmony in the preformative of the a-type imperfect:
yaCCaC or yiCCaC. All dialects of central and southern Sinai show such vowel harmony, e.g. yašrab “he drinks”.

54. The 3rd p. pl. masc. verbal endings of a-, i- and u-types imperfects (cf. 3.2.1.2.).

MAP 54 (MAP 54 in 2000) is on the presence/absence of vowel harmony in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. masc. endings in a-, i- and u-type imperfect.

55. The 3rd p. pl. fem. verbal endings of a-, i- and u-types imperfects (cf. 3.2.1.2.).

MAP 55 (MAP 55 in 2000) is on presence/absence of vowel harmony (i.e. low short vowel a or high short vowel i) in verbal endings of the 3rd person pl. fem. in a-, i- and u-type imperfect.

56. Imperfect preformative of measure 1 primae wāw verbs (cf. 3.2.2.1.) (B-S).

No MAP 56 in this volume. MAP 56 in 2000 is on the vowel in the imperfect preformative of primae wāw measure 1 verbs. This vowel is not i (as in e.g. yiwsal) in central or southern Sinai dialects, but a as in yawsal, or (aw >) monothongized to ā (~ ĩ) as in yōṣal.

57. Perfect of primae hamzah verbs (cf. 3.2.2.3.).

MAP 57 (MAP 57 in 2000) shows the (3rd person sg. masc.) perfect forms of primae hamzah measure 1 verbs: with or without initial a-.

58. Imperfect vowel in primae hamzah verbs (cf. 3.2.2.3.).

MAP 58 (MAP 58 in 2000) is on the vowel i or u in the (3rd person sg. masc.) imperfect forms of primae hamzah measure 1 verbs.

59. The active participle of primae hamzah measure 1 verbs (cf. 3.2.2.3.).

No MAP 59 in this volume. MAP 59 in 2000 shows the forms of the active participle of primae hamzah measure 1 verbs. In central and southern Sinai these are with initial mā-: mākil, māxī.

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 ĩ- (i.e. iǧa or ĩga 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 ‘Bedouin’ verb-type with inserted wāw C1ōC2aC3 (or C1awC2aC3), yC1ōC2iC3 (or yC1awC2iC3). 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. participles 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-imperfect. The b-imperfect is current in all dialects of central and southern Sinai.

70. Future particle ha- (cf. 4.4.).
No MAP 70 in this volume. 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) gām (cf. 4.7.1.).
MAP 72 (MAP 72 in 2000) is on the occurrence of gām as a “marker of consequent action” for the conjunction “when”. This gām is not regular in central or southern Sinai dialects; only in ʿLA it was recorded a few times.

73. Use of widd or bidd (cf. 4.11.) (B-S).
MAP 73 (MAP 73 in 2000) is on the use of widd or bidd to express “want” or “need”.

74. No MAP 74 in this volume. MAP 74 in 2000 shows the dialect groups identified in northern Sinai. A map showing dialect groups in the entire Sinai is MAP 88 in the appendix of the volume in hand.

b. Added Criteria for Comparison of Dialects in Central and Southern Sinai

In addition to comparisons based on the 73 features listed above, a total of 13 features are added here to serve as criteria for comparison to further illustrate differences/similarities in dialects of central and southern Sinai. These features (numbered 75–87) are listed below:

75. Raising of a in closed syllable preceding stressed ē: lammēt > limmēt, sawwēt > suwwēt (new MAP 75 in this volume, cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2., 3.2.3.5.2. and 3.2.2.7.1.).
76. Raising of a in open syllable preceding stressed ē: mašēt > mišēt (new MAP 76 in this volume, cf. 1.2.3.4.3.2., 3.2.2.5.1.).
77. Mutual influence of hissing sounds: metathesis in forms like ṣāġ—šāz and sīḏih—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 pronominals “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 ʿala “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 0 in the appendix.

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 MIA.

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 MIA 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%
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%

Isogloss bundle nr –4– distinguishes ʿAyA from AḥA.

4 differences: 16), 23), 52), 85)
9 uncertain differences: 4), 27), 57), 72), 76), 77), 79), 82), 87)
6 partial differences: 14), 15), 35), 46), 48), 58)

Total 11,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 86) 8.1%

Isogloss bundle nr –5– distinguishes ʿAyA from ḤwA.

7 (minus 1*) differences: 11), 16), 33), 39), 52), 75), 83)*
10 uncertain differences: 4), 27), 57), 72), 76), 77), 79), 81), 82), 87)
5 partial differences: 14), 15), 35), 48), 58)

* The difference is in raising of a (ʿalēh > ʿilēh), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 13,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 85) 10%

Isogloss bundle nr –6– distinguishes ḤwA from AḥA.

11 (minus 1*) differences: 11), 23), 33), 35), 39), 72), 75), 76), 82), 83)*, 85)
1 uncertain difference: 27)
1 partial difference: 46)

* The difference is in raising of a (ʿalēh > ʿilēh), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 10,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 94) 11.1%

Isogloss bundle nr –7– distinguishes ḤwA from TAṢ.

16 (minus 1*) differences: 5), 7), 15), 16), 21), 22), 33), 39), 52), 57), 71), 75), 76), 81), 82), 83)*
0 uncertain differences
1 partial difference: 25)
The difference is in raising of *a* (*'alēh > 'ilēh in 83*)), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 15,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 16.3%

- 8 – Isogloss bundle nr – 8 – distinguishes TyA from AḥA.
  8 differences: 21), 23), 48), 72), 76), 81), 83), 87)
  2 uncertain differences: 27), 82)
  2 partial differences: 46), 86)
  Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 93) 9.7%

- 9 – Isogloss bundle nr – 9 – distinguishes AḥA from DbA.
  8 differences: 21), 23), 48), 72), 76), 81), 83), 87)
  2 uncertain differences: 27), 82)
  2 partial differences: 46), 86)
  Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 93) 9.7%

- 10 – Isogloss bundle nr – 10 – distinguishes DbA from TyA.
  6 differences: 21), 35), 48), 75), 82), 87)
  0 uncertain differences
  1 partial difference: 81)
  Total 6,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 6.8%

- 11 – Isogloss bundle nr – 11 – distinguishes TAṢ from ĜrA.
  9 differences: 15), 16), 22), 71), 75), 76), 81), 83), 87)
  0 uncertain differences
  3 partial differences: 7), 26), 33)
  Total 10,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 11%

- 12 – Isogloss bundle nr – 12 – distinguishes ĜrA from ḨwA.
  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 TAŠ 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 ĜrA from ʿLA.

34 (minus 2*) differences: 1), 4), 7), 9), 10), 11), 15), 16), 23), 31), 34), 35), 36)*, 37), 39), 40), 42), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 54), 55), 60), 61), 62), 72), 73), 77), 79), 80), 81), 82, 83)*
0 uncertain differences
6 partial differences: 8), 14), 26), 33), 45), 58)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) and 83) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 35 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 36.8%

–15– Isogloss bundle nr –15– distinguishes ḤwA from TyA.

9 differences: 11), 21), 33), 35), 39), 48), 75), 82), 87)
0 uncertain differences
2 partial differences: 81), 86)

Total 10 differences; percentage of corrected total 10%

–16– Isogloss bundle nr –16– distinguishes ʿLA from ḤwA.

40 (minus 1*) differences: 1), 4), 5), 7), 8), 9), 10), 11), 15), 21), 23), 26), 31), 33), 34), 35), 36), 37), 40), 42), 46), 47)*, 48), 50), 52), 54), 55), 57), 60), 61), 62), 72), 73), 77), 79), 80), 81), 82), 83), 87)
0 uncertain differences
6 partial differences: 14), 16), 25), 39), 45), 58)

* The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) is already covered in MAP 34.

Total 42 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 44.2%
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–17– Isogloss bundle nr –17– distinguishes ḤwA from BdA.

11 (minus 1*) differences: 21), 26), 33), 39), 75), 76), 81), 82), 83)*, 85), 87)
0 uncertain differences
2 partial differences: 42), 78)

* The difference is in raising of a (‘ālēh > ‘īlēh 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 (‘ālēh > ‘īlēh 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 ‘LA 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 > ʾilēh 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 ḤmA from ṢwA.
6 differences: 4), 31), 47), 60), 72), 79)
0 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 ḤmA from ṢwA.
11 differences: 4), 18), 20), 37), 48), 68), 71), 72), 83), 84), 85)
0 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 ṢwA.
46 (minus 2*1, 2*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)
0 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 > ʾilēh in 83)), which is already covered in MAP 76).
Total 47,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 47.9%

–25– Isogloss bundle nr –25– distinguishes ḤmA from ṢwA.
11 differences: 4), 18), 20), 22), 48), 68), 71), 72), 83), 84), 85)
0 uncertain differences
10 partial differences: 14), 25), 37), 39), 40), 46), 50), 54), 58), 81)
Total 16 differences; percentage of corrected total 16.8%
–26– Isogloss bundle nr –26– distinguishes SwA 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%

–27– Isogloss bundle nr –27– distinguishes SwA 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%

–28– Isogloss bundle nr –28– distinguishes MzA from TAN.

35 (minus 3*) differences: 1), 4), 9), 10), 15), 16), 22), 23), 27), 34), 35), 36), 37), 39), 40), 46), 47)*, 48)*, 50), 52), 54), 55), 60), 61), 73), 75), 76), 77), 81), 82), 83)**, 84), 85), 86), 87)
0 uncertain differences
5 partial differences: 25), 28), 29), 45), 78)

*1 The difference of the different 3rd p. sg. masc. pron. suffix in 47) and 48) is already covered in MAP 34.

*2 The difference is in raising of a (’alēh > ’ilēh in 83), which is already covered in MAP 76).

Total 34,5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 36.3%

–29– 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)
0 uncertain differences
11 partial differences: 10), 25), 31)*, 39), 40), 42), 58), 73), 75), 77), 81)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

Total 31.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 33.2%

–35– Isogloss bundle nr –35– distinguishes ASA and ĞbA.

1 difference: 22)
0 uncertain differences
7 partial differences: 31)*, 46), 58), 61), 79), 82), 85)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

Total 4.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 4.7%

–36– Isogloss bundle nr –36– distinguishes ASA from HnA.

2 differences: 21), 48)
0 uncertain differences
3 partial differences: 45), 58), 71)

Total 3.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 3.7%

–37– Isogloss bundle nr –37– distinguishes ASA from MzA.

23 (minus 3*) differences: 4), 7), 8), 11), 14), 18), 20), 22), 26), 48), 52), 57), 61)*, 62), 68), 71), 78), 79), 80), 82), 84)*, 85)*, 86)
0 uncertain differences
isoglosses

10 partial differences: 16), 25), 27), 28), 31)*, 42), 45), 46), 58), 81

*1 The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.
*2 The difference here is in stress, which is already covered in MAP 14.

Total 25 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 26.3%

–38– Isogloss bundle nr –38– distinguishes ḤmA from ṢwA.

7 differences: 20), 47), 48), 60), 71), 81), 85)
0 uncertain differences
13 partial differences: 7), 18), 25), 31)*, 37), 50), 54), 58), 68), 79), 83), 84), 86)

* The difference is in frequency of occurrence of the forms discussed, therefore the difference is here concluded to be partial.

Total 13.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 14.2%

Finally, to have an idea of the typological distance between the dialects of the Mzēnah and the Baniy Wāṣil, we compare these dialects on the basis of the same criteria:

–39– Isogloss bundle nr –39– is ‘virtual’ and distinguishes BWA from MzA.

9 differences: 37), 39), 40), 46), 79), 82), 83), 84), 85)
0 uncertain differences
9 partial differences: 10), 16), 22), 27), 28), 73), 75), 77), 81)

Total 13.5 differences; percentage of corrected total (= 95) 14.2%

b. The Step Method to Calculate Relative Typological Distances between Dialects

The comparisons are made using a total of 95 criteria (73 in maps in De Jong 2000, criteria A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and I (see De Jong 2000:37–38)

** Since the Awlād Saʿīd (who live more inland in the high mountains towards the east than indicated on the map, see fn 1, p. 155) are not physically located between the two dirahs of the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil, the dirahs of the latter two tribes in actual fact border on each other.
and 13 criteria represented by maps 75–87 added in the appendix of this volume):

Score card:

Below the isogloss bundles between dialects have been ranked from low to high.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isogloss bundle number</th>
<th>between dialects</th>
<th>of groups</th>
<th>number of isoglosses</th>
<th>subtract from 95 for uncertain</th>
<th>percentage of corrected total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36- (ASA–HnA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>(3.5/95)</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26- (ṢwA–GrA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>(3.5/95)</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35- (ASA–ǦbA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>(4.5/95)</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30- (GrA–ǦbA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>(4.5/95)</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- (MIA–nTA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(4.5/84)</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10- (DbA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>(6.5/95)</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1- (SA–MIA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(6.5/88)</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- (‘AyA–AbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>(7/86)</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- (nTA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>(8.5/95)</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18- (BdA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(9/95)</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21- (TyA–TAN)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(9/95)</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8- (TyA–AḥA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(9/93)</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9- (AḥA–DbA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(9/93)</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- (‘AyA–HwA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>(8.5/85)</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12- (GrA–ḤwA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>(9.5/95)</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22- (‘LA–ḤmA)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(10/95)</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15- (ḤwA–TyA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(10/95)</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11- (ṬA–ṢwA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>(10.5/95)</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- (ḤwA–AḥA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>(10.5/94)</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17- (ḤwA–BdA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(11/95)</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19- (AḥA–ṬA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(11/94)</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39- (BWA–MzA)</td>
<td>VI–VI</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>(13.5/95)</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38- (ḤmA–ṢwA)</td>
<td>VII–VII</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>(13.5/95)</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23- (‘LA–ṢwA)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(15/95)</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- (ḤwA–ṬA)</td>
<td>I–I</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>(15.5/95)</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25- (‘LA–℅A)</td>
<td>VIII–VII</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(16/95)</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31- (ǦbA–MzA)</td>
<td>VII–VI</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>(23.5/95)</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27- (MzA–ASA)</td>
<td>VI–VI</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(25/95)</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29- (GrA–MzA)</td>
<td>VII–VI</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>(26.5/95)</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27- (ṢwA–MzA)</td>
<td>VII–VI</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>(27/95)</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Our figured calculations using the step method show a few results that do not appear to be in concord with earlier results in De Jong 2000: the subdivision into groups is not as clear-cut here in terms of percentages as it was in De Jong 2000. The reason appears to be that in De Jong 2000 we were looking at dialects that form a geographical continuum, which makes the comparison between the groups largely uni-directional (i.e. east-west or west-east, depending on preference).

Our dialects in the centre and south of Sinai do not form a comparable continuum, which makes the comparison between more than two groups (I, VI, VII and VIII) multi-directional. Such a garbled picture is also the result of a comparison between dialects of tribes that—even within certain identified groups—have arrived at different times and have over these different periods of time influenced each other to a lesser or greater degree. In addition, the comparison is between dialects of tribes, who can vary greatly with regard to numbers of members.

To give an example: the tribe Ḥamāḏah is considerably smaller (in terms of numbers of members) than the neighbouring tribes of Ḵēḏāt and Ṣawālḥah. ḤmA still shows a number of features which are reminiscent of the group I-type, and presumably this dialect type is much nearer to the original HmA-type than the group to which it has now been assigned (i.e. group VII).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>isogloss number</th>
<th>between dialects of groups</th>
<th>number of isoglosses of total incl. uncertain</th>
<th>subtract from 95 for uncertain</th>
<th>percentage of corrected total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>–34– (ASA–BWA)</td>
<td>VII–VI</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>(31.5/95)</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–32– (BWA–GrA)</td>
<td>VI–VII</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>(32/95)</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–33– (BWA–ĞhA)</td>
<td>VI–VII</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>(32/95)</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–28– (MzA–TAN)</td>
<td>VI–I</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>(34.5/95)</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–14– (ḠrA–’LA)</td>
<td>I–VIII</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>(35/95)</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–13– (TAŞ–’LA)</td>
<td>I–VIII</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>(37.5/95)</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–20– (’LA–BdA)</td>
<td>VIII–I</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>(41.5/95)</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–16– (’LA–ḪwA)</td>
<td>VIII–I</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>(42/95)</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–24– (BdA–ŠwA)</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.11

c. A Continuum: From Group VII Through Group VIII Towards Group I

One may conclude a continuum (albeit on a much smaller scale than the situation on the northern littoral), which is best illustrated in the Alscal (Euclidean Binary, see p. 374) MDS plot: from the typically southern dialect type of group VII (ḤmA is here excluded from VII for not being prototypical, see remark in the preceding paragraph), the continuum moves through ḤmA, via 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 kul, gūl, gūm, šīl and nām (without a stressed initial vowel), whereas ṬwA dialects generally do show such vowels, e.g. (ṬwA) úḳul “eat!”, úgum “stand up!”, íšil “carry!” and ánam “go to sleep!”.

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11 To cite a parallel with biology: if we were to discuss ‘birds’ in general, we would probably choose to be talking about proto-typical examples like a sparrow, a robin or a canary, rather than an ostridge or a penguin, see Aitchison 1987:51–62.
Another example is the difference between velarization in the pl. forms of *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 alCaCaC (see 2.1.1.): in ‘LA, like in group I, álCaCaC is the rule, whereas in group VII (excluding ḤmA) ilCáCaC is regular. ḤmA takes up an intermediate position here, allowing both possibilities as parallel options.

If we combine stressability of the 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. álbaṣal and ánwakal), group VII will stress neither (in group VII ilbáṣal and inwákal), while ‘LA will stress the article, but not the initial vowel in preformatives of the perfect of n-1 or 1-t measures (álbaṣal, but inwákal and ittáfag).

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).

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Although both 'LA and ḤmA seem to take up an intermediate position between group VII and group I, I have chosen to group 'LA 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 Wāsil has been developing from a presumed 'originally' 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.\footnote{See Trudgill 1983:chapter 5 and also Woidich 1997.}

An example to cite here is the parallel existence of -\textsuperscript{u}k and -ak pro-nominal suffixes for the 2nd p. sg. masc. in the dialect of older speakers of group II in the north.\footnote{See De Jong 2000:288.} If we can take the older speaker’s word for it—and
I saw no reason to doubt him—the Samāʿnah lived in the area of at-Ṭūr until the turn of the 19th–20th century. Since dialects there all have -uḳ, a logical assumption would be that SaA too had -uḳ at the time they moved to the Gaṭyah oasis in the north. There they came into contact with speakers of Axrasiy (AxA) and Biyyādiy (BA), which resulted in the -ak suffix being introduced to speakers of SaA. The velarization present in the form -uḳ was then transferred onto the k of the -ak suffix, resulting in the ‘interdialect’ form -aḳ. When both -uḳ and were -aḳ were used as parallel forms, “focussing” took place which produced -aḳ as the preferred form, while -uḳ 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 ẓ for *d.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.
3. All four groups (I, VI, VII and VIII) show emphatic interdental ḥ for merged *ḥ and *d.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.
4. Secondary velarization: group I dialects in the centre (like in other group I dialects) show velarization in both kbār and ktār, groups VI and VIII only have velarization in kbār, but not in ktār, and group VII lacks velarization in both forms: kbār and ktār.

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* In some schools in the Gaṭyah oasis children from different tribes mix.
* And perhaps also by women, but there are no recordings of women speakers of this tribe to verify this.
Score group I: 1; group VI: 0.5; group VII: 0; and group VIII: 0.5.
6. All dialects have a tendency to retain length of long vowels in unstressed positions.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.
7. In all groups a in open syllable preceding A (stressed a or ā) is raised.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.
9. In group I dialects extreme raising of final *-ā(‘) in neutral surroundings is current. In groups VI, VII and VIII final *-ā is raised in a similar manner, but final -ā’ tends to be reflected as -i’.
   Group I scores 1, groups VI, VII and VIII score 0.5.
17. None of the dialects in the centre and south of Sinai show resyllabication of CaCa Cv 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. ábwalad, ánḍarab, áttáfag).
   In group VII the article is not stressed (e.g. ilwálad), although in ḤmA both stress-types are used (e.g. ábwalad ~ ilwálad). In group VIII the article is also a stressable unit (e.g. ábwalad).
   Preformatives of the perfect forms of measures n-1 and 1-t are not stressed in groups VII and VIII (e.g. inḍárab, ittáfag).
   Group I scores 1; group VI scores 1; group VII scores 0 (but ḤmA scores 0.25); group VIII scores 0.5.
19. All dialects have an active gahawah-syndrome.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.
20. Presence of initial CC in a limited number of morphological patterns:
    all dialects have initial CC in CCv... (e.g. hmār, sgūr). Groups I, VI, VIII and also ḤmA and (part of) ĠbA of group VII have initial CC in CCv... (e.g. ‘nab “grapes”, gṛab “watersacks”). Other group VII dialects have however morphologically resolved the initial cluster in this pattern with an initial vowel (e.g. á’nab, ágṛab).
    Groups I, VI, VIII and ḤmA and ĠbA of VII score 1. Other dialects of group VII score 0.5.
25. The initial vowel in the definite article and the relative pronoun: a in group I (al- and alliy). In group VI and ḤmA of group VII al- ~ il- and illy. In group VII il- and illy. In group VIII il- ~ al- and alliy.
    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 hāḏ+, if not followed by i.
   Group I has hāḏa ~ hāḏa (with the exception of ḤwA, where only hāḏa 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 hnuh. Group VI has hnuh ~ hnōṭīy or hnūṭīy, groups VII and VIII have hnōṭīy or hnūṭīy. In all dialects the occasional K-form hnāk can be heard.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

46. Adverb for “here”: group I and BWA have hniy (or hniyyih, and in the central eastern Sinai hniyyān(iy)), groups VII and VIII and MzA have niḥā(’) ~ niḥāniy. In all dialects the K-form hina (often in its adapted shape as hinīh or hinīy).
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

47. Preposition l + vowel-initial suffix: group I has lah or lih. Groups VI, VII and VIII have luh.
   All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1 (see remarks on the suffixes -uh or -ah / -ih below).

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8 Since the true ‘sedentary’ form (i.e. a form used in the Nile Delta and Cairo) is h(i)nāk, I regard hnōṭīy or hnūṭīy as ‘Bedouin’ in this context.
9 Since the true ‘sedentary’ form (i.e. a form used in the Nile Delta and Cairo) is hīna, I regard niḥā(’) or niḥāniy as ‘Bedouin’ in this context.
53. Vowel harmony in the imperfect prefix of verbal measure 1: yašrab, yiktib, yug’d. 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 ów. Forms are more typically yawṣal or yōṣal “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 + ū. Group I, ’LA (group VIII) and BWA (of group VI) use the singular negation (mā + verb form) almost exclusively. MzA (of group VI) uses both types of negation, and in group VII the compound negation is current (ma + verb + ū).
Groups I, VIII (’LA) and BWA (of group VI) score 1. MzA (of group VI) scores 0.5. Group VII scores 0.

69. The b-imperfect: in all dialects of central and southern Sinai the b-imperfect is current.
All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 0.

71. Use of yōm(in) or lōm(in) for “when”. In all dialects yōm(in) or lōm(in) is current.
All dialects in central and southern Sinai score 1.

73. Use of widd or bidd to express “want; need”: group I uses widd. BWA (of group VI) and ḤmA (of group VII) use both. The other dialects of group VII, group VIII and MzA (of group VI) use bidd.
Group I scores 1. BWA (of group VI) and ḤmA (of group VII) score 0.5. MzA, dialects of group VII (except ḤmA) and group VIII (’LA) score 0.

When we count the ‘Bedouin’ features of dialects of the 30 listed here by adding up the ‘scores’ in the list above, we see the following in the totals:
Group I scores highest\textsuperscript{20} with almost all dialects having 27 features as ‘Bedouin’. Dialects of group VII score 18.5, except the dialect of the Ḥamāḑah, 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 Biyyādiyyah 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 Čullām in the Negev, which all belong to the same group I.

\textsuperscript{21} BA and AxA are cited here as the clearest examples inside Sinai of Bedouin dialects which have acquired sedentary features through influence of dialect contact with sedentary dialects of the Nile Delta, see De Jong 2000:622–627. The numbers 7 and 8 cited here are the result of a count not made in De Jong 2000, but made here for the purpose of comparing groups VI, VII and VIII to group III in the north. Data on BA and AxA are in De Jong 2000:Chapter III.

\textsuperscript{22} See remarks on this east-west dimension in the north of Sinai in De Jong 2000:622–627.
could assume the personal pronominal suffix of the 3rd p. sg. masc. -ah or -ih to be representative of the 'Bedouin' type, and thus conclude the -uh suffix (like that recorded in the dialect of the Mzēnah of Sinai) to be more ‘sedentary’ (because it is identical with the -u pronominal suffix found in the Nile Delta), but at the same time we do know that in many Bedouin dialects of the Arabian Peninsula—where influence of sedentary dialects, in any case of those spoken in the Nile Delta or Cairo, is highly unlikely—the suffix -u(h) is current.\textsuperscript{23} In other words, if we do not know the ‘original’ form in dialects of related tribal collectives (like the Mzēnah in Saudi Arabia), a conclusion of sedentary influences being responsible for a change -ah > -uh would be premature;\textsuperscript{24} dialects of groups VII and VIII could have come from the Egyptian mainland with the pron. suffix -u(h) already in place, but they may also have settled in Sinai while (still) using -ah or -ih, while only at a later stage copying the -uh suffix from the Mzēnah. On the other hand, a development mirroring this hypothetical development could have also taken place, i.e. the Mzēnah may have arrived in Sinai as -ah ~ -ih speakers, and only later copied the -u(h) from the other southern tribes.

Another example of a more typically ‘sedentary’ characteristic would be the absence of initial consonant clusters,\textsuperscript{25} such as in examples in ṬwA (except part of ḠbA) īštī “winter; rain”, āgrab “watersacks” (which in group I are more typically štiy and ḡrab, see paragraphs 2.3.5. in the descriptive chapters). Although such stressed ‘original’ anaptyctics may

\textsuperscript{23} It is not possible to decide here which form is more ‘Bedouin’ than the other. See, for instance, Prochazka 1988:126, where -u(h), -ah and -ih (and also other forms) are listed as occurring in the various dialects of Saudi Arabia.

\textsuperscript{24} A suggestion once made to me that the speech of Egyptians among the Ḡbāliyyah 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.

\textsuperscript{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 > ʾaṣṣgūr “the falcons” and al + ṭrāb > ʾaṭṭrāb “the dust”, one may conclude that initial CC in such morphophonemic patterns is tolerated. Similarly in a pattern CCāC like al + ṣwūr > ʾaṣṣwūr “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)liṭrāb and (i)liṣwar, we have to conclude morphophonemic base patterns [iCCūC], [iCCāC] and [iCCāC]. In the latter pattern the preceding (originally anaptyctic) i is then usually stressed on the vowel of the newly available heavy sequence, as in ēswar, 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 \( (t, d \text{ and } q) \) in their phoneme inventories. We have seen that in the north the dialect of the Biyyāḍiyyah has lost ‘neutral’ interdentals \( t, d \), and that the dialect of the Axārsah (both of group III) is in a process of losing \( t \) and \( q \), both dialects replacing these interdentals with stops \( t \) and \( d \).27 Such a development has not taken place in central and southern Sinai, and this fact is one of the most telling ones illustrating that dialect contact of sedentary dialects with Bedouin dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII must have been less intense than the dialect contact between sedentary dialects and the dialects of group III in the north, of which many sedentary features are attributable to contact with Delta dialects such as that spoken in the eastern Šarqiyya.

On the other hand, since G.W. Murray 1935 reports that the Ṭēgāt and Šawālḥah lived in the Šarqiyyah before they moved to Sinai almost seven centuries ago (see quote in Introduction, I. d., remark *5), there is a chance that these tribes introduced sedentary features into the area, which were later through dialect contact copied into the dialects of other tribes already present in the area, or who arrived at a later time. Conversely, in this scenario, and with reference to a certain number of Bedouin features now present in the dialects of the Šawālḥah and Ṭēgāt, one could perhaps speak of re-bedouinization of these dialects; Bedouin features would then have been (re-)introduced into ŠwA and Ṭ LA as a result of contact with speakers of Bedouin dialects. This hypothesis can however only be

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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 Šarqāwiy, 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 ‘Lēgāt 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 Nağdiy dialect (in the privacy of their own homes, in any case) in Sudan and also in other areas, even though they have been away from their former abode in the Arabian Peninsula for almost two centuries (since the second half of the 19th century).

### f. The Locations of Isogloss Bundles in Central and Southern Sinai

Isogloss bundles coincide with boundaries of tribal dirahs, simply because we have chosen geographical borders between the tribal areas (sg. dirah) of different tribes as the location to draw these isoglosses onto the map. To a degree, this is of course artificial, but experience has taught that often the speech of members of the same tribe in the same tribal area will not show very many differences.\(^{28}\) I did however notice some differences between members of the 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 \( hagg \) appears to

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\(^{28}\) See also remarks in De Jong 2000:39.

\(^{29}\) Hobbs 1995:40 reports that of the estimated 300 families (or 1,500 souls) of the Ġbāliyyah, around half live within a 5 kilometre radius from the monastery, and the other half live in aṭ-Ṭarfa.
be more current with Mzëniy speakers who live more inland, i.e. in the mountains (see 3.1.11.).

Much clearer than in northern Sinai, some of the major isogloss bundles found in central/southern Sinai coincide with visible geological features of the landscape. From the fact that isoglosses in this study are drawn into maps to coincide with borders of tribal dirahs, and borders of some of these dirahs coincide with features of the landscape, the coincidence of isogloss bundles with natural features of the landscape will come as no surprise. In cases where such a natural feature of the landscape is an obstacle for the traveller, isoglosses may accumulate to form thicker bundles. This is no news, of course, since examples from Europe or elsewhere, like rivers (i.e. where they hinder traffic), swamps, mountain ranges, etc. are plentiful.

In Sinai, one of the clearest examples of such coincidence of isogloss bundles with a natural feature of the landscape is the southern escarpment of the Tīh plateau, which is also roughly the location of the major isogloss bundles (numbers –16–, –20– and –24– in MAP 88, see appendix) running more or less southeast-northwest through Sinai between dialects of group I (to the northeast) and dialects of group VII (ṢwA) and group VIII (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. In figure 1 of the appendix the escarpment

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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 ‘Aqabah (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 Dawāṛah major isogloss bundles coincide with the borders between their dirah and the dirahs of neighbouring tribes, see De Jong 2000:653 (MAP 00 in appendix), isogloss bundles numbers 6 and 8.
33 The Tīh plateau is Eocene limestone, the high mountains to the south are part of a Precambrian Crystalline base, see webpage http://www.awaway-sinai.net/main/about_sinai.htm (accessed 10-18-2010).
34 Oral communication from members of the Badāṛah in the field, and who now live in ar-Ṛamlah, 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 Ḏabar ‘Īḏmah, who were in a ḥilf (alliance) with the Ṭayāhā in older times, after which they had ‘Beziehungen’ (relations) with the Ṭuwarā (‘Lēgāt) as well, and have ‘now’ (i.e. in his day) returned again to their old protectors the Ṭayāhā. I had the impression during my visits that they had now returned to their earlier protectors the ‘Lēgāt again.
is visible in the map as the darker shade of grey between the brownish/pink area to the south (the area aptly named ar-Ramalah, indicated on the map as Debbet er Ramleh) and the high granite mountains of at-Ṭūr and the grey area to the north (limestone plateau of at-Tīh). This escarpment is very difficult to traverse.35

Another example is the isogloss bundle between the dialect of Taṛābīn of Nwēbiʿ and that of the Mzēnah (nr –28– in MAP 88): although both tribes live on the sandy plain of Nwēbiʿ in the Gulf of ʿAqabah of the mouth of Wādiy Watīr—the Taṛābīn in the northern area and the Mzēnah in its southern area—farther inland the border is the mountain range of Ǧabal Gunnah running more or less east-west,36 as I was told by my Turbāniy informant.

In Wādiy aš-Šēx the tribal border between the Mzēnah and Ḡbāliyyah is the (nowadays) asfalt road that leads through Wādiy aš-Šēx (to Wādiy Fēṛān): at the stretch of this road to the west of at-Ṭarfa Mzēniy territory lies to the north and the territory to the south is claimed by the Ǧbāliyyah.

The dialects of Baniy Wāṣil and the Mzēnah show a number of important similarities. Since the Baniy Wāṣil are said to originally have been speakers of a group I-type of dialect37—and if this is true—the dialect that they speak today must be the result of extensive influence from Mzēniy. On the map the territories of Baniy Wāṣil and Mzēnah are separated by the territory of the Awlād Saʿīd, which might prompt the question why their dialect (ASA) is not more like that of group VI (i.e. BWA and MzA), especially if dialect contact is assumed to be the cause of the development of older BWA towards the dialect type of MzA: how could this contact take place across an area inhabited by another tribe, and how can it be that the dialect of this separating tribe was not or at least much less influenced by MzA?

The answer is that the map in this case does not give a realistic picture of where members of the tribes actually live: the Awlād Saʿīd live much farther inland (the mountainous area in and around Wādiy Ṣlāf; for the location see fn 2, p. 115 in Introduction to Chapter II), thus leaving the

35 For a map showing the passes leading down from the Tīh Plateau to the ‘Dividing Valleys’ (of which the ar-Ramalah 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 dirāh, deserted. The Baniy Wāṣil and Mzēnah can travel through this area freely,38 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 ‘Lēgāṭ and Taṛābīn, when the ‘Lēgāṭ, supported in their territorial ambitions by the Ġarāḡrah tried to move into Turbāniy territory south of Ras 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 ‘Lēgāṭ sentenced in this Bedouin court of justice for their expansionist aspirations, the Ġarāḡrah too were fined a substantial sum for choosing the ‘Lēgīy 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 ʾi, 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 dirāh. The point is that contact between Mzēnah and Awlād Saʿīd and between Baniy Wāṣil and Awlād Saʿīd is likely to be less frequent, and contact between the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil to be more frequent than the situation reflected by the map may suggest.
39 Oral communication from Turbāniy sources in the field.
- BWA is the only dialect in the area which predominantly uses demonstrative forms with initial hā-, like in group I (see MAPS 39 and 40).
- BWA is the only dialect in the area which uses the adverb hniy for “here” (see MAP 46).
- The system of negated personal pronominals is basically like in group I (see MAP 79).
- The interrogative “when” is like in group I matā, not like in the surrounding dialects (where one will hear (i)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) -āʾ (when preceded by an emphatic) is used as parallel to (with long vowel) -āʾ(ʾ) (like in surrounding dialects) for *-āʾ(ʾ), e.g. fidāʾ “free time”, but rḥāʾ “hand mill”.
- Like in group I, widd is used to express “want, need”, parallel to bidd, the latter being current in surrounding dialects of group VII (see MAP 73).
- Like in group I, raising of a in closed syllable preceding stressed ē (e.g. lammēt > limmēt) is often absent, as opposed to the situation in surrounding dialects where such raising is current (see MAP 75).
- Like in group I, the baking sheet (for the preparation of bread) is called a sāǧ (as opposed to šāz in surrounding dialects). The game of sīǧih (sīǧih 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. ḥāḍīl), as opposed to surrounding dialects, where only forms without such initial hā- are current (this may be due to MzA, which has ḥāḍīl as a parallel form as well, or may be due to forms in group I, where forms with initial hā- are predominant).

The combination of these features points toward an earlier group I type of dialect for BWA. This should be seen in combination with the fact that the Banīy 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 (^) in “mother”: ‘amm (like in MzA and group I) as opposed to ‘umm in surrounding dialects (see MAP 26).
- The form of the preposition “with” + 3rd p. sg. masc. suffix is m’ūh “with him” and is identical to the form in MzA (and ‘LA and ḤmA), but surrounding and group I dialects have different forms (see MAP 48).
- The 3rd p. sg. fem. perfect of i-type is CICCat like in MzA, but surrounding and group I dialects have other forms (see MAP 52).
- The combination of 3rd p. sg. masc. and 1st p. sg. com. imperfect forms of “come” are yiǧíy and iǧíy is like in MzA, but forms differ from surrounding and group I dialects (see MAP 61).
- For the pl. masc. personal pronounal for “they” huwwa is current, like in MzA (but most group I dialects have hum(ma)) (see MAP 78).
- The reflex for final *-ā in a-type tertiae infirmae (yā’) verbs is usually (stressed) -‘, like in mišī. ligī, nisī (see MAP 86).

The grouping of MzA and BWA together in the same group is also supported by the outcome of the plots generated by the SPSS programmes Proxscal and Alscal: the MDS plots (see pp. 373–374), the dendrogram (see p. 375), the multi-dimensional colour plot, and—although to a somewhat lesser extent—the percentages calculated using the step method (see Conclusions, III. b.).
IV. Methods of Illustrating Dialect Differences

a. Some Remarks on Methods of Illustrating Typological Similarities/Differences of Dialects

One method of illustrating typological distances between dialects is to take the selection of features as they have been recorded in the data set. In this data set every dialect receives its own horizontal row and selected features are recorded in vertical columns. Presence of a feature is marked with the number “1”, absence of the feature with the number “0”. When parallel forms have been recorded in one dialect, presence of these parallel forms will be marked “1” in an equal number of columns.

On the basis of this data set, a distance matrix is then calculated; for each pair of dialects a relative typological distance is calculated (see the distance matrix in the appendix p. 376) (for dialectometrical measurements of distances based on differences and similarities, see Chapter 11.2. In Behnstedt and Woidich 2005).

Using the calculated distances from the distance matrix, dialects are then plotted into an imaginary three-dimensional cube.

To each of the three dimensions represented by axes X, Y and Z one of the three basic colours red, green or blue is assigned.

Each axis is subdivided in values between zero and 255, in which zero represents 0 value for the basic colour, and 255 represents maximum value for that same basic colour on this axis.40

In this way every point inside the cube receives its own set of three coordinates, the combination of which is unique. Since these coordinates are represented by intensities of basic colours, different colours are produced according to the mix of the different values for these basic colours.

We then take these colours back to the geographical map, and paste them into the dirahs of the tribes whose dialects are represented by these colours. The result is a map in which typologically more similar dialects will show relatively similar colours, whereas more strongly differing dialects will receive more strongly differing colours on this map. An example of the situation in Sinai can be found on figure 8a in the Appendix.

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/1i.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</th>
<th>Group II</th>
<th>Group III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>orange</td>
<td>pink/light red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group IV</td>
<td>Group V</td>
<td>Group VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light blue</td>
<td>grey/blue</td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group VII</td>
<td>Group VIII</td>
<td>dark yellow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ğidy, I have not met with Ḥwēṭāt from the area more to the north in the triangular area drawn on the map between AyA 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 Rās Śadr to the main (west-east through central Sinai) road Mitlā42–Nīxl, where some families of the Ahaywāt live, not far north of Qalʾ at 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 Dwēġriy (DA, group IV) and ʿArāyšiy (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 Šarqāwiyy) 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 Uṃm Iṯlah, see remark in fn 7, p. 3.
43 Qalʾ at al-Ǧindiy is located at aprr. 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 Smē’niy (SaA of group II in the north) was quoted, in which he claimed that his tribe had until a hundred years earlier lived in at-Ţūr,⁴⁸ where they had owned datepalms. The MDS plot Proxscal Squared Euclidean clearly illustrates the dialect of the Ḥamāḏah (ḤmA of group VII) as being relatively nearest to that of the Samā’nah. The MDS plot generated by Alscal (Euclidean Binary, see pp. 373–374) however does not produce the same result. I have no explanation for this difference between these two plots.

- The dialects of Baniy Wāsil 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 Wāsil (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 = 46).

⁴⁷ See p. 246. For illustration of similarities of these dialects cf. MAPS in the appendix of this volume.
⁴⁸ The name at-Ţūr is generally used to refer to the high mountainous area in southern Sinai, roughly where the Ṭuwaţa tribes live.
The numbers are only to be interpreted as distances relative to each other; the greater the number, the greater the distance.

By “less problematic” I mean that the resulting plot better represents my own subjective impressions of the typological distances of the groups involved.

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. In this way the dialects of the different tribes have coalesced (though not entirely) to form a ‘phylum’, which now covers the southern tip of Sinai. Several processes of focusing must have taken place. One clear example is the spread of the -\(\text{uq}\) (masc.) and -\(\text{ik}\) (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 Samâ’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 (generated with the Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of the SPSS) to cluster the dialects of Sinai (including Negev Arabic, (Direction). It is important to remember that a dendrogram illustrates degrees of similarity (or dissimilarity), and

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52 See remarks in Trudgill 1986:39, where the relevance of the geographic parameter of diffusion models is stressed.

See also Palva 2008b:401 “[...] the Ṭawaṛa tribes have lived in close alliance since the 17th century (Oppenheim 1943:156–157), and the earlier dialectal differences must have faded away long ago”.

An alternative interpretation could be that these dialects were already much alike before the tribes came to Sinai, but given the heterogeneous history reported for the different tribes in various sources, this is far less likely; in any case this alternative interpretation would fail to explain the current typological position of GbA, whose speakers must have come to Sinai in the fifth century CE as non-native speakers of Arabic (see also remarks in fn 24, p. 321).

53 Other than a possible genetic relationship in the distant past, this term is not meant to suggest a relatively recent common ancestor.

54 See also Behnstedt and Woidich 2005:429.
that we should not conclude a genealogical relationship. A dendrogram generated for all dialects in Sinai is (grouping with Roman numbering was done by hand, see figure 6 in the appendix for the colour version):

Dendrogram of dialects of Sinai
We see here that the Group I dialects quite neatly cluster together, with BaA occupying a special place inside this group. BaA ‘branches’ at a lower level, farther to the right, than the other dialects (see remarks in De Jong 2000:57–58). Groups IV and V branch at a relatively low level as well (even farther to the right than BaA), which supports the interpretation of these dialects as separate groups.

Clustering of the dialects that form groups II and III is also clear from this dendrogram. For remarks on decisions to group clusters of dialects in groups VI, VII and VIII in this manner, see remarks in Conclusions, III. c.

The dendrogram also shows that the dialect of the eastern Šarqiyya (eŠA) and the dialects of groups III (BA and AxA) and also V (ʿAA) are all on the same longer branch. This is due to the fact that these dialects are all more of the sedentary type (in comparison to the other dialects represented here in groups, which are more of the Bedouin type).

A plausible interpretation of the existing situation from a socio-linguistic perspective is that the different groups, in as far as dialects were not genealogically related, have developed from a diffuse situation (or situations, since the different tribes arrived at different times in history) towards a more homogeneous situation through dialect contact, in which certain original forms must have been lost due to processes of koinéization 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 -ʿuḳ and -ʿik (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\textsuperscript{56} (the question of whether or not these statements are true is not investigated here).\textsuperscript{57}

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 Ġarāḡrah 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).\textsuperscript{58} 
Comment: the dialects of the Aḥaywāt and Masāʿīd (AḥA and MA resp.) are indeed plotted closely together inside group I. The dialect of the Ġarāḡrah (ĠrA), however, is not plotted very near to AḥA and MA (resp.). The dendrogram shows the same.

Remark: the Ṭēgāt are said to be descendents of the neigbouring Ṣawāḥlah. 
Comment: the MDS plots position their dialects relatively near each other. 
In the dendrogram these two dialects do not appear very near each other.

\textsuperscript{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. 
\textsuperscript{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. 
\textsuperscript{58} See also De Jong 2000c.1.
Remark: The Garāʾšah are said to be a section of the Ṣawālḥah (see also Bailey 1985:33).
Comment: the MDS plots and the dendrogram indeed cluster these two dialects relatively near each other.

Remark: the Taṛābīn are said to be related to Biliy (in the north), but this is quite remote in the past.59
Comment: a relationship between (any branch of) the Taṛābīn and Biliy—other than that they have been grouped together60—is not evident from the MDS plots or the dendrogram.

Remark: the dialect of the Baniy Wāṣil was more like the dialect–type spoken by group I tribes, but it has changed under influence of dialects of ‘other’ (not further specified) tribes.
Comment: the MDS plots indeed show that Wāṣliy (BWA), as one of the dialects of the southern groups VI, VII and VIII, is typologically nearest to the group I-type dialects. The dendrogram does not show a direct connection.

In general, one could conclude that remarks made by informants are often on the mark, or quite near it. G.W. Murray’s (1935:256–257) remark on Bedouin in southern Sinai that “among themselves, they can distinguish each tribe and subtribe by their looks and dialects...” is true for the entire region.

V. A Comparison of the Dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt of Southern Jordan and the Ḥwēṭāt of Sinai

Prompted by some additional remarks made by Professor Heikki Palva on the dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt, which were partly in reaction to my own remarks on his description of their dialect as spoken by this tribe in southern Jordan, I feel encouraged to once again add a few of my observations.

59 Stewart (1991:106) reports that the Taṛābīn were part of the Baniy ‘Ātiyya.
60 See also De Jong 2000:37–58, 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.\footnote{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 2000:20.}

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.\footnote{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.}

The majority of those who identify themselves as Ḥwēṭāt are actually found in southern Jordan and in the adjacent far northwestern corner (the northern Ḥiḡāz) of Saudi Arabia. In older times many of the Ḥwēṭāt settled on the Egyptian mainland, a large group of whom were found around Bilbēs in the eastern Nile Delta. The Ḥwēṭāt in Sinai are not very numerous, and a small settlement inhabited by them is Ġidy\footnote{Since the area was said to be teeming with military (for the very strategic Ġidy pass about 20 km north of the Mïltà 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 Ḡabal alĠidy, and to the north of Ṣadr alḤayṭān, see Google Earth (where it is indicated as Gebel Heitan).} 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.\footnote{Oral communication from a Ḥwēṭiy šēx from al-Ġafr interviewed in 2008 in al-Ḥusayniyyah in southern Jordan. He told me that several families or clans had joined the tribe as *duxa* (Classical Arabic *duzula*), i.e. “people seeking refuge and protection”. See also remarks in Palva 2008b:402 “[the Ḥwēṭāt] probably are descendants of an old local population (*ahl ad-dīra*) (Musil 1926:20), whose culture for centuries has fluctuated between seminomadism and semisedentarism”.}

My earlier remarks concerned the typological status of the dialect of Ḥwēṭāt in Jordan,\footnote{See De Jong 2000:627–630.} and whether perhaps their dialect formed part of a transition to a more Naǧdiy type of dialect. The following is a comparison of Ḥwēṭiy spoken in Jordan (referred to here as ḤwJ) as described in Palva 1984–1986 (in this comparison the structure of this article is largely followed).
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'\textsuperscript{66}. The abbreviation ḤwA is used her to refer to may own findings for the dialect of Ḥwēṭāt in Sinai. For the sake of brevity, the emphasis in this comparison is on highlighting differences between ḤwA and ḤwJ, while briefly mentioning some similarities.

The texts of the poet Barrāk in Holes and Abu Athera 2009 are essentially the interpretation of the authors\textsuperscript{67} 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]).\textsuperscript{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 ’ is also often heard following unstressed final -a, e.g. áfda’ “I sacrifice”, taḡádda’ “he had lunch”, biyrīdha’ “he wants (i.e. loves) her” and ál’aša’ “the dinner”.

Such glottalization is not indicated in Barrāk.

Lack of affrication in reflexes of *k and *q in ḤwJ: same in ḤwA.

Three short vowel phonemes: /i/, /u/ and /a/ in ḤwJ: same in ḤwA.

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\textsuperscript{66} “Barrāk” for the poet Barrāk Dāğiš Ğāziy Abyuw Tāyih al-Huwayṭiy 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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{68} See Holes and Abu Athera 2009:210.
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 ẓēt, sēf and bēt, but such high realisations (near I.P.A. [i:]) 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”, ḥaymih “tent”, nuṣṣayn “two halves”, ṣayf “summer”, ḥawlīy “I went home before sunset”, ḥawlīy “one-eyed (sg. fem.)”, ḡawtar “he went”. The diphthong in ‘ayš “bread” was often realised lengthened: ‘ayš in ḤwA.

In Barrāk only a few diphthongs occur, e.g. ḥawl (p. 93, l. 5), at-ṭubayg, (p. 96, l. 37), ṭaw’in (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), ḥēn (p. 96, l. 43), ṭēr (p. 100, l. 29), ḡēr (p. 100, l. 32), baḥētah (p. 101, l. 4) (here rhyming with nagētah and lagētah), sēf (p. 101, l. 5), a’ētah 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), while the latter clearly prefers stress CaCáC(v).

Examples for CaCaC from ḤwA are malág “hard soil/rock (i.e. where no foot prints will be visible)”, /lists “milk” and a gahawah-form ḡāhār “back”. ḤwA examples for CaCaCv are sībāgah “race”, zalāmah “man”, ḡāhāwah “coffee”, ḥādakak “your mouth”, āfāmak “your mouth”, ṭahārid (‘ala) “you go up (to)”, na’ārif “we know”.

In ḤwJ we see forms like (following numbers refer to pages in Palva 2004) ritam “retem (firewood)” (203) and sīgār “trees” (203) (stressed, according

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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 CaCáCv stress-type, e.g. ba’āfa (Palva 2004:201).
to Palva’s remarks, *ritam* and *şīqar,* 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: álbi “the camels”, ábwalaḍ “the boy”, ángaḷab/yíngilib (imperfect in ḤwJ would be yángalib) “be overturned”, áttaffle/yítṭiǧ (imperfect in ḤwJ would be ýáṭṭaǧi)71 “agree”, bintī “my daughter”, *ḍarabatni* “she hit me”. As for forms in Barrāk, no conclusions can be drawn with regard to stress.

As for the Naḡdiy type of resyllabication of CaCaCV sequences (> CCICV, or (gahawah-sequences) CaXaCV > CxaCV), it is not a feature of ḤwA. As for ḤwJ, however, there are several instances of forms that have been subject to this rule. Palva appears to report free variation with respect to the application of this rule.72 Notice the following forms in Palva 2004. (Following bracketed numbers refer to the pages, the form in square brackets would be the ḤwA equivalent, which are not affected by the Naḡdiy resyllabication rule). First of all, gahawah-forms appearing in ḤwJ which are also resyllabificed in conformity with the Naḡdiy resyllabification rule are (forms listed in square brackets are proper ḤwA forms):

- *ghawah* (1984–1986:303) [gaháwah], yḏazu “they raid” (201) [yaḡázuw],
- 3 instances of nxabiz “we bake” (202) [naxábiz], 3 instances of n’اجر “we knead” (202) [na’اجرین], 2 instances of n’اجرذ “we spin”, n’اجرذًا “we spin it” (203) [naḡázil and naḡázlah] and nḥaṣid “we harvest” (204) [nahāṣid].

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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), sama (207), naṣab (207) and ḥaṣal (208). Interestingly, in the paradigms for kitab and śirib (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)ribtī and k(i) tābin). From this a conclusion that the second syllables in śirib and kitab are not stressed logically follows, and therefore these forms must be stressed kitab and śirib (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*-1 in ḤwJ, see Palva 1984–1986:303.

72 Listed verb forms with bracketed vowels, like *k(i)tabat* and y(a)’arf (1984–1986:299), suggest free variation in the application of the Naḡdi resyllabication rule and the forms yakamu/yaḥkmu (2004:207) also imply free variation in the application of the gahawah-rule. For Naḡdi resyllabification see Prochazka 1988:30–11 and Ingham 1986:276.

In Barrāk instances of CaCaCV were not found.

gahawah-forms in Barrāk are: *ar-raʿad* (p. 86, l. 11), *wa l-waʿad* (p. 88, l. 4), and verb forms *tahamdūh* (p. 91, l. 25), but there are also many forms which are not affected by the gahawah-syndrome (perhaps for metrical reasons), e.g. *ša ṣaḥ* (p. 91, l. 27), *šaʾb* (p. 91, l. 28) and *šaʾb* (p. 93, l. 8), *an-naxlāt* (p. 99, l. 25) and verb forms *yahfaḍōh* (p. 91, l. 20), *yahkum* (p. 91, l. 28) and *yaxša* (p. 95, l. 23).

**Morphology**

Independent pronouns in ḤwA are *aná*, *int(a)*, *intiy*, *hū*, *hī*, *aḥna*, *intuw*, *intin*, *hum* (*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 *ḥinna* (p. 95, l. 31).

**Pronominal suffixes**

C-ī / V-y (poss.) and -nī (obj.), C-ak / V-k, -kīy, C-ah or C-ih / V-(h), -ha(ʿ), -kuw / -kin, -na(ʿ). In ḤwJ the same suffixes are current, except the allomorph -ih of the 3rd p. sg. masc.

In Barrāk we find singular forms like (3rd p. sg. masc. -ah or -ih) *šaʾbāh* “his people” (p. 91, l. 27) and *annās kullih* “all people” (p. 85, l. 3) and (v + -h) *yiʿtīḥ* “they give him” (p. 89, l. 22); (3rd p. sg. fem. -ha) *g aşdha* “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) *ġēšak* “your army” (p. 86, l. 6) or (v + -k) as in *maškār* “your destination” (p. 93, l. 6); a short final vowel in (1st p. sg. com. -i) *rizgī* “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* *ʿ*, but then not only in pause.

74 I follow a slightly different system of transcription in forms like -kuw and -kīy (Palva writes -ku and -kī). 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) ġihādkum “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. áwalad ha... “this boy”. This feature was not reported for ḤwJ, nor were instances found in Barrāk.

Interrogatives
min is used for “who?” in both ḤwA and ḤwJ.76
For the interrogative “what?” ēh, much less regularly ēš and sometimes wiš were heard in ḤwA. For ḤwJ Palva77 gives wuš, co-occurring with ēš and K-form šū (with proclitic variants ‘iš and ū). “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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78 See Palva 1984–1986:298
80 For remarks on ḤwJ, see Palva 1984–1986:298
82 For postpositioned ha in ḤwA, see remark in III, 3.1.9.1.
The verb in ḤwA and ḤwJ

Perfect verb forms listed for ḤwJ reflect the a-type as GiCaC 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 summerize his point: if a of the first syllable in *CaCaC was realized with a back allophone, it has remained a (e.g. ga’ad), 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 ‘arif (< *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 ‘arif (which would then have to be more or less like (the vowel in the first syllable) a in e.g. ḏarab, i.e. near I.P.A. [a]),\(^84\) there is a more plausible explanation.

A historically more plausible development to account for raising a > i in these patterns is to postulate a stress shift from CvCvC to CvCvc (see also Grotzfeld 1969); patterns that are now stressed on the first syllable must have been stressed on the second syllable to allow the vowel a in neutral surroundings to be raised to i. The scenario in which raising of short vowel a > i in open syllable preceding a stressed syllable takes place is not unique in the area (see paragraphs 1.2.3.4.3.2. and 3.1.1.6. of preceding descriptive chapters), nor is stress of the CaCaC- or CiCiC-type (see paragraphs 2.1.1.2.1. of preceding descriptive chapters; ḤwA also has CaCaC and CiCiC, e.g. kitāb and širīb).

The implication is that Palva’s suggestion of raising of a in *CaCiC (> CiCiC) in ḤwJ as the result of vowel 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?\(^86\)

\(^{84}\) In fact, preceding ‘ or ḏ more typically result in an open front allophone near I.P.A. [a].
\(^{85}\) As was assumed in Palva 1984–1986:298.
\(^{86}\) Palva ibid. recognizes this, but does not elaborate. Also the fact that the vowel of the imperfect preformative does not harmonize with the stem vowel is an indication that vowel harmony (present in almost all dialects of Sinai, including ḤwA) is at least not a very productive rule in ḤwJ (see ibid.:299–301). Some examples of such lack of vowel harmony cited for ḤwJ are yag ud, 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 CiCíC,\(^{87}\) stress shifted onto the first syllable, resulting in the forms that were recorded (e.g. \(kítəb\) and \(shırib\)).

The question remains then, why did stress shift? There is no easy answer, but chances are that ḤwJ has been influenced by a dialect-type which stresses CðCvC. The dialect-type could be a sedentary (rural or urban) type in southern Jordan, or perhaps even contact with speakers of a Naḡdiy (i.e. a Bedouin type, but non-NWA) type of dialect; after all, the very same vowelling and stress-type are current in Naḡdiy (e.g. the active (\(a\)-type) perfect forms \(kítəb\) “he wrote”, \(dıbaḥ\) “he slaughtered”, but—due to lowering influences of contiguous \(h\) and \(‘\)—no raising in e.g. (\(a\)-type perfect) \(hálāb\) “he milked” and \(gü‘ad\) “he sat”\(^{88}\) and also (\(i\)-type perfect) \(‘āšįg\) “he loved”\(^{89}\)).

The confusing differences in stressing in forms like \(gü‘adat\), but \(k(i) tábat\) and (gahawah-forms) \(y(a)‘ärfa\) and \(gḥāwaḥ\) are already an indication that dialect contact may 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.\(^{90}\)

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. \(şarbin\) “they (fem.) drank”. A difference is the vowel of the 3rd p. sg. fem. ending: \(şarbit\) in ḤwA, but \(şarbat\) in ḤwJ.\(^{92}\)

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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 Naḡdiy 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) *\(kətəb\) “he wrote” and (internal passive) *\(kltib\) (in which \(I = i \text{ or } u\)) “it was written” as starting points, and we assume that both forms were stressed on the ultimate (\(kətəb\) and \(kltib\)), postulating stress on the ultimate syllable would not only account for raising of \(a\) in \(kətəb > kltib\), but also for the elision of the short high vowel \(I\) from the open (first) syllable in \(kltib > kltib\). When stress then shifted, it could only do so in the active form (resulting in \(kıtəb\), 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: \(kltib\) (cf. ibid.:116). On stress shift in Arabic dialects, see also Grotzfeld 1969.

\(^{91}\) See Trudgill 1986:107–108 on the dynamics of dialect contact.

The vowel of in the 3rd p. pl. fem. perfect ending in ḤwA colours with the base vowel: -an in the a-type perfect (e.g. katāban) and -in in the i-type perfect (e.g. šarbin). In ḤwJ the situation is not clear, but Palva—with some hesitation—lists the forms with a fixed i in this morpheme (k(i)tābin and šarbin).93

Similar hesitation is apparent in the endings listed for the 3rd p. pl. masc., for which Palva lists -ow/-u for both vowel-types of the perfect in ḤwJ (k(i)tābow/-u and šarbow/-u). In ḤwA vowel harmony produces -aw in the a-type (katābow or kitābow). The ending in the i-type (and also in the u-type) is -uw (šarbuw).

Endings used in the imperfect for the 3rd p. pl. masc. and fem. show the same differences. Examples for the fem. are byaṭḥanan iw biyġāriblin “they (fem.) grind and sieve” in ḤwA, but in ḤwJ tákītbin / taktībin and tašrabin. Examples for the masc. are yīkitbuw and yašrābüw in ḤwA, but in ḤwJ forms are yákītbu / yakītubu and yašrābu, and fem. pl. forms are yāktūbin / yaktūbin and yašrūbin.94

Barrāk lists some forms with the (more Naḏdiy-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) ihtāįgaw (p. 95, l. 21) and (imperfect) yaḏḥakaw (p. 91, l. 21) and there are many instances where suffixation results in monophthongized -aw or -ow > -o, as in (perfect) sawwōh (p. 90, l. 2) and (imperfect) yahṣūdōh (p. 91, l. 20), while suffixation of -uw results in -ū, as in (perfect) and (imperfect) yasammūh (p. 90, l. 1) and tahamduh (p. 91, l. 25).

In poetry (Barrāk, pp. 93–97) many instances may be found of vowel harmony in the pl. fem. endings of perfect and imperfect: -an for the a-types and -in for the i-types, e.g. (perfect) bayyananni (p. 95, l. 22) and imperfect (a-type) yarḥalanni (p. 94, l. 18) and (i-type) yihtifinni (p. 94, l. 11).96

In ḤwA the vowel of the imperfect preformative colours with the stem vowel through vowel harmony, e.g. yiktīb, yuḏrub and yarğa’, while in ḤwJ

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94 Ibid.:299–300.
95 The poem was actually recited by the poet to king Ḥusayn of Jordan, see ibid.:84–85.
96 Endings there are actually -anni and -inni, instead of -an and -in; the additional -ni being a poetic device.
the preformative is with fixed a, e.g. yaktib, yaḍrub and yarğa’. In Barrāk the system is basically like in ḤwA, e.g. yisfik (p. 86, l. 10), yiḥyi (p. 89, l. 25), yimṣi (p. 88, l. 8), yibnūh (p. 90, l. 4), tunkus (p. 89, l. 15), yundur (p. 89, l. 26), yuḍkur (p. 100, l. 34), tunsur (p. 91, ll. 15, 16), yuṭlub (p. 91, l. 23), nuḍukrah (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, iktib and aṣrab. In ḤwJ such colouring is absent from the a-type: ug’ud, iktib, but išrab. Some weak verbs

Primae wāw verbs in ḤwA have incorporated wāw in the preformative, often monophthongal ŏ 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 yiğif and yirid.

In ḤwJ the preformative contains long ā, as in yāgaf and yāsal. A shorter form la tiga’ was also recorded in ḤwJ. Barrāk gives a form yâgafanni (for the -ni ending, see remark above) (p. 96, l. 33).

In tertiae yāʾ 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, yansi. In Barrāk we find forms like in ḤwA: yarḍaw (p. 88, l. 10) and yiṭnasōh (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 yāxid (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): yğiy, tğiy, nğiy, tğuw,
tǧin, yǧuw and yǧin, but (1st p. com. sg.) aǧíy. In ḤwJ the vowel has not been dropped and is stressed (leaving the ending unstressed): yḏi, tḏi, etc.

**Derived measures**

In perfect and imperfect of measures ta-2 and ta-3, the ta- prefix is only rarely reduced to (i)t- in ḤwA. Examples are taḡadda, ytaḡadda and tasālam, ytasālam.

In ḤwJ reduction of ta or tə > t in the imperfect (but not in the perfect) is indicated to be current, as in the examples taḡadda, yat(ə)ḡadda/yit(ə)ḡadda and tasālam, yat(ə)sālam/ yit(ə)sālam. In Barrāk we find forms like iyaṭa鞑ghah (p. 91, l. 13), 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 ánfataḥ, yínfitiḥ and ástawa, yístawi in ḤwA, but ánfataḥ, yánfatiḥ and ástawa, yástawi in ḤwJ. In Barrāk we find forms like īda nkasar (perhaps stressed id-áŋkasar) (p. 88, l. 15), but also infağaṛ (p. 91, l. 22), īngalab (p. 95, l. 27) yiḥtaşilhā (with a in the stem, but not in the preformative) (p. 89, l. 21), yimtaṭaļhā (ibid.) (p. 89, l. 21), yiḥṭifinja (p. 94, l. 11).

**Nominal morphology**

The degree of raising of the fem. morpheme differs slightly: in ḤwA up to [ıh] in neutral surroundings, but in ḤwJ mostly [ɛ]. In Barrāk we see many examples where final -ih is transcribed, e.g. the poem on pp. 98–100.

**Tanwin**

Tanwin 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.
### Particles

Some differences between adverbs in ḤwA and ḤwJ are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ḤwA</th>
<th>ḤwJ</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥni(y)y(h)</td>
<td>ḥān</td>
<td>“here”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥnuh</td>
<td>hināk</td>
<td>“there”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kid(y)y(h)</td>
<td>ḥēk</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, wagteh</td>
<td>“when?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>kam/kutrayh</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 (ʾ)ʾila 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 tidakkar* “if you remember” (p. 102, l. 15).106

For “until” *lamma* is current in both ḤwA and ḤwJ, but *lammān* 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 *maʾāy* and *lay* in ḤwA. In ḤwJ forms are *maʾi* and *lī*.

The shorter form *ʿa* for *ʿala* “on” may in ḤwA also be used in positions not directly followed by the article, e.g. *ʿa ǧāl* “aside” and *ʿa ḏahār ʿalīm* “on the back of the camel”. In ḤwJ *ʿa* is only used when the article directly follows.107

*mitl* for “as, like” is used in ḤwJ, but in ḤwA *zayıy* 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 *tttidakkar* 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” (ʾaḥḥ) and (ʾaḥū- in construct state; for “mother” (ʾaḥm); for “brother” (ʾaxḥ and (ʾaxū- in construct state. A difference is (ʾuṭx in ḤwA, but (ʾuṭx in ḤwJ.

In ḤwA the pl. for “hand” ((ʾīd) is (ʾīdān, in ḤwJ it is (ʾadēn. “Hands” suffixed in ḤwA is idān- (e.g. idānī “my hands”), but in ḤwJ it is (ʾadē- (e.g. (ʾadēk “your hands”).

A similarity is (ʾafām for “mouth”, e.g. (ʾafāmī “my mouth” and (ʾafā- mak “your mouth”.

A difference is “water”: (ʾálmā (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 šuḡl is current. I have not come across instances in Barrāk.

Negated pronominals

In ḤwA mūhū ~ māhū and mīhī in ḤwA, ḤwJ has mū ~ muhu and mī ~ mihī 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 time (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 Ḥwēṭāt of Sinai and southern Jordan is approximately 200 km. Apart from that, regular contact between the two branches must have been severely hampered by the presence of new borders that came with the creation of the state of Israel in 1948.

Of the two varieties ḤwA is clearly of the group I type found in Sinai and the Negev (see also MDS plots and dendrogram in the appendix), while ḤwJ shows characteristics that are best attributed to contact with dialects which are more of the Naǧdiy-type (see also remarks made in Palva 2008b:406).

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108 Ibid. 307.
109 Due to the lack of contact, changes that appear in one variety cannot (any longer) be ‘corrected’ by speakers in another location of originally the same dialect.
VI. Final Conclusions

a. The Position of Sinai Dialects in Northwest Arabian Arabic
   (the NWA-group)

The larger typological dialect group of Northwest Arabian dialects of
Arabic (as was proposed in Palva 1991) was shown in De Jong 2000 to be
present in northern Sinai (groups I, II and III), along the Mediterranean
coast.

When we now check features of groups VI, VII and VIII against fea-
tures listed as characteristic for NWA dialects in Palva 1991:154–165, we
notice the following (only dialects of groups VI, VII and VIII are discussed
here):

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 (-kūw 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 fi: 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
   structure: 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).

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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.
Gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. in personal pronouns, pronominal suffixes and finite verb forms: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.12.1., 3.1.12.2., 3.2.1.1., 3.2.1.2.).

The definite article (ʼ)al- and the relative pronoun (ʼ)alli/halli: groups VI, VII and VIII conform only in part: al- ~ il- and alliy ~ illiy (cf. 3.1.9.1.).

A number of typical Bedouin lexical items (gōṭar, sōlaf, ṭabb etc.): groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf., e.g., 3.2.3.9.).

Occurrence of stressed variants -i and -ni of the pronominal suffix in 1st p. sg. com.: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable in verbal forms VII–X in the perfect, and the stability of this vowel, shown by stress on the initial syllable when in stressable position: group VI conforms, groups VII and VIII do not conform (cf. 3.2.3.1., 3.2.3.3., 3.2.3.4.).

Occurrence of /a/ in the initial syllable in a number of irregular nouns (ʾamm, ʾaxt, ʾaxwān, adēn, ʾafām): MzA of group VI and ḠbA of group VII conform in part. Other dialects do not conform (cf. 3.1.9.2.).

The invariable pronominal suffix -ki of the 2nd p. sg. fem.: groups VI, VII and VIII do not conform (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

On characteristics listed in Palva 1991, which are not shared by all NWA dialects, the following remarks are to be added:

The use of b-imperfect: present in groups VI, VII and VIII (cf. 4.3.).

Vowel harmony in the active imperfect of verbal form I: groups VI, VII and VIII conform (cf. 3.2.1.2.).

Well-established monophthongs /ō/ and /ē/ vs. partial monophthongization of the older diphthongs, and /ō/ ~ /ū/, /ē/ ~ /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.).

The phonetically conditioned sg. fem. status absolutus marker allomorphs /-a/ and /-i/ in Sinai and the Negev, vs. a less strong ʾimāla in the front allomorph in the dialects of the Ḥwēṭāt and BaniyʿAṭiye dialects, whereas sequences of the type CICV(C) (where I = i or u) have as a rule been resyllabified in NWA dialects, e.g. *ināb > ʾnāb "grapes", *turāb > ṭrāb "dust".

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Conclusions

(/-a/ and /-e/); group VI has [ıʰ] in neutral environments, groups VII and VIII tend to have slightly lower 'imālah, between [eʰ] and [ıʰ] (cf. 1.2.3.4:3.3-).

The pronominal suffixes of the 3rd p. sg. masc. C-ih, fem. -hiy in the Negev, masc. C-ah, fem. -ha in Sinai, the Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ‘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. -ha/-hi(’) (cf. 3.1.12.2.).

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), dillēlīh113 (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 (|šarib|) + -it > širbit, šarbit or šarbat, but katab + -at > kātabat or katābat ~ kitābat (i.e. not ·katbat).

Notwithstanding some differences between the dialects spoken in the central and southern regions of Sinai, there can be little doubt that these dialects are indeed a continuation of the NWA-group. There are some features of the southern Sinai dialects, however, that do not conform to the more typically NWA-type. The hypothesis of the presence of NWA Bedouin dialects throughout Sinai (with the exception of the dialect of the Dawāḡrah and that of the town of al-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.

113 This is characterized as “one of the most important peculiarities of the whole NWA group” (cf. Palva 1991:165). Some of the group I dialects (like TAṢ and TAN) may have forms without doubling for near deixis (e.g. hādōl, ḥādal or ḥōdal) as current for near deixis, but all have doubling in forms for forms used for far deixis (e.g. ḥōdallāk(-ah) or ḥādallāk(-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 ‘Āṭiyye (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.).\(^{114}\)

The question of whether or not dialects are “différentiels” or “non-différentiels”—with NWA dialects being “différentiels”—was not the only indication that the dialects of the Ḥwēṭāt and Bani ‘Āṭiyye have had influences from non-NWA (possibly Naǧdi) type of dialects.\(^{115}\)

Another important indication was the Naǧdi-type of resyllabication (CaCaCV > CCvCV), that seems to be current in the dialects of the Bani ‘Āṭiyye and Ḥwēṭāt in Jordan.\(^{116}\)

In addition, it should be noted that the Ḥwēṭāt are much more a relatively recent amalgam of social entities of different backgrounds\(^{117}\) 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 ‘Āṭiyye 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 ‘Āṭiyye of their origin in the eastern Naǧd, from where they (then still known as Maʿāzah) migrated westward in the beginning of the fifth century Hiǧrah (beginning of the eleventh century CE) to Ta’ymā’, after which they continued farther westward two centuries later (i.e. the beginning of the thirteenth century CE) to arrive near Taḥbūk (in present day Saudi Arabia, some 180 kilometres southeast of Ḍaqabah). The Maʿāzah—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 *10 in Introduction, I, d.
Another answer to one of our earlier research questions is that the vowelless pronominal suffixes -\(\text{uḳ} \) for the 2nd p. sg. masc. and -\(k \) 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 Samāʾnah in the north, that his tribe had until the turn of the century (i.e. around 1900 CE) had their home in the region of at-Ṭūr, may very well be true. If we combine the presence of the -\(\text{u芊} \) suffix in his speech (SaA) with the presence of the pronominal suffix -\( \text{kum (\text{~ -ku芊})} \), and also the verbal suffixes ending in -\(m \) of the 2nd and 3rd p. pl. masc. in the perfect and imperfect, and see that the combination of these characteristics is also found in ʿLA and ḤmA, his remark acquires special significance. If linguistic evidence is anything to go by for conclusions on geographical origins of speakers, one would conclude that the Samāʾnah (and perhaps also the ʿAgāylah) must have had their earlier abode in the region north of the lower end (not too far from the Gulf of Suez) of Wādiy Fēṛān (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 ʿAbābdah (which can be seen as the northern extension of the Sudanese type of Arabic dialects, like that of the Šukriyyah). 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.

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\(^{118}\) See De Jong 2000:283–288.


\(^{120}\) As described in De Jong 2002, and see remarks in Woidich and Behnstedt 1980:176 (fn 1).

\(^{121}\) As described in Reichmuth 1983.

\(^{122}\) Although Hobbs 1989 is an excellent anthropological study on the Maʿāzah, the transcription used there for Arabic is less suitable for linguistic interpretation of the features of their dialect.


— —. 2008a. “Sedentary and Bedouin Dialects in Contact: Remarks on Karaki and Salṭi (Jordan)”. Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies 8:53–70.


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In terms of alphabetical order, indices in transcription are treated as if they were without diacritics. ayn precedes ‘a’, and hamzah precedes ayn. Forms with word-initial hamzah are listed under the following vowel. Where reference is to two or more of the descriptive chapters (multiple references), the Roman numbering (of the chapters) does not precede the numbering of the paragraphs referred to. Where reference is to only one of the descriptive chapters, the Roman numbering does precede the paragraph numbers. Such single references are listed following the multiple references. E.g., a multiple reference 1.2.3/4. refers to chapters I, II and III, paragraphs 1.2.3, and 1.2.4.

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reflexes of ṣ-ā(’) in neutral environment:

-īy
-a(h) (~-i(h)), -i(h) #
-a(h), -i(h) #
-ā(’), -i’ #
-a(h), -e(h) #
-īy (*-ā’); -i’ (*-ā)

cf. 1.2.4.4.
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- M-āʼ
- M-ā (often -āʼ in pause)
- M-a(ḥ)

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stress in CvCvC:

CaCâC, CîCîC  
CaCâC, CîCîC

cf. 2.1.1.

Red Sea

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I in eligible position is elided, a is never elided
I 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:

- $h, (C)C-ah / (C)C-ih$
- $h, (C)C-u(h)$

cf. 3.1.12.2.
MAP 35

3rd p. sg. fem. pron. suffix:

-hiyy (but-ã³ha)

-ha/-hi(‘)

-ha

cf. 3.1.12.2.

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v-k, C-ak, CC-ak
in 'AgA and BdA this k = k

v-k, C-b, CC-uk

v-k, C-k, CC-uk

cf. 3.1.12.2.
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*lah or *lih
*lu(*li)
*lāh
*luh

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- apocopated 2nd p. sg. masc. of tertiae inermiae imperfect:
  - is current: 
    - timš, tiššir, tiʾt, 
    - tans, taqadd
  - is absent or rare: 
    - timššiy, tišširiy, tiʾtiy, 
    - tansa, taqadda

Note:
- cf. 3.2.2.5.1., 3.2.2.5.2., 3.2.2.5.3., 
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